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The Sociopolitical Development of Community and Labor Organizers of Color:
A Qualitative Study

A Thesis

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in the College of Arts and Sciences at Georgia State University

2004

by

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ABSTRACT

This study applies qualitative methodology to the study of sociopolitical development (SPD) among community and labor organizers of color. Participant data (open-ended applications) were obtained from a long-standing training institution, span 18 years (n=200), and equally represent Black, Latino/a, and Asian individuals.
This study sought to reveal important dimensions of SPD and to identify contributing life experiences.
Three SPD themes emerged: (1) social analysis, (2) commitment, and (3) empowerment. An organizer thus exhibits multidimensional insight into social injustice, commitment to taking action, and genuine belief in his/her individual and collective abilities.
Four experiential domains contributed to participants' SPD: (a) family, (b) social identity, (c) social injustice and (d) sociopolitical work.
Each theme and domain is described in a multidimensional way. The relationships between life experiences and SPD themes are furthermore examined, and located within existing psychological research. Finally, implications of these findings for practitioners are discussed.

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Introduction

Social change for justice and liberation has been a core value of the field of Community Psychology since its formal inception at the 1965 Swampscott Conference (Dalton, Elias, & Wandersman, 2001; Emshoff, 1994; Engelberg, 1981). That the discipline is philosophically and ethically committed to social justice has been displayed in its critique of scientific positivism (Prilleltensky, 1989), its embrace of ecological models that call for multiple ecological levels of analysis (Kelly, 1968), its espousal of a strengths perspective that argues against blaming victims of their environment (Albee, 1978; Ryan, 1971), and its consistent attention to the resources, needs, and initiatives of oppressed communities. The discipline's commitment to understanding and facilitating social change is further reflected in research and theory on citizen participation (Wandersman & Florin, 2000), second-order change (Seidman, 1983), empowerment (Perkins & Zimmerman, 1995), policy advocacy (Jason, 1991), and a growing affinity with Liberation Psychology (Watts & Serrano-García, 2003).

Most of the community psychological research on community and political participation has been limited to neighborhood residents' participation in local politics, organizations, and volunteerism. Less attention has been devoted to the birth of community-led efforts to effect social change and to the development of community and labor organizers. Communities do not magically organize themselves: the involvement of native or professional organizers is central to practically all community and labor organizing efforts. It is therefore important for investigators to include these individual social change agents in social justice research. Armed with an awareness of some of the

factors that are associated with individuals' development into organizers for social justice, community psychologists will be better able to assist their partners in the community. Such an insight should also enrich the work of liberation psychologists, given their core interest in dismantling systems of oppression through an analysis-action-reflection praxis (Martín-Baró, 1994).

This study examined data from a sample of organizers of color, as group that is of special interest to the field given that community psychologists tend largely to work within oppressed and marginalized communities and to collaborate with indigenous leaders. In a U.S. urban context, this usually translates into communities that are predominantly made up of people of color and/or immigrants from the Developing World.

Most of the research on civic, community, and political involvement is correlational. Few studies have employed research designs that allow for causal inferences. The literature review draws on the following disciplines and their unique contributions to the present research. First is developmental psychology's growing body of research on adolescent conceptions of citizenship and civic involvement. Second are political science and sociological concepts of political socialization, and ensuing research on "high-risk" and conventional political involvement (Corning & Myers, 2002) and on civil rights activism and college student activism in the 1960's and 1970's. Third are community psychology's concepts of citizen participation, empowerment, and sociopolitical control. Fourth is liberation psychology's contribution to understanding the process by which

individuals develop a systems-level political analysis and consciousness as well as a commitment to praxis.

The terminology used by the various disciplines and areas of research varies. To preserve important conceptual distinctions, I have retained in the literature review the wording of the original authors. In discussing this study however, I use the following terminology—a greater delineation of which ensues throughout the review:

- *Sociopolitical development* is a psychological process that covers the range of cognitions, skills, attitudes, worldviews, and emotions that support social and political action (Watts, Griffith, & Abdul-Adil, 1999).
- *Sociopolitical behavior, involvement, or action* refers to the behavioral aspect of social and political action. Existing research suggests that it may take many forms, including community service, service-learning, civics, conventional political behavior such as voting and campaigning for a political candidate, community and labor organizing, and more high-risk and confrontational political behavior such as protest and civil disobedience activities.
- *Sociopolitical analysis* refers to the cognitive aspect of sociopolitical development (SPD). It refers to an individual's outlook on the causes and consequences of a sociopolitical phenomenon or problem. A person's analysis might range from an individually-centered explanation that places emphasis on individual responsibility (individual actions, attitudes, and skills) to systems-level explanations that root the source and perpetuation of social phenomena in extra-individual political, societal, and cultural institutions and patterns. The analysis that an individual espouses should

be associated with his or her political orientation (e.g., Libertarian or Socialist) and worldview (e.g., belief that the world is inherently just).

- *Sociopolitical control* is the sense of agency component of SPD, and consists of "beliefs that actions in the social and political system can lead to desired outcomes" (Zimmerman, Ramirez-Valles, & Maton, 1999, p. 736). It is related to the notion of political efficacy, which refers to individuals' perception that they hold the needed skills and amount of power to contribute as intended to political processes (Leighley & Vedlitz, 1999).
- *Sociopolitical motivation* captures the motivational aspect of SPD, and refers to people's motives for sociopolitical action. This dimension likely sheds some light on what sustains an individual's sociopolitical behavior.
- *Opportunity structure* refers to the availability of appropriate and desired venues and enablers for sociopolitical action. This dimension is often neglected by psychologists. As used by political scientists and sociologists, this concept has typically been used to refer to the objective availability of opportunities. As psychologists, it is also important that we attend to this dimension's phenomenological component, that is, the *individual perception* that (a) opportunity structures exist, and that (b) they provide the individual with meaningful, appropriate, and desirable roles.

Existing research and theoretical models suggest that a number of factors may increase an individual's willingness and ability to engage in sociopolitical action of some form; these include sociopolitical analysis, sociopolitical control, motivation, and the

availability of appropriate opportunity structures. The present study seeks to build on existing research and theory on sociopolitical development by investigating the self-reported experiences and attitudes of a sample of organizers of color who have participated in an intensive training program on community and labor organizing. The host organization is the Center for Third World Organizing, or CTWO, and the training program is called the Movement Activist Apprenticeship Program, or MAAP.

Attitudes toward Politics and Citizenship

There has been, in recent years, a growing outcry at what politicians, educators, social scientists, and journalists alike have labeled a crisis of interest in politics among young Americans—adolescents and young adults alike (Putnam, 2000). Cynicism about the political process, distrust of politicians, materialistic concerns, and lack of political awareness have all been suggested to reflect and underpin this "crisis" of U.S. politics. Recent research into adolescents' and young adults' attitudes toward life and politics does give some credence to this negative portrayal of today's young generations.

In focus groups with a cohort of young adults aged 15-24 from across the US, Andolina and colleagues (Andolina, Jenkins, Keeter, & Zukin, 2002) identified a series of attitudinal impediments to political engagement. Among them was widespread cynicism about the political process. Political affairs were evaluated in negative terms and deemed unnecessary. This attitude was compounded by a perception that politics is a game for the rich and privileged – described by participants as "White guys in suits." It appears that adolescents (Andolina et al., 2002) and young adults (Kellogg, 2001) alike display little interest in staying informed about ongoing political matters. Distrust of politicians

prevails among them, and is positively associated with general cautiousness and distrust of other people (National Association of Secretaries of State, 2000). Fall 2000 data from “The American Freshman” survey, for example, detected the lowest level of interest in "keeping up to date with political affairs" at 28% since the establishment of the survey in 1966—when it peeked at 60% (Kellogg, 2001). In addition, civic pursuits rank low in their life goals and priorities (National Association of Secretaries of State, 2000). These low rates of political interest are alarming, especially in light of Leighley and Vedlitz’s (1999) finding that political interest and political participation (broadly-defined) are positively related among adults, a finding that held true across all four ethnoracial groups in their study (African, Latin, Asian, and European Americans). Civic orientation was also associated with low levels of interest in politics and low rates of political conversation with friends and parents (National Association of Secretaries of State, 2000).

How do young Americans view citizenship? NASS’s New Millennium Survey found that young people are often “at a total loss” when asked to describe what citizenship means to them (National Association of Secretaries of State, 2000). Their discussions of the duties and responsibilities of a citizen tended to focus on being a “good person,” obeying the law, and “helping others.” Youth from historically oppressed groups, and particularly youth of color from urban communities, were even more likely than other youth to equate citizenship with law-abidance (Sherrod, Flanagan, & Youniss, 2002). Although the majority of young adults in the NASS Survey did express concern about

specific social problems, they overwhelmingly did not deem that political action was an available or effective means of resolving them.

In light of a pattern of youth political disengagement, Delli Carpini (2000) notes that "Government and politics have come to be viewed as irrelevant and ineffective at best and corrupt and the source of many of our problems at worst" (p. 344). Boyte and Farr (1997) further add that “Increasingly Americans have come to think of themselves as clients and consumers ... This means people see themselves as innocent, even victimized, as lacking any civic responsibility for what happens or for civic work that needs to be done" (p. 4).

Boyte and Farr (1997) take a less gloomy perspective on these finding. They argue that young people’s outlook on society and politics is more complex than it appears at first sight. Rather than simply indicate lack of concern and apathy, they argue that the patterns of seeming political disaffection reflect a strong concern about mounting social problems amidst a high level of anger at institutional politics, a reaction to being stigmatized as uncaring and selfish citizens, and lack of enthusiasm about sixties-style protest politics. They are aware and worried, but unsure as to where to turn or what to do (Boyte & Farr, 1997). Perhaps this seemingly-prevalent negative attitude toward politics and political participation constitutes an adaptive or an accurate assessment of the political climate and young people’s relationship to the political establishment, rather than apathy. Indeed young people’s cynicism may reflect a high level of sociopolitical awareness. In an effort to address this question, I attend to the extent to which MAAP applicants express negative or cynical political attitudes, and the degree to which they

perceive their own organizing efforts as political, or rather as an alternative to “politics as usual.”

Sociopolitical Analysis

Attitudes and Values

The values and goals that people espouse are strongly associated with how they perceive and interpret social and political phenomena (Ryan, 1971). Recent research on the political attributions of middle and high school students suggests that students’ attitudes are concordant with their personal goals as well as with the values espoused in their families (Flanagan & Tucker, 1999). Flanagan (unpublished) found that adolescents who explain such social problems as unemployment and homelessness by emphasizing individual responsibility and accountability tend to hold materialistic values and to have received messages from their family that stress the importance of being self-reliant and independent from others. These teenagers, whose families endorsed highly individualistic beliefs about the world, were also more likely to believe that all Americans enjoyed equal opportunity (just world belief) and that government support programs encouraged dependency in people. Adolescents who, instead, provided explanations that emphasized the interplay of societal and situational factors tended to value self-transcendence and to report that their families endorsed compassion and social responsibility. A parallel relationship with personal and family values was found for adolescents’ definitions of democracy: the former group’s definition of democracy centered on individual rights, whereas that of the latter group emphasized equality.

Based on the above findings, it is plausible that personal and family values are associated with a willingness to collaborate with others on a social or political cause. It is also likely that adolescents whose worldviews emphasize individual responsibility and rights, materialism, and vigilance of others are less likely than their counterparts to favor or approve of grassroots and oppositional politics. Indeed, such strategies tend to challenge the given social order as well as prevailing assumptions about disenfranchised people's strengths and abilities. These findings shed some light on the profile of organizers, whose strategies and goals both defy the status quo.

Abramowitz and Nassir's (1981) research followed up on thirty leftist activists from Berkley University who were arrested for their participation in the Free Speech Movement in 1964. The authors distinguished between persisters and nonpersisters in their sample, based on their levels of political activism fifteen years later. Persisters expressed as much concern about social issues as their nonpersisting counterparts, but expressed greater concern about severity and urgency of these problems.

Although persisters did not differ from nonpersisters with respect to most lifestyle dimensions, persisters were less likely to believe that "individual effort affects life outcomes" and that "personal outcomes depend on individual effort." In other words, the individuals who maintained high levels of activism into middle adulthood were less likely to endorse just world beliefs: the belief that individuals get what they deserve, and that they deserve all that they get. This finding is supported by O'Neill and colleagues' research, according to which individuals' decisions to engage in social action are

influenced by whether or not they believe that the current social order is fair toward all people and groups (O'Neill, Duffy, Enman, Blackmer, & Goodwin, 1988).

One study found that in 1970, activists' values differed significantly from those of nonactivists; most of these differences persisted at a 12-year follow-up (Ellerman, 1992). Whereas some differences in values directly pertained to political orientation (e.g., values directly related to the anti-Vietnam war movement's values and tactics), many did not: The activists were more likely to exhibit humanitarian concern and to reject conventional middle-class values, a finding that was supported by Abramowitz and Nassi's research (1981).

Given that the above research identifies a relationship between values, sociopolitical analysis, and sociopolitical action, I expect that engaging in organizing is associated with a belief that the world is unjust. Indeed, organizing work is more explicitly political and systems change-oriented than community service and more subversive than conventional civic involvement, I therefore predict that the majority of MAAP applicants believe that people who face psychological, social, political, and economic challenges are, to a large extent, victims of institutionalized oppression (Ryan, 1971).

Socialization Experiences

It appears that political ideology or analysis is partially rooted in socialization experiences, as suggested by the findings that left- and right-wing 1960's activists reported different socialization experiences (Braungart & Braungart, 1990). Similarly, Civil Rights and antiwar movement activists reported that they were acting on the values

that their families espoused (Dunham & Bengston, 1992), and persisting activists reported a greater level of greater harmony and value-convergence with both parental figures than did nonpersisters (Abramowitz & Nassi, 1981). The convergence of opinions revolved around such matters as religion, student demonstrations, and joining the Free Speech Movement. Finally, young Black South African activists attributed the development of their political and civic identities to their families' emphasis on social responsibility and on the early responsibilities and roles that they had to assume within their family (Ngomane & Flanagan, in press).

The latter two sets of findings suggest that 1960's and 1970's young adults who engaged in protest and subversive politics did not, as a whole, rebel against their families' values, but instead were likely to act upon values that their families passed on to them. Generational continuity theories support the prediction that family is important by positing that political attitudes and behaviors remain stable across generations, as they are transmitted more or less intact from one generation to the next. Although these findings may be cohort-specific, I predict that a similar pattern will emerge in the study's sample. One of the predictions for this study is that MAAP applicants will, on a whole, describe their families' values—and behavior—as being similar to their own.

Family Socialization

Early exposure to sociopolitical involvement on the part of significant adults—especially parents—increases the likelihood that adolescents will engage in community activities (Fletcher, Elder, & Mekos, 2000) and in community service (Flanagan &

Sherrod, 1998). Whether this association is due to modeling, increased exposure to opportunities for involvement, increased parental encouragement or pressure to engage in sociopolitical action, or to a combination of all three remains unclear and is examined in this study. In any case, family is a vital agent of political socialization, and it is likely to play a role in the development of sociopolitical analysis.

A significant proportion of U.S. families (46%) never or rarely discuss politics. This finding is especially significant given that family conversations about politics are positively associated with voting behavior among voting-age youth and with rates of participation in more involved political activities: marching, joining a political club and volunteering in a political campaign (National Association of Secretaries of State, 2000). In the present study, I examine the relationship of MAAP applicants' families (political discussions, parental engagement and family values) to their individual sociopolitical analysis.

