ORGANIZING THROUGH CONGREGATIONS: MEDIATING & MODERATING ROLES OF SPIRITUALITY

By

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Dissertation

Submitted to the Faculty of the

Graduate School of Vanderbilt University

in partial fulfillment of the requirement

for the degree of

DOCTOR of PHILOSOPHY

in

Community Research and Action

December, 2008

Nashville, Tennessee

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ACKNOWLEGEMENTS

Data collected for this dissertation were drawn from the Skipper Initiative for Community Organizing, a project funded by the Raskob Foundation for Catholic Activities. The project was designed and administrated under the direction of Professor Paul W. Speer, in collaboration with the directors, organizers, and leaders of the PICO National Network. Thanks are due to the leaders and staff of the PICO network who gave graciously of their time and to Paul Speer for involving me in this project. I also thank committee members Bob Newbrough, Doug Perkins, Melissa Snarr, and most importantly Paul Dokecki, my dissertation chair, who was consistently encouraging and generous in his feedback.

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CHAPTER I

CONCEPTUAL APPROACH AND THE ECOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

I was in my second full day of conducting interviews in Kansas City and Warren Adams-Levitt then director of the Church Community Organization (CCO) had been doing something community organizers often do, he'd been working late into the evening. He asked how my interviews with clergy and other volunteer leaders were going and we chatted awhile before going our separate ways. Warren had said that people come to organizing in one of two key ways: through participation and involvement in their local congregation or through their keen interest in social change and justice. Regardless of the means by which each person enters into the process, he'd commented, many were often intellectually influenced or emotionally moved by the logic, tradition and people coming into the network of organizing from other directions.

Much like those participating in organizing, social scientists have attempted to understand the process of grassroots community engagement and change from various directions, drawing from the insights of a range of sub-disciplines. As others have noted, these sub-disciplines frequently function as independent sub-cultures whose membership share inconsistent awareness of one another and an uneven history of dialogue (Maton, Perkins, Saegert, 2006). This project attempts to understand key elements of the work of congregation based community organizing (CBCO, also frequently referred to as Faith Based Community Organizing) in the PICO organization (People Improving

Communities thru Organizing or PICO Institute for Community Organizing), blending important concepts from complimentary literatures, including principles from community studies, insights from congregational studies, and scholarship on community organizing following the tradition of Saul Alinksy.

In the case of the literature presented here, each sub-discipline reviewed shares common threads, including an interests in, among other things: 1) a concern for the societal good, 2) an analytical understanding of transitioning communal forms, including the shift described by Tooenies (1957) from *gemeinschaft* (traditional communities based upon holistic affective connections) to *gesellschaft* (modern communities based upon instrumental ties), and 3) an ecological approach (Bronfenbrenner, 1996) to understanding community change. The latter of these, the ecological framework, is common in the community studies literature and actively utilized by the PICO network in their training and approach to organizing (Speer & Hughey, 1995). The ecological framework conceptualizes persons as residing in families, families as participating in congregations, congregations as located within communities, and communities as situated within the civic sphere. (See figure 2). Due to data constraints, the forthcoming dissertation deals only with persons in congregational and other organizational settings.

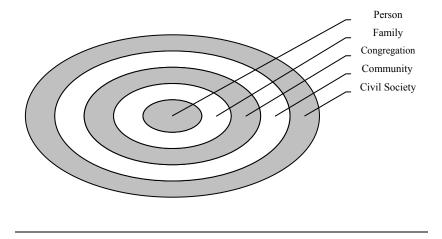


Figure 1: The ecological framework of persons in community

This dissertation builds its understanding on the elemental assumption that, independently and across communities, each person, family, and congregation possesses a unique relationship to their own particular "social and religious ecology". Within this framework, persons are dependent upon ecological settings to provide a coherent cultural system, sense of meaning, belonging, and foundation for a healthy state of well-being (Durkheim, 1951). While the ecological snapshot of community presented above is not a comprehensive framework inclusive of all personal interconnections, social entities, or communal structures, it does provide a useful lens for exploring persons, as Rappaport (1987) and others (Livert & Hughes, 2002) encourage, within their community context and as Dokecki (1996) describes, as transactional actors (i.e. persons engaging in a reciprocal person – environment exchange).

Focus of the Dissertation

To date, the existing research on CBCO has been conducted within and across each of the previously mentioned ecological spheres, including person, congregational,

and community levels of analysis. Sub-disciplines have tended to explore favored levels of analyses, with community studies ¹ scholars focusing disproportionately on person and small group phenomena, and congregational studies scholars focusing more on congregational and community processes and forms. The literature on community organizing has exhibited concern for each of the aforementioned levels, with formal organizational or congregational forms being the least intensively examined. Throughout this paper sub disciplines are linked to a descriptive analysis of key aspects of the process of CBCO.

In previous research involving the subject of CBCO a few projects have worked to describe the overall pattern of CBCO as one among several forms of community organizing (Delgado, 1994; Fisher, 1994; Rubin and Rubin, 2000; Smock, 2004; Stall and Stoecker, 1998). Although a range of models exist, each share the common aim of helping community members identify shared problems and achieve solutions to collectively beneficial goals. To better understand CBCO, some scholars have more specifically explored the work and those engaged in the CBCO process (Day, 2002; Kleidman, 2004; Rusch, 2008; Warren, 1995; Warren & Wood, 2001; Wood, 2002). A small number have examined the utility and impact of CBCO on the congregations themselves (Flaherty & Wood, 2004) or the potential for CBCO method to serve as a tool for clergy and congregational development (Stanley, 2003). The important role of the congregation and effects on persons participating in organizing through the congregation as an organizational domain, a key focus of this dissertation, however, has yet to be fully explored. To further this aim, the review that follows leads up to an empirical examination of differences in community engagement across a variety of organizational

¹ The term community studies used here includes scholarship from the field of community psychology.

forms (churches, schools, neighborhood groups) and also includes a consideration of the mediating and moderating effects of spirituality in civic participation.

In order to frame the analysis that follows, I begin this review with a brief description of the emergence of CBCO within the PICO network and examine the process of CBCO as a form of social movement (SM). This is a point previously identified by Warren & Wood (2001), although without detailed comparison. I then examine both community studies and congregational studies approaches, more generally, on issues related to spirituality, congregational participation, and community engagement. The former, the community studies approach, while evidencing increasing interest in religion and spirituality, has neglected the congregation as an organizational domain. The later, the congregational studies approach, while having a great deal to report about the nature, scope and activities of congregations in America, has neglected empirical exploration of the psychosocial experiences of individuals within and through their congregational contexts.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

Congregation Based Community Organizing

What is CBCO?

Congregation based community organizing (CBCO) draws heavily on the relationship networks, strength, and vitality of congregations. The process of CBCO builds grassroots networks of persons and organizations in order to increase social capital (i.e. relationship connections within and between social networks) (Bourdeiu, 1985; Coleman, 1988) build power out of the voluntary sector (Smock, 2004; Speer et al., 2003; Warren, 1998; Wood, 2002) and make social change at the local (Keating, Krumholz, & Star, 1996; Slessarev-Jamir, 2004), regional (Kleidman, 2004), state, and more recently, national (Whitman, 2006) level. Congregations involved in CBCO are those willing to engage in processes of transformative outreach to improve their communities and to work for social justice. Organizing in CBCO is typically structured around the development of metropolitan or city-wide federations, generally made up of between 10 to 60 congregations (Warren and Wood, 2001), and in some instances opened to include public schools, local businesses, labor unions, and neighborhood organizations. The primary aim of the federation is to gain a place at the local table of city governance, impacting policies and legislation. In 33 states across the country (Warren and Wood, 2001), CBCO federations have influenced policies on housing, economic development,

recreation, wages for low income workers, policing practices, medical coverage and other matters of local concern (Wood, 2003).

As an organizing strategy, CBCO is historically tied to organizing figure Saul Alinsky who was active in the work of community organizing from the 1940's until his death in 1972. Alinksy initially developed a labor and neighborhood-based strategy that gained mass appeal in the late 1960's and early seventies. The basic tenets of his method are outlined in the his best selling primer *Rules for Radicals* (1971), which details Alinsky's approach for garnering strength thru the power of relationships and the strategic use of conflict. Among the organizations that Alinsky helped develop using this strategy were Chicago's BYNC (The Back of the Yard's Neighborhood Council) and TWO (The Woodlawn Organization), and Rochester, New York's FIGHT (Freedom, Integration, God, Honor, Today) – each with mixed degrees of success. The Industrial Areas Foundation (IAF), now identified as a congregation based community organizing network, was formed in 1940 and emerged out of Alinsky's work with BYNC.

Other similarly structured neo-Alinsky organizations including, PICO, the Gamaliel Foundation, and the Direct Action and Research Training Center (DART), emerged in the early 70's and were developed by leaders with previous IAF experience. PICO began under one such leader, Father John Baummann, a Jesuit priest who'd trained with Alinsky and the earlier IAF organization in Chicago. Under Baumann's direction, PICO emerged as a regional training institute working with neighborhoods and local organizations across California. Jose Carrasco, who had previously worked with IAF in California, later joined Baumann to develop a new congregation based community organizing model within PICO's network. A full description of the shift from traditional

urban neighborhood organizing to CBCO is outlined in Warren's (2001) ethnographic description of IAF in Texas and Wood's (2002), ethnographic study of PICO in California. More recently Rusch (2008) describes the emergence of Gamalial in urban Detroit. (See also Byrd (1997) and Day (2002) for Nashville and Philadelphia IAF case studies, respectively).

In its present form, the PICO model is structured around the idea that it is better to make "values and relationships the glue that holds organizations together", "rather than bring people together simply based on common issues like housing or education"² (Keddy, 2001; PICO, 2007). As a networking strategy the PICO model draws heavily upon the mechanism of social capital, strengthening both relationships within existing congregations and other member organizations (bonding social capital), while building relationships across different social organizations (bridging social capital). This dual focused method of relationship building, PICO (2007) and others have argued, is good for persons, families, and communities (Beyerlein & Hipp, 2007; Rusch, 2008). Indeed, congregations and the process of CBCO offer low income, less educated and/or previously unengaged citizens a mechanism for developing and honing civic engagement skills (Verba, et al, 1995). The strength of the relationship between congregational participation and civic engagement (Jones-Corea & Leal, 2001; Polson, 2008; Verba & Nie, 1972; Verba, et al, 1995) or participation effects (Wuthnow, 2002) of congregational involvement are even stronger when one's affiliated organization engages the civic sphere (Fuches, Shapiro, & Minnite, 2001).

Warren and Wood's (2001) national study of all four CBCO networks (PICO, IAF, Gamalial, & DART) documents the growing scope and depth of this form of faith

² See Keddy (2001) for brief contrast of PICO method to single issue organizing.

based community organizing to include more than 130 faith based organizations across the U.S., including approximately 4000 member institutions most of which (87%) are religious congregations (predominantly Catholics and mainline Protestants followed by Southern Baptists and other denominations and faith traditions). CBCO groups are disproportionately comprised of persons from full-time employed moderate and lower class income households who are less well-resourced, not typically predisposed to engage in collective action, or lacking the specific knowledge to generate such activity (Foley, McCarthy, & Chaves; McCarthy & Walker, 2004). Congregations participating in CBCO are typically small to mid-sized (not mega-churches), and are usually neither among the poorest (store-front) nor the most well resourced in their communities. Today PICO, the network examined in this study, has grown to a network of 50 affiliated federations, working in 150 cities and across 17 states.

How can CBCO be understood as a social movement?

