#### **CHAPTER 10**

# Avoiding Burnout and Going the Distance

or organizers, burnout is a stubborn enemy. In our struggles for justice, people's lives and liberty are forever at stake, and the urgency of our movements can become all-consuming. Countless organizers have worked themselves to the point of collapse, sometimes destroying their health and compromising their material well-being. But what activists call "burnout" is rarely characterized by exhaustion alone. If people experiencing burnout were simply exhausted and nothing more, they could likely rest away the problem. But for activists, burnout often describes a deeper issue: a profound exhaustion paired with an injury to our dignity or sense of belonging or a violation of our boundaries. As Dean Spade told Kelly on Movement Memos, "Burnout usually means I went way past my boundaries, or I deeply believed I wasn't good enough unless I did more than I could do."1 People experiencing burnout may feel unappreciated, betrayed, exploited, blamed, or as though they no longer belong, in addition to feeling physically and emotionally depleted. Too often, burnout marks the end of an organizer's work, as many depart our movements resentful, weary, or even in despair. This cycle of self-destruction weakens our movements. But it also flies in the face of what we are fighting for: a world where people are not treated as disposable or ground down in the name of their productivity.

These destructive dynamics are perpetuated in part by a culture of martyrdom embedded in movement work. The idea that we should be willing to die for what we believe in resonates with many organizers and lends itself to the notion that we should be willing to work ourselves to death. This can lead us to make commitments that exceed our capacity. We know that movement work can endanger our lives, but if we also believe that human lives have value outside of capitalism and structures of productivity, we must value our own. We must preserve our health and well-being. So, how can we reconcile the urgency of our work—as we operate with too few people and square off with intractable enemies—with preserving our health and well-being?

People who commit themselves to justice work should not see their lives ruined or shortened because they chose to fight for a better world. Such losses are themselves a form of injustice. We must also understand that when we lose activists and organizers to burnout, our movements suffer. We do not simply lose their labor. We also lose knowledge and experience, hard-fought bonds of solidarity, and people who model what the world should be. As we struggle to balance our lives with what the work demands of us, we must ask ourselves whether the manner in which we organize reflects the world we want to build.

The two of us have learned that care must be a community practice and, further, that our personal care practices may require discipline. Sometimes we must apply the same level of effort and focus that we bring to our projects and campaigns to the maintenance of our health and well-being. Like many of you, we sometimes push our limits and exhaust ourselves, but we also endeavor to make space for rest, learning, and joy, because we know that without those things we will not endure as people or in this work. As organizers, we do not want to inspire a culture of martyrdom or self-destruction. We believe in a culture of care, where people who engage in struggle are more supported than they otherwise would be, not less. If we exempt ourselves from that vision, we cannot model or rehearse it in the world.

We also believe that developing group practices around conflict resolution and cultivating belonging can help to mitigate some of the issues that can lead to burnout.

Still, the balance is a struggle. In this section, we talk with several organizers whose thoughts and experiences have helped us better understand what it means to sustain movements while also sustaining our own well-being.

# Be Part of the Future You Are Fighting For

Sharon Lungo is an Indigenous organizer, mother, facilitator, trainer, and founding member of the Indigenous People's Power Project (IP3). Lungo is also the former executive director of the Ruckus Society and has been an international nonviolent direct-action trainer and practitioner since 2001. When we talked with Lungo in summer 2020, we asked what advice she wished she had been given as a young organizer. She told us, "I wish that people would have been more staunch in reminding me that I get to prioritize myself at times, that I get to center myself in my own well-being, in addition to everything that I can give to the movement."

Lungo told us, "I feel like I wore this work as an identity for a long time, and it was the thing that I was, and stepping outside of that meant that I wasn't supporting my people or supporting the Earth, that I wasn't doing my job for humanity when I was capable and had gifts that would support this movement and support our people." The feelings of guilt and obligation that Lungo described are common among heavily engaged organizers and activists.

Movement work defined Lungo's life for over two decades. She coordinated countless protests and facilitated nonviolent direct-action trainings for thousands of activists, including many who became trainers themselves. But while her work was rich, Lungo deprived herself of many comforts. "I wish that more people had reminded me that it was OK to gift myself things, and take pleasure in things, and allow myself certain luxuries—and that it wasn't just about sacrificing my youth and all the energy that I had," Lungo said.