Civic and Political Experience

Psychological research into adolescent political behavior largely stems from Developmental Psychology, and has to date primarily focused on community service activities. Although youth volunteerism is on the rise in the U.S., survey and focus group findings suggest that these activities are approached from an individualistic and apolitical perspective (National Association of Secretaries of State, 2000), or as an alternative to "official politics" (Galston, 2001). "Youth participation often takes the form of social service, with the goal of directly helping other people. In the minds of many young

volunteers, there is no political end or motivational goal to their volunteer activities" (National Association of Secretaries of State, 2000, Section 4, p. 4-5). I am therefore interested in exploring whether a cluster of MAAP applicants have a background in social service activities, and if so, what has prompted their transition to organizing work. The transition from social service to political work is not an obvious one. Indeed, although Youniss and colleagues did find a small relationship of youth volunteerism with involvement in unconventional political acts of boycotting and demonstrating, they found a stronger relationship with a "normative" orientation and with conventional political behavior (Youniss, McLellan, Su, & Yates, 1999).

Participation in structured voluntary activities at a young age is important in itself, as it provides adolescents with opportunities to negotiate their developmental tasks (Eccles, 2002; Stoneman, 2002) and to develop initiative (Larson, 2000) . Research into the relationship between volunteering and political behavior however remains inconclusive (Walker, 2002). Some researchers have found a positive (Youniss, McLellan, & Yates, 1999) and others a null (Delli Carpini, 2000; National Association of Secretaries of State, 2000) relationship between volunteerism such as working in a soup kitchen or helping with neighborhood clean-ups and conventional political behavior such as voting. These mixed findings have led researchers to increasingly attend to the quality of the service experience. Opportunities for decision-making and leadership roles (Morgan & Streb, 2001) and for reflection and systems-level analysis (Delli Carpini, 2000; Galston, 2001) on the part of participants seem to significantly enhance the relationship between volunteerism and sociopolitical development.

Amount of political participation in early adulthood is associated with amount of participation in later years. For example, Black college students' participation in the civil rights movement in the South during the 1950s and 1960s predicted their political interest and activism 10 and 25 years later (Fendrich, 1993 in Youniss, McLellan, Su et al., 1999).

A question of central interest to the present study centers on the relationship between MAAP applicants' sociopolitical analysis on the one hand, and the kinds of sociopolitical behavior and organizational affiliations that they mention on the other.

Social Identity

Group Membership

Existing research has consistently found that girls and women are more likely to express interest in and more likely to be involved in volunteering and community work than boys and men (Kuperminc, Holditch, & Allen, 2001). This pattern seems to hold true across all ethnic/racial groups in the U.S. Recent research for example finds that among immigrant youth, females are more concerned than males with the notion of "community" and with engaging in civic attitudes within their community (Bedolla, 2000; Stepick & Stepick, 2002).

There is a large body of research in Sociology and Political Science that suggests that socioeconomic status is the strongest predictor of political participation. Researchers have established a positive relationship between level of education, income, and occupational status on one hand, and voting, contacting, organizing, and campaigning

work on another (Leighley & Vedlitz, 1999). A similar relationship holds for community service involvement (Kuperminc et al., 2001). Related research has found that U.S. college graduates, as compared to non-high school graduates who as a whole enjoy less social status and power, are more optimistic about their country's future (National Association of Secretaries of State, 2000). Furthermore, relative positions of privilege have been found to correlate with increased confidence in and identification with the political system (Finchilescu & Dawes, 1998). It thus seems that sociopolitical privilege is associated with a greater likelihood to exhibit conventional civic and political behavior such as community service and voting – that is, behavior whose aim is not to significantly challenge the status quo or to promote wide-reaching social change. Clearly though, given the racial and socioeconomic diversity of this study's sample, this is only part of the picture. Whether this relationship of SES to sociopolitical participation holds true for organizing work remains unclear.

The uncovering of an association between group membership and sociopolitical development in general is not conceptually interesting, for it tells us little about the processes at work. Instead, I focused on the meaning and salience of social identities, with a particular focus on ethnoracial identity and group consciousness.

Group Status and Consciousness

The experience of identity-based oppression has historically been a powerful catalyst for the birth of collective political identities (Fanon, 1963) and social movements. Examples worldwide are numerous: Black liberation movements in the U.S. and South

Africa, national identity-based anti-colonial movements, women's movements targeting culturally- and politically-sanctioned sexism, as well as gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgendered (GLBT) rights and pride movements. Political identities are also seen in self-help group movements in the U.S. such as GROW, which challenge stereotypes about people with psychological disorders (Levy, 2000).

The collective experience of oppression is strongly associated with the growth of large-scale activism. Frantz Fanon argued that colonialism and oppression dehumanize people and deprive them of resources, thus resulting in mass outrage and resistance; as a result, oppression brings about its own destruction (Fanon, 1963, 1965). In other words, oppression creates social change agents. For this study, the questions are about the experiences, opportunities, and belief systems that move oppressed people to critical consciousness (or "conscientization") (Freire, 1973) and social action. The organizers of color who make up the sample for this research work for the rights and liberation of people who are oppressed due to their race, ethnicity, culture, and nationality. The Center for Third World Organizing, which provides the training to these organizers, endorses an identity politics, albeit a multinationalist one that privileges cross-group coalition building and grassroots approaches to social change.

Sánchez-Jankowski (2002) argues that individuals' conception and embodiment of civic engagement is influenced by their racial and socioeconomic group membership and their history. He distinguishes between three racially-delineated groups and their civic and political worldview: the "racially excluded," the "racially included," and the "racially privileged." His analysis suggests that people of color are more likely than other groups

to acquire information about civic obligation and engagement from informal, rather than formal, institutions such as family, local leaders, and community narratives; to value civics and politics that directly benefit their racial group; and to privilege local and community change efforts.

In related work, Durant and Sparrow (1997) conducted research on race and class consciousness among lower- and middle-class Blacks. They found that whereas race consciousness was prevalent among Blacks regardless of social classes, class consciousness was significantly higher among the low-class sample. Race and class consciousness were identified and operationalized as high level of concern for and identification with one's group membership. As a result, individuals with high race or class consciousness in this study's sample should be expected to express sociopolitical analyses that stress the importance or primacy of race and class factors, respectively.

Although they did not empirically test this association, Durant and Sparrow's (1997) definitions of race and class consciousness incorporate an action component: they assume that there is a positive association between group identification and actions aimed at improving the group's condition. Whereas existing research notes a link between group consciousness and political participation for Blacks, women, and the poor (Miller, Gurin, Gurin, & Malanchuk, 1981), and between ethnic identity and civic engagement among U.S. immigrant adults (Stepick & Stepick, 2002), a recent study with a racially diverse sample failed to find an association between group consciousness and political participation (Leighley & Vedlitz, 1999). Clearly, the association of group consciousness

and political development makes conceptual and theoretical sense, but is met with mixed empirical results.

Research into the relationship of group status and just world beliefs is inconclusive. One study found that the experience of identity-based injustice is negatively associated with just world beliefs, in that the Catholic-Nationalist group in Ireland (the more disadvantaged group) exhibited significantly lower just world beliefs than their more privileged Protestant-Unionist counterparts (Glennon & Joseph, 1993). A follow-up study was, however, unable to replicate these findings (Joseph & Stringer, 1998).

In this study, I examine the relationship of ethnoracial identity to applicants' sociopolitical development. I predict that individuals who express a politicized ethnoracial identity will also tend to express an ethnoracially-conscious analysis and orientation to sociopolitical work.

Experiencing and Witnessing of Injustice

Personal experience is another important component of group consciousness, given that the salience and politicization of a social identity may in part result from the direct or vicarious experience of stigmatization, discrimination, or social deprivation. In research on the development and perseverance of activism among young African American activists, a large proportion of participants noted that highly public instances of oppression such as the 1992 Rodney King beating fueled their awareness of and outrage at racially-based oppression (Watts, Williams, & Jagers, 2003). They often attributed their development of a sociopolitical analysis and a politicized racial identity to the

aftermath of such events. The Black South African activists who participated in Ngomane and Flanagan's (in press) focus groups frequently attributed their politicization to the experience of growing up witnessing their parents' struggles in the face of apartheid. It was this personal connection to the process and outcome of oppression that fueled their sociopolitical development. Both the U.S. and South African examples can be seen as instances of indirect experience of injustice and its effects.

I therefore expect to find that a high proportion of MAAP applicants will discuss direct personal, indirect personal, and public experiences with oppression and victimization as precursors to their interest in organizing work. For some, such experiences may revolve around specific events whereas for others they may be more drawn-out or chronic (e.g., struggle with poverty).

Culturally-Anchored Worldviews

The potential role of culture and cultural values, and their relationship to sociopolitical analysis, cannot be ignored – above all when dealing with racial minority and immigrant populations (Watts et al., 1999). For example, existing research suggests that immigrants to the U.S.—chiefly non-European families—strive hard to maintain their cultural norms and traditions within the context of the host culture (Segall, Dasen, Berry, & Poortinga, 1999). Jagers and his colleagues have come closest to examining the relationship of interest to this study, by noting that cultural values may be related to sociopolitical analysis and commitment to sociopolitical action. A communal worldview rooted in sub-Saharan African and African American traditions, for example, has been

related to moral reasoning and values among African American adolescents (Woods & Jagers, 2003). Communalism privileges the fulfillment of social duties and responsibilities, and places a premium on the interconnectedness, interdependence, and well-being of one's group (Boykin, Jagers, Ellison, & Albury, 1997; Jagers, 1997). Comparable worldviews have been identified among Latin American, East Asian and South Asian cultures—all three of which are highly represented in the study's sample, alongside Black African-descendant groups. This research, as a result, also examines ways in which applicants refer to cultural norms in describing their sociopolitical motivation and analysis.

Sociopolitical Control

Sociopolitical control can be defined as a form of political empowerment. It refers to the psychological perception that engaging in action within the social or political system can yield concrete and beneficial outcomes (Itzhaky & York, 2000). It is an important construct because the underlying theory is that individuals with high levels of sociopolitical control (SPC) are more likely than others to act upon their sociopolitical analysis and concerns.

Research on the construct has found that it predicted general health and depressive symptoms in a U.S. Midwestern African American community sample (Parker et al., 2001) and self-rated health in a Western European adult sample (Ruetten et al., 2000). Also, a longitudinal study of urban African American male adolescents by Zimmerman and colleagues (1999) found that sociopolitical control operates as a protective factor: sociopolitical control buffered the effect of helplessness on mental health, so that the

effect of helplessness on psychological outcomes was annulled at high levels of sociopolitical control, but accentuated at low levels of sociopolitical control. Sociopolitical control is therefore an important dimension of human well-being all in its own right.

Calhoun and Cann (1994) suggest that a person's individual and collective experience within a country or community influences the strength of his or her belief in a personally and globally just world, as was the case in their research: whereas Whites in the study's sample perceived their personal world to be more just than the world in general, no such difference was apparent among Blacks. The authors suggest that this lack of difference in attribution among Blacks is rooted in their experiences of victimization and oppression, as "the experience of victimization because of one's group status may preclude the development of any illusion of control" (Calhoun & Cann, 1994, p. 769).

It is not necessary for an individual to achieve a high level of SPC prior to engaging in social action, as additional research suggests that the experience of social action may in turn affect one's level of SPC. Among two similar groups of activists in the same Israeli working-class community (one group had been active for two years, the other for four), SPC was correlated with length of community activism. Assuming that the two groups were comparable at time of entry into activism, it appears that involvement in community action increased levels of SPC (Itzhaky & York, 2000). Interestingly, the two-year activists exhibited relatively low levels of SPC, which suggests that two years may not be enough to fully acquire the psychological resources that underlie a strong sense of SPC

Regardless of whether and how SPC and action might be causally related, it is evident from correlational research that perceived control is associated with political participation. *Political efficacy*, which is conceptually related to SPC, was positively associated with participation in electoral politics and general political activity among adults (Leighley & Vedlitz, 1999). This finding held true among youth with regard to voting behavior (National Association of Secretaries of State, 2000). In a sample of individuals with and without organizational affiliations, *perceived control* (a dimension of psychological empowerment) was associated with participation in organizations that seek to affect public policy, with leadership roles, and with beliefs that taking action is an effective means of influencing community decisions (Schulz, Israel, Zimmerman, & Checkoway, 1995). In follow-up research with a large sample of urban adult African American women, increases in perceived control were predicted by increased amounts of participation and level of involvement in change organizations by the women, and by increased attempts on the part of the organization to influence public officials, businesses, and other groups (Becker, Israel, Schulz, Parker, & Klem, 2002). This latter finding about the role of organizations in developing activists and community organizers further highlight the importance of opportunity structures.

Opportunity Structure

Young Latino and Black people are more likely to believe that government should "help families get ahead" in life than are their white counterparts (National Association of Secretaries of State, 2000). Gender is a factor as well—females believe this more than males. Black U.S. youth are also more likely to believe that correcting social and

economic inequalities, being a leader in one's community, and making a contribution to society are important personal goals (Hart, Atkins, & Ford, 1998). And yet, a higher percentage of white adolescents engage in community service. This seeming contradiction in findings suggests that the availability of *opportunity structures* moderates the relationship between civic *mindedness* and civic *engagement*. The authors in this instance suggest that:

> Poverty, and the concentration of poverty in minority neighborhoods, reduces the opportunities that seem to be so important in the development of voluntary service ... [they] lack the social capital and financial resources necessary to offer enough opportunities to adolescents for attachment to society and exploration of moral identities. (p. 525-6)

Opportunity structures are defined as institutions and organizations that actively facilitate people's involvement in political and community work by providing relevant recruiting, training, mentoring, and leadership opportunities. Examples include faith-based groups that involve participants in charity work and youth programs that facilitate the sociopolitical development of young people through consciousness-raising activities and partnerships with activist groups. The MAAP program that is under study is another example of an opportunity structure for individuals who are interested in honing their organizing skills and opportunities.

The finding that class and race/ethnicity are associated with political participation calls attention to the need to examine the contributions of ecological factors and to analyze "the opportunities and obstacles to the promotion of civic [and political]

development" (Hart & Atkins, 2002, p. 227). These contextual resources, or obstacles, are of particular consequence to urban youth who, by virtue of their sociopolitical oppression and isolation, are at an "enduring developmental disadvantage" with regard to civic development, knowledge, and experience (Hart & Atkins, 2002). These youth, on a whole, have less exposure to adult attention and direction and to adult models of community and political participation, as well as fewer opportunities for affiliation with clubs, teams, and organizations. They also tend to attend schools that have fewer resources to allocate to civics education, development, and promotion. These disadvantages that pertain to adult mentoring and modeling, family socialization, participation in organized activities, and civic knowledge have all been related to the development of civic and political behavior (Hart & Atkins, 2002; Hart et al., 1998). In this study, I investigate the types of structures that MAAP applicants have encountered in their development and the way in which these structures and the ensuing experiences have fostered their sociopolitical growth.

A high proportion of MAAP applicants were attending, or had attended, a higher education institution at the time of their application. Indeed, at least 60% were in college and about 22% had already earned a bachelor's degree by the time of their application to MAAP. Lee (1997) argues that college campuses are uniquely fertile grounds for the development of activism – especially left-leaning activism—among young adults. He suggests that this campus socializing factor is in part due to the concentration of peers with shared experiences and of student-oriented organizations and activities. Ngomane and Flanagan noted that most of their interviewees (young Black South African activists)

"cut their political teeth in student movement organizations that provided a climate of collective political efficacy." I therefore predict that the college experience will emerge as a salient enabler of sociopolitical development—specifically analysis and action—among MAAP applicants.

Motivation

Knowing that an individual is engaged in sociopolitical action tells us little about how they articulate their motivation for getting involved. In understanding the psychology of sociopolitical involvement, it is important to understand why people get involved in society, for knowing something about their motivation may also tell us about what sustains their involvement over time.