Throughout the history of the U.S., attempts to affect social change have been recurring and widespread. As a form of collective action CBCO is comparable in many ways to large scale social movements (SM) that most are familiar with, including civil rights and women's suffrage, and more recently campaigns for a living wage and efforts to obtain food security. Both SM's and CBCO processes are emergent in form, critical of societal inequities, work to build power among disempowered collectives, and depend upon voluntary participation of citizens at the local level. Resource mobilization theory and political process perspectives have helped to explain the emergence and evolution of

SM change efforts (MCAdam & Scott, 2005). Resource mobilization theory, in particular, highlights the importance of organizational structures, capacities, and processes as resources needed to affect and sustain large scale change (Zald & McCarthy, 1987). Using a different lens, political process perspectives, including the work of Tilly (1978) and others have emphasized the role of social conditions and the shifting political opportunities that have given rise to and helped facilitate social movements.

McAdam, McCarthy, & Zald (1996) have merged resource mobilization and political process perspectives by offering three key factors foundational to a SM's successful occurrence: political opportunities, mobilizing structures, and framing. Political opportunities, as McAdam, McCarthy & Zald (1996) describe, acknowledge the social context out of which social movements arise. Contexts that are likely to produce social movements include a mix of challenging conditions and political opportunities for affecting change. Mobilizing structures (organizations, groups, social networks and the like), in turn, become the mechanisms through which individuals engage in or are encouraged to participate in public action. Cultural framing describes the collectively constructed understandings which movement participants draw upon and develop as they consciously and strategically legitimate and facilitate collective action. These three factors can be applied to the work of CBCO. Indeed, in the case of CBCO and PICO, challenging local conditions (abandoned housing, crime, predatory lending, as examples) are a crucial starting point for working toward change. Through PICO organizing, congregations are drawn upon as mobilizing structures for identifying and creating opportunities that produce change, while, cultural values and religious metaphors are utilized to help legitimate and frame the call for change. Organizing in both contexts is

local and the organizational structure that helps to facilitate efforts to create change are emergent (not pre-existing) in nature. Similarities in SM phenomena and CBCO are outlined in Table 1. (See Table 1).

Table 1: Common Characteristics: Social Movements and CBCO

	Contextual Challenges	Mobilizing Structures	Utilize Framing	Local Organizing	Organizational Form
SM's	yes	yes	yes	yes	emergent
CBCO	yes	yes	yes	yes	emergent

Wood (2003) has argued that the wide-spread development of CBCO networks across the country constitutes a social movement, and indeed there are numerous reasons to suggest that the work of CBCO represents a unique form of SM. Indeed, CBCO tends to be predominately focused on issues affecting the lower, middle, and working class. CBCO is also more tightly scripted in strategy, is persistently local in emphasis, (although regional and national organizing efforts are expanding and increasingly attempted), and usually sector specific in application of its work (i.e. generally limited to the civic sphere). The "welter of ambiguity" that Zald, Morrill and Rao (2005) note mark the beginning of all SM activity take a unique form in CBCO. Ambiguity is most often borne at the individual level and frequently suppressed in collective public form (Perkins, Bess, Cooper, Jones, Armstead, & Speer, 2007). Processes typical of identity based organizing and movements, sometimes perceived as publically polarizing, are often treated as

antithetical to CBCO values and praxis (See Rusch, 2008 and Wood, 2002 for discussion of additional identity-based vs. Neo-Alinsky approaches). These factors and others suggest that CBCO is a uniquely strategic form of SM.

Table 2: CBCO as a strategic SM

	Issues	Organizing Strategies	Scope	Engaged Conflict
SM's	varied	varied	society- wide	varied
CBCO	class	defined	sector- specific	strategic

While the overall relationship between CBCO, SMs, and societal-level change is not the explicit focus of this dissertation, numerous unexplored areas within the CBCO process remain. Among the unexplored areas are differences in participation across organizational domains (CBCO, congregational, school, and neighborhood), the psychosocial or individual affects of participating in CBCO, and the mediating and moderating role of spirituality in community engagement.

I now turn to a brief look at how the field of community studies frames its understanding of religion and spirituality and their approach to understanding religious congregations. Literature from the congregational studies approach to congregations is then reviewed before moving, more specifically, to a description of the procedural dynamics of CBCO.

Community Studies

How does community studies frame its understanding of the role of religion and spirituality?

Generally speaking, community psychologists have pursued the intersection of religious matters and community studies thru what others have identified as the dual concerns of the field: prevention and empowerment (VanDevanter et al., 2003; Pargament, 2001). A noteworthy degree of scholarship has been directed toward exploring the protective (Meadows, Kaslow, Thompson, & Jurkovic, 2005) and preventative (Cornes, Fernandez Rios, Arauxo, & Pedrejon, 2004) aspects of religious matters. Often this research investigates the impact of religion and spirituality on personal level coping, defined as "an active process involving difficult choices in times of trouble" (Pargament, 1997, p.87). These studies have shown that religiosity and spiritual beliefs sometimes ease the negative effects of a wide array of difficulties, including chronic stress (Hettler & Cohen, 1998), illness (Tarakeshwar et al., 2005), alcohol abuse (Hazel & Mohatt, 2001), environmental crisis (Smith, 2000), social acculturation (Onishi & Murphy Shigematsu, 2003; Tarakeshwar, Pargament, & Mahoney, 2003) and the challenges that stem from poverty (Brodsky, 2000).

Other community studies scholars have been interested in the empowerment dimension of religious matters, investigating its capacity for transmitting values, moral attitudes, historical knowledge, and socially beneficial information (Lightfoot et al., 2001), as well as, its capacity for building relationships (Mattis & Jagers, 2001; Speer, Hughey, Gensheimer, & Adams Leavitt, 1995), and contributing to community development (Dokecki, Newbrough, & O'Gorman, 2001; Jason, Goodman, Thomas, &

Iacono, 1988; Speer, Hughey, Gensheimer, & Adams Leavitt, 1995; Trout, Dokecki, Newbrough, & O'Gorman, 2003). The analysis of CBCO in this dissertation builds upon these and other studies (Jones & Dokecki, 2008; Maton & Salem, 1995; Miers & Fisher, 2002; Youniss, McLellan & Yates, 1999) which emphasize religion and spirituality as important mechanisms enabling persons, organizations, and collectivities to resist effects of negative conditions, and to assist in the promotion of shared values, interests, prosocial action, and with the potential to lead to transformative social change.

How does community studies frame its understanding of congregations?

While a growing body of literature is emerging around impacts of social psychological dimensions of religiosity on personal well-being, limited attention has been paid by community studies scholars to the impact of involvement in civic participation as mediated *through* religious organizations (Schwadel, 2005; Speer & Hughey, 1999). Indeed, in light of the fact that community studies along with other social sciences in general have only, just recently, acknowledged and begun to integrate religion into its discipline (Hill, 2000; Kloos & Moore, 2000; Maton & Wells, 1995), it is not surprising that the very institutions that propagate religious activity and serve as footholds of religious education and authority, congregations, have received scant attention.

A review of the *American Journal of Community Psychology* (AJCP) and the *Journal of Community Psychology* (JCP) from 1997 through 2007, including two JCP special issues on the topic of religion and spirituality, yielded 28 articles that explicitly reference the local church or religious congregation either in their article abstract or title. In total, five of the articles offered paradigmatic analysis, methodological reflection, and

a call for more research involving religion, spirituality, and religious settings (Hill, 2000; Kloos & Moore, 2000; Maton, 2001, Moore, Kloos, & Rasmussen, 2001; Rappaport, 2005). Most (11) of the articles in AJCP and JCP were concerned with the church as a stress buffering setting for persons (Abe-Kim, Gong, & Takeuchi, 2004; Brodsky, 2000; Copeland-Linder, 2006; Fiala, Bjorck, & Gorsuch, 2002; Fletcher, Nickerson, & Wright, 2003; Hamilton et al., 2006; Hettler & Cohen, 1998; Lightfoot et al., 2001; Scott, Munson, McMillen, & Ollie, 2006; Smith, Pargament, Brant, & Oliver, 2000; Snowden, 1998). Three identified their studies as drawing upon the church solely as a locale for subject recruitment (Borg, 2006; Campbell, Sefl, Wasco, & Ahrens, 2004; Molock, S., Barksdale, Matlin, & Puri, 2007). Only nine drew upon a church, congregation or religious setting as an organizational domain 1) worthy of independent examination (Dokecki, et al., 2001) or 2) as a mediator of societal forces shaping a) person or communal identity (Altman, Rosenquist, McBride, Bailey, & Austin, 2000; Kress & Elias, 2000; Mulvey, Gridley & Gawith, 2001; Stuber, 2000), b) moderating systemic oppression, or c) providing a means for persons to move group interests outward to the public sphere (Hughey, Speer, & Peterson, 1999; Kloos & Moore, 2000; Mattis & Jagers, 2001; Sonn & Fisher, 1998; Trout, et al., 2003). A number of other studies, not referenced above, also utilized churches or congregation as recruitment settings, but did not identify their recruitment method in their abstract or title. Other community studies scholars, in the text of their analysis, referenced congregations as one of several domains providing communal support, especially in rural areas, for immigrant groups, or among African American communities – without identifying the congregation as central to their study's analysis.

The limited inclusion of congregations as an organizational domain within the community studies literature is notable, particularly since congregations are among the most enduring and stable voluntary organizations in the United States. Indeed, more than one-hundred million members belong to more than 300,000 congregations nationwide (Ammerman, 2005; Chaves, 2004; American Religion Data Archive, 2000). As voluntary organizations, congregations comprise more members than any other type of voluntary organization (Putnam, 2000). Still, despite an interest among community studies scholars in voluntary organizations (Katz & Kahn 1966), and a direct call to better utilize organizational forms and frameworks in their analyses (Keys & Franks, 2001; Boyd and Angelique, 2002, 2007; Kloos and Moore, 2001; Shinn, 1987), congregations, as detailed above, are rarely the explicit focus of study and found in only a limited number of instances within the community studies literature.

Congregations as mediating structures

Despite the limited attention, research in the community studies field points to an understanding of the role of congregations as "mediating structures" (i.e. those intermediary organizations or institutions that provide linkages between personal lives and the broader public sphere or civil society and vice versa). Berger and Neuhaus (1979) present four important organizational spheres that mediate the relationship of persons in community. These mediating spheres include the family, the neighborhood, voluntary organizations, and the church. The analysis of this dissertation focuses on the local church or congregation as an important mediating domain. (See figure 2).

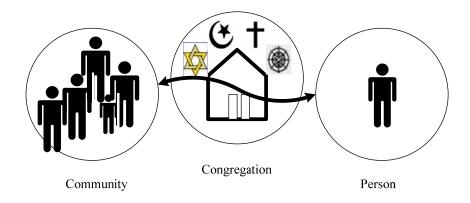


Figure 2: Congregation as a Mediating Structure

As previously noted, the community studies literature has provided a few exemplary studies that have treated congregations as mediators. Patterns of interaction, expression of emotion (e.g. openness with personal problems), levels of religiosity, and overall mental health have been found to be both mediated and moderated by the culture, structure, and resources of congregations (Pargament, 1997). Additionally, Hughey, et al. (1999) observed that apart from community context, congregations have produced setting specific characteristics, including their own unique sense of community (SOC).

These studies indirectly describe congregations as mediating structures, buffering the effects of community on persons, bridging relationships among individuals and groups, and influencing members and participants within their particular church setting. Persons, in turn, mobilize a degree of personal agency or action within this domain as they engage their congregation and participate in the broader community. Ammerman (2003), a sociologist of religion, uses the term "intersectionality" to refer to connections and interactions across these levels of analysis. A simplified bi-directional-cycle of the interaction between person and community is depicted in Figure 3.