After devoting over a quarter of a century to movement work, Lungo wishes she had prioritized other ambitions and her mental health alongside her organizing and not allowed justice work to serve as an eclipsing force in her life. "I should have taken more opportunities to learn, to find a mentor, and indulge in learning things that weren't necessarily in service of the movement—skills or crafts that I found interesting, but didn't take time for, because I told myself I needed to give 100 percent to my work." Looking back, Lungo believes she should not "have settled for living on couches, and ridiculous wages, while the white folks around me took big vacations. I should have given myself permission to love myself by saying no to things."

Some of our movement cultures exacerbate this problem. While organizing work often involves sacrifice, such sacrifices are not evenly distributed. Most communities have stalwart organizers who will work through the night to make sure an important event happens or that a deadline gets met. The personal sacrifices of those organizers are rarely acknowledged, just as their labor is generally assumed rather than supported or reinforced. In this way, committed organizers often carry the weight of knowing they are both a strength and a potential vulnerability to their cause, since their sudden absence or removal could bring important work to a halt. Too often, organizations that have the resources to lighten the workload of such organizers, or to offer volunteers compensation for particularly grueling projects, instead treat such people as assets to be exploited. Many Black, Indigenous, and women and trans people of color also experience what Leah Lakshmi Piepzna-Samarasinha has termed "hyper-accountability," where, in addition to performing a disproportionate amount of labor for a cause, a person (usually a marginalized person) is expected to respond immediately and flawlessly to any and all claims that their work or behavior is somehow lacking or problematic. These dynamics can become draining and destructive to a person's physical, financial, and emotional well-being.

For a long time, Lungo felt she must simply endure these blows until the bitter end. "I kind of saw myself as disposable and thought, 'This is it, I'm going to do the work, and then one day I'm just going to implode because it's been too much, or I'm going to, like, fall off a cliff and it'll be done," Lungo said.

In her forties, Lungo experienced a profound level of burnout and faced a reckoning: Was she truly disposable, or was she deserving of care, healing, and recovery? After years of self-neglect, Lungo chose to heal. "I gave myself permission to go to therapy, to get massages and other treatments that support my body, to sleep in hotel beds instead of [on] couches, and to not feel bad about not going to every march or rally," she said.

As she began to care for herself, Lungo realized that in treating herself as disposable, she had failed to envision herself in the future she had been striving to create. "The consequences are personal, but they are also strategic," she told us. By failing to imagine her place in the world she was fighting for, Lungo impeded her ability to fully envision that world. "I think it limited my ability to think strategically and also to have hope. Hopelessness is not a good place to be, and it's not a good place to come from when you're trying to do this work."

## Preparation Is Preservation

Lungo also emphasized the importance of understanding that movement work is "a life journey" and that "things happen slowly over time." Such pacing can be difficult to reconcile for people who are mobilized during highly energetic moments or who organize around local or global emergencies. However, we often carry the energy of high-intensity moments into our everyday organizing work, convinced that we must always operate in crisis mode.

"I was so politicized by spaces like the World Trade Organization meetings in 1999, and to see this amazing, huge burst of energy in people and to be part of these monumental moments," Lungo said, "but I feel like we chase those things around then for the rest of our activist lives. We're trying to re-create these giant surges in energy."

We must understand that "surges" cannot structure our whole organizing lives. For the most part, transformation is slow work, and as such, we must find ways to sustain it for the long haul. "Real

change, real development, real growth, real organizing happens slowly," Lungo said. "It happens over time. It happens on the day-to-day, and in encouraging each other to find the balance between these big bursts and moments."

Lungo finds this lesson especially relevant in her greatest area of expertise: direct action. From sit-ins to shutdowns and beyond, direct actions serve as interventions and moments of social confrontation in pursuit of political reckonings or social transformations. "We're looking to create these bursts of energy, these big moments that will catalyze something larger, that will initiate movement or change in our opponents and get them to the table, or whatever it is that we want to do," she said. But, in reality, no direct action will magically transport a movement to its end goal. Instead, Lungo said, "It's kind of a staircase, as we say in IP3. It's like you make a jump to the next stair, but there's all this work that you have to do in order to get to the next level."