Batson and colleagues argue that individuals may be moved to social action for varying purposes or ideals (Batson, 1994; Batson, Ahmad, & Tsang, 2002). They note that is there a diversity of motives both within and across individuals, and that multiple motives may be at work simultaneously. They identify four possible motives for community involvement.

When the motive is *Egoism*, involvement in the community is explicitly or implicitly considered an instrumental means of promoting one's own needs and welfare. Personal gains thus take precedence over the gains of other individuals or groups. Individuals may thus join a service organization in order to expand their social network, or volunteer at a soup kitchen in order to feel a sense of purpose in life. Indeed a recent literature review found that adolescent participations in volunteering and community service activities was associated with self-enhancement (Kuperminc et al., 2001). It is also interesting that Saul

Alinsky, based on years of field experience with organizing and campaigning, argued that it is only by appealing to their self-interest that one will successfully motivate masses of people to organize and to commit time and resources to a specific cause

If an individual is motivated by *Altruism*, his or her goals are to increase the welfare and promote the needs of others, but with less emphasis on self-interest. In such instances, it is likely that the individual is drawing on feelings of *empathy* – which Batson et al. (2002) define as "other-oriented feelings congruent with the perceived welfare of another person" (p. 443). A family may for example learn that a neighboring family does not have the means to celebrate Christmas, and decide to sponsor it for the holidays, without extending its concern to other families that live in similar circumstances.

A *Collectivistic* motivation for sociopolitical involvement is primarily concerned with the welfare of a particular group that one feels identification with or strong concern for – as in the example of a domestic violence survivor who gets involved in legal advocacy or service-provision for abused women and their children. Individuals who are motivated by *Principlism* ultimately seek to uphold some moral principle that they hold dearly – such as justice or liberty. For example, a college student protests his or her government's rush to war in another country because of his or her commitment to the ideal of universal social justice, and despite the fact that s/he does not have a personal connection to the foreign nation.

Given that these various motives may conflict with one another (e.g., meeting the needs of a group one identifies with vs. meeting the needs of another group), the authors recommend that "rather than an indiscriminate appeal to any and all possible motives, we

encourage careful orchestration so that rather than one motive undercutting another, the strengths of one can overcome the weaknesses of another" (Batson et al., 2002, p. 442).

Whereas Batson and colleagues' discussion of motivation is laid out in general terms, Sherrod and colleagues identify three possible motivations for *youth* political motivation: satisfaction that comes from helping others, sense of collective efficacy, and increased sense of belonging and community that comes with contributing to a set of shared values (Sherrod et al., 2002).

The above authors lay out a useful framework for thinking about what attitudes and values may motivate an individual to engage in sociopolitical action, although they do leave out the possibility that one might be motivated by a spiritual or religious calling. Although such a motive shares some similarities with Batson et al.'s concept of principlism, it remains sufficiently distinct to be mentioned separately. Liberation theologies that have taken root in rural sectors of certain Latin American countries are good examples of how individual and collective action may be rooted in religious – in this case Christian – doctrine and Biblical teachings.

Few researchers have investigated how individual motivations develop and come to be articulated. An ecological framework leads us to hypothesize that multiple levels of the ecology are at work in influencing individuals' motivation for sociopolitical behavior. Possible sources of influence may include cultural beliefs, family, significant adults and mentors, group consciousness, social status, and sociopolitical analysis.

As previously noted, group consciousness and social identity salience can increase the likelihood of developing a commitment to sociopolitical action, especially when

individuals identify with being members of a historically-oppressed group. Given that this study's sample consists solely of individuals who self-identify with being members of historically-disenfranchised and oppressed groups, and given that MAAP places a distinct emphasis on organizing for *racial* justice, I expect that collectivism and principlism will emerge as the most common motivators for this study's sample. Racial identity and ethnic identity will emerge as the most salient social identities and their motivational aspects will manifest in a variety of ways, including:

- Sense of duty, as a relatively-privileged member of the group, to contribute to the liberation of "my people" (moderate form of nationalism) or of people of color as a whole—common cause between groups that experience comparable forms of oppression (Rudkin, 2003; Varas-Díaz & Serrano-García, 2003).
- Articulation of a culturally-anchored worldview and belief system (Watts & Flanagan, in preparation). In interviews and focus groups with young South African activists for example, a number of participants rooted their motivation for action in a culturally-specific ("African") ethos of caring for others (Ngomane & Flanagan, in press). Recent work has similarly pointed to the salience of an African American worldview in general (Watts & Abdul-Adil, 2002; Watts et al., 1999) and of an African American ethos of communalism (Woods & Jagers, 2003).

Clearly, an individual's motivation should be linked with his or her sociopolitical analysis. For example, an analysis that focused on the systematic exclusion of a group from positions of power and decision-making should also privilege bottom-up social

change strategies and the involvement of ingroup members in the group's leadership, decision-making processes, agenda-setting, and ultimately its liberation. MAAP applicants' motivation for getting involved in organizing work is examined within the context of their sociopolitical development.

Orientation toward Organizing Work

A number social scientists and educators, including Freire (1970; 1973), hooks (1994a; 1994b), Shor (1992), Watts (Watts et al., 1999) and Serrano-García (Varas-Díaz & Serrano-García, 2003) have argued that sociopolitical analysis—or critical consciousness—are intimately linked with not only the likelihood of engaging in sociopolitical action, but also with the orientation toward sociopolitical action (e.g. tactical style or level of change sought). In the absence of an analysis that highlights the relationship of historical and institutional forces to the unequal distribution of resources and power, individuals are unlikely to engage in behavior that seeks to address the institutional roots of oppression.

Analysis alone, however, does not guarantee that an individual will engage in action. The educational theorist Ira Shor (1992), in writing about the subversive potential of knowledge and analysis, argued that:

> Knowledge is not exactly power. Knowledge is the power to know, to understand, but not necessarily the power to do or to change … [Critical] literacy and awareness by themselves do not change oppressive conditions in school and society. Knowledge is power only for those who can use it to change their conditions. (p. 6)

Although sociopolitical development and behavior are the overarching constructs of interest to the present research, the specific type of sociopolitical work that is under study is direct action organizing work in a wide range of settings. The participants in this study have undergone an intensive training that seeks to equip them with the analysis and skills necessary to organizing in communities of color and of low-income.

The immediate intent of organizing work is to mobilize individuals and communities through consciousness-raising activities, action-oriented meetings, and public events such as concerts and fundraisers. Although the processes of organizing and direct action may themselves prove psychologically empowering and affirming, they are a means to an end. The intermediate intent of organizing efforts is to effect *institutional change* that redistributes power and resources in a more equitable and just fashion. Organizing efforts may thus seek to enforce accountability on the part of slumlords or school principals, to effect policy change in the area of policing practices or welfare regulations, or to create an alternative setting and governance structure such as a labor union. The fundamental goal of organizing, at least as it is perceived by MAAP, is to promote social, economic, and racial justice on all levels – from the local to the global.

Although the applicants to MAAP may share a general framework or value orientation with regards to the purpose and meaning of organizing work, they also differ greatly in their orientation or approach. These organizers may, for example, espouse different types of visions for social change, ranging from reform to revolution. Wherein a reformist vision deems that existing institutions must be significantly altered yet preserved, a revolutionary orientation considers the overhaul of existing institutions and

the creation of novel ones based on a radically different set of norms to be the only way to significantly uproot systems of oppression and inequality. Another meaningful distinction between organizers may center on privileged tactics or activist orientation (Corning & Myers, 2002). Some organizers may for example favor high-risk and oppositional tactics that seek immediate and concrete changes, whereas others may privilege educational and consciousness-raising approaches or low-risk change efforts that are initiated from within institutions.

Knowing about the amount or duration of involvement alone is insufficient, for individuals vary in terms of the *types* of action that they privilege and *why* they engage in these tactics (Corning & Myers, 2002). Fendrich and Lovoy's (1988) research is unique in that it attended to the distinction among political behaviors, although theirs was a simple one. They were nevertheless able to establish a relationship between type of 60's college activism (radical vs. institutional vs. none) and type of adult political behavior (protest vs. patriotic vs. none). Radical political activism in college was associated with protest activities in adulthood, and institutional activism in college was associated with patriotic behavior in adulthood. Similarly, types of organizational affiliation in college predicted participants' types of organizational and party affiliations in adulthood.

Research Questions

As discussed in the review of the literature, a number of constructs are important to understanding a person's sociopolitical development. I closely examine three constructs that have emerged as significant in both the existing literature and in the open coding phases:

- *Social Identity*: identity salience and group consciousness, with a focus on ethnoracial identities and their politicized dimensions, as well as identity-related experiences such as social injustice.
- *Family Experiences*: family-level influences and socialization.
- *Sociopolitical Settings, Experiences*: types of organizations and sociopolitical action reported by the applicants. Also refers to applicants' degree and amount of involvement, as indicated by their roles or the duration of their engagement.

A better understanding of how applicants articulate and discuss these three concepts is an important question in itself. However the following three research questions should make an even greater contribution to the theoretical and (scarce) empirical literatures on sociopolitical development.

1. What, if any, relationships do MAAP applicants draw between their *Families Experiences* and their overall *Sociopolitical Development*?
2. What, if any, relationships do MAAP applicants draw between their *Social Identity* and their overall *Sociopolitical Development*?
3. What, if any, relationships do MAAP applicants draw between their *Sociopolitical Experiences* and their overall *Sociopolitical Development*?

Methodology

Research Design

Overall Strategy and Rationale. This qualitative study draws from grounded theory, given that the intent is to move beyond the descriptive level by uncovering patterns of relationships between constructs of interest (Creswell, 1998; Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Grounded theory is typically recommended for research whose purpose is to derive new theoretical insights from the data at hand, as is the case in this study of Sociopolitical Development (Creswell, 1998), and traditionally progresses from open coding to axial coding, and ending with selective coding.

Setting under Study. The Center for Third World Organizing (www.ctwo.org) is a 20 year-old, well-established and highly respected non-profit, left-leaning social change organization that is currently based in Oakland, CA. The organization's mission is to integrate analysis, vision, strategy, and action in its work toward building a movement of social and racial justice that is led by people of color (The Center for Third World Organizing, 2003). The Center for Third World Organizing (CTWO) has recently, for example, been on the forefront of the welfare reform movement.

In 1986, CTWO established an intensive training program for individuals of color who are interested in acquiring community or labor organizing skills. This training program is called the *Movement Activist Apprenticeship Program*, or *MAAP*. "MAAP is for *movement activists of color* committed to learning the theory and practice of building social justice movements through community and labor organizing," and is aimed at

individuals who commit to working in the “social and economic justice movement” (The Center for Third World Organizing, 2003). CTWO believes that organizing is an effective and essential tool for effecting wide-reaching social change at the local, state, and national levels. It also believes that (a) people and communities of color have a right and responsibility to take change efforts into their own hands and (b) that change efforts are most successful when they are initiated from the bottom-up, as in grassroots organizing efforts.

MAAP emphasizes the simultaneous development of both sociopolitical analysis and skills, although the training is in actuality more heavily weighted toward the development of organizing skills. The trainers are employees of CTWO and have years of experience, combined, in a variety of organizing initiatives. They use a framework that they label CRAFT, and which stands for Contact work, Research, Action, Fundraising, and Teamwork. MAAP indeed stresses the importance of collective work that proceeds through an analysis-action-reflection cycle. Trainees undergo a 3-4 days of training through workshops and presentations, after which they are placed on a 7-week internship in one of many U.S. cities with a partner organization. Partner organizations include labor unions, issue-based organizations, and tenant organizing groups. Trainees are then brought together once more for a 3-day follow-up, the highlights of which are reflection on the internship experience (which culminates in group presentations to allies and members of CTWO) and a job fair. The training program indeed makes a concerted effort to help graduates of the program locate and apply for paying, full-time positions as

professional community and labor organizers. MAAP classes on average consist of 17-18 participants.

In order to qualify for MAAP, applicants must be of color and must attend an intensive, week-end long Community Action Training (CAT) where they are introduced to the various approaches to social change and to basic organizing skills.

Research Sample. According to Creswell (1998), research that is based on grounded theory should use a theoretical sampling approach, meaning that researchers should heavily sample participants who are most likely to inform the development of theory. The present study's sample is of theoretical significance because most, if not all, MAAP applicants have exhibited a clear and long-term commitment to sociopolitical work by (a) applying to the intensive training regiment, (b) being accepted into the program, and (c) completing it. This sample was however also a sample of convenience, given that the archival data was made readily available to me through some related evaluation work for the Center of Third World Organizing.

During the years of 1999-2003, a total of 216 people applied to MAAP. Of these, 55.6% (n=120) were accepted into the program, 34.3% (n=74) were rejected, 5.6% were wait-listed (n=12) and 4.6% (n=10) withdrew their application. Although these statistics are not available for previous years, we have no reason to suspect any significant changes in the application-to-participation ratio over time.

The present study's sample consists of a randomly generated sample of individuals who have completed MAAP between the years of 1986 and 2003, excluding the year of 1995 (for which applications were not available at the time of data collection). Out of a

possible 297 participants, 97 were used for the preliminary stages of data analysis (open coding and intercoder agreement) whereas the remaining 200 were used in the final analyses. Only findings from this latter sample are reported in thus study. Some basic and preliminary demographic information for the study's final sample of 200 follows:

- *Gender*: 65% female and 35% male
- *Age*: ranges from 17-52, with a mean of 23.4 and a median of 22.
- *Education*: 62.5% were pursuing an undergraduate degree at the time of their application. 13.5% had already earned a Bachelor's degree, 3% had some graduate education, and 6.5% had had no college education.
- *Race*: Applicants are asked to self-identify ethnoracially using their own terms. A total of 33 different labels/self-identifications have emerged from the entire sample of MAAP applicants, all of which I have maintained when compiling demographic information. Using conventional ethnoracial terminology, the ethnoracial breakdown for the sample (n=200) is as follows: 30% of Black African descent, 32% of Latin American heritage, 26.5% of Asian American heritage, and 10.5% of mixed heritage. One applicant was Native American and one other was of Arab descent. These conventional labels did not capture the self-descriptions used by people of mixed heritage; see Appendix A for a more precise representation of this information.

Data Collection and Nature of Data

This study uses archival data that were obtained during the month of August, 2003 by permission of CTWO's director. The data consist of MAAP graduates' applications to the

training program, and each application will constitute a single unit of analysis. Despite some slight revisions over the years, the nature and structure of the applications' questions have remained sufficiently stable and consistent. Applicants have provided demographic information and discussed what motivates their interest in organizing work, what people and experiences have influenced their sociopolitical development, what political and related experiences they have had, their vision for social change, and more. Two sample application forms are provided in the appendices: the 1987 version (Appendix B), and the 1998-2002 version (Appendix C).

The data on hand spans close to two decades, from 1986—when the MAAP training was first offered—to 2003. Although applications that were submitted by individuals who did not attend the training for a variety of reasons (rejection, cancellation, etc.) is also on hand, these data were not examined. These non-participating individuals did not significantly differ from the study's sample based on basic and available demographic data. The entirety of participants' applications was used in this study, including answers to all of the application questions as well as resumes that some applicants attached. Exemption from Georgia State University's IRB was obtained in November 2003.

Data Analytical Plan

The data were content analyzed using a thematic coding process that is informed by grounded theory. An ongoing process of comparison, confirmation, and modification was necessary to ensure that the emerging categories and relationships are grounded in the data and are theoretically sound. Multiple tools and steps were implemented throughout

the coding and data analytical processes, and are described below. Consistent with grounded theory and content analysis terminologies, this study's three primary constructs of interest (social identity, family factors, and sociopolitical experiences) are referred to as *categories* and are treated as separate category throughout the coding process; emerging dimensions of these categories are referred to as *subcategories*. All application files were scanned or transcribed into electronic format and entered into QSR NUD*IST Vivo (NVivo). A hierarchical ("tree") system of coding was used so as to capture the hierarchical organization of categories and their subcategories (Richards, 2000), and the final coding scheme was built around a governing conceptual structure to organize the codes (Miles & Huberman, 1994): the category codes (e.g. Family Factors) capture the constructs of interest in this study whereas the subcategories capture specific components of those categories that have emerged as important and interesting. In order to increase intercoder agreement and decrease the influence of bias, each code was given a clear and comprehensive operational description.