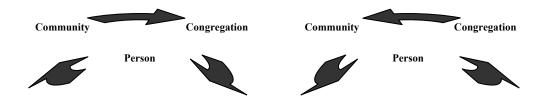


Figure 3: Reciprocal Cycles

Most research by community studies scholars has focused on uni-directional or top down effects of participation in congregations and has investigated the capacity of congregations to mediate community. One article of note in the community studies literature that departs from this general trend recognizes the reciprocal mediating cycles of congregations and persons within community settings (Altman, Rosenquist, McBride, Baily & Austin, 2000). Altman et al., (2000), in a manner akin to Dokecki's (1996) transactional approach to social ecology, began their analysis with the selection of a tobacco dependent North Carolinian community and explored the interplay between that community's economic base and the church's capacity to work toward a greater social good in the form of crop diversification, reduced tobacco production, dependence and usage. They described congregations as embedded in the larger social fabric, including some churches referenced as "tobacco churches" whose entire memberships employed in farming or some aspect of the tobacco industry. Although congregations were constrained within a larger communal structure and influenced by a variety of social and economic factors, Altman et al (2000), argued that churches were in a unique position not only to serve as a gathering place of members from the community, but also to provide a moral and functional foundation to those who wish to be a leading catalytic force, mediating local action toward policy change in the tobacco dependent southeast.

While Altman et al., began their study at the community level of analysis

Dokecki, et al. (2000) focused their analysis at the organizational level. The "St Robert

Project" describes the activities of one Catholic parish, and drew on this organizational
setting to develop a community oriented framework for spirituality (discussed later in this
introduction), as well as to explore new practices oriented toward the enhancement of
community and spirituality within the parish. The Dokecki et al., study was unique in its
analytical approach and demonstrated the importance of the congregation as a community
setting and domain for study and intervention in its own right. When taken in total these
studies demonstrate that congregations are important mediators of person, organization,
and community domains.

Explanations of mediating structures reveal a portion of *what congregations do*. I turn now to others' attempts to describe and understand this domain.

Congregational Studies

How can congregations be defined and understood?

Congregations are "fundamentally religious organizations pursuing spiritual goals" (Ammerman, 2005) and can be understood as social institutions in which those persons "who are not religious specialists gather in physical proximity to one another, frequently and at regularly scheduled intervals, for activities and events for explicitly religious content and purpose, and in which there is a continuity over time in the persons who gather, the location of the gathering, and the nature of the activities and events at each gathering" (Chavez, 2004, p. 1-2).

In recent years mainline congregations have experienced membership and organizational decline, while conservative evangelical congregations and liberal new age groups have grown in membership and number. In an effort to understand and ameliorate this trend, Pew Charitable Trusts and the Eli Lily Endowment have devoted substantial funds toward the study of American congregations. The availability of these financial resources has broadened the scope by which many scholars have been able to investigate the American religious landscape (Ammerman, 2005; Chaves, 2004; Miller, 1997 Roof-Clark, 2001; Wuthnow), including, but not limited to, concerns regarding American Mainline congregations (Ammerman, 1997; Becker, 1999; Eiesland, 2000; Wuthnow, 1988). This burst in scholarship has produced a sub-field of scholarship among sociologists of religion focusing specifically on congregations, referred to here as congregational studies.

In the attempt to better understand American congregations, many congregational studies scholars have directed the explanatory emphasis of their work, in part, to the trends of declining congregational memberships, increased religious switching (Loveland, 2003; Musick & Wilson, 1995; Roof & McKinney, 1987), and a growing polarization between liberals and conservatives. Some congregational studies scholars suggest that while patterns of organizational participation are shifting the overall nature and quality of participation, including within and through congregations, remains fundamentally strong. Wuthnow, (1988, 1999), in particular, has argued that American congregations are in a phase of "restructuring", including loss in membership among Mainline protestant denominations, not necessarily decline in religious influence. In his view, congregational forms and local religious ecologies are reconstituting themselves,

while their importance, relevance, and vitality are not necessarily being lost. Ammerman (1997; 2005) more recently has suggested that Putnam's early framework on declining civic participation greatly underestimates the vibrancy and importance of American congregations, and has argued that congregations continue to serve as crucial locations for the creation of social capital, transmission of values, and as avenues for nurturing the civic skills necessary for a healthy society. Similarly, although Chavez details the decline in once stable patterns of religious institutional authority and participation (1994) he later documents the continued strength of religious congregations, exploring the emergence of important countertrends (rise of the megachurch, for example) to various forms of decline (2004).

The Religious Landscape Study by PEW, released in 2008, offers additional empirical support for the ongoing strength of religious congregations in America. Of the more than 35,000 persons who participated in this randomly sampled poll, 92% acknowledged a belief in God with 61% identifying themselves as belonging to a religious congregation. Thirty-four percent of those sampled attended church at least weekly and 72% reported attending at least once a year. Only 16% of Americans identified as not affiliated with a religious congregation in any way, compared to 7% who reported non-affiliation with a congregation as children³. So while some decline in affiliation may have occurred, congregational participation still remains quite high (PEW, 2008).

This strength and resilience of congregations in the face of change may be due in part to the increasingly voluntary nature of religious participation (McKinney, 1987).

³ Note: factors influencing the 9% difference between adult and childhood patterns of affiliation can be hypothesized as generational aging-out trends, as well as, population shifts in congregational affiliation over time. The authors do not specify.

Although congregations in America have always been voluntary organizations, participatory switching in and out of membership and across denominations has become increasingly common (Chavez, 2004). Ammerman (1997), Eiesland (1998), and Edgell (1999), among others, have demonstrated that these shifts have not necessarily led to a single pattern of religious restructuring and decline, but rather to a variety of outcomes that in many cases have created increased freedom for persons to negotiate and engage a range, albeit at times limited by location, of diverse local religious cultures. This research is consistent with Sen's (1990) notion of development as the opportunity to choose among competing alternatives. These studies and others suggest that American congregations are stable but not necessarily static organizations and that their members and the institutions themselves are neither irrelevant nor made-up of a body of passive participants. As an organizational form, congregations continue to provide a stabilizing force, strong basis of power, and a capacity for adaptation and change in American society. Congregations have and do take varied and transitioning forms within their respective communities (Ammerman, 1997).

In certain instances a congregation's capacity to adapt to or promote communal change is facilitated by a congregation's emphasis on and involvement in community outreach (Ammerman, 2005). I turn next to a discussion of congregations engaged in outreach activities and offer a description of the form of outreach strategy known as CBCO.

Which congregations participate in community outreach?

When congregational studies emerged in the 1920's, Douglass (Shippey, 1963) offered the first typology of congregational forms. As Chavez (2004) suggests, this typology provided a developmental gradient distinguishing between congregations which were internally focused, offering worship and religious education for their congregants, and those which additionally moved toward outreach and social service programming. While fundamental distinctions persist between congregations solely in the business of saving souls and those with a more worldly bent, more recent typological distinctions have developed along, not so much a developmental gradient, but rather more fundamentally as descriptive distinctions based upon the values, organization, and structural features of the congregations. Ammerman's (1997) Congregation and Community selected nine transitioning communities that portray a range of community change issues, including the challenges brought on by suburban sprawl, growth in the immigrant population, loss of jobs and economic decline, an influx of gay and lesbian residents, and racial shifts in black/white composition. Her analysis reviewed a range of congregational outcomes produced by the intersection of communal change and local theologies, resources, power, constituencies, and cultures across congregations. Outcomes from each community showed that congregations took varied approaches to change, including patterns of assimilation, innovation, stagnation, or decline.

More recently, Ammerman (2005) examined congregations that generated activity toward the community in the form of community outreach. She notes that among civically engaged congregations with an outreach focus, the emphasis is often ameliorative in nature (i.e. running a clothes pantry, visiting nursing homes, etc) and only

a small percentage of congregations are involved in efforts to fundamentally transform their communities and work for social justice.

Similarly, Chavez (2004) in the first ever random sample survey of congregations found that 57% of congregations participated in some type of social service activity, although only 42% of congregations reported having engaged in at least one political activity. The most common form of congregational political activity included making an announcement during worship about opportunities for political involvement (26%). A smaller proportion of congregations had distributed voter guides (17%), held a group, meeting, class or event in the previous twelve months to organize or participate in a demonstration or march in support of opposition to some public issue or policy (9%), worked through their congregation to get people registered to vote (9%), had an elected official as a visiting speaker (6%) or had someone running for office as a visiting speaker (4%). As these studies show, although many congregations are engaged in community outreach, fewer are politically engaged. Among congregations that are politically engaged in the intentional transformation of public life, are those participating in the process of CBCO. Warren and Wood (2001) in their review of national CBCO networks, found that 1-2% of all American congregations participate in this type of community building and social change effort.

To explore the process dynamics of the PICO model, I turn now to a brief description of the process of CBCO in the PICO network.

Process Dynamics of CBCO

PICO affiliated CBCO typically begins when national PICO consultants are invited into a community by leaders who are already engaged in local issues and looking to develop a more effective organizing process in their area. PICO provides consultation and assists newly forming federations by helping local leaders find and hire a PICO trained director from elsewhere in the U.S. Start up consultations typically take several months even years and PICO receives many more requests for consultation, affiliation, and start up assistance each year than they are able to fulfill.

Once formed, CBCO groups understand their fundamental role as developing participants' leadership skills, expanding and strengthening relationships among persons through congregations and other institutions, and drawing upon existing relationships to generate power capable of making changes "to promote the public good" (Warren & Wood, 2001). The root process of CBCO is anchored in the 1-1 conversation, face to face interactions between two persons that focus on issues of personal concern. Persons engaged in organizing intentionally pursue other individuals for a series of conversations about issues that are of concern to each person. This process is believed to represent a mechanism through which persons and families can connect with one another and is a process in which listening, sharing, and common values can emerge. These conversations are then brought back and processed with small groups of leaders, or one's local organizing committee (LOC). Identified issues are in turn researched by members of an LOC in an effort to better understand the nature of the problem, its causes and potential solutions. Ultimately, action steps are devised in an effort to address the problem. In some strategic instances, addressing the problem may involve action

designed to produce intentional pressure, create polarization and foster open conflict directed at a key person or target. Finally, process and faith reflection occurs to evaluate previous elements of the organizing cycle. (For an overview of this cycle see figure 4, adapted from Speer, et al, 1995).

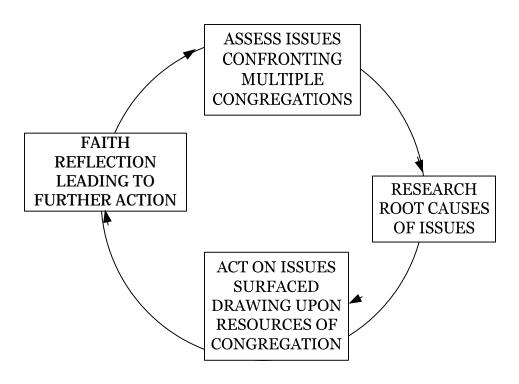


Figure 4: The Cycle of PICO Organizing

Although much detail has been offered in ethnographic research, to date no one has sought to empirically test the foundational elements of the PICO organizing model, including the more recently emerging inclusion of spirituality within the organizing

framework. I turn now to a discussion of spirituality and other dimensions of the psychosocial experience of participating in CBCO.

Dimensions of Participation

Spirituality defined.

Given the fact, as Ammerman (1997) describes, that congregations are "fundamentally religious organizations pursuing spiritual goals", the role of spirituality has come to play an increasingly important role in the CBCO process. Although perhaps unintentional, involvement in congregations has offered not only a structurally crucial basis of power, it has also brought with it doctrinal, symbolic, and other influences of the traditions from which congregations originate and/or are affiliated (Wood, 2001).

CBCO's increasing inclusion of spirituality mirrors national patterns of the inclusion of religion and spiritual issues in public discourse and other arenas, including the social science disciplines. As noted previously, two special issues in the *Journal of Community Psychology* (2000; 2001) have contributed to the scholarship in this area. Similar trends have been noted throughout the social science literature (Wuthnow, 2003).