Lungo warned that a "thirst for something big or monumental" that would "move and shake people in big ways" can inhibit an activist's ability to pace their work, which can lead to both burnout and strategic failure. "We actually don't need to move everyone, all at once," she explained. "We need to move a smaller portion of people than we actually think" to initiate major shifts in political thought and action. "The shift and change, it takes time." Lungo noted that smaller actions and "the everyday work that you do with each other and other humans" is as important as "creating big giant marches or beautiful actions or big takeovers."

Many activists are frustrated that they cannot manufacture the kind of energy that Lungo characterizes as "organic"—such as spontaneous uprisings stemming from specific atrocities or disasters. Rather than relentlessly attempting to force a mass activation in the absence of momentum, Lungo hopes more organizers will use less energetic moments to cultivate skills that will help them move strategically and cope with pressure and trauma in higher-intensity moments. She told us,

Taking the time to learn and to study and to grow your skills is as important as getting off your ass when shit is happening, and heading to the streets. Building with each other in the "off season" . . . building in the spaciousness of that time to have conversations about history and strategy. Asking, "What if we tried this?" And exploring all of the different scenarios and being able to do that in a moment where you can breathe, and you can think, and you can take care of yourself spiritually and emotionally—and factor in all the trauma that comes with your body and your life. In those moments, we can stop and expand [our practice] and have a larger view of things.

Creating space for exploration outside of high-pressure moments allows organizers to develop a deeper understanding of the strategies, tactics, and histories that inform their work and to build stronger relationships.

Burnout doesn't just cause people to leave movements; it can also have lasting emotional and physical impacts. "How many of our people have we lost due to mental health struggles, or just the trauma of being out on the streets in shitty moments?" Lungo asked. She urges us to ask ourselves how we are recognizing that reality and shaping our movements to respond to it.

"That is as important as driving ahead with your campaign or continuing to get the signatures or doing the work for the next thing," Lungo told us. "Stopping and giving yourself that space to converse, to learn, to explore, to try the things on that you've been wanting to do. To test your body's reaction to somebody being up in your face. To test your own personal sense of fear in horrible moments or when weapons come out. To really get to know and understand yourself in situations that could potentially be hard, so that when you're in those moments, we can support each other in navigating to a better place."

## Solidarity and Getting in the Game

What does it mean to support each other and take care of ourselves during urgent times? Ejeris Dixon, the New York-based organizer

and founder of Vision Change Win, notes that merely prescribing rest or "self-care" does not reduce the stress level of an organizer who knows a particular set of tasks must be completed in order to seize a political opportunity or support a community in need. As Dixon said, "We can't go hard all the time, but sometimes, we have to go hard, and that's just the reality of the task or the fight."

When the stakes are high, it can be difficult for an organizer to rest when pausing means the work simply will not happen. Dixon said, "The best way for me to feel cared for when I feel like we're in these David and Goliath fights—and my friends know this about me—is that they've got to fucking get in the game with me."

We do not all have the same skill sets or capacity for risk, but "getting in the game" to take pressure off of organizers can take many shapes. "To get in the game with me can mean asking, 'Hey, Ejeris, are you eating? Can I send you food? Hey, how do I take something off your plate?' Not, 'You should slow down,' but, 'I see what you're doing and what we're up against. How do we do that together?'"

Dixon believes in care strategies that involve assessing conditions and making sure organizers are not going it alone. "I think the best way to burn out an organizer is to leave them alone," she says.

Dixon described a period of her antiviolence work when every time she tried to take a break, a murder would occur, and she would feel pulled toward rapid-response organizing to support victims' loved ones. She felt that if she went on vacation, she'd be abandoning a family that needed her. However, one of her co-strugglers suggested a path forward. "I had a coworker say, 'Well, why don't we all get trained up on rapid response around murder, so then we have a whole crew of us?" Dixon said. She continued:

I think the best way to do collaborative and collective care is to ask, How are we backing each other up? How are we encouraging each other to take the breaks we need, but not making ourselves make impossible choices? How do we make sure the goals of our work are covered so that nobody has to

burn themselves out because they're politically committed? Are we making sure that every role has multiple people in that role? How do we create more of our work in teams?