Prior to data analysis, I considered a number of different approaches to data analysis. A purely deductive approach that limits itself to exploring a priori categories and research questions was considered, but this approach involves a stark departure from grounded theory and risks missing important concepts that were not predicted. I also contemplated using an inductive but numerically-driven approach wherein I would only retain categories and patterns if their incidence (frequency) was above a pre-set quantitative threshold. This approach, however, does not allow for the examination of themes that emerge among a small sub-sample of applicants, but in a highly significant manner. I

finally decided to use a combined theoretical and action research perspective that merges inductive and deductive tactics (Miles & Huberman, 1994). I thereby pursued themes if they were of theoretical significance to SPD, if they bore direct and important implications for practice and intervention, or if they arose with a high level of frequency. Based on this approach, some categories and findings were deductively derived, whereas others were inductively identified. The advantage of this approach is that it allows me to further a dual agenda of (a) advancing SPD theory and (b) generating findings that have direct implications for intervention and program development.

With this overarching approach in mind, I used a number of specific tactics to derive the categories of analysis, their subcategories, the elements of SPD that they are related to, and the relationships—if any—that tie the categories to SPD. These tactics are drawn from the work by Miles and Huberman (1994) on qualitative data analysis, and are described below.

Clustering tactics allowed me to identify themes by grouping and conceptualizing objects that had similar patterns or characteristics. I however had to remain mindful of premature parsimony, for at times an inductive examination of a theme (e.g. social identification) suggested that the subcategory needed to be partitioned into smaller parts (e.g. sense of duty and sense of pride). *Counting* has already been used to describe the study sample, as in its ethnoracial make-up. Although frequency was not the sole or primary guide in devising the coding scheme for example, it informed the clustering process.

NVivo's searching, filtering, and profiling capabilities were used to organize the data and generate conceptual matrices, so that each cell's contents can be generated separately (Richards, 2000). This allows for an economical display of the relevant information and a systematic examination of the relationships of interest. Using the software's capabilities, it is possible for example to generate the Social Identity codes (and the coded text) according to Sociopolitical Activities. Relationships between the constructs of interest are then derived and substantiated using *comparing and contrasting* techniques. *Disconfirming evidence* received special attention as a safeguard against bias and pre-emptive conclusions. Throughout phases 1 and 2 the coding categories, their subcategories, and the research questions were *re-evaluated and refined*. This process was pursued until *theoretical saturation* was achieved; that is until no new categories or subcategories could be identified in the data (Creswell, 1998).

Following is a detailed and linear description of the data analytical process. Phases 1 and 2 were based on the 97 applications that I set aside to develop the coding scheme, whereas phase 3 used the 200 applications that are the subject of this investigation into the research questions, and for which findings are reported.

Phase 1: Preliminary Open Coding. Open coding was conducted with a random sample of 27 applications. I identified the three main categories of interest to this study and developed preliminary subcategories for them through an iterative process of discovery, confirmation, and theoretical grounding. As many relevant concepts as possible were identified in this sample using open coding at the sentence level. Passages

that articulated concepts that had not been expected or that were particularly thought-provoking were highlighted and re-examined.

This phase served two additional goals: firstly, it allowed me to verify that the available data was amenable to examining the categories that were of preliminary interest to me. Secondly, I was able to focus and finalize this study's research questions by grounding them in existing literature as well as in MAAP applicants' reported experiences. A brief sketch of the coding scheme was outlined.

Phase 2: Focused Open Coding. A random sample of 20 applications were used for a second round of open coding in order to test and further develop and refine the preliminary coding scheme that I outlined in phase 1. This phase was more closely grounded in the study's research questions, since they were finalized in phase 1. A constant comparative method was used, wherein the raw data (content of applications) was compared to the emerging categories and subcategories of interest. Once the 20 applications were examined and coded, I deemed that the categories had become saturated—in other words it appeared that the categories and their organization in the coding scheme captured, to the best of their ability, both the constructs of interest and the data at hand.

At this point, the first version of the coding scheme was completed. I introduced an associate with a Bachelor's degree in psychology to this study's questions and trained her to use the coding scheme (ver. 1) so as to test for levels of intercoder agreement. Establishing an appropriate level of intercoder agreement with a second party is an essential step, for it allowed me to verify and improve upon the validity of the coding

scheme and the consistency with which the scheme could be used to code the data. As previously mentioned, the coding scheme was highly structured and each code was associated with a working definition.

At first intercoder agreement was *informally* assessed using a sample of 15 previously-examined applications, as recommended by Lombard, Snyder-Duch, and Bracken (2003). In other words we both coded these applications, compared codes, and discussed areas of disagreement. The associate also critically evaluated the coding scheme, based on its face validity, its ability to capture the constructs of interest, its degree of saturation, and the extent to which it captured dimensions that were salient in applicants' writings. Minor adjustments were made based on feedback from and discussion with the associate, thereby yielding version 2 of the coding scheme.

Indices of intercoder agreement number in the dozens, and social scientists are far from agreeing on which is the most accurate and balanced index. Lombard and colleagues (2003) recommend using two or more indices, given that each index has its strengths and limitations. Cohen's kappa, Scott's pi, and Krippendorff's alpha are widely used indices. All three of them factor into their computations the proportion of expected agreement that is due to chance alone, making them more conservative (and accurate) than percent agreement indices. I computed all three indices, although I only report those for Krippendorff's alpha and Scott's pi because the use of Cohen's kappa for measuring intercoder agreement is highly contested among social scientists (Lombard et al., 2003). Although Cohen's kappa is said to produce unusually conservative agreement estimates, all three estimates yielded comparable coefficients. A minimum agreement coefficient of

.70 was established. This coefficient is moderate-to-low by common standards, but acceptable given that Krippendorff's and Scott's coefficients provide moderately conservative estimates of intercoder agreement. Scott's pi was computed using the computer software PRAM, whereas Krippendorff's alpha was computed by hand using MS Excel spreadsheets.

Intercoder agreement was *formally* assessed using a random sample of 20 applications, a size equal to 10% of the study's final sample of 200 applications – as recommended by Lombard et al. (2003). Indices were computed separately for each of the coding scheme's five categories. Moderate-to-high levels of intercoder agreement were achieved for all 5 categories, as detailed in Table 1.

For two of the categories—*Family Factors* and *Social Identity/Injustice*—moderate levels of agreement were achieved. Given however that these constructs are central to my interests, the associate and I reviewed and discussed our discrepancies and re-assessed level of agreement for these two categories using a newly-generated random sample of 30 applications. Levels of agreement improved considerably and reached very high levels, as indicated in Table 1. Minor and final revisions were made to the coding scheme, thereby yielding its third and final version (see Appendix D).

Category	**Intercoder Agreement 1**		**Intercoder Agreement 2**	
	Krippendorff's Alpha	Scott's Pi	Krippendorff's Alpha	Scott's Pi
Family Factors	.74	.73	1.0	1.0
Social Identity/Injustice	.87	.86	.97	.97
SP Settings: Type	.92	.92	N/A	N/A
SP Settings: Mission	.74	.74	N/A	N/A
SP Activities	.75	.73	N/A	N/A

Table 1. Indices of Intercoder Agreement.

Phase 3: Delineating themes and relationships. The 200 applications that were drawn for the analysis were coded in random order. I was the sole coder for these data units. Once the coding process was completed, I systematically examined the categories and their subcategories in their own right in order to identify the ways in which applicants discussed them. For example, I reviewed and analyzed all passages that were coded as sense of duty in order to extract further themes and nuances within this particular category. I mostly used a comparing and contrasting approach, thereby yielding the themes that are reported in Section I of the findings. I also examined in further depth themes that I had expected to emerge but either did not, or did not with the frequency that I had expected. These are presented in Section II. Finally, I re-examined all coded passages, one subcategory at a time in order to extract themes that related to my research questions. In other words, each subcategory was investigated for themes about its relationship to participants' sociopolitical development. I also generated cross-case matrices in order to account for and investigate passages and applications that received

various theoretically-significant combinations of codes. For example, I investigated passages that received both a *Social Identity* and a *Family Factors* code. Through this analytical process, I was able to identify three theoretical themes that cut across all categories. These are presented in the latter sections of the findings.

Findings

From 1986 to 2003, applicants for the most part provided information on their experiences, background, or reflections according to the application's structure. Although the coding process was not bound to the application's structure, I mostly drew information on this study's variables in the following way:

- *Sociopolitical involvement*: 1-2 questions ask for the organizations they have worked with, their roles, and their activities.
- *Sociopolitical development*: 1-3 questions asked applicants to reflect on how their personal, educational and sociopolitical experiences might have influenced their worldview and their desire to become an organizer.
- *Sociopolitical analysis*: From 1986 to 1993, two questions solicited applicants' to share their perspective on the most pressing problems facing their community and on their vision for how social change will take place. From 1994 on, similar information was derived from applicants' responses to the previous two sets of questions.
- *Family Factors*: From 1990 onward, the applications asked 1 question about applicants' family background and how it may have influenced them. As a result from 1986 to 1989, only 30 out of 65 applicants (46%) discussed some aspect of their

family background, as compared to 120 out of the 135 applicants (89%) from 1990 to 2003.

- *Social Identity*: The applications did not include open-ended questions about applicants' social identity and identity-related experiences—yet information about their feelings and experiences as members of a social identity group surfaced in more than half of the applications, as discussed below.

This study's findings are presented in four sections. The first section reviews the categories and themes that emerged from the data at hand. The second section discusses null findings: these are themes that I had expected to emerge based on SPD theory and previous research, but did not in this data set. The third section presents a selection of themes that were not captured by the coding scheme: these constitute important nuances that nevertheless appeared central to many applicants' sociopolitical development. In the fourth and final section, I present and describe the emerging dynamics, as they relate to this study's research questions.

In order to make the narrative easier to follow (a) overarching categories are italicized and capitalized (e.g. *Social Identity* or *Family Experiences*), (b) subcategories are underlined (e.g. <u>sense of duty</u>) and (c) elements of SPD theory that the categories and sub-categories are related to are indicated in bold font (e.g. **sense of empowerment**). Preliminary descriptive quantitative analyses were conducted. Tables 2 and 3 provide the number and percentage of applicants who received each code. Because I coded applications at the passage-level, each applicant may have received each code any

number of times. The tables therefore reveal the total number of passages coded as well as the average number of coded passages per application.

	N Applicants	**% of Apps.**	**N Passages**	**Passages per App.**
FAMILY FACTORS:				
Family Values & Characteristics	60	30%	67	1.1
Transition	60	30%	63	1.1
Hardship	57	29%	61	1.1
Community Context	42	21%	45	1.1
SP Involvement	27	14%	31	1.1
Negative Values	21	11%	23	1.1
Political Discussions	18	9%	18	1.0
Resilience	14	7%	16	1.1
SP Exposure	9	5%	9	1.0
Privilege	5	3%	5	1.0
OVERALL:	**150**	**75%**	**291**	**1.9**
SOCIAL IDENTITY:				
Identification	103	52%	116	1.1
Duty	32	16%	34	1.1
Negative thoughts	16	8%	16	1.0
Pride	12	6%	12	1.0
OVERALL:	**121**	**61%**	**174**	**1.4**
INJUSTICE:				
Witnessed	42	21%	50	1.2
Experienced	41	21%	47	1.1
Events	10	5%	10	1.0
OVERALL:	**73**	**37%**	**101**	**1.4**

Table 2. Summary of Codes for Family Factors, Social Identity, and Injustice.

	N Applicants	% of Apps.	N Passages	Passages per App.
SP MISSION:				
Ethnoracial	109	55%	185	1.7
Service	96	48%	175	1.8
Social Justice	96	48%	188	2.0
Comm. Dev.	48	24%	61	1.3
Soc. Identity	32	16%	43	1.3
OVERALL:	**187**	**94%**	**647**	**3.5**
SP TYPE:				
Political/Cultural	117	59%	228	1.9
Polit./Cult. Student org.	115	58%	213	1.9
Social Services	106	53%	201	1.9
Faith	33	17%	39	1.2
OVERALL:	**189**	**95%**	681	**3.6**
SP ACTIVS:				
Service	107	54%	216	2.0
Organizing	101	51%	179	1.8
SP Education	94	47%	145	1.5
Other SP Activities	66	33%	96	1.5
Research & Writing	41	21%	63	1.5
Policy	38	19%	45	1.2
Arts (SP Education)	17	9%	22	1.3
OVERALL:	**180**	**90%**	**679**	**3.8**
SP ROLES:				
Leader	74	37%	98	1.3
Founder	33	17%	41	1.2
OVERALL:	**90**	**45%**	**139**	**1.5**

Table 3. Summary of Codes for Sociopolitical Experiences.

Section I: Thematic Categories

Family Factors

Several themes emerged in the overarching *Family Factors* category, most of which refer back to applicants' early childhood and upbringing. Family-related experiences are a key element of applicants' sociopolitical development, and were organized into three categories: (a) *Family's Relationship to Sociopolitical Matters*, (b) *Family Experiences and Circumstances*, and (c) *Family Values*.

Applicants who wrote of their *Family's Relationship to Sociopolitical Matters* discussed three sets of processes (sub-categories). Applicants may have witnessed or engaged in <u>politically-themed conversations</u> with family members. At times these consisted of stories about their elders' childhood and sociopolitical environment (e.g. parent tells of his or her growing up experience in the racially segregated South, or in Puerto Rico within a context of "U.S. imperialism"). At other times, applicants referred to discussions about current political events or about the state of their community (e.g. adults discuss NAFTA or the injustices that occur in the Black community).

A second process was family members' past or present <u>involvement</u> in sociopolitical work – usually on the part of one or two parents. This involvement took place either through their position as a service provider (e.g. as a counselor or educator), through formal and organized channels of political participation (e.g. student organizations or community boards), or naturally by their own initiative (e.g. as a pediatrician or pharmacist). For example:

> *Watching my parents help families that were in far worse shape then our family was a big inspiration. They have always told me to give back to our community*
> - Mexican American man, age 26, sociopolitical involvement

A third and final process was direct exposure to sociopolitical work, in other words the experience of witnessing or participating in sociopolitical work first-hand while in the company of an older family member. For example:

> *My introduction into activism was through my family's involvement with the anti- dictatorship movement against Korea's government and the US support of that regime since the Korean War. Despite the fact that much of this was during my elementary school years, my parents made sure that I was there at the rallies, marches, and protests to teach me not only about my history but also about the basic meaning of actively and loudly challenging what is clearly wrong.*
> - Korean woman, Age 22, direct sociopolitical exposure.

Applicants referred to five kinds of *Experiences and Circumstances* that their family might have endured. Socioeconomic hardship refers to families leading a "hard life" and "struggling to make ends meet" as many applicants put it. These families struggled to meet financial, housing, and other basic needs, dealt with hard and low-paying jobs, or labored to single-handedly raise a family—usually as a single mother. Some applicants explicitly highlighted the resilience of their family, in other words its ability to prevail or thrive in the face of adversity and hardship. For example:

> *I grew up very poor, always wondering why I had to live through what I had. My entire life has been spent either way below or just beneath the poverty line, and I think that gives me an ability to connect with the people I organize with every day. I can relate to about 95% of the people I work with and I can share personal experiences which can help others see a way out together.*
> - Black man, Age 23, family hardship

> *My mother is a strong woman, a survivor, who educated me on the practicality of acculturation (years before I learned about it in colleg*e!).
> - Chicana woman, age 28, family resilience

Others, finally, wrote of growing up with socioeconomic privilege, especially in comparison to other, less fortunate members of their ethnoracial group(s). Significant

family transitions were also brought up. They consisted, for the most part, of immigration from a Third World nation to the United States, one that usually occurred during the applicants' childhood or during their parents' early adulthood, before they were born. Finally, applicants described the community context in which they grew up. They usually highlighted negative or difficult characteristics such as violence; poor educational systems; gang warfare; lack of motivation and poverty in urban neighborhoods; and lack of ethnoracial and class diversity in their suburban or small town communities.