In the community studies literature, spirituality has been defined in a variety of ways, from the more theological to the secular. Roughly speaking, definitions of spirituality have fallen along the following continuum: theistically rooted within religion as Kloos and Moore urge (2000), to transcendently focused, irrespective of religious context, as Hill (2000) advocates. In a very general sense, attempts to examine spirituality within community studies have been well received, although a *definitive* or agreed upon definition of spirituality continues to be somewhat unresolved (Hill, 2000;

1999; Kloos & Moore, 2000; Zinnebauer et al., 1997). Most recognize, however, that definitions of spirituality are inherently related to an understanding of the concept of religion. Religious movement scholar Eileen Barker (2004) outlines five dominant ways social scientists have used to explain the intersection of religion and spirituality. 1) Religion and spirituality may be fully synonymous with one another; 2) spirituality may exist as a sub-dimension of religion; 3) religion may be conceived of as a sub-dimension of spirituality; 4) religion and spirituality may be conceived of as wholly distinct concepts; or 5) religion and spirituality may be viewed as differing constructs, but with important overlap sharing some characteristics with one another.

Barker's latter approach of understanding religion and spirituality, as partially intersected and partially separated spheres, is adopted here. Spirituality is further understood according to Dokecki et al.'s (2001) conceptualization, which considers spirituality as necessarily entailing a person's belief in transcendence, not necessarily theistic (requiring belief in God or a particular God-head), and may also include the psychological sense and/or experience of being a part of or connected to a realm of existence beyond one's immediate self or situation.

Spirituality and participation in CBCO

Organizing's passion for justice and the congregations propensity to foster spiritual experience provide ground for a reciprocal exchange, not just between person, congregation, and community (fig. 4), discussed previously, but also as a mechanism for translating congregational affiliation and spirituality into action. Congregational life and CBCO process are believed to bolster both empowerment and spirituality, two processes

presumed to interactively foster community engagement (Wood, 2002). However, while the positive relationship between religious participation and increased civic participation has been documented (Ammerman, 2005; Polson, 2008; Verba, Schlozman, & Brady, 1995; Wuthnow, 1999) and those who participate in religious institutions have been found to gain transferable skills that are useful in civic work (Verba, et al, 1995), the mechanisms by which an individuals congregational and spiritual experience leads to civic action are not fully understood. In addition, the psychosocial dynamics and processes that help explain this relationship in CBCO have not been empirically examined.

Empowerment theory from the community studies literature and Zimmerman's clarification between intrapersonal, interactional, and behavioral empowerment levels of analysis become useful here and provide helpful constructs for examining the interplay between spirituality and action in the context of CBCO and other community organizations. While Gutierrez (1990) broadly defined empowerment as "a process of increasing personal, interpersonal, or political power so that individuals can take action to improve their life situations" (p.149), Zimmerman (1995) clarified elements of this process. Intrapersonal empowerment for Zimmerman reflects one's sense of self worth, perceived control, self-efficacy, and competence. Interactional empowerment reflects a person's cognitive understanding or critical thinking about powerful resources and structures that condition social exchange. And behavioral empowerment reflects engagement in activities and participation. These constructs have received a fair degree of critique, scrutiny and refinement (Riger, 1993; Speer, 2000; Speer & Peterson, 2000; Zimmerman & Zahnhiser, 1991), and remain central constructs among community

studies scholars for exploring how individuals self report their own experiences and actions within community.

Indeed, a number of studies have been quite helpful toward explaining why and under what conditions individuals are motivated to become civically engaged (Arnstein, 1969; Boyte, Booth, and Max, 1986; Colombo, Mosso, & De Piccoli, 2001; Dahl, 1961; Edwards & Gaventa, 2001; Gaventa, 1980; Gaventa, 2002; Manzo & Perkins, 2006; Perkins, Brown, Taylor, 1996; Saegert, 1989; Speer & Hughey, 1996; Verba, Scholzman, Brady, and Nie, 1993; Wandersman & Giamartino, 1980). Many utilizing Zimmerman's empowerment constructs, have helped to increase our understanding of the interconnections between the psychosocial experience of empowerment and civic life (Florin & Wandersman, 1990; Perkins & Zimmerman, 1995; Peterson & Zimmerman, 2004; Speer & Hughey, 1995; Speer, Jackson, & Peterson, 2001; Speer & Peterson, 2000; Stewart & Weinstein, 1997; Zimmerman, 1990, 1995, 2000). The role of spirituality in facilitating the connection between empowerment and community engagement, however, has not been fully examined and warrants further exploration.

Also deserving of further conceptual and empirical examination is the relationship between spirituality and sense of community within the CBCO and community engagement process. Sarason (1974, 1986) and others (Brodsky, O'Campo & Aronson, 1999; Fisher, Sonn & Bishop, 2002; Hughey, Speer & Peterson, 1999; Long & Perkins, 2003; McMillan & Chavis, 1986; Peterson, Speer & Hughey, 2006) have described sense of community as an important construct of interest in the community studies literature. The concept of SOC is a most commonly associated with the definition of McMillan and Chavis (1996), who described SOC as consisting of four elements: 1) feelings of

belonging and commitment, 2) bi-directional influences (person on community and community on person), 3) involving integration and fulfillment of needs, and finally 4) an emotional connection based on shared history and identification with one's community. These aforementioned elements are believed to work dynamically together for an overall sense of community. Although measurement issues with the commonly used Sense of Community Index (SCI) scale have been raised (Long & Perkins, 2007) including response set bias (Peterson, Speer, Hughey, 2006), the construct of SOC remains central within the community studies literature. Elsewhere, Ammerman and Wuthnow deal frequently with notions of SOC and alienation in community, but these latent constructs are rarely measured empirically as psychological measures nor have they become the central focus of study within the congregational studies field.

Both, anecdotally and ethnographically, others have demonstrated the elemental role of SOC in congregational life (Wuthnow, 1994) and of the CBCO process (Wood, 2002). SOC in CBCO has been ethnographically documented both with respect to public actions and the procedural aspects of group work (Wood, 2002). The dynamic group energy (Wood, 2003) or "collective effervescence" (Durkheim, 1978) that emerges during large CBCO civic gatherings and organizing events is the most compelling example of SOC within the CBCO process. For some these experiences meet the defined criteria of a collectively shared spiritual experience (Dokecki, et al, 2001). To date, neither Wood nor others have empirically examined the relationship between spirituality and sense of community within CBCO or the effects of spirituality on community engagement. Dokecki, et al (2001), have, however, suggested that sense of community is a constituent element of spirituality.

In addition, while acknowledging the reciprocal, multidirectional effects that occur between SOC and other measures of empowerment, in their earlier work, Chavis & Wandersman (1990) conducted a path analysis, demonstrating the empirical relationship between sense of community and civic engagement. Although both are central concepts in the field, limited scholarship examines directly the interplay between SOC and empowerment. One recent exception is Ohmer (2008) who shows that positive participant perceptions of their organization's effectiveness (i.e. an empowered organization) improves SOC for those participants, but does not address, however, the effects of SOC on civic engagement. How SOC relates to civic engagement directly and when spirituality is included in an analysis is not fully understood.

Summary Statement and Project Hypotheses

Although a growing literature, mostly ethnographic, has developed in the field of CBCO (Kleidman, 2004; Rusch, 2008; Warren, 2001; Wood, 2002), empirically sound quantifiable research remains limited (Day, 2002; Wood, 2003), and many dimensions of CBCO remain unexplored. This dissertation examines the role of spirituality in CBCO and community engagement, as it occurs through and in comparison to the contextual domain of the congregation and in contrast to other organizational contexts. Hypotheses examined in this study are presented below.

Hypothesis I: Psychosocial effects vary by organizational context (CBCO, church, neighborhood organization, schools, and/or "other"/non-affiliation) with CBCO evidencing higher scores on positive outcomes (i.e. higher psychological empowerment, cognitive knowledge of power, sense of community, spirituality, and civic engagement and less alienation).

Hypothesis 2: Psychosocial attributes of participants vary across levels of spirituality (grouped: high vs. low) with higher levels of spirituality positively associated with more positive psychosocial attributes (i.e. higher psychological empowerment, cognitive knowledge of power, sense of community, spirituality, and civic engagement and less alienation).

Hypothesis 3: Psychosocial effects vary by organizational context (CBCO, church, neighborhood organization, schools, and/or "other"/non-affiliation) with CBCO evidencing higher scores on positive outcomes and stronger participation effects (i.e. higher psychological empowerment, cognitive knowledge of power, sense of community, spirituality, and civic engagement and less alienation) over time.

Hypothesis 4a & b: Spirituality moderates outcome effects on participants by a) buffering negative effects of community engagement in CBCO and b) enhancing positive dimensions of community engagement.

Hypothesis 5: Spirituality moderates outcome effects on participation over time.

Hypothesis 6: When combined in an explanatory path model, spirituality mediates psychosocial effects on civic engagement at time 1 and over time.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH METHODS

To explore the dynamics and effects of congregation based community organizing, PICO, The Raskob Foundation and Paul Speer of Vanderbilt University partnered in a project called the Skipper Initiative ("Skipper" being the nickname of a Raskob family matriarch). Launched at the beginning of 2001, the *Skipper Initiative* was conducted in five communities that already had PICO organizations that had been established before 2001. Communities included: the front range of Northern Colorado; Kansas City, Kansas; Kansas City, Missouri; Rochester, New York; and Brooklyn, New York. The organizations in each locale ran on annual budgets of between \$150,000 and \$200,000, had a range of 10 to 25 member organizations, and a volunteer leader/participant base between 2,000 and 3,000 at each site. Each organization had 2-4 staff members, including an executive director who was usually someone with extensive experience as a community organizer, one or two other newer organizers, and a part-time administrative staffer.

Survey data collection

Data were collected through telephone survey.

Surveys. Wave 1 on the survey was administered in 2003, with follow-up in 2005. CBCO participants were randomly selected from among those identified as having participated in a PICO meeting or event in 2001 or 2002. Fifty percent of those selected had participated in a PICO meeting or event at least once, but fewer than four times. The

remaining fifty percent of PICO participants sampled had participated four or more times in 2001 and/or 2002. Additionally, a random sample of residents in the same communities was selected using random digit dialing. Participants selected through random digit dialing were asked to identify the community institution they participated in most (church, school parent group, neighborhood organization, other setting or non-affiliated). Surveys were identical, except that each participant was asked specific questions about their participation in their self-identified organization (CBCO, church, school, neighborhood).

Survey Measures

Demographic covariates and six psychosocial domains addressed in the survey were examined.

Covariates Covariate demographics included race, gender, age, education, income, physical health, and mental health. Twelve items from the health assessment SF-12 instrument were included to assess participant physical and mental health status at time of interview. Items were weighted and scaled to create standardized physical and mental health scores (Ware, J.E., Kosinski, M., & Keller, S.D., 1996). The SF-12 instrument offered respondents a five level response choice ranging from "always" to "never". (For a full survey: See Appendix A.).

Psychosocial Domains Domain's selected for analysis include, psychological empowerment, knowledge of power, alienation, spirituality, sense of community, and civic engagement, and are among the most commonly discussed psychosocial outcomes

of interest in the community studies literature (empowerment, power, sense of community, and alienation). Spirituality is included as an under-examined key construct of interest to this study.

Description of domains follow.

Psychological Empowerment⁴ 8 items assessing psychological sense of empowerment were included. This composite was adapted from Zimmerman and Zahniser (1991) and included the following statements: "I am a leader in groups"; "people like me are well qualified to participate in the political process"; "I can talk in front of a group"; "I can usually organize people to get things done". (Items for psychological empowerment and the following psychosocial domains are detailed in Appendix A. Respondents answered these and other psychosocial items using a 5-point Liker scale ranging from "strongly disagree" to "strongly agree"). Zimmerman's identifies this domain as Intrapersonal Empowerment.

Cognitive Knowledge of Power⁵ This 17 item scale, validated by Speer and Peterson (2000) includes measures which address participant knowledge of collective and political power processes in their community, including, for example, the following items "When there is a problem in this community, I am better able to deal with it on my own than as a member of a group";. "Only by working together can people make changes in a community"; "I can impact community issues only by working in an organized way with other people"; "To improve my community, it is more effective to work with a group than as an individual"; "The effectiveness of activists and corporate leaders is really due to the quality of their organizations, not from their personal characteristics"; "The only

⁴ This is an empirical measure of Zimmerman's (1995) intrapersonal empowerment construct.