Relief teams and mechanisms can be created at the group or organizational level, around particular organizing tasks or roles, or at the personal level, when an organizer stretched thin needs help with basic life tasks, like cooking, childcare, or picking up groceries. Organizing work can be done in shifts so that people have time to take breaks and take care of themselves and those they care for. These mechanisms and formations will vary in shape across communities and between organizing models, but their core function is essential: to treat organizers as human beings whose lives will sometimes interrupt their labor, rather than as batteries to be drained.

"How do we create more of our work with the idea that any of us may need to take a pause at any point in time?" Dixon asked. Rather than grounding self-care in individualism, "it's really about building structures for collective and collaborative care that also don't leave anyone behind."

To create sustainable movements, we must view relief structures, mechanisms, and agreements as essential to the architecture of our movement work.

## We Don't Just Need Rest, We Also Need Rejuvenation

Organizing never felt like a choice to Morning Star Gali. "I was raised within it," she told us. "I was born at the AIM for Freedom Survival School. I didn't have a choice to say no, and I'm OK with that."

Gali, the longtime Native organizer and a member of the Ajumawi band of the Pit River Nation, has coordinated annual "Thankstaking" gatherings at Alcatraz for over twelve years. Gali was born at a time when Native people were rising up. The commitment and sacrifice of the organizers helped her understand that in matters of justice, "we all have a responsibility individually and collectively." But as an organizer who has navigated environmental devastation,

the impacts of the opioid crisis, MMIW and MMIR work, and more, Gali is no stranger to burnout.

She told us that balance and reciprocity are crucial to sustainable organizing. To understand what we owe to the Earth and what we owe each other, we must recognize our place within a larger webwork of interdependent life.

We all have a responsibility to care for our communities and care for the Earth. And again, it is that reciprocal relationship, and it's part of how we're in balance with ourselves, in balance with our communities, in balance with our tribal communities, and that's how it was historically. We all had a place, and we all had a role within our tribal villages. It's just fulfilling that little part that you can do to help take care of one another.

Embracing interdependency and rejecting individualism can help us develop sustainable practices of balance in our organizing.

At the same time, we must take seriously the daily, personal practices that can nurture our well-being—and that can easily become compromised amid a heated struggle or campaign. "I think rest is a big one," Gali told us. "None of us get enough rest." To resist exhaustion, Gali has started going to bed as early as 8:00 p.m. and "just shutting my phone off." She has a daily practice of prayer and meditation and "greeting the sun as soon as I'm up." Gali believes daily rituals are important. "There's a medicine that I'll boil for the day," she told us. "I'll throw in some cedar and some orange, or lemon slices from our trees in the backyard, some wormwood, not only for our internal respiratory health, but also to clear the air and try to reset in that sense."

However, rest alone will not sustain us or our movements. "Not only do we need rest, we also need rejuvenation," Gali said. In her own pursuit of rejuvenation, Gali turns to the wisdom of movement elders. "Our elders talk a lot about, in our fight to protect sacred places, in our fight for clean water, for clean air for the land—we need to go to it. We need to go to those places. I think we don't make it down as often as we'd like to of course, but when I was living back home un-

der tribal lands, it was an everyday practice of just being at the creek, or being at the water. Just putting my feet in the creek." Sometimes Gali would make her way to the creek on her lunch break. "Just that little bit of rejuvenation and being back in touch with the land and water" was enough to sustain her, she told us.

Gali acknowledged that our responsibilities and life circumstances can get in the way of such excursions, but she emphasized the need to find rejuvenation when and where we can. She no longer lives near the creek she used to dip her feet in daily, but when she can, she packs up her family and heads for the water. "I bring our family dog and bring the kids and go down to the water and just make some offerings there, put our prayers down, to give whatever heaviness that we're carrying from that day, just being able to give it away in that sense, and not hold on to it."

Is there a place that makes you feel whole or revived in some way? How often are you able to inhabit that space? If that place is inaccessible, what ritual or experience brings you closest to it? What practices or experiences help you experience a sense of renewal? Are these practices an ongoing part of your life?

## **Enjoy Life**

Aly Wane remembers the days when he would feel guilty about missing any meeting or rally, as though his presence were always essential and any failure to show up was a failure of solidarity. Looking back, he realizes, "There's actually something slightly egotistical about thinking that you have to be at that rally, like you are the one person [whose presence] is going to make the difference." Aly said that when organizers start to understand movements in terms of roles and labor that can be shared among people who cycle in and out they can develop a more sustainable flow.