> *I grew up in a neighborhood infested with drugs, liquor stores, bars, and an under-funded school district*
> - Mixed Afro-Puerto Rican & French "American" man, age 26, community context

> *So I grew up in white suburbia where "Mexican" was a dirty word -Jose the gardener or Consuela the maid or the Taco Bell Chihuahua.*
> - Mexican woman, Age 20, community context

The third and final family category relates to *Family Values and Characteristics*. In most instances, applicants discussed their family's values (which often included cultural values) in a positive light. The kinds of values that family members – usually parents – conveyed pertain to the importance of familism, collectivism and sense of heritage; leadership and compassion for others; independence and self-sufficiency; freedom of thought; educational achievement; work ethic; appreciation of diversity; and sense of justice.

> *Growing up in a single parent family and continually surrounded by powerful women has greatly shaped who I am. My family has taught me to never be silent and to always voice the truth about the oppression of being a young woman of color. Another part of my background that has influenced my life is always having the passion to learn my history, culture and language. Through learning those things my mother and the rest of my family have always encouraged me to take that knowledge to empower myself and my people. Being a leader has never been something that is shunned or discouraged.*

- Mixed Mexican & Puerto Rican woman, age 19, family values

I grew up with a strong sense of family and appreciation of my cultural/racial heritage.
- Mixed Heritage woman, Age 22, family values

A smaller number of applicants expressed a departure from their family's outlook on life. In these cases, parents endorsed more conservative political beliefs (e.g. individual responsibility or assimilation to mainstream society) or what applicants judged to be political apathy that supports and benefits from a status quo of inequality.

As is typical of most Vietnamese families, my sisters and I were initially raised to support the Republican party because they are anti-Communists. As I grew older, however, I came to my own realizations about the political views of the Republican party, and I have made my own choice about which party I prefer to align myself with.
– Asian American woman, Age 22, negative family values

Social Identity

Given that the MAAP application did not explicitly ask applicants to discuss their social identities, mention of a social identity was taken to indicate identification and centrality. Based on such a reading of applicants' responses, more than half of the sample expressed identification with one or more social groups and their traditions, values, experiences, or legacies. The most commonly cited social identities were race and ethnicity—alone or in combination with gender or sexual orientation (e.g. as a lesbian Asian woman or as a Black man).

As a Latina, I am very conscious, knowledgeable & aware of the needs of people of color and whenever I can, I try to reinforce consciousness around issues of Third World people.
- Latina woman, Age 25, social identification

Being the daughter of a lesbian and single parent I have always fought to maintain my identity as a person of color with mixed heritage but also as a daughter who loves her lesbian mother unconditionally.

- Mixed Heritage woman, Age 19, social identification

Social class was also interwoven into many applicants' accounts of their life experiences as individuals, and as people of color in particular.

> *I think I have an affinity for those who are oppressed. Although I was raised in a middle class environment, I grew up a Chinese American in a community with very few minorities.*
> - Chinese man, age 22, social identification

Sense of duty or responsibility to contribute to the well-being of one's social group(s), and sense of pride in the accomplishments and culture of one's ancestors were implicit in many applicants' responses, although only a small subset of applicants explicitly expressed such sentiments. For example:

> *Because I am privileged enough to attend college, I feel a personal obligation to my community. I am just like everyone else; if I could do it then anyone from my community can be successful. Through organizing, I wish to create more avenues for people of color to actualize their goals and potential.*
> - Mixed Heritage man, Age 22, sense of duty

> *But I must say that the research I did at the Philadelphia Afro-American Historical and Cultural Museum and at the Smithsonian (Duke Ellington Collection) made me look at the people from my personal history and see that there was a lot that I'd taken for granted and that I hadn't shown appreciation for.*
> - Black woman, age 23, sense of pride

Finally, a number of applicants discussed negative thoughts that they once held about their social groups—usually ethnoracial groups. They wrote about how these beliefs and feelings had hampered their functioning and ability to take pride in their heritage, and explained that they had to undergo a process of recognizing and unlearning them. Those who did discussed such experiences—although small in numbers—did so in such a way as to suggest that they were central to their identity development, as well as their sociopolitical development.

> *I refused to speak in Spanish even to my own mother; I lied instinctively to my friends about the first seven years of my life which in reality were spent in Mexico but which, in the fantasy worlds of my adolescence, were spent in a neighboring town, in various other states. I hid in the shade and dyed my hair auburn because, in the desperate effort to fit into suburban America throughout the course of my growing up, I was slowly coming to the awareness that to be American is to be White, unless you're American and Not White, in which case you're Hyphenated.*
> - Latina woman, Age 20, negative thoughts

Injustice

Over one-third of applicants wrote of instances of injustice and oppression. The majority of the cases that they discussed constitute social identity-based injustice, typically on the basis of race and/or ethnicity. They qualified them using a wide range of terminology, including variants of “struggles, oppression, injustice, domination, discrimination, and abuse” as well as “racism, sexism, and imperialism.” Table 4 provides a word count for relevant expressions and their variants.

Expressions of Injustice	N Apps	Forms of Injustice ("isms")	N Apps	Expressions of Justice	N Apps
Struggl*	70	Racis*	68	Social change	124
Oppress*	65	Sexis*	22	Justice	83
Injustice	42	Homophob*	10	Rights	74
Domina*	35	Classi*	10	Soc justice	52
Discriminat*	31	Imperial*	7	Equal*	37
Abuse	26	Colonial*	6	Free*	31
Privilege*	24	Heterosexi*	5	Democr	19
Unfair*	16	Mysogy*	0	Equality	18
Inequal*	14			Civil rights	18
Harass*	14			Peace	17
Marginal*	13			Progress	15
Stereotyp*	12			Liberat*	15
Unjust	8			Fair	15
Prejudice	8			Freedom	11
Bias	7			Equity	5
Alienat*	7			Uplift	3
Segrega*	5			Equal rights	3
Unequal	4			Emancip*	0

Table 4. Word Count for Expressions of Justice and Injustice.
Note: words that are annotated with a '*' have multiple variation; for e.g. oppression, oppressive and oppressed are all variants of "oppress."

Applicants' illustrations of injustice consisted of (a) specific incidents of interpersonal discrimination (e.g. an applicant's first experience of racial profiling), (b) patterns of interpersonal discrimination over a period of time (e.g. lack of faith in students of color on the part of teachers), or (c) chronic oppression that applicants attributed to historical and institutional factors (e.g. government-sanctioned policies toward immigrants from the Third World). These passages dealt with personal experiences of injustice, with witnessing the injustices endured by family members, acquaintances or community members, and with high-profile or macro-level events such as the Gulf War.

> *At a young age, I was very aware of the unfairness of this country's immigration policies because it was my daily reality. I knew that I was part of a marginalized community that was not welcomed in this country.*
> - Mexican Woman, Age 20, Experienced Injustice
>
> *My mother was abused by my father, and this has undoubtedly been one of the reasons or causes of my strong radical feminist consciousness and emphasis on women's rights.*
> - African American Woman, Age 22, Witnessed Injustice
>
> *As a native Taiwanese citizen, I've seen what political suppression can do. Taiwan, which has been under martial law for the past few decades, has a lot of economic freedom but almost no political freedom. I have cousins my own age who are still living in Taiwan and I once discussed Taiwanese politics with them. They've been brainwashed by the government not to question policies. It's like a political prison.*
> - Asian Man, Age 20, Injustice Events

Applicants however also articulated alternatives and solutions to injustice, as indicated by their use of such expressions as "social change, (social) justice, (civil) rights, equality, and peace" (see Table 4 for a word count).

Sociopolitical Experiences

Whereas some applicants provided brief responses to questions about their sociopolitical experiences, the majority supplied extensive detail about the organizations, initiatives and activities that they took part in.

During the open coding stage, I was unable to formulate a single dimension that could capture all significant aspects of applicants' sociopolitical experiences. Therefore up to four separate dimensions were coded for each experience: the *Activities* that the individual carried out, the *Mission* espoused by the sociopolitical organization or initiative, and the *Type* of setting that it is couched in. The distinction between mission and type is a critical one, given that they do not always coincide in an obvious way. For example:

> *The Ethnic Womyn's Alliance: The Alliance existed on campus two or three years ago. Last spring I worked to reorganize the group. The Alliance met weekly throughout the term and provided womyn of color on campus (and in the community) the opportunity to share their cultural and ethnic diversities in a way that fostered understanding and stronger unity for all involved.*
> - Black woman, age 21, *Mission:* ethnoracial & *Type:* social service

Applicants' *Role*—their principal functions at the setting—was also coded. This category is made up of five subcategories (founder/initiator, leader, unpaid volunteer, paid staff, and ally/member); however I was only able to consistently code for the founder and leadership roles, as applicants rarely provided sufficient information.

A brief narrative overview of these four dimensions follows, while Table 5 provides the pertinent quantitative information. For example, 48% of the sample received a Social Justice Mission code. The average frequency of these codes was on average 2 per application, thereby suggesting that applicants who got involved with social justice organizations tended to get involved with more than one such organization.

The *Missions* espoused by applicants' settings were categorized as service, community development, social justice, social identity focus, or ethnoracial identity focus. Social service settings are defined as organizations and programs whose primary mission is to provide direct or indirect social services to individuals and families. Examples from the applications include Oxfam International, Upward Bound, youth development initiatives (e.g. after-school and mentoring programs), domestic violence shelters, peer counseling programs, and community service clubs. The mission of community development settings is to improve community conditions through more than just basic service, but rather by promoting sense of community, civic participation, affordable housing, infrastructure, community policing, etc. Social justice settings

espouse a vision of social justice and attempt, through their varied efforts, to foster just social change. This occurs in the absence of an explicit focus on any social identity w/ respect to membership and analysis. Social justice settings differ with respect to the nature and breadth of their focus. Whereas some exist to confront a specific issue such as the plight of undocumented workers, nuclear arms proliferation or U.S. policy in Central America, other settings such as DARE (Direct Action for Right and Equality) and ACORN (Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now) adopt a broader framework of social justice and simultaneously pursue a variety of issues and campaigns such as police brutality, living wages, and economic and employment opportunities. Additionally, whereas some settings engage solely in educational and consciousness-raising activities, others conjointly undertake direct action such as labor organizing and lobbying. A social identity mission refers to settings that are explicitly committed to the concerns of one or more social identity groups (e.g. women or gay, lesbian, and bisexual people). A subset of these organizations espouses an ethnoracial identity focus. As previously noted, a large proportion of the applicants indicated that race/ethnicity is central to their identity. This is further evidenced by the fact that over half of them (55%) have worked within settings whose focus centers on justice and/or cultural issues that are specific to one or more ethnoracial groups (e.g. Latinos, “Third World” people, lesbians of color).

The *Types* of sociopolitical settings were organized into faith-based, social services, political/cultural, and political/cultural student organizations. I did not differentiate political from cultural organizations, given the extensive history of

sociopolitical work in U.S. communities of color that simultaneously pursues political and cultural goals—an example being rites of passage programs that promote cultural pride and political awareness among adolescents.

Applicants acquired experience with a wide range of *Sociopolitical Activities*. For greater clarity, these are outlined and illustrated in Table 5.

SP Activities	*Definition*	*Examples*
Service provision	Direct provision or supervision of social or support services; intent to remedy problems or promote competencies through individual-level change.	Counseling, teaching, tutoring, mentoring, and feeding.
Organizing	Occurs in a community or labor context; intent to mobilize a collective to take systems-level action on a pressing issue. Organizing usually also involves consciousness-raising activities.	Canvassing, organizing, outreach, door-knocking, and voter registration.
Policy work	Activities that seek to engender policy change at an organizational or governmental level.	Lobbying, advocacy, civil disobedience, and demonstrations.
Sociopolitical education & programming	Purely political education or programming, in the absence of an organizing initiative.	Conferences, presentations, festivals, teach-ins, academic courses, popular education, and workshops.
Sociopolitical arts education	Sociopolitical education or expression through the arts.	Theater, poetry, music, and murals.
Research and writing	Involvement in writing or research about legal or political matters.	Writing or research about a community's history, an institution's practices, or the impact of a policy.

Table 5. Overview of the *Sociopolitical Activities* category.

The sampled MAAP applicants, as predicted, applied to the program after they had already amassed a significant amount of experience with sociopolitical work. Nearly every applicant (95%) reported involvement with one or more (code-able) sociopolitical settings. The sample, on a whole, reported a diverse array of sociopolitical experiences

with regard to the kinds of settings that they affiliated with and the kinds of activities that they engaged in. Among this group of applicants, and not counting those settings that could not be coded due to insufficient information, each individual reported involvement with an average of 3-4 settings ($M_{Mission}$=3.5; M_{Type}=3.6).

On a case-level, applicants reported a diverse set of experiences: they have worked with more than one *kind* of setting with respect to type and mission. Table 6 displays the number of applications that has any combination of two *Mission* codes. For example, 52 applicants reported involvement with both social justice and ethnoracial settings. Table 7 displays identical information, but for the *Types* of settings. For example, 64 applicants have worked with both service and political/cultural settings. Table 8, finally, displays co-occurrence statistics for the *Sociopolitical Activities* engaged in by applicants. For example, 55 applicants report both service and sociopolitical education activities.

	Service	Society Identity	Ethnoracial	Soc Justice	Comm Dev
Service	**96**				
Soc Identity	13	**32**			
Ethnoracial	57	18	**109**		
Soc Justice	49	19	52	**96**	
Community Dev	23	8	24	21	**48**

Table 6. *SP Mission*: Co-Occurrence Matrix

	Service	Polit/Cult	Student Organization	Faith-based
Service	**106**			
Polit/Cult	64	**117**		
Student Org	62	67	**115**	
Faith-based	18	16	15	**33**

Table 7. *SP Type*: Co-Occurrence Matrix

	Service	Organizing	Policy	SP Education	SP Arts	Research & Writing
Service	**107**					
Organizing	57	**101**				
Policy	20	18	**38**			
SP Education	55	54	20	**94**		
SP Arts	11	10	3	12	**17**	
Research & Writing	23	23	12	27	3	**41**

Table 8. *SP Activities*: Co-Occurrence Matrix

I found little evidence of distinct sociopolitical profiles in the data. In other words, the applicants did not seem to consistently prefer or privilege certain types of sociopolitical activities or settings. This is confirmed by the co-occurrence matrices, which indicate a large amount of overlap between the various kinds of settings. Applicants who report involvement with a service-oriented setting (about half the sample), for example, are not any more or less likely than other applicants to report involvement with any other kinds of settings.

Of the 114 applicants who reported involvement with a social service setting (*Type* or *Mission*), 93% were also involved with non-service settings. In other words,

only 8 applicants in the entire sample reported *solely* engaging with service-oriented settings. Similarly out of the 107 applicants who engaged in service activities, only 15 (14%) did *not* also engage in organizing, policy, sociopolitical education or research and writing activities—be it through the same or a different setting.