⁵ This is an empirical measure of Zimmerman's (1995) interactional empowerment construct.

way I can act to improve the community is by connecting to others". Respondents answered theses and other psychosocial items using a 5-point Liker scale ranging from "strongly disagree" to "strongly agree".

Alienation. Nine items assessing alienation were included. This composite measure, previously validated by Dean (1961), included three major components: powerlessness ("sometimes I have the feeling that people are using me"; "there is little chance for promotion on the job unless a man gets a break"), normlessness ("I often wonder what the meaning of life really is"; "the end often justifies the means"), and social isolation ("real friends are as easy as ever to find"; "I don't get to visit friends as often as I'd like").

Spirituality Eight items from Wuthnow's (1994) Sharing the Journey were included in a spirituality scale. For these and other items respondents were asked to think about the organization in which they were most involved and whether or not that involvement 'felt like an answer to prayers'; left them "feeling closer to God", caused them to be "less interested in people outside their group"; "made them more open and honest with themselves, with others"; helped them "to share their faith with others outside of their group", and helped them "to serve people outside of their group". Respondents answered using a five point Likert scale ranging from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree".

Sense of community (SOC) Sixteen SOC items previously tested and validated as the COSOC measure by Hughey, et al, 1999, were included. SOC subscales included par ticipant relationship to their organization (including questions about whether or not, for example, participants felt they "could count on members of their organization"; "shared

goals in alignment with the organization", and felt "people had say in the organization"); organizations as mediating (including degree to which participants "feel the organization allows respondent to be a part of other groups in the city", and extent to which participation "helps the respondent feel connected to other groups in the city"); influence of the (assessing extent to which participant "feels their organization is not overlooked"; "gets things done and is helped to solve at least one problem in the city"); and, participant's relationship with their community (including measures of whether or not the respondent would "rather live in another town", and whether or not living in their city gives the respondent a "sense of community").

Community engagement⁶. A 6 item scale assessing civic participation, previously validated by Speer and Peterson (2000), was also included to assess participatory involvement in community-action activities. Items asked respondents to indicate their frequency of participation in a variety of community groups and events (e.g., "signed a petition, written a letter to influence local policies, attended a public meeting to pressure for a policy change") over a three-month period. Respondents answered the items using a 5-point Liker scale ranging from not at all to five times or more. This scale is equivalent to Zimmerman's Behavioral Empowerment construct. The term community engagement is utilized to denote organizationally affiliated civic engagement, occurring through congregational and other organization contexts (CDC, 1997).

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⁶ The term community engagement is used here as an explicit reference to the process of persons working collaboratively through groups (Fawcett, et al, 1995). Empirically this measure is synonymous with Zimmerman's construct of behavioral empowerment and terms civic participation or civic engagement, which are sometimes used interchangeably throughout this dissertation.

Table 3 presents a list of the six psychosocial domains used in this analysis, number of survey items per scale, cite reference for initial scale validation, and survey Wave 1 cronbach alpha scores for each scaled domain.

Table 3
Reliability Cronbach's Alpha for Psychosocial Attribute Scales

	#		
Scale	items	Reference Source	Cronbach's Alpha
Psychological Empowerment	8	Zimmerman & Zanhiser (1991)	.728
Knowledge of Power	17	Speer & Peterson (2000)	.782
Alienation	9	Dean (1961)	.485
Spirituality	8	Wuthnow (1994)	.847
Sense of Community	16	Hughey, et al. (1999)	.787
Community engagement	6	Speer & Peterson (2000)	.800

Participants

Surveys. Wave 1 of the survey included 562 CBCO (PICO) respondents, 524 church members, 92 school parent organization respondents, 131 neighborhood group participants, and 245 with an "other" or no dominant organizational affiliation. Those who participated in Wave 1 and 2 of the survey (32% of Wave 1) included 258 CBCO respondents, 130 church members, 21 respondents involved in school parent organizations, 38 involved in neighborhood groups, and 50 with an "other" or no dominant organizational affiliation. Thirty-two percent of those interviewed at Wave 1 were interviewed at follow-up in 2005. CBCO respondents were nearly twice as likely to

participate in follow-up interview then other respondents (46%, 258/562 vs. 24%, 239/992, respectively) (See Table 4).

Table 4
Recruitment Domains: 2003 and 2005 follow-up

	1	2	3	4	5	
Survey	СВСО	Church	School	Neighborhoood	Other	Total
Wave 1 2003	562	524	92	131	245	1554
Wave 2 2005 follow-up	258	130	21	38	50	497
% retained in follow-up	46%	25%	23%	29%	20%	32%

Analyses

Descriptive Analyses & Comparisons by Organizational Domain

First, descriptive analyses were conducted to compare CBCO participants to those who most frequently participated in other organizational settings (church, school parent group, neighborhood organization, non-affiliated or none of the previous). Descriptive analyses of Wave 1 and the combined Wave 1/Wave2 longitudinal data are presented in Tables 3 and 4, respectively. Second, a series of one way analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted across all groups. Third, significance for Bonferroni post-hoc comparisons were conducted to compare CBCO participants, by each covariate (gender, race, age, income, education, physical health, mental health), to participants from other

organizational domains (CBCO v. church; CBCO v. school; CBCO v. neighborhood; CBCO v. non-affiliated/non-identified other). Fourth, a correlation matrix between the six psychosocial attributes included in this study was constructed.

A high percentage of respondents refused to report income (n=266, 17% of sample). The covariate income is not included in the hypothesis tests and analyses that follow.

Hypothesis I: Psychosocial effects vary by organizational context (CBCO, church, neighborhood organization, schools, and/or "other"/non-affiliation) with CBCO evidencing higher scores on positive outcomes (i.e. higher psychological empowerment, cognitive knowledge of power, sense of community, spirituality, and civic engagement and less alienation).

Step 1. MANCOVA were conducted on Wave 1 of the data to examine differences across groups in spirituality and other psychosocial dimensions, including psychological empowerment, knowledge of power, alienation, spirituality, sense of community, civic engagement (introduced previously). Covariate effects of race, gender, age, education, income, and education were controlled for. Wave 1 of the data was utilized.

Step 2. The effects of organizational participant domain were additionally tested in a series of regressions of demographic covariates, physical and mental health status, and organizational domains on the six psychosocial outcome variables introduced in the previous analysis (psychological empowerment, knowledge of power, alienation,

spirituality, sense of community, civic engagement). These analyses estimate three models for each outcome variable. Model 1 includes individual-level covariates (gender, race, age, and education) that help to predict outcome variables. Model 2 uses individual-level covariates while adding physical and mental health effects, as assessed by scores from the SF-12 scale. Model 3 uses each of the previous measures, as well as, organizational domain of participation (church, school, neighborhood organization, "other"/non-affiliated – with CBCO as their comparative referent). Model 4 uses each of the previous measures, as well as, all other psychosocial variables and significant interactions.

Hypothesis 2: Psychosocial attributes of participants vary across levels of spirituality (grouped: high vs. low) with higher levels of spirituality positively associated with more positive psychosocial attributes (i.e. higher psychological empowerment, cognitive knowledge of power, sense of community, spirituality, and civic engagement and less alienation).

Participants were divided into high and low spirituality groups using the median split method. Spirituality scores ranged from 1 to 5 with a median score of 3.75. Based on the median split 843 participants comprised the high spirituality group, while 706 participants comprised the low spirituality group. Chi-sq's were performed to determine whether the high and low spirituality groups differed significantly on a range of demographic covariates, including age, education, income, gender, race, and organization of most frequent participation. Differences in psychosocial attributes psychological

empowerment, knowledge of power, alienation, sense of community, and community engagement were also examined.

Among those high in spirituality, MANOVA's were conducted, with bonferroni post-hoc comparisons, to compare differences of the CBCO, congregation, and non-affiliation domains across each of the psychosocial domains. Due to small n's neighborhood and school groups were dropped from this part of the analysis.

Hypothesis 3: Psychosocial effects vary by organizational context (CBCO, church, neighborhood organization, schools, and/or "other"/non-affiliation) with CBCO evidencing higher scores on positive outcomes and stronger participation effects (i.e. higher psychological empowerment, cognitive knowledge of power, sense of community, spirituality, and civic engagement and less alienation) over time.

Repeated measures MANCOVA were conducted to assess change in psychosocial variables by organizational domains, over time. Covariates age, race, gender, and education were included in the analysis.

Testing Hypothesis 4a & b: Spirituality moderates outcome effects on participants by a) buffering negative effects of community engagement and b) enhancing positive dimensions of community engagement.

Part 4a. A correlation matrix between psychosocial variables and mental health was conducted. It is hypothesized that spirituality has an interactive (moderating) stress

buffering effect on mental health. To test the stress buffering moderating effects of spirituality on mental health two regression analyses were conducted for PICO participants only. Both included demographic and the six psychosocial variables shown to be related to civic engagement. The first regression included an interaction term for alienation and spirituality. The second regression included an interaction term for knowledge of power and spirituality.

Part 4b. Median splits were conducted to examine more broadly the interaction of spirituality and pro-social aspects associated with CBCO (namely SOC, empowerment, and community engagement). It is hypothesized that spirituality has a beneficial interactive effect

Classifications of variables were conducted in the following manner. For both the spirituality and sense of community scales a Median Split was used to classify respondents as either high or low on each dimension of the respective scale. Both the spirituality and SOC scales had two dimensions (high or low). Four groups were then determined by cross-tabulation of high/low status of the two variables. MANCOVA with Bonferroni post-hoc comparisons were conducted to compare the four groupings by covariates and other psychosocial measures.

For both the spirituality and empowerment scales a Median Split was used to classify respondents as either high or low on each dimension of the respective scale. Both the spirituality and empowerment scales had two dimensions (high or low). Four groups were then determined by cross-tabulation of high/low status of the two variables. MANCOVA with post-hoc Bonferroni post-hoc comparisons were conducted to compare the four groupings by covariates and other psychosocial measures.

For both the spirituality and community engagement scales a Median Split was used to classify respondents as either high or low on each dimension of the respective scale. Both the spirituality and SOC scales had two dimensions (high or low). Four groups were then determined by cross-tabulation of high/low status of the two variables. MANCOVA with Bonferroni post-hoc comparisons were conducted to compare the four groupings by covariates and other psychosocial measures.

Testing Hypothesis 5: Spirituality moderates outcome effects on participation over time.

A series of regressions of demographic covariates, physical and mental health status, and organizational domains on the six psychosocial outcome variables were conducted at time two, follow-up interview (psychological empowerment, knowledge of power, alienation, spirituality, sense of community, civic engagement). These analyses estimate four models for each outcome variable. Model 1 includes individual-level covariates (gender, race, age, income, and education) that help to predict outcome variables. Excluding income, all other variables were collected at time 1. The variable income at time 2 – did not suffer from the same problem of missing data – as variable income at time 1. Model 2 uses individual-level covariates while adding physical and mental health effects, as assessed by scores from the SF-12 scale. Model 3 uses each of the previous measures, as well as, organizational domain of participation (church, school, neighborhood organization, "other"/non-affiliated – with CBCO as their comparative referent), as well as, number of other organizational affiliations. Data on number of organizational affiliations was not collected at time one. Model 4 uses each of the

previous measures, as well as, all other psychosocial variables and significant interactions.

Testing Hypothesis 6: Spirituality mediates outcome effects on community engagement at time 1 and over time.

Structural equation modeling (SEM) is the preferred method for examining mediator effects (Frazier, Barron, Tix, 2004) and was used to examine hypothesized interrelationships among psychosocial constructs psychological empowerment, cognitive understanding of power, spirituality, alienation, sense of community, and community engagement. An adaptation of a model from Chavis and Wandersman (1990) was tested. Maximum likelihood (ML) methods were used to estimate model parameters, as recommended by Hu and Bentler (1995). Analyses were conducted for wave 1 data and with the longitudinal combined wave 1 and 2 data, using Amos Version 16.0.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

Demographic variations by organizational context

The right most column of Tables 5 and 6 report Sum of squares and F-test values for those differences that are significant differences for all groups. Asterisks within columns of organizational affiliation reflect significant comparisons with the CBCO group. Significance for CBCO v. other organizational settings is designated by covariate percentage or means within cells. (See Tables 5 and 6).