After so many years in the work, Aly is unapologetic about taking the time he needs to rest and be well. "If I decide, 'You know what? I'm going to take two or three months to just relax,' I'm going to do that. And if, one day, I decided, 'You know what? From this

day on Aly Wane is going to focus his life on interpretive dance, I'll do that. I'm serious. . . . I know based on my life's trajectory that abolitionist work is probably going to be part of my life for as long as I can think. But if I have some kind of epiphany, and I decide to do something else, I don't have to be an activist."

Wane emphasized the importance of living fully and making time for the people and activities we enjoy outside of organizing. "I want to spend some of my time creating community and transforming society and all of those things, but I also want to spend some time just hanging out with friends, watching TV, playing guitar," he says. "I've been playing guitar more these days. Just enjoying the process. And I think I didn't give myself as much permission to do that when I was younger. And that's the number one thing I would tell my younger self is just, 'It's OK. Enjoy yourself, and enjoy life as well, because we're here for a very short time."

## Respect Your Season

Organizers are not machines. We are living beings who experience stages of energetic growth, periods of exhaustion, and various stages of healing, reconfiguration, and renewal. The same is true of movements and communities.

However, under capitalism, our value is measured in terms of our productivity. When our capacity wanes due to illness, exhaustion, or duress, workers are largely expected to remain productive anyway and to continue to contribute to the economy. When we fail to do so, we are viewed as less valuable and made to feel inadequate or even burdensome, and we are at risk of disposal. It is unsurprising that this mentality manifests itself in our movement work, but the idea that we must remain "productive" at all costs leads to frustration, resentment, burnout, and collapse.

The Ayni Institute, which offers political education grounded in Indigenous principles of reciprocity, reminds us that movements, organizations, and organizers all experience seasons. As Ayni Institute organizer Carlos Saavedra told Kelly on *Movement Memos*,

I think sometimes what is missing from this leadership conversation is that leadership has, in some ways, ebbs and flows. There are times where you can respond, and there's times where you cannot respond as much. And we believe that actually at the institute I'm part of, at Ayni, that leadership in some ways goes through cycles. . . . A good metaphor, I think, that could ground us in that is a metaphor of seasons, or seasonality, meaning that there's a time where a leadership is going through a winter period, meaning it's going through a period of hibernation where you are trying to rejuvenate yourself, rejuvenate your body, your emotions, your capacity—and also have a breakthrough, an insight that could allow you to then have, maybe, a spring in your leadership, where you're maybe opening up, you're doing more things. You feel very energetic, and potentially maybe going through a summer in your leadership where it's "go, go, go" energy-"let's go, let's move around as quick as we can." There's so much energy. And then, hopefully, a time of fall where we're reaping the rewards of the work that we've done and preparing for another cycle of winter.3

The metaphorical spring is a time of growth: the capacity to educate and organize new people is ramped up, relationships are expanded, and new coalitions are built. Summer, in this metaphor, is a time of consistent action, when energy is high and victories are potentially claimed. Fall is a time of harvest, when movements have achieved victories or endured losses. In fall, projects and coalitions may break down or sunset as the pace of work slows, allowing organizers time to reflect, share stories, and uplift the labor of the previous season. The metaphorical winter is the most difficult season for many organizers, because we have been conditioned to view less energetic periods of organizing as times of failure.

"I believe that individuals, organizations, and social movements go through seasons through this metaphor of seasonality," Saavedra told Kelly. "I believe one of the main reasons why it's so difficult for us to be in a rhythm of seasons nowadays is because of the nature of the global system that we're in, that is highly, extremely productivist, which is capitalism." Saavedra explained that capitalism "creates this expectation of what we call the eternal summer and this expectation that everyone should be in the eternal summer all the time."

Saavedra also pointed out that we have been conditioned to zero in on people's productivity as a point of interest by asking what they do or what they are working on. "There is even a stigma to burning out or not having that capacity to keep producing," he added, noting that "this is exacerbated by not taking a long-view perspective that recognizes how social movements operate in cycles of five to fifteen years."

Some activists are averse to slowing down and embracing periods of introspection and renewal. Saavedra refers to this aversion to or fear of taking winters as "winter phobia," explaining that "[some] people are scared of taking winters. They're scared of going within, or maybe to deal with the pain of previous seasons to be able to then regenerate. And so people sometimes are stuck. They know that the eternal summer is bad, but they are afraid of going into a time within."