Nevertheless, some applicants reported that they underwent a shift in their thinking about sociopolitical issues and work at a specific time point. The most common of these shifts is that of transitioning from an individual-level orientation and a service approach to sociopolitical work, to a systems-level orientation with an organizing, consciousness-raising or policy approach. For example:

> *I would like to make a shift from providing direct services to direct action and organizing. Social and economic justice are two primary areas I'd like to focus on it the future. I feel that in the last 20 years I have assessed and viewed the plight of blacks, women, and poor people through Infant eyes. Only slightly comprehending the social ramifications of oppression. I feel that my attempts to make a difference have only served to educate and influence a small number of people in a small way. The gratitude and Thank You's from those people have fed my soul thus far and allowed me to continue to reach out to people who are most likely to be discriminated against. In the next 20 years, I want to organize with a purpose. […] I want the peace of mind in knowing that I figured out why I came to this planet. I did what I was supposed to do in this lifetime and I made a difference.*
> - African American woman, age 40

Section II: Null and Unexpected Findings

Given the use of both inductive and deductive methods in this study, it is important to attend to disconfirming evidence and to lack of evidence when they have implications for the study's research questions.

I had not expected a large proportion of applicants to cite spiritual factors, if only because the U.S. leftist tradition has historically been ambivalent about incorporating

religious and spiritual elements into its sociopolitical work and analyses and because the Center for Third World Organizing is undeniably a leftist organization. Religion and spirituality remain, however, central cultural, social and political resources for most immigrant communities and communities of color in the U.S. and as a result I had expected that spirituality and religion would emerge as an important, albeit not central category, particularly as a motive for engaging in sociopolitical work. Nevertheless, only a very small proportion of applicants referenced religion and spirituality, and did so in such a way as to suggest that these factors were peripheral to their sociopolitical development. Quotes such as the following one were thereby very rare:

> *My perspective of Christianity has helped shape my view on the need for social justice. Through the Church and other ministries I have participated in mission trips too help build and repair buildings and create social networks. I have also participated in administering food, clothes, and to the economically disadvantaged through various food drives, free meal programs, etc.*
> - Latino (Honduran) man, age 23

Existing research on activism and community involvement has consistently found that involvement on the part of family members—particularly parents—is the strongest predictor of sociopolitical involvement among adolescents and young adults. And yet, only 17% of the sample indicated that a family member was currently or previously engaged in sociopolitical work of some kind. The incidence was surprisingly low; however, as discussed in a later section, family involvement appeared to be important—even if indirectly so—to the development of applicants who did mention it. For example:

> *[I] had the example of my mother who was involved at different times in the Civil Rights Movement, in the reproductive rights/Women's movement and in community struggles around health and education. Since I grew up in a committed household my commitment has naturally become a major part of my adult life.*
> - Black woman, age 25, family involvement

I had also expected the majority of applicants to express a sense of duty towards and pride in their ethnoracial groups. I suspect that these sentiments remain important areas of inquiry, and that they did not emerge with the expected frequency and urgency because the study's data derives from applications to a program that is dedicated to people of color and assumes that ethnoracial identity is central to its applicant pool. Indeed, duty and pride were implicit in most applicants' writings about their motivation for becoming a community or labor organizer, and were further evidenced by their decision to apply to an organization whose primary focus is racial justice.

Finally, a smaller-than-expected proportion of applicants (10%) reported disagreement with family members' values and political orientation or disapproval of their lifestyle. Instead, most family characteristics and influences were framed in positive terms.

Section III: Additional Theme—The College Experience

The majority of MAAP applicants (86%) are college students or graduates. The college experience contributed to their SPD in largely two ways.

On one hand, the college campus provided **opportunity structures** for engagement with sociopolitical action and reflection through the availability of student organizations and initiatives. The student organizations that applicants got involved with espoused social justice and ethnoracial missions. In fact, 45% of the former and 73% of the latter settings that applicants reported were university student organizations. Conversely, only a very small proportion of the service settings were university-based. As such, applicants

primarily engaged in sociopolitical education, policy and organizing activities at their universities. Through these campus-based settings, applicants were able to acquire leadership experience. Indeed 45% of the leadership roles that applicants reported (leadership and founder/initiator) occurred in university settings.

The college experience was also significant to applicants in their formal coursework at times contributed to their sociopolitical growth, mainly their sociopolitical analysis. Consistent with the existing literature on college student activism, the majority of MAAP college students and graduates pursued an education in the social sciences – the most common disciplines being sociology, political science, ethnic studies, and women's studies.

This education provided applicants with **analytical skills**, in other words a method for conceptualizing, investigating, and analyzing social issues.

> *I think one thing I've gotten from my educational background is the ability to question authority and to search for alternative solutions. I've also learned to look at issues from many different perspectives, which I think will help me learn ways to get people to work together.*
> - Japanese woman, age 21

Applicants also gained **insight** into the history of social change movements and into institutions such as Congress or the national welfare system, and how they affect the lives of individuals and communities. As such, they gained an appreciation for systems-level factors and analyses.

> *I majored in American Ethnic Studies, with a focus on race relations and, after a trip to Cuba, did a year-long thesis project on the connection between the Black Power Movement in the U.S. and the Cuban Revolution. Reading about and interviewing Black Panthers for this project gave me more insight into community organizing, from a distance.*
> - Biracial Sri Lankan/White Woman, age 23

At times however, it also did appear that applicants' early interest in and awareness of social problems guided their selection of courses and area of study:

> *My eventual education at the university could not but center on questions of how to transform present inner-city reality into something we could proudly characterize as a genuine progress and social upgrading of living conditions for oppressed people.*
> - Mexican American woman, age 23

Additionally, applicants wrote of developing **critical reflection** on or consciousness about their own experiences, and how their identities and status in society have impacted their life course.

> *It was only in my senior year of high school when I took a women's studies class at the University of Buffalo when I became politicized about being a queer woman of color and began to see it as a source of pride and power instead of weakness and shame.*
> - Asian American woman, age 20

Finally, it appeared that applicants' formal education increased their **commitment** engaging in social justice work and to undoing systems of oppression.

> *My intellectual life stimulated my activism. I was very inspired by organizers from the Civil Rights and Black Liberation Movements, especially SNCC. It was obvious to me that a lot of our gains could be traced back to these fighters; however, it was also obvious that fundamental change had not been achieved. I found student organizing very exciting and rewarding and decided that I wanted to continue organizing for a long time..*
> - Jamaican-born woman of Indian descent, age 25

Section IV:
The Sociopolitical Development of MAAP Applicants: Emerging Dynamics

In this fourth and final section, I provide findings that directly pertain to this study's three primary research questions. The first question examines the relationship between applicants' family-based experiences and their sociopolitical development. To

answer this question, I referred to passages that were coded as *Family Values*, *Experiences and Circumstances*, and *Relationship to Sociopolitical Matters*. The second questions assesses the relationship between applicants' social identity and their SPD. Pertinent categories from the coding scheme are *Social Identity* and *Injustice*. The third question, finally, looks at how applicants' sociopolitical experiences are related to their overall SPD. The categories that pertain to this question are *Sociopolitical Settings*, *Missions*, *Activities*, and *Roles*. These coding categories are primarily descriptive, and reflect a range of experiences that emerged as significant to understanding applicants' trajectory toward becoming interested in organizing work.

In conducting the necessary analyses to answer these research questions, three inductively-derived themes emerged. These theoretical-level themes captured the relationships under study and cut through all three research questions. They represent separate, albeit related elements of sociopolitical development, and they are: (a) **sociopolitical insight and analysis**, (b) **commitment to sociopolitical work**, and (c) **empowerment**. These themes are hereafter referred to as <u>theoretical themes</u>, whereas the categories from the coding scheme are identified as <u>experiential themes</u>.

Given that the theoretical themes emerged in each research question, it became clear that it would be more useful and logical to organize this study's main findings around them, and not according to the experiential themes. The analyses that I conducted to explore the relationships between them is outlined in Table 9: each of the nine cells contains a quote that illustrates one way that the corresponding experiential theme (row) relates to the theoretical theme (column).

	Insight & Analysis	**Commitment**	**Empowerment**
Family Factors	*I was born and raised in Laredo, TX, a city on the Texas/Mexico border. I am one of five children of a working class family in Laredo. My awareness of social and economic injustices was shaped by class differences I encountered socially and the dire poverty I witnessed in my hometown's sister city of Nuevo Laredo, Mexico.* - Chicano man, age 31, community context	*When I was small, I used to see my mom go out and boycott in front of the stores, or she was calling people to get them organized. My mom has been a leader in the community, and I always admire[d] her for helping our community to be a better one.* - Hispanic man, age 18, family involvement	*Growing up I really did not understand many things my dad and mom told me. Things like an education is very important, I want you to become better than me, always be proud of who you are, and make your own decisions. When they first told me "be better than me", I really did not know what they were talking about. I saw that my father and mother are very hard working individuals, always wanting the best for my siblings and I. Later as I went on in my education everything they had told me started to make sense.* - Mexican American man, age 23, family values
Social Identity	*Dealing with the INS, allowed me to see how systems operate. The INS operates on getting cheap or free labor into the country and after their purpose has been served, deports them. They let in the wealthy people and countries that are in good standing with the U.S.A.. The INS being one of the social and political ills that needs to be overhauled, has led to me talking and fighting for change.* - Yoruba African woman, age 24, witnessed injustice	*I noticed the way others saw me because of my dark skin and my Mexican accent. I was not going to turn around after I discovered something youth my age could not see.* - Mexican woman, age 18, experienced injustice	*My father was dedicated to teaching me about history from the time I was very young. He told me about how our family lived in New Mexico when it was still Mexico and how the United States stole it. He told me how he and my aunts and cousins got corporal punishment in school if they spoke Spanish and how all the Chicano kids were encouraged to take vocational classes instead of academic classes.* - Chicana woman, age 21, political conversations
Sociopolitical Experiences	*Through my organizing efforts, I have witnessed how people are faced with injustice everyday and the ways which racism, sexism, and homophobia are perpetuated in society through different forms. I have also seen how people who don't constitute the majority and are not wealthy millionaires, are abused by society. By observing all these things, I have resolved to fight and challenge the system to insure equality for all.* - Caribbean woman, age 19	*I have never been very active in community functions, until I started interning at SAFER house where I learned the possibilities of change that a community can make. Now that I have been made aware of what kind of changes can be made through community efforts other than voting, I would like to take part in bringing power to normal community folks.* - African American man, age 23	*All the social justice work that I have done up to this point makes me feel like change can happen and the system can be broken down by people getting together to demand their rights and create a new vision for our society.* - African American man, age 20

Table 9. Quotes Illustrating the Relationships between the Experiential Categories and the Theoretical Themes.

Sociopolitical Insight and Analysis

The vast majority of MAAP applicants exhibited systems-level thinking about social and political phenomena, as partly indicated by their choice to discuss and analyze widespread and large-scale social problems. Examples include institutionalized racism, economic inequity, U.S. policy in the Developing World (e.g. Panama, Iraq, Puerto Rico), education, labor practices, community and family violence, and poverty to name a few.

Applicants also tended to demonstrate multiple levels of analysis, and were inclined to avoid explanations of social problems that implicated individual behavior or cultural traditions. Even when they did infuse individual- and family-level factors into their analyses (e.g. non-fluency in English or negative parenting practices), they tended to situate them within histories and institutions that promote and sustain inequity. Applicants took similar measures when they incorporated cultural factors into their analyses (e.g. assimilation or political apathy):

Although applicants were asked to discuss the problems that permeate their communities, a large proportion chose to discuss problems of national significance in the U.S.—especially those that impact people of color or immigrants. Others defined their community as their ethnoracial group, be-it in national or local terms. Those applicants who wrote of the struggles that their current or childhood neighborhood faces tended to relate them to citywide, national- or international-level forces or institutions. Additionally, applicants as a whole explicitly and implicitly demonstrated awareness of the inter-connectedness between social problems (e.g. violence and poverty), between

social identities (e.g. class and national origin), and between these two (e.g. race and school funding). Illustrations are provided in Table 10.

Individuals are embedded in a larger context.	*I have always been aware of the fact that drugs (including alcohol) are a problem, but the presence of crack, its availability vis-à-vis the government, its highly addictive capacity, and its affordable price has made it the hottest item on the drug market. Drug dealers on the local level are drawn to this lucrative drug many of whom see the business as a means to pull their families out of poverty and/or as a means to gain power and feel powerful.* - Black woman, age 23
Cultural norms are embedded in a historical and sociopolitical context.	*Asian Americans are not encouraged to be activists. Our families tell us to find success through traditional forms of education and through the prestige of our professions. As many of us are immigrants or children of immigrants, we are pushed to seek privatized approaches for issues that can only be addressed publicly. The dominant culture reinforces the myth that Asian Americans are the "model minority: despite evidence that Asian Americans.* - Chinese woman, age 22
Some applicants defined their "community" as their ethnoracial group.	*In Walla Walla the largest ethnic group is Mexicans. The Mexican community has lived in Walla2 for a long time. Yet there is no leadership among us, you will not find a Mexicano or any person of Spanish origin on any of the city or county Boards. Even more shocking is that there are no minorities employed in any of the law enforcement agencies. The only place you will find Chicanos holding positions of power are in the government's anti-poverty programs. To me, this is serious threat because when the Mexican community does not have representation on boards or agencies that affect our concerns we become victims.* - Mexican man, age 24
Social problems and social identities are intimately connected.	*One can connect the astronomical growth of the prison population to the attacks against people of color in the areas of education, government social services and affirmative action, which have caused people of color to resort to extra- legal means to financially support themselves and their families. By fighting the agenda of the prison-industrial complex, we can then force federal, state, and local governments to construct alternative means to dealing with the joblessness and underemployment of communities of color (ex.-improved educational opportunities and the creation of jobs that pay a living wage).* - African American man, age 22

Table 10. Examples of the types and levels of sociopolitical analysis provided by applicants.

Applicants put forward descriptions and analyses of social problems that acknowledge or emphasize the role that *Social Identity*—race, ethnicity and national origin above all—plays in society. Their own (salient) identities frequently guided their areas of interest and prime concern, although many applicants also argued that most

marginalized groups face similar kinds of challenges and need to work together in order to achieve common solutions.

Applicants who wrote about experiencing, and especially about witnessing instances and patterns of *Injustice* almost always related them to increased insight into the prevalence and institutionalization of oppression. Their experiences and insight were often accompanied by words that conveyed outrage or sadness. Some instances of injustice, in applicants' eyes, were so "blatant" that they drew a very direct connection between them and the rise of their political consciousness. But in most cases either the instances or their interpretation of these instances—as outlined in their application—occurred after the applicants had achieved some level of awareness. In both of these cases, experiencing and witnessing injustice served to further applicants' awareness of injustice and analytical sophistication.

Family Factors contributed to applicants' insight into and analysis of sociopolitical phenomena in largely two ways. Applicants consistently mentioned *Family Values* and *Family's Relationship to Sociopolitical Matters* in connection with their developing an interest in social problems and social change. Family members, through modeling, reinforcement and conversation, fostered "social consciousness" and awareness that "the world [is] full of injustice." They also increased applicants' knowledge of specific sociopolitical issues such as "the impact of racism and economic oppression on Black people," police brutality, and national Mexican politics. In sum, this political socialization provided them with basic insight, motivation, and analytical skills,

which applicants drew upon to elaborate a sociopolitical analysis of the sources of and solutions to social problems.

Applicants' *Family Experiences and Circumstances* were also related to applicants' insight and analysis. The applicants drew on these experiences to illustrate and contextualize larger sociopolitical phenomena such as immigration policy and gender-based oppression. In discussing their insight into the U.S. economic system for example—low wages, unjust workplace and corporate practices, inadequacy of institutional and governmental support—applicants discussed their family's past or present experiences with economic and political hardship. Among the immigrant (transition) sample, some reported that their need to seek safety or economic opportunity elsewhere in the world lead them to question the social order. Others noted that their parents' "middle class aspirations" and belief that the U.S. is a "land of opportunity for all" contrasted with their actual experiences as immigrants to this country. Their parents struggled, for example, with racist hiring practices, lack of opportunity for upward mobility, and with integrating into the U.S. culture. Applicants reported that these contrast led them—and at times their parents as well—to re-examine their beliefs and to adopt a more critical outlook on U.S. society. A large proportion of applicants grew up in poor or working-class neighborhoods and drew on their upbringing experiences and community context to illustrate and situate their analyses, at times also weaving matters of race into their reflections and analyses.