Table 5
Skipper Survey 2003: Participant Demographics by Organizational Domain

	CBCO	Church	School	N'hood	Other	Total	Sum of squares	F test, df=4
n	562	524	92	131	245	1554	_	
% Female	67%	64%**	86%**	50%**	52%**	63%	361.98	11.78**
% African American	31%	22%**	17%**	21%	18%*	24%	286.05	6.53**
Median Age	55-64	45-54**	35-44**	45-54**	45-54**	45-54 yrs	4713.96	43.08**
% Some College	79%	77%	83%	77%	72%	77%		n/a
Median Income	35-44k	35-44k	35-44k	45-54k	35-44k	35-44k		n/a
SF-12 Phys Health	25.17	25.19	25.24	25.19	25.25	25.2		n/a
SF-12 Mental Health	19.42	19.33	19.31	19.36	19.13**	19.34	616.94	9.81**

^{*} $p \le .05$; ** p < .01 statistically significance comparison to CBCO group; F test: * $p \le .05$; ** p < .01

Results show that CBCO participants were significantly different from those who most frequently participated through other domains by covariates gender, race, age and mental health status. More specifically, CBCO is comprised of a higher percentage of female participants than church, neighborhood or non-affiliated survey respondents, while school organizations had more female participants than CBCO. CBCO members were, in general (except in contrast to neighborhood group participants), statistically more likely to be African American and older than those who most frequently participate thru other organizational domains. Mental health status was lower in non-affiliated respondents than CBCO respondents, though no other significant differences were found in comparison with other groups. Education level, income and physical health status did not vary significantly across groups.

Of those interviewed in 2003 and again in 2005, CBCO members were statistically more likely to be African America and older (see Table 6) than those strongly affiliated with their non-CBCO church, school, neighborhood or other/no organization.

Table 6
Skipper Survey 2003 & 2005:
Longitudinal Participant Demographics by Organizational Domain

	CBCO	Church	School	N'hood	Other	Total	Sum of squares	F test, df=4
n	258	130	21	38	50	497	_	
% Female	66%	57%	86%	50%	54%	62%	116.89	3.08*
% African American	31%	22%**	17%*	21%	18%**	24% 45-54	286.57	6.46**
Median Age	55-64	45-54**	35-44**	45-54	45-54	yrs	1181.32	8.33**
% Some College	82%	82%	90%	70%	76%	81%		n/a
Median Income*	35-45k	35-45k	35-45k	45-55k	35-45k	35-45k		n/a
SF-12 Phys Health	25.09	25.18	25.15	25.93	25.41	25.16		n/a
SF-12 Mental Health	19.46	19.40	19.54	19.33	19.41	19.43		n/a

^{*} $\underline{p} \le .05$; ** $\underline{p} < .01$ statistically significance comparison to CBCO, F test: * $\underline{p} \le .05$; ** $\underline{p} < .01$

Those who did not participate in follow-up interview were statistically more likely to be younger, in better physical health, and with lower mental health.

Table 7
Respondent Attrition

	Participated	Participated		
	Survey 1 only	Survey 1 & 2	t	p
n	1057	497	_	
% Female	63%	62%	34	.732
% African American	24%	24%	.14	.891
Median Age	35-44 yrs	45-54 yrs	-6.95**	.000
% Some College	76%	81%	-1.73	.084
Median Income	35-45k	35-45k	.92	.359
SF-12 Phys Health	25.23	25.16	3.50**	.000
SF-12 Mental Health	19.29	19.43	-4.14**	.000

^{*} $p \le .05$; ** p < .01 statistically significance comparison to CBCO, F test: * $p \le .05$; ** p < .01

Psychological empowerment is significantly correlated with all other psychosocial constructs, as is community engagement. The correlation between psychological empowerment and civic engagement is strongest. All other correlations are below .3. Sense of community and knowledge of power are not significantly correlated. Spirituality and alienation are not significantly correlated. Mental health is positively correlated with community engagement, spirituality, and sense of community, but negatively associated with knowledge of power and alienation (See table 8).

Table 8
Correlation Matrix of Psychosocial Characteristics

	Psychological Empowerment	Knowledge of Power	Alienation	Spirituality	SOC	Community Engagement
Psych Empow	/			•		
Know of Pow	071**	/				
Alienation	264**	.255**	/			
Spiritituality	.152**	.116**	049	/		
SOC	.261**	.027	270**	.271**	/	
Comm Engage	.385**	.086**	141**	.168**	.241**	/
Mental Health	.141**	051*	298**	.128**	.243**	.089**

 $p \le .05$; ** p < .01

Hypothesis I: Psychosocial effects vary by organizational context (CBCO, church, neighborhood organization, schools, and/or "other"/non-affiliation) with CBCO evidencing higher scores on positive outcomes (i.e. higher psychological empowerment, cognitive knowledge of power, sense of community, spirituality, and civic engagement and less alienation).

Table 9
MANCOVA Wave 1
Contrast Analysis for Psychosocial Attribute Scales across Organizational Domains

	1	2	3	4	5		
Scale	СВСО	Church	School	Neighborhood	Other	F**	Multiple Comparisons ⁷
Psych Empowerment	3.71	3.57	3.73	3.66	3.37	12.19	1 > 2, 1 > 5
Knowledge of Power	2.11	1.90	1.84	1.95	1.89	9.43	1 > 2, 1 > 3, 1 > 4, 1 > 5
Alienation	2.84	2.95	2.94	2.91	3.09	5.19	1 < 5
Spirituality	3.94	3.83	3.39	3.34	3.06	48.19	1 > 3, 1 > 4, 1 > 5
Sense of Community	3.94	3.92	3.77	3.76	3.45	24.98	1 > 5
Community Engagement	2.71	1.97	2.07	2.20	1.66	62.35	1 > 2, 1 > 3, 1 > 4, 1 > 5

All F values significant at ** p < .01

Table 9 reveals that psychosocial attributes vary significantly across organizational domains of participation even when controlling for effects of a range of covariates. CBCO participants are significantly higher than all other group participants in knowledge of power and civic engagement. Both church and CBCO participants are significantly higher than other groups in spirituality. Church and CBCO participants are not, however, significantly different from one another in level of spirituality. In addition,

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⁷ Only significant comparisons with CBCO are listed. $p \le .01$ for all comparisons, unless noted * $p \le .05$.

CBCO participants evidence higher psychological empowerment than church-only participants and "other" participants not affiliated with any of the four identified domains. CBCO participants also evidence significantly lower levels of alienation and higher sense of community than other, non-affiliated participants.

Tables 10 through 15 report findings⁸ from regression of demographic covariates, physical and mental health status, organizational domains, and psychosocial variations, on the six psychosocial outcome variables introduced in the previous analysis (psychological empowerment, knowledge of power, alienation, spirituality, sense of community, civic engagement). It is assumed that psychosocial variables are reciprocal in their effects, and therefore each of the five remaining psychosocial variables are included in the equations for each psychosocial dependent variable. These findings reveal again that percentage gender, race, age, and educational attainment status were significant covariates. Physical health was also importantly predictive of knowledge of power, alienation, and spirituality, while mental health was an importantly related to all psychosocial outcomes except civic engagement. In addition, organizational domain is an important predictor of psychological empowerment, knowledge of power, spirituality, and civic engagement. Non-affiliation with the identified domains of either CBCO church, school, or neighborhood organization significantly increased alienation and lowered sense of community. Most notably, CBCO affiliation had notably large effects on level of participant spirituality and civic engagement (explaining a full 9%- 10% of variation of these outcomes for all respondents). Effects of psychosocial predictors on outcomes are discussed in turn below.

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⁸ conducted 8-18-08.

Psychological Empowerment

Model's 1 and 2 indicate that being African American, younger, with more education, and a higher level of mental health increases one's sense of psychological empowerment. Model 3 indicates that primary participation through one's church and/or "other"/non-affiliation lessens one's psychological empowerment compared to participation through a CBCO organization. When considering the additional variance explained by the organizational setting through which on participates, the effects are modest. When other psychosocial characteristics were added to the model to explain psychological empowerment, the significance of organizational domain dropped out. All psychosocial characteristics, except knowledge of power, were significant. The full model explains 32% of variation in participant's psychological empowerment, with psychosocial factors having the strongest predictive effects.

Table 10 Multivariate Regression for Psychological Empowerment

		Model 1		1	Model 2			Model 3			Model 4	
	Beta	t	р	Beta	t	р	Beta	t	р	Beta	t	р
(Constant)		36.32	.000		-1.38	.168		59	.558		.55	.579
Female Race (White reference)	049	-2.08	.038	043	-1.81	.070	057	-2.39	.017	059	-2.68	.007
African American	.102	4.22	.000	.104	4.31	.000	.085	3.53	.000	.087	3.80	.000
Latino	.047	1.91	.056	.050	2.08	.038	.045	1.89	.059	.035	1.59	.113
Age	123	-5.15	.000	134	-5.38	.000	167	-6.41	.000	215	-8.91	.000
Education	.359	14.80	000	.338	13.69	.000	.323	13.21	.000	.228	9.78	.000
DISABILITY												
Physical Health				.042	1.65	.101	.036	1.40	.161	.028	1.18	.237
Mental Health ORG DOMAIN (CBCO reference)				.135	5.55	.000	.116	4.77	.000	.047	2.02	.044
Church							104	-3.82	.000	005	19	.848
School							022	87	.386	.039	1.64	.102
Neighborhood Other/Non- Affiliated							032 167	-1.28 -6.25	.201	.022	.92 .74	.358
PSYCHOSOCIAL							10/	-0.23	.000	.020	./4	.402
Knowledge of Pow										038	-1.66	.097
Alienation										132	-5.39	.000
Spirituality										.110	4.52	.000
SOC										.116	4.85	.000
Comm Engagement										.312	12.88	.000
Commi Engagement										.312	12.00	.000
F for model	53.80			43.64			32.32			45.68		
ΔR^2				.016			.021			.137		
Sig F change				.000			.000			.000		
\mathbb{R}^2	.148			.164			.185			.322		

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Cognitive Knowledge of Power

African Americans, Latinos, older individuals, and those who are less well physically and emotionally evidence a greater knowledge of power. Identification of church, school, or "other"/non-affiliation is additionally linked to a lower knowledge of power compared to those who participate through CBCO. When other psychosocial characteristics were added to the model to explain knowledge of power, organizational domain effects remained significant with the exception of neighborhood organizational effects. Increased alienation and low SOC were found to be significantly predictive. The effects of poor mental health dropped out and were no longer significant as did the effects of being African American when psychosocial variables were considered. Gender in contrast, became significantly predictive in this more robust model. Overall the full-model predicts only 13% of variation in participant knowledge of power.