Rather than operating at a breakneck pace until we crash and burn, respecting our seasons allows us to cultivate and build meaningful connections and projects throughout each cycle. As Saavedra told us, "In order for us to be effective, meaning doing the right thing at the right time, we must recognize which season we are in, honor it, and most importantly, protect it."

While experiencing winter, on a personal level, some organizers may step back from movement work entirely. This can be the result of a major life change, such as an illness, the arrival of a new child, moving to a different city, caring for a loved one, or some other development. It can also be the result of burnout, exhaustion, or simply being fed up with the challenges of social justice work. For whatever reason, many people step back for long stretches but ultimately return to the work of organizing. So if it has been a long time, but you are feeling called to return, perhaps spring has come.

# Knowing When to Let Go of a Project

Sometimes when we feel burned out or confused about how to move forward with our group, it may be because our project, container, or organization has simply run its course. It's important to understand that deciding it's time to end something we have created is not a mark of failure. The groups and projects that we have sunsetted or intentionally concluded were meaningful and generative. Due to evolving conditions, those projects were no longer the best container or group for the work participants wanted to do. Sometimes this happens because people's aims or intentions simply outgrow the container they have created. This can be a good thing.

When the two of us organized with the Chicago-based police abolitionist project We Charge Genocide (WCG), a number of working groups were formed within the broader organization. These groups developed efforts that endured long after WCG itself ended. For example, Kelly's collective, Lifted Voices, would not exist without the WCG Radical Ed Working Group, which focused on the kind of abolitionist direct action and movement education work that Lifted Voices would ultimately take up. Multiple founders of the Lifted Voices collective brought the lessons of their projects with the Radical Ed Working Group and WCG to the table as they devised new direct-action curriculums. Lifted Voices would subsequently train thousands of people in direct action in Chicago and around the country.

Sometimes we must release a current project in order to pursue new visions. Many of the people involved with We Charge Genocide have gone on to create projects that have done essential work, such as Assata's Daughters, the grassroots collective of radical Black women and girls whose early founders include Page May, Caira Lee Connor, and other former members of WCG. After doing generative work together, people often grow in a variety of directions. We should appreciate the beauty of that growth.

WCG's original purpose was to send a delegation of Black youth to the United Nations to present a shadow report on the violence of Chicago's police. In addition to successfully challenging the UN to call out the violence of Chicago police, WCG contributed meaningfully to the Reparations NOW campaign, which was seeking reparations for police-perpetrated torture, and played an important role in a historic period of mobilization in Chicago. It launched art projects and research efforts, built relationships, and made new formations possible. Unlike many groups that are now defunct, WCG was not in turmoil due to internal conflict; nor was it suffering from waning participation. But in the months after the delegation went to the UN, we engaged in soul-searching conversations about whether we had done what we had set out to do, within that particular container, and ultimately agreed that we had. For some people, it was hard to say goodbye to what we had built together, but most of us would continue to be part of the same organizing community, and the bonds we built through WCG would stretch across the city and the country as we built and joined new projects.

As Chicago-based healing justice organizer Tanuja Jagernauth told Kelly on *Movement Memos*, it can be helpful to think of the groups and containers we create as having life cycles. "I do think of the things we create as living things," Jagernauth said. She noted that this idea of a life cycle can be important, not only in terms of the care with which we bring our projects into the world but also in terms of how we let them go. "If we do decide to hold on to the idea that our projects and our formations are alive, we can also hold space for the idea that all things that are alive do die," Jagernauth said. "And the most beautiful thing you can do when something is dying is to allow it to pass on with as much dignity and grace as possible, honoring it in all of its complexity."

We have learned that letting go can be a beautiful thing. Honoring what a group or project has accomplished and what it has meant to us while preserving its history and, most importantly, carrying its lessons forward, can be an emotional process, but not everything in organizing is about fighting tooth and nail. Some moments are about recognizing where we have been, what we have learned, how we have grown, and what we now believe the future demands of us.

The end of one project can mean the beginning of new dreams and schemes about how to remake the world. We have said many goodbyes in our work, yet the work goes on, and so do we, building, hoping, and creating in concert with other human beings.