In sum, applicants' early experiences informed their analyses, but their analyses also informed their recollections and narratives. These findings suggest a dialectical

relationship through which applicants eventually develop a critical consciousness of the relationship between their life experiences and sociopolitical phenomena. Their related participation in social action, as will become immediately apparent, also contributes to this feedback process.

No set of experiences contributed more to applicants' sociopolitical analysis than the *Sociopolitical Experiences* that they accumulated. They told of gaining a more intimate look into people's living circumstances and of "putting a face" on them, which enriched their intellectual understanding of people's suffering. They also gained insight into sociocultural forces and into how large systems operate.

They mostly derived these lessons by learning about the initiatives that they engaged in: their sociopolitical context, worldview, objectives, and strategies for change. They also learned from conversations with the individuals that they came in contact with through their work—professional organizers, service providers, neighborhood residents, service recipients, and more.

Through their sociopolitical experiences, applicants became committed to the ideals of organizing and convinced that organizing is an effective, ethical and necessary tool for empowering individuals and collectives and for achieving social change. They also gained increased "respect" and "admiration" for "community people" (usually poor people of color), whose efforts they deemed "inspiring" and "powerful." They especially took note of community members' resilience, knowledge and expertise, and ability to cooperate on or lead coordinated change efforts.

A significant segment of the sample mentioned that as a result of their involvement, they became convinced that alternative strategies or settings are needed in order to effectively promote social justice, to increase communities' ownership of and involvement in change efforts, and to accurately voice the needs of the communities and groups on whose behalf they are working. At times the setting offered an alternative model for sociopolitical work. At other times however, applicants grew frustrated at what they deemed inadequate tactics, an example being a service orientation that promotes individual-level change in the absence of a systems-level analysis or strategy. Finally, some applicants also responded with "outrage" and "disgust" at what they found to be oppressive practices and prejudiced values on the part of the setting and its staff.

Sociopolitical Commitment

The applicants overall elaborated on their **commitment** to taking part in sociopolitical activities in general, and to engaging in community and labor organizing in particular. Their commitment was articulated using such terms as "responsibility, concern, obligation, and desire." Whereas some applicants used a language of caring to characterize their motivation—"compassion, love, assistance, and help"—others used a language of oppositional politics through such expressions as "outrage, fight, disgust, and need to take back the power."

Applicants partly attributed their commitment to family's values and actions. Applicants reported observing and knowing of the contributions that family members had made to the well-being of their community or society. Such <u>involvement</u> on the part of family members whom they loved and admired apparently contributed early on to

applicants' desire to engage in similar kinds of work. *Values* that applicants' families espoused and communicated to them were also a source of motivation. These are values that speak to applicants' "responsibility, concern, and obligation" to help others and to take part in collective efforts for social justice. Parents and grandparents also used political conversations to convey the need and need for people to promote opportunities and social justice, especially for their communities.

The relationship of applicants' *Social Identity* to their commitment was apparent when they recounted their personal experiences of injustice, which consisted of events and conditions that they attributed to their membership in marginalized social groups—usually as people of color. These experiences were comprised of instances of interpersonal discrimination (e.g. racial profiling by a police officer), and of problems and hardships that disproportionately affect the said social groups (e.g. criminalization of Black and Latino/a youth).

Clearly, applicants' life experiences have had a strong influence on their desire to become an organizer. They also drew on these experiences to articulate their "desire" and "responsibility" to engage in social justice work. They framed their commitment as a pursuit of abstract ideals of equal rights and social justice, as an effort to remedy the injustices that have affected them and their loved ones, and as a contribution to the community(ies) that they identify with. It is, in their eyes, a long and ongoing "battle, struggle, or fight" against highly-entrenched institutions and historical patterns.

Many applicants have taken part in social action efforts such as policy change or community mobilization that they judged as "successful" and as "rewarding." These

sociopolitical experiences gave rise to such emotions as “passion, inspiration, enthusiasm and faith,” which—they contend—strengthened their commitment to sociopolitical work. In the words of one applicant: “I can no longer comfortably sit and listen to ignorance and watch neglect and apathy reign” (Colombian woman, age 24).

The majority of applicants who expressed this sentiment maintained that their sociopolitical work served to deepen or renew the commitment that drew them to such work in the first place. According to a smaller group that was uncertain or skeptical even as they were involved, their experiences had the effect of giving rise to long-term commitment. The most influential experiences and settings tended to be those where participants felt a sense of ownership and belonging. Leadership positions helped to foster commitment to the setting as well as to the sociopolitical issues at stake.

Individual and Collective Empowerment

The themes of efficacy and control were prevalent in applicants’ writings, particularly as they discussed their motivations for wanting to become an organizer and their belief organizing is an important and effective social change strategy. They expressed a high level of confidence in their abilities, skills, and beliefs as individuals and as social change agents. They also expressed faith in the power of groups and collectives (e.g. tenant organizations) to successfully effect positive change. In other words, applicants exhibited high levels of empowerment, both at the individual (or psychological) and at the collective (or political) levels.

Individual empowerment was related to applicants' family experiences and socialization. They associated such expressions as "determination, standing tall, unrelenting conviction, perseverance, never giving up, standing strong, full force, and unbowed" with their family members and with their early life experiences. They attributed their high sense of confidence and agency to their family's resilience in the face of adversity. Family members supported one another and coordinated their actions in order to brave the challenges that life presented to them. Applicants argued that this experience provided an early lesson on the power and necessity of working in groups rather than alone.

Certain applicants also reported that family members' *Values* conveyed strength and self-assurance. One Mexican American man told of his parents' early attempts to promote his empowerment, by building his confidence (e.g. pride in self) and by encouraging him to pursue advanced career goals (e.g. through higher education). Alternatively, one African American woman related that by attempting attempts to "maintain her pride" in the face of adversity, her mother taught her about the need for women to develop self-sufficiency.

A second critical source of empowerment is applicants' sociopolitical work. In the applicants' reflections on their work, the theme of empowerment primarily took on the form of collective empowerment. Not only did applicants report gaining appreciation for the importance of mobilizing and empowering "the grassroots" in order to promote social change, but they also reflected on their experiences witnessing and participating in "successful" and "inspiring" mobilization efforts. They wrote of being "a part of"

something important, and of building a sense of kinship with other organizers and activists, members of the community, members of their ethnoracial group, or people of color as a whole.

Social identity was also an important component of applicants' collective empowerment, as they reported drawing a sense of purpose, pride and strength from their membership in their social groups. Although applicants do not deny that these groups are stigmatized, marginalized, or oppressed, they expressed a strong belief in the power and ability of people of color and oppressed groups in general to "rise up," "take action," and bring about just social change. They also highlighted stories of their ancestors' accomplishments and resistance against forces of colonialism and oppression. Political conversations that they witnessed and engaged in at home often played a key role in the development of applicants' empowerment as people of color, as did family members' sociopolitical involvement. Finally, applicants conveyed that alongside their increased awareness of and dedication to collective social action, they developed hopefulness ("the notion that we can win"), self-awareness and confidence ("a stronger sense of self and self-respect), and ultimately a sense of individual empowerment.

Discussion

The three experiential categories that were the focus of this study's research questions (*Family Factors*, *Social Identity* and *Sociopolitical Experiences*) were thought to be related to applicants' sociopolitical development. A careful examination of the nature of these relationships revealed three consistent and cross-cutting theoretical

domains in the area of SPD: **insight/analysis**, **commitment**, and **empowerment**. The relationship of the experiential categories to the emerging theoretical domains was described in the results section and illustrated in Table 9. The discussion section will reflect on the findings in light of the relevant scholarly literature.

The Theoretical Domains

Sociopolitical analysis is an essential component of sociopolitical development and reveals an individual's outlook on and reasoning about social phenomena. Applicants' analyses dealt with social problems that disproportionately affect poor communities and communities of color and conveyed a sense of urgency. These problems, they argued, are best understood when they are situated within a historical and sociopolitical context. Applicants thus argued that the roots of social problems and inequality do not primarily lie in cultural norms or in the skills, attitudes, capacities, beliefs, or practices of individuals. Indeed, applicants' ability and willingness to exhibit systems thinking (Watts & Flanagan, in press) was associated with a belief that purely individual-level explanations unfairly blame victims for their ills and oppressive circumstances. This is consistent with the early work of Ryan (1971) on victim-blaming: Ryan put forward one of the most influential political critiques of traditional psychological conceptualizations and interventions.

Theory on the concept of just world belief (Lipkus, 1991; Rubin & Peplau, 1975) predicts that individuals who believe that the world is not a just place are more likely than their counterparts to offer contextual rather than individual explanations for social problems. This theory was empirically-supported by research that found that adult

activists endorsed unjust world beliefs and were driven by their perception of and outrage at injustice (O'Neill et al., 1988). This study similarly found that applicants exhibited systems-level thinking, awareness of injustice and belief in an unjust world—especially for people of color.

Many applicants were also highly **committed** to bettering their communities or society as a whole. According to Corning and Myers' (2002) "Activist Orientation" concept, two empirically-derived profiles of activist behaviors can be distinguished. "Conventional" activism involves relatively passive and low-risk actions such as voting, letter-writing, and campaigning for the Democratic or Republican political parties, whereas "unconventional" activism consists of high-risk and active extra-institutional behavior that is more subversive and confrontational—for example civil disobedience. When applicants discussed the organizing and activism that they did and sought to engage in, their language, motivations, and strategies—according to this framework—mainly fell in the scope of unconventional social action, a finding that supports Corning and Myers' (2002) typology.

Batson and colleagues have put forward a useful framework for conceptualizing individuals' motivation for engaging in social action (Batson, 1994; Batson et al., 2002). As outlined in the introduction, they distinguish between four motives: egoism, altruism, collectivism, and principlism. Although no published studies to date have empirically tested their theoretical framework, this study lends preliminary support for its validity. Although applicants' motivations for engaging in sociopolitical work varied, they essentially—and as predicted—reflected those of collectivism and principlism.

Collectivistic motivation was exhibited by their concern for groups that they strongly identified with and by their desire to promote their well-being and rights. Applicants' principlism however was evidenced by their concern with upholding abstract ideals as social justice, equality, democracy, and civil rights.

In addition to being committed and to adopting a systems-level worldview, applicants felt able and **empowered** in their social change efforts. They expressed high levels of sociopolitical control, for they believed that their participation in social action would contribute to concrete and favorable changes (Itzhaky & York, 2000). Beyond their own personal abilities however, a sense of collective empowerment was evident in their descriptions of work they performed alongside others, be it a group of tenants, a student-led campaign, their neighborhood, or poor people as a whole. In other words, they exhibited what Bandura defined as collective efficacy: a group's shared belief in its collective power and abilities to organize, execute the required courses of action, and produce the desired results (Bandura, 2000; Fernández-Ballesteros, Díez-Nicolás, Caprara, Barbaranelli, & Bandura, 2002).

This study provides some early support for Watts' theoretical model of sociopolitical development (Watts & Flanagan, in press), which posits a direct relationship between sociopolitical analysis and societal commitment and a moderating effect of sense of agency—which is closely related to sociopolitical control and to collective efficacy. Indeed, that these same construct emerged through this study's inductive approach suggests that Watts' model captures constructs that are relevant and important for conceptualizing the SPD process. Furthermore, the ways in which

applicants thought about and experienced these abstract domains are consistent with Watts' conceptual and operational definitions of these constructs. Applicants may largely be described as undergoing a process of liberation, the culmination of which is their commitment to and long-term engagement in sociopolitical action. Their action seeks to promote well-being and empowerment and to dismantle systems of oppression. Whether or not they stem from backgrounds of poverty or wealth, these individuals are members of the communities of color on whose behalf they are working. Their behavior, in sum, may be characterized as liberation behavior (Varas-Díaz & Serrano-García, 2003; Watts & Serrano-García, 2003).

The Experiential Categories

Family members directly engaged in political socialization using a number of strategies; for example some applicants shared that political conversations with their caregivers, which allowed them to gain an early understanding of how race and class shape the experiences of individuals and groups. Applicants in this study largely reported that their own values converged with those of their caregivers, as was the case in previous research with adult persisting activists (Abramowitz & Nassi, 1981). Their political views were for the most part similar to those espoused by parents. This is also consistent with previous research on middle-school students (Flanagan & Tucker, 1999) and with generational continuity theories (Andolina et al., 2002; Braungart & Braungart, 1990).

Existing research indicates that when caregivers emphasize such values as care, morality, and social responsibility and when they engage their adolescents in conversations about sociopolitical topics, they can contribute to the offspring's

commitment to community engagement (Ngomane & Flanagan, in press). Applicants' sense of morality is also affected by such experiences, as they come to develop their own style of moral reasoning—whether it reflects a justice or care orientation to morality (Gilligan, 1982; Kohlberg, 1969). This seemed to be the case as well among the MAAP sample. Applicants reported gaining early exposure to service and political work through their caregivers' involvement and modeling of sociopolitical behavior. These experiences, as a whole, contributed to applicants' commitment, a finding that is consistent with recent studies on community engagement (Fletcher et al., 2000) and community service (Flanagan & Sherrod, 1998).

Clearly, caregivers can play a central role in young people's sociopolitical development. Although the applicants' reports on their family-based and childhood experiences are retrospective (to varying degrees, depending on the applicants' age), the relationships that emerged from their reports are consistent with the (scarce) existing research with early and late adolescents. It also seemed however that applicants built on and furthered their caregivers' worldviews and values. For example, a large number of applicants expanded upon the basic knowledge and values that they received from family members by engaging in social action.

Negative or difficult life experiences also contributed to applicants' SPD, largely by providing a context and set of experiences that applicants could draw upon to personalize their sociopolitical analyses, understand the urgency of rectifying social problems, and commit to getting involved in sociopolitical work. Relevant experiences

include family-based experiences of hardship, immigration, and community deprivation as well as direct and indirect experiences with social injustice. These experiences allowed participants to establish a personal connection to the social problems at stake, and to develop an understanding of how their own personal experiences are embedded within a larger political and historical context. Applicants' discussions of these events and circumstances suggest that they are developing a critical consciousness of their experiences, of inequality and oppression, and of their potential role as a social change agent (Freire, 1970, 1973)

That family resilience seemed to be linked to applicants' insight and sense of empowerment further emphasizes the role that parents and other significant adults can play, even in light of difficult circumstances. This finding is especially important given previous research suggesting that sociopolitical control can serve as a protective factor within contexts of poverty and adversity (Zimmerman et al., 1999). Furthermore, although Hart and colleagues (1998) have argued that poor urban neighborhoods "lack the social capital and financial resources necessary to offer enough opportunities to adolescents for attachment to society and exploration of moral identities" (p. 526), this finding suggests that the family system can serve as a positive and effective realm for political socialization.

The social identity theme cut across all of the categories. Applicants' ethnoracial identity was the most consistently alluded-to social identity, thus making the extensive literature on racial identity development (RID) for people of color highly relevant. RID

refers to a psychological sense of collective identity that is based on an individual's perception that he or she shares a common racial heritage with a particular racial group (Helms, 1990). Ethnoracial identity arose within the context of applicants' family hardships, experiences with injustice, and the kinds of sociopolitical organizations that they chose to join. It was associated with their motivation (e.g. collectivism), their levels and types of analysis (e.g. analyses based on class, gender, and race), and the focus of their sociopolitical work (e.g. racial and economic justice for women of color).