Table 11 Multivariate Regression: Knowledge of Power

		Model 1]	Model 2			Model 3			Model 4	
	Beta	t	р	Beta	t	р	Beta	t	р	Beta	t	р
(Constant)		63.94	.000		8.41	.000		9.25	.000		5.62	.000
Female Race (White reference)	.033	1.32	.187	.026	1.02	.309	.024	.94	.348	.018	.74	.005
African American	.110	.43	.000	.104	4.04	.000	.080	3.10	.002	.052	2.00	.460
Latino	.071	2.73	.006	.068	2.62	.009	.065	2.53	.012	.052	2.08	.046
Age	.129	5.08	.000	.120	4.52	.000	.067	2.43	.015	.079	2.81	.005
Education	046	-1.80	.072	022	85	.396	037	-1.42	.155	.016	2.08	.545
DISABILITY												
Physical Health				084	-3.04	.002	094	-3.48	.001	057	-2.13	.033
Mental Health ORG DOMAIN (CBCO reference)				087	-3.36	.001	100	-3.88	.000	036	-1.36	.179
Church							173	-5.97	.000	168	-5.66	.000
School							097	-3.56	.000	086	-3.19	.001
Neighborhood Other/Non- Affiliated							056 131	-2.10 -4.61	.036	043 112	-1.64 -3.67	.000
PSYCHOSOCIAL							131	-4.01	.000	112	-3.07	.000
Psy Empower										049	-1.66	.097
Alienation										.272	10.05	.000
Spirituality										.050	1.79	.074
SOC										.059	2.15	.032
Comm Engagement										.043	1.48	.139
F for model	11.51			10.80			10.98			15.04		
ΔR^2				.010			.024			.063		
Sig F change				.000			.000			.000		
\mathbb{R}^2	.033			.043			.067			.130		

Alienation

Model 1 indicates that African Americans, as compared to whites, younger persons, and those educated evidence significantly higher levels of alienation. Model 2 reveals that poor physical health and mental health improve the model substantially (increasing the explanatory value from 8.2% to 16% of variation in Alienation among participants). Participation in any one of the non-CBCO organizational domains does not appear to either increase or decrease level of alienation, although "other"/non-affiliation or not identifying a primary organizational domain is linked to an increase in alienation.

When other psychosocial characteristics were added to the model to explain alienation, the effects of the organizational domain of church became significant. In comparison to CBCO congregations, other congregations had higher alienation. Low sense of community and psychological empowerment were significantly related to higher levels of alienation. Higher knowledge of power was linked to higher alienation. Other demographic and health factors remained significant in their effects. The full model explains 25% of the variation in alienation.

Table 12 Multivariate Regression for Alienation

		Model 1]	Model 2			Model 3			Model 4	
	Beta	t	р									
(Constant)		52.31	.000		13.38	.000		12.98	.000		10.14	.000
Female Race (White reference)	001	034	.973	017	74	.460	012	50	.616	021	92	.360
African American	.073	2.89	.004	.065	2.69	.007	.072	2.95	.003	.066	2.75	.006
Latino	.046	1.81	.070	.038	1.56	.120	.040	1.66	.098	.026	1.13	.259
Age	130	-5.26	.000	121	-4.87	.000	110	-4.17	.000	137	-5.31	.000
Education	239	-9.49	.000	186	-7.53	.000	181	-7.30	.000	116	-4.64	.000
DISABILITY												
Physical Health				135	-5.27	.000	134	-5.18	.000	-090	-3.64	.000
Mental Health ORG DOMAIN (CBCO reference)				279	11.46	.000	271	-11.01	.000	200	-8.33	.000
Church							.018	.64	.520	.059	2.11	.035
School							.013	.49	.624	.028	1.14	.254
Neighborhood Other/Non-							.011	.41	.680	.018	.73	.466
Affiliated							.071	2.61	.009	.065	2.29	.022
PSYCHOSOCIAL												
Psy Empower										145	-5.39	.000
Know of Power										.234	10.05	.000
Spirituality										.016	.64	.523
SOC										145	-5.76	.000
Comm Engagement										.019	.72	.470
F for model	28.32			42.32			27.67			32.85		
ΔR^2				.078			.02			.091		
Sig F change				.000			.075			.000		
\mathbb{R}^2	.082			.160			.162			.253		

Spirituality

Models 1 and 2 reveal that women, African Americans, Latinos, and older persons have significantly higher spirituality. Higher level of mental health is additionally related, although does not notably increase the explanatory power of the model (from 10% to 11% of variation explained). Interestingly, however, Model 3 reveals that organizational domain of participation is exceptionally important for increased spirituality as school, neighborhood, and "other"/non-affiliated participation is significantly related to decreased spirituality relative to respondents participating through the CBCO organizational domain. The effect of spirituality through participation in the church domain neither significantly increases nor decreases spirituality when contrasted to participation through CBCO. Model 3 explains 21% of variation in spirituality among participants, with organizational domain improving the explanatory power by a noteworthy 9%. When other psychosocial characteristics were added to the model to explain spirituality, organizational domain effects remained significant. Psychological empowerment and SOC added predictive value. Low levels of education became significant while effects of positive mental health dropped out. Psychosocial attributes increase the explanatory value of the model by only 4%. The full model predicts 25% of the variation in spirituality.

Table 13 Multivariate Regression for Spirituality

Spirituality		Model 1		I	Model 2			Model 3			Model 4	
	Beta	t	р	Beta	t	р	Beta	t	р	Beta	t	р
(Constant)		34.27	.000		.95	.342		2.46	.014		2.10	.036
Female Race (White reference)	.133	5.40	.000	.135	5.50	.000	.113	4.81	.000	.112	4.88	.000
African American	.234	9.34	.000	.231	9.23	.000	.194	8.13	.000	.181	7.64	.000
Latino	.108	4.30	.000	.110	4.40	.000	.099	4.18	.000	.089	3.84	.000
Age	.153	6.19	.000	.128	4.97	.000	.060	2.32	.020	.061	2.35	.019
Education	005	22	.829	012	47	.642	034	-1.39	.164	090	-3.55	.000
DISABILITY												
Physical Health				022	81	.418	034	-1.37	.172	041	-1.64	.102
Mental Health ORG DOMAIN (CBCO reference)				.108	4.30	.000	.073	3.03	.002	.036	1.46	.145
Church							026	96	.335	006	21	.833
School							130	-5.19	.000	116	-4.68	.000
Neighborhood Other/Non- Affiliated							148 314	-5.96 -11.87	.000	135 249	-5.53 -8.93	.000.
PSYCHOSOCIAL							314	-11.8/	.000	249	-8.93	.000
Psy Empower										.123	4.52	.000
Know of Power										.043	1.79	.074
Alienation										.043	.64	.523
SOC										.154	6.14	.000
Comm Engagement										.018	.68	.499
561												
F for model	34.67			28.09			37.05			31.99		
ΔR^2				.012			.096			.04		
Sig F change				.000			.000			.000		
\mathbb{R}^2	.100			.112			.208			.248		

Sense of Community

Being female, older, and higher in education increases one's sense of community, according to Model 1 of this analysis. As model 2 shows, stronger mental health is additionally significant in predicting sense of community. Non-affiliation or "other" affiliation reduces sense of community. When adding psychosocial predictors, the organizational domain of the chuch became statistically significant and non-organization affiliation remained significant. Interestingly, church remained statistically stronger than than CBCO in predicting SOC when psychosocial variables are also considered. Psychological empowerment, cognitive knowledge of power, alienation, spirituality and community engagement are significant in the predicted directions. Psychosocial predictors significantly increase the explanatory value of the model by 8.4%. The full model predicts 22% of the variation in SOC.

Table 14
Multivariate Regression for Sense of Community

		Model 1		I	Model 2			Model 3			Model 4	
	Beta	t	р									
(Constant)		45.26	.000		-3.05	.002		-2.33	.020		-1.41	.159
Female Race (White reference)	.055	2.20	.028	.066	2.68	.007	.047	1.94	.052	.038	1.61	.107
African American	.016	.60	.547	.018	.72	.472	.000	.01	.996	033	-1.33	.184
Latino	014	55	.581	008	33	.742	018	73	.464	039	-1.65	.099
Age	.141	5.55	.000	.121	4.65	.000	.096	3.57	.000	.086	3.24	.001
Education	.154	5.98	.000	.119	4.62	.000	.106	4.19	.000	.023	.88	.378
DISABILITY												
Physical Health				.066	2.47	.013	.063	2.39	.017	.050	1.98	.048
Mental Health ORG DOMAIN (CBCO reference)				.228	8.95	.000	.201	8.04	.000	.141	5.66	.000
Church							.033	1.16	.245	.095	3.38	.001
School							033	-1.23	.204	.008	.31	.760
Neighborhood Other/Non-							035	-1.35	.177	.006	.25	.804
Affiliated PSYCHOSOCIAL							218	-7.95	.000	091	091	.002
Psy Empower										.134	4.85	.000
Know of Power										.053	2.15	.032
Alienation										151	-5.76	.000
Spirituality										.160	6.14	.000
Comm Engagement										.100	3.68	.000
Comm Engagement										.100	3.06	.000
F for model	14.17			22.21			22.95			27.67		
ΔR^2				.047			.048			.084		
Sig F change				.000			.000.			.000		
R ²	.042			.089			.137			.221		

Community engagement

Higher age and education are significantly predictive of a higher level of community engagement. Mental and physical health have no relationship to level of engagement. Notable CBCO affiliation as contrasted to church, school, neighborhood, and "other"/non-affiliation significantly and strongly increases the likelihood of civic engagement. Inclusion of organizational domain (with CBCO as the organizational referent) improves the explanatory power of the model from 7% of the explanation of variation in model 2 to 19.6% in model 3. All organizational domains remained significant when psychosocial characteristics of participants were added to the model. Psychological empowerment and sense of community add value to the model and were additionally significant. Physical health, mental health and African American status all become significant when psychosocial characteristics were added. Psychological characteristics improve the predictive value of the model by 10.4%. The full model predicts 30% of the variation in levels of community engagement.

Table 15
Multivariate Regression for Community Engagement

		Model 1		1	Model 2			Model 3			Model 4	
	Beta	t	р	Beta	t	р	Beta	t	р	Beta	t	р
(Constant)		10.72	.000		.72	.474		2.80	.005		2.33	.020
Female Race (White reference)	026	-1.06	.291	027	-1.06	.287	048	-2.05	.041	033	-1.48	.139
African American	.025	1.00	.371	.023	.91	.365	029	-1.21	.226	063	-2.74	.006.
Latino	.031	1.21	.227	.031	1.23	.220	.021	.88	.380	.006	.253	.800
Age	.177	7.07	.000	.164	6.25	.000	.063	2.46	.014	.104	4.14	.000
Education	.219	8.65	.000	.220	8.44	.000	.184	7.58	.000	.082	3.35	.001
DISABILITY												
Physical Health				023	83	.406	403	-1.70	.089	061	-2.54	.011
Mental Health ORG DOMAIN (CBCO reference)				.036	1.42	.156	005	20	.845	056	-2.36	.019
Church							322	-11.92	.000	292	-11.32	.000
School							131	-5.21	.000	120	-5.01	.000
Neighborhood Other/Non- Affiliated							105 373	-4.22 -14.06	.000	087 291	-3.68 -10.99	.000
PSYCHOSOCIAL							373	-14.00	.000	291	-10.99	.000
Psy Empower										.322	12.88	.000
Knowledge of Pow										.034	1.48	.139
Alienation										.018	.722	.470
Spirituality										.017	.676	.499
SOC										.090	3.68	.000
F for model	23.46			17.24			34.78			41.24		
ΔR^2				.01			.126			.104		
Sig F change				.197			.000			.000		
\mathbb{R}^2	.069			.070			.196			.300		

Hypothesis 2: Psychosocial attributes of participants vary across levels of spirituality (grouped: high vs. low) with higher less of spirituality positively associated with more positive psychosocial attribute s(i.e. higher psychological empowerment, cognitive knowledge of power, sense of community, spirituality, and civic engagement and less alienation).

Results of these analyses indicate that high and low spirituality groups differed by gender, race, age, education, income, and dominant organizational affiliation. The high spirituality group was more likely to be comprised of women, African American's, older participants, less educated, lower income, CBCO affiliates, and church members. The low spirituality group was more likely to be comprised of men, whites, younger person, higher educated individuals, higher income participants, and most strongly affiliated with school, neighborhood, or other/no community organization.