The Cross/Helms model of RID was initially developed to capture the unique experiences of African Americans, and has since been expanded by other authors to conceptualize the experiences of other non-White groups in the U.S. Initially conceptualized as a developmental stage model, it is now thought of as a status model with five attitudinal clusters: pre-encounter, encounter, immersion-emersion, internalization, and internalization-commitment (Cross, 1971, 1991; Helms, 1995; Vandiver, 2001). A small number of applicants wrote of their rejection of pre-encounter attitudes by writing about the process they had undergone to recognize and uproot their internalized oppression (Fanon, 1963, 1965). This process had a direct impact on their SPD, since it required that they become aware of the stereotypes that are associated with their (stigmatized) groups, their subjection to discrimination and oppression throughout society, and the subtle impact that these collective beliefs and practices have on members of these groups (e.g. internalized oppression). Many applicants wrote of their encounter ideas by referring to previous experiences with hardship or injustice. Nevertheless, the majority of applicants seem to exhibit attitudes that are characteristic of internalization-

commitment—as described in the Cross/Helms model (Cross, 1971). Indeed participants demonstrated high levels of race salience, positive attitudes toward their their racial identity and membership (positive valence), and commitment to racial justice work.

Another useful model is Sellers' Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity (MMRI) (Sellers, Shelton, Rowley, & Chavous, 1998). His model is not developmental, but rather identifies four dimensions that are important for understanding an individual's racial identity: salience, centrality, regard (private and public), and ideology (assimilationist, nationalist, humanist, and oppressed minority). Applicants expressed comfort and pride in their ethnoracial identification (positive private regard) despite their awareness that their groups have been stigmatized and vilified throughout history (negative public regard). There was significant variation in applicants' identity-based ideologies (Sellers et al., 1998), although no applicant seemed to adopt an assimilationist perspective. Several express nationalist sentiments: although none advocated full separatism (an extreme form of nationalism), many argued that social change for their ethnoracial group can only be led by members of that group and that members should privilege norms, practices, and business from their group. Others adopted an oppressed minority perspective as they emphasized the need for all people of color to rally their resources in order to achieve their common goals and overcome their common obstacles. A minority, finally, articulated a humanistic orientation through their concern with rights and justice for all, in the absence of a clear focus on their ethnoracial group or on people of color.

From a community psychology perspective it is useful to view the setting that contributed to applicants' SPD as opportunity structures. According to Hart and Atkins (2002), opportunity structures facilitate people's involvement in political and community work by providing relevant recruiting, training, mentoring, and leadership opportunities. The fact that a high proportion of the college-educated applicants acquired their first experience with sociopolitical work at their university campus and through a student organization is a critical finding. The university context traditionally provides numerous structured opportunities for involvement. Although a number of applicants wrote of their frustrations with peers' political apathy, they nevertheless were able to locate a formal or informal niche of peers who provided opportunities for sociopolitical growth in the areas of action, analysis, empowerment, and commitment among others. Clearly, this finding underlines the importance of creating and making available (structured) opportunities for individuals who might not otherwise ever participate in sociopolitical work.

Also of importance is the finding that applicants' most influential settings were both empowering and empowered. As with previous research findings, (Bond & Keys, 1993; Maton & Salem, 1995), MAAP applicants' sociopolitical settings provided them with significant roles (e.g. leadership, ownership, sense of purpose), which in turn contributed to their commitment. They also afforded them opportunities to develop their analysis through ongoing trainings, conversations with colleagues, and consciousness-raising activities. These settings also allowed them to experience successful collective endeavors that contributed to applicants' sense of empowerment (sociopolitical control and collective efficacy). And although the initiatives that they took part in also

experienced considerable obstacles or failure, the above institutional measures maintained applicants' commitment and faith in their ability to achieve future successes. Finally, these experiences permitted applicants to derive personal benefits from their work, in accordance with the helper-therapy principle: applicants maintained that they achieved greater self-awareness and self-worth as a result of their work and their ability to contribute to the well-being of others. In other words, sociopolitical work can be "good for the soul."

The importance of these organizational features cannot be overemphasized. Every setting and initiative is bound to encounter considerable hurdles: in the absence of measures that will increase and sustain members' commitment, empowerment, and understanding, these settings consequently run the risk of dwindling membership and morale.

Service settings and activities can also make a major contribution to participants' SPD, as long as the settings provide opportunities for participants to critically reflect on their work and to situate it within a larger sociopolitical context. A clear example is applicants' discussion of the revolving door phenomenon at shelters and at mental health centers. This finding strengthens the case for service learning approaches to promoting political development and civic participation. In a related vein, the SPD and civic engagement literatures have recently begun to debate whether service-oriented, civics-oriented, and activism-oriented individuals represent different profiles of involvement-oriented individuals, and whether they differ with respect to such dimensions as worldview, belief in a just world, life experiences, or sense of empowerment. No distinct

profiles emerged in the sample, based on applicants' self-reported sociopolitical experiences.

Some findings that I had expected to emerge did not. To date, the literature on SPD and related topics has by and large failed to attend to the role that religion and spirituality can play vis-à-vis individuals' commitment, motivation, and sense of empowerment. A notable exception is the mostly Latin American literature on liberation theology from a Christian perspective (see for e.g. Ateek, 1990; Brown, 1988; Gutierrez, 1988). Although spiritual and religious factors were highly absent from applicants' writings it is doubtful that they are irrelevant concepts for SPD theory—and especially for communities of color. More research is needed into this topic to understand how, for whom, and in what contexts spirituality and religion relate to SPD.

Following the 1960s and 1970s student movements, a large number of social scientists and social commentators argued that the young and student activists were motivated by a desire or need to rebel against their families' worldviews and wishes. That most family characteristics and influences were framed in positive terms by applicants, however, strengthens the case that has been made and substantiated by a different body of political scientists that young activists rarely operate out of rebellion against their families (Abramowitz & Nassi, 1981; Dunham & Bengston, 1992). However a few applicants did argue that their sociopolitical orientation and commitment to engaging in sociopolitical work departed from those of their families. In certain cases family served as a negative model for applicants who consciously chose to depart from their family's

worldview or behavior, and in very few but noteworthy instances applicants explicitly wrote that their family had had no influence on their SPD.

Study Limitations

The most obvious limitation of this study is that all of its data was derived from structured application forms to a competitive training program. The application is organized around questions and sections, thereby largely determining what aspects of their experience and worldview applicants will write about. Additionally, by asking questions about specific topics (e.g. the influence of family), applicants may have written about areas or topics that they personally do not consider very relevant to their experience. Finally, because applicants were writing for an audience whose goal was to rate each application according to certain pre-established criteria, social desirability and the desire to be accepted into the program may have shaped what applicants chose to disclose and how they presented information. However, a large number of applicants did not conform to the application's structure. Additionally, many applicants deviated from questions in order to discuss an aspect of their experience that they felt was critical. In other words it appears that applicants sought to maintain their integrity and to portray themselves in not only a positive, but also an accurate and reflective light.

The second limitation of this study is that its sample is a highly unique one. This study's sample is made up of highly committed individuals of color who have applied to and graduated from a training program that espouses a multinationalist orientation to organizing with communities of color. In other words this sample may not be

representative of the general population, nor of U.S. organizers of color. However, the intent of this study is not to generalize to a larger population, but rather to uncover categories and processes that will in turn enrich SPD *theory*, and to learn from the experiences of individuals who have successfully achieved a high level of SPD.

In the spirit of intellectual honesty and disclosure, readers must be made aware that I have closely worked under the supervision of Dr. Watts, whose work in the area of sociopolitical development is cited in this study. I have received extensive exposure to his thinking and theoretical formulations about the topic, and he has served as my primary advisor in this study. I have also deeply engaged with his qualitative research on African American activists by coding transcripts using a pre-developed coding scheme, and am currently working with him on a mixed-methods study of youth sociopolitical development in the Atlanta, GA, area. Over the past three years, Watts has significantly influenced my interest in and thinking about sociopolitical development. More specifically he has helped me to understand and take interest in the role of worldview, culture, and empowerment. Although Watts was not directly involved in coding or analyzing this study's data, he has undoubtedly directly and indirectly influenced my approach to this research. However one must also note that this study's coding scheme and categories were not drawn from or shaped by the coding scheme that Watts developed through qualitative work. Additionally this study's analytical plan involved numerous safeguards against pre-emptive and inappropriate conclusions. Finally, no qualitative research is ever devoid of external influences and biases, whether they derive

from the researcher's worldview, the sociopolitical climate, or the researcher's mentors and their effect on his or her paradigms.

Conclusion

This study offers a number of implications for practicing community psychologists. The findings and their discussion, as they are outlined, delineate a number of areas of intervention for action researchers and practitioners who are committed to promoting the sociopolitical development of individuals and groups. They also suggest a number of possible objectives (e.g. sociopolitical control), although one would be hard-pressed to pursue commitment, analysis, and empowerment in isolation from one another. Applicants' experiences and abilities also emphasize the need for community psychologists to help identity and develop indigenous leaders in their partner communities--participatory action research (PAR) lends itself nicely to such an ideal given its (ideally) collaborative and empowering spirit. At the broadest level, interventions that incorporate sociopolitical action of some kind would benefit from the following ingredients:

- Opportunities to achieve success through "small wins" (Weick, 1984), in order to promote psychological empowerment and commitment.
- Opportunities for collective and collaborative work, in order to develop sense of collective efficacy.
- Significant roles that allow participants to develop leadership and sociopolitical skills and sense of ownership.

- Opportunities for ongoing reflection in order to help develop and maintain participants' commitment, analytical skills, critical reflection and—ultimately—critical consciousness of how their work and their personal experiences relate to larger sociopolitical and historical patterns.

At the family systems level, parenting interventions could underline the role that caregivers can play in promoting social responsibility and community engagement on the part of their offspring. A more innovative approach could provide families with opportunities for joint sociopolitical work. Such an intervention would provide caregivers with the opportunity to model community engagement, to expose their children to such work and to engage them in sociopolitical conversations, and to collaboratively engage in a process of critical reflection. Such interventions could also incorporate coaching and discussion activities to promote positive racial identity development. More broadly-speaking, interventions that promote the identity development of youth of color (e.g. rites of passage or mentoring programs) could also incorporate sociopolitical activities such as popular education, (action) research on issues that impact their respective communities, and social action.

The SPD literature could highly benefit from research that attempts to map out developmental trajectories, for they would allow this growing body of work to attend to a diversity of experiences and pathways—as I have attempted in this study—as well as increase practitioners' ability to tailor their interventions' goals and approaches to individuals' and groups' specific needs and backgrounds. The following list of possible research questions—by no means an exhaustive list—speaks to the literature's need to

further develop such pathways and explore their implications for intervention and policy. Under what circumstances do experiences of social injustice contribute to sociopolitical insight or to encounter status attitudes with respect to racial identity? What distinguishes caregivers who are committed to and effective at promoting their children's SPD from those who are not? Are certain approaches to political socialization in the home, e.g. direct exposure to sociopolitical work at a young age, more effective at promoting youths' empowerment, insight, and commitment? What factors distinguish individuals who exhibit systems thinking but do not engage in sociopolitical work ("armchair activists") from those who do? Does empowerment moderate the relationship between analysis and commitment/action, as suggested by Watts and Flanagan (in press)? What kinds of opportunity structures are most appropriate for various settings (e.g. schools vs. community centers), groups (e.g. class and cultural considerations), types of communities (e.g. urban vs. rural, segregated vs. diverse, high vs. low sense of community), developmental stages (e.g. early vs. late adolescents), emphasis areas (e.g. community development vs. social justice advocacy), etc.? And finally, what psychological and contextual features discern individuals who engage in sociopolitical work throughout their lifetime from those whose involvement is short-lived?

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Appendix A

MAAP Applicants' Ethnoracial Self-Identifications

Race	*Freq.*	*Percent*
Black	41	13.2%
African American	31	10.0%
Mixed Heritage	31	10.0%
Latino/a	24	7.7%
Chicano/a	21	6.8%
Chinese/American	21	6.8%
South Asian/ Indian/Pakistani	17	5.5%
Hispanic	15	4.8%
Mexican	15	4.8%
Filipino/American	14	4.5%
Mexican American	10	3.2%
Asian American	9	2.9%
Afro American	8	2.6%
Korean/American	8	2.6%
Puerto Rican	5	1.6%
African	4	1.3%
Native American	4	1.3%
Taiwanese/American	4	1.3%

Race	*Freq.*	*Percent*
Japanese/American	4	1.3%
Asian	3	1.0%
Dominican/American	2	0.6%
Caribbean	2	0.6%
Colombian	2	0.6%
Latin American	1	0.3%
Arab/American	1	0.3%
North African	1	0.3%
Pacific Islander	1	0.3%
Hmong/American	1	0.3%
Cambodian/American	1	0.3%
Vietnamese/American	1	0.3%
Eurasian	1	0.3%
Cape Verdian /American	1	0.3%
Ethiopian/American	1	0.3%
Missing Information	5	1.6%
TOTAL	310	100.0%

Appendix B

1987 Application Form to the Movement Activist Apprenticeship Program

1. Provide a resume or brief description of organizational activities over past 3 years
2. Describe your educational background (schools, degrees, dates, etc.)
3. Describe your present organizing work
4. Why do you believe organizing is important?
5. Are you a member of any organization that has a long-range view of how social change will take place in this country? If yes, please indicate what it is.
6. How do you think social change will take place and how do you see your role?
7. Describe what you believe to be some of the most pressing problems facing your community, and why.
8. What experiences have you had relevant to organizing abilities (acting, selling, teaching, electoral campaigns, etc.)? What could you teach other organizers?
9. Do you want to be an organizer? How do you think MAAP can benefit your plans for the future?
10. How do you cope with adverse working conditions (e.g., long hours, crowded living situation, etc)?
11. Please add any information you feel is relevant and not covered elsewhere in the application

Appendix C

1998-2002 Application form to the Movement Activist Apprenticeship Program

1. Describe what type of work you want to pursue in the future and why

2. Describe your current and past involvement w/ community, religious/spiritual, political, social welfare and other groups

3. Describe how these activities influenced your desire to become an organizer

4. Describe your family/personal/life experience and how it has influenced your views of social change and your desire to become an organizer

5. Describe what you hope to gain by participating in MAAP

Appendix D

Final Coding Scheme

I. FAMILY FACTORS		**IV. SP SETTINGS: <u>TYPE</u>**
1. Family & SP Matters		*1. Faith*
a. Political discussions		*2. Social Services*
b. Involvement		*3. Political/Cultural*
c. Direct exposure to SP work		a. Polit./Cult. student org.
2. Family Experiences & Circumstances		
a. Privilege		**V. <u>ACTIVITIES</u> IN SP SETTINGS**
b. Hardship		*1. Service provision*
(1) resilience		*2. Contact & Organizing*
c. Transition		*3. Policy Work*
d. Community context		*4. SP Education & Programming*
3. Family Values		a. Arts
a. Null or Reactionary Influence		*5. Research & Writing*
		6. Admin & Fundraising
II. SOCIAL IDENTITY		
1. Identification		**VI. <u>ROLES</u> IN SP SETTINGS**
a. Duty		*1. Founder or Initiator*
b. Pride		*2. Leadership*
2. Social Injustice		*3. Paid Staff*
a. Experienced injustice		*4. Active Volunteer*
b. Witnessed injustice		*5. Member or Ally*
c. Public/macro events		
3. Negative Thoughts		
III. SP SETTINGS: <u>MISSION</u>		
1. Social Service		
2. Civic & Neighborhood Dev.		
3. Social Justice		
4. Social Identity Focus		
a. Ethnoracial identity focus		