Table 16
Demographics: Spirituality (Low vs. High)

	Low Spirituality	High Spirituality		
	% (n) or median	% (n) or median	χ^2	P value
Female	55% (386)	70% (587)	36.80	.000**
African American	15% (107)	32% (269)	58.67	**000.
Latino	4% (30)	7% (55)	3.83	.057
White	72% (511)	54% (454)	56.13	.000**
Median Age	45-55	55-65	37.15	**000.
Median Education	College graduate	Some College	16.75	.002**
Median Income	45-55	35-45	13.85	031*
Organization				
CBCO	26% (184)	45% (375)	56.53	.000**
Church	30% (208)	37% (311)	9.13	.003**
School	8% (55)	4% (35)	9.45	.002**
Neighborhood	12% (82)	6% (48)	17.78	.000**
Other/None	24% (171)	9% (71)	73.58	.000**
Group n/N	706/1549	843/1549		

Chi-sq test of significance * $p \le .05$; ** p < .01

Results further indicate that the higher spirituality group evidenced higher psychological empowerment, greater knowledge of power, had a stronger sense of community, and participated in a higher rate of self-reported civic engagement.

Table 17
Psychosocial Variations: Spirituality (Low vs. High)

	Low Sp	pirituality	High Spi	irituality	value	
	M	SD	M	SD	for F	P value
Psychological Empowerment	3.45	.764	3.67	.741	33.08	.000**
Knowledge of Power	3.85	.530	3.95	.515	16.50	**000.
Alienation	2.96	.605	2.91	.627	2.26	.133
Sense of Community	3.64	.624	3.93	.630	82.05	**000.
Civic engagement	2.02	.915	2.33	1.02	35.93	.000**

^{**}Level of significance $p \le .01$

In addition, to examine differences among the highly spiritual by dominant organization of affiliation, significance tests using Bonferroni post-hoc comparisons were conducted to compare differences among the highly spiritual by organizational domain of greatest participation, controlling for covariates (gender, race, age, income, education, physical health, mental health). Due to low n's among highly spiritual school and neighborhood participants these organizational domains (school and neighborhood) were dropped from further analysis. MANCOVA comparisons of psychosocial attributes were made between CBCO, church, and other/nonaffiliated domains. (See Table 17).

Table 18
Psychosocial Comparisons among those High in Spirituality

			F value		
CBCO	Church	Other	(df 2, 747)	Sig.	Multiple Comparisons**
3.8	3.66	3.48	11.34	.000	CBCO v Other*
					CBCO v Church,
4.17	3.93	4.02	16.21	.000	Church v Other
2.78	2.88	3.06	3.56	.028	CBCO v Other*
					CBCO v Church,
4.08	4.01	3.78	16.21	.000	Church v Other*
					CBCO v Church,
2.02	1.22	0.93	57.82	.000	CBCO v Other
	3.8 4.17 2.78 4.08	3.8 3.66 4.17 3.93 2.78 2.88 4.08 4.01	3.8 3.66 3.48 4.17 3.93 4.02 2.78 2.88 3.06 4.08 4.01 3.78	CBCO Church Other (df 2, 747) 3.8 3.66 3.48 11.34 4.17 3.93 4.02 16.21 2.78 2.88 3.06 3.56 4.08 4.01 3.78 16.21	CBCO Church Other (df 2, 747) Sig. 3.8 3.66 3.48 11.34 .000 4.17 3.93 4.02 16.21 .000 2.78 2.88 3.06 3.56 .028 4.08 4.01 3.78 16.21 .000

Level of significance * $p \le .05$; ** p < .01

Results show that when compared to the church group, the highly spiritual CBCO group had higher psychological empowerment, greater knowledge of power, and greater civic engagement. Compared to the other/non-affiliated group, highly spiritual CBCO members had greater psychological empowerment, a stronger sense of community, higher levels of civic engagement, and less alienation. The highly spiritual church group evidenced higher psychological empowerment and a stronger sense of community than the other/non-affiliated group.

Hypothesis 3: Psychosocial effects vary by organizational context (CBCO, church, neighborhood organization, schools, and/or "other"/non-affiliation) with CBCO evidencing higher scores on positive outcomes and stronger participation effects (i.e. higher psychological empowerment, cognitive knowledge of power, sense of community, spirituality, and civic engagement and less alienation) over time.

A repeated measure MANCOVA to test for differences of each of the psychosocial variables: empowerment variables (psychological empowerment, knowledge of power, and community engagement), SOC, spirituality, and alienation by organizational domain. Due to a small sample size among neighborhood, school, and non-affiliated participants – respondents in these categories were grouped into a designated "other" category and the MANCOVA was conducted across three groups: CBCO (n=250), church (n=123), and other (n=100). Covariate effects of gender, race, and age were also included and controlled for. No significant changes in any of the psychosocial factors occurred over time within groups with the exception of spirituality (F = 20.55, df=473,1; p< .01) which increased for all groups (CBCO time1=3.57, time2=3.87; church time1=3.5 to time2=3.81; other time1=3.02 to time2=3.18). Differences over time across groups (CBCO, church, other) were not statistically significant for spirituality or any of the psychosocial variables with the exception of cognitive knowledge of power (F=4.66, df=473, 2; p=.01) which remained relatively stable among CBCO participants (time1=4.05, time2=4.08), increased among church members (time1=3.8, time2=3.94) and decreased among other respondents (time1=3.92, time2=3.85). Bonferroni post-hoc

comparisons were significant for CBCO v church (p=.00) and CBCO v. other comparisons (p=.02).

Hypothesis 4a & 4b: Spirituality moderates outcome effects on participants by a) buffering negative effects of community engagement and b) enhancing positive dimensions of community engagement.

Results part 4a. Correlation results show that mental health is negatively correlated with alienation (r=-.298, p<.01) and knowledge of power (r=-051, p<.05). Regression results reveal that spirituality moderates the effects of knowledge of power on mental health. (See table 24). Spirituality does not however moderate effects of alienation on mental health of CBCO participants. (See table 25).

Table 19
Regression Analysis for CBCO Participant Mental Health:
Knowledge of Power and Spirituality Interaction

			р
	Beta	t	value
(Constant)		17.68	.000
White	118	-2.75	.006
Age	.154	3.57	.000
Education	.135	3.15	002
Physical Health	170	-3.93	.000
Psychological Empowerment	.064	1.38	.170
Cognitive Knowledge of Power	491	-2.24	.026
Community Engagement	058	-1.27	.171
Spirituality	439	-1.55	.123
Sense of Community	.087	2.09	.037
Alienation	246	-5.73	.000
Interaction: Knowledge of Power * Spirituality	.750	2.00	.046
F for model	11.44		.00
R sq.	.174		

Table 20 Regression Analysis for CBCO Participant Mental Health: Alienation and Spirituality Interaction

	Beta	t	p value
(Constant)	Deta	18.74	.000
White	114	-2.64	.004
Age	.121	2.88	.009
Education	.098	2.26	025
Physical Health	204	-4.90	.000
Psychological Empowerment	.064	1.38	.170
Cognitive Knowledge of Power	059	-1.39	.164
Community Engagement	056	-1.30	.194
Spirituality	032	170	.865
Sense of Community	.087	2.09	.037
Alienation	446	-1.85	.065
Interaction: Alienation * Spirituality	260	.84	.401
F for model	11.07		.00
R sq.	.169		

Results part 4b.

Psychological empowerment, sense of community, and community engagement are each positively correlated with other positive psychosocial outcomes including mental health (See Table 7). Examining the median splits among those scoring high vs. low in spirituality and psychological empowerment, spirituality was found to moderate the effects of psychological empowerment on alienation, sense of community, and civic engagement.

Table 21
Median-Split Contrasts for Spirituality & Psychological Empowerment:

	Spiritual	ity LOW	Spiritual	ity HIGH		
Dependent Var:	LO PE	HI PE	LO PE	HI PE	F	p value
Knowledge of Power	1.95	1.90	1.97	1.99	2.48	.060
Alienation	3.12	2.81	2.99	2.83	22.26	.000
Sense of Community	3.52	3.80	3.80	4.02	44.70	.000
Community Engagement	1.75	2.38	1.94	2.57	67.28	.000

Table 22 Median-Split Contrasts for Spirituality & Sense of Community

	Spirituali	ty LOW	Spiritual	ity HIGH		
Dependent Var:	LO SOC	HI SOC	LO SOC	HI SOC	F	p value
Psychological Empowerment	3.32	3.64	3.50	3.79	41.98	.000
Knowledge of Power	1.88	1.91	2.00	2.01	1.98	.114
Alienation	3.08	2.79	3.06	2.80	19.16	.000
Civic engagement	1.86	2.28	2.13	2.46	24.75	.000

Table 23
Mean-Split Contrasts for Spirituality & Community engagement:

	Spiritual	ity LOW	Spiritual	ity HIGH		
Dependent Var:	LO CE	ні се	LO CE	ні се	F	p value
Psychological Empowerment	3.28	3.72	3.52	3.92	67.78	.000
Knowledge of Power	1.91	1.97	1.94	2.02	4.39	.004
Alienation	3.03	2.87	2.92	2.86	6.54	.000
Sense of Community	3.55	3.85	3.83	4.05	45.67	.000

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Hypothesis 5: Spirituality moderates outcome effects on participation over time.

To assess the effects of demographics, disability status, organizational domain, and other psychosocial factors on outcome effects at time 2, a series of regression analyses were conducted. Variables are identical to those used in the previous series of regression analyses, with the exception of organizational domain which is narrowed to include only CBCO and church groups. Omission of neighborhood and school groups is due to the limited number of cases in the school, neighborhood, and non-affiliated others group. In addition, survey two included a measure of income that did not suffer from the same problem of missing data that had occurred at time 1 when the same question was asked. Consequently this time 2 variable is included as a demographic. Also, a new variable "number of institutional affiliations" was added into the survey at time 2 data collection. As an important predictor of community engagement and the psychosocial experience of community engagement, this variable was utilized in the regressions that follow. Unlike the regressions presented previously, variables that were non-significant and that diminished the overall power of the model were dropped. Interaction effects that were found to be significant were also included.

Psychological Empowerment

The effects of demographics, disability, organizational domain, organizational affiliations, and other psychosocial characteristics at time 1 survey were examined for their effects on psychological empowerment at time 2. Other psychosocial characteristics appear to have the greatest influence on psychological empowerment at time 2, and

overpower any organizational domain or affiliation effects. Being older, having more education and a higher income are additionally important. Interestingly the interaction between spirituality and mental health is significant, suggesting that spirituality can help to offset the negative effects of poor mental health leading to an increase in psychological empowerment over time. When other covariate and interaction effects are controlled for low spirituality predicts higher psychological empowerment.

Table 24
Multivariate Regression for Psychological Empowerment at Time 2

Psy Emp		Model 1		1	Model 2			Model 3			Model 4	
	Beta	t	р									
(Constant)		18.06	.000		2.4	.017		2.33	.002		3.09	.002
Age	086	-180	.073	089	-1.83	.068	143	-2.92	.004	152	-3.33	.001
Education	.180	3.53	.000	.181	3.53	.000	.161	3.24	.001	.128	2.71	.007
Income	.161	3.10	.002	.160	3.06	.002	.157	3.08	.002	.143	3.05	.002
DISABILITY												
Mental Health				.016	.330	.741	.014	.308	.758	466	-2.44	.015
ORG DOMAIN												
PICO							.094	1.85	.065	016	303	.762
Church							.056	.90	.370	.031	.529	.59′
# Institutions Affiliated							.172	.17	.004	.048	.827	.409
PSYCHOSOCIAL												
Knowledge of Pow										053	-1.13	.26
Alienation										159	-3.37	.00
Spirituality										-3.16	-2.20	.028
SOC										.113	2.43	.016
Comm Engagement Interaction: Spirituality *										.317	6.47	.000
Mental Health										3.32	2.27	.024
F for model	14.52			10.89			10.86			13.63		
ΔR^2				.000			062			.149		
Sig F change	.000			.741			.000			.024		
\mathbb{R}^2	.089			.087			.143			.285		

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Cognitive Knowledge of Power

CBCO participation and higher number of institutional memberships helped to increase respondent's self reported knowledge of power. Being African American, older, and high in alienation were also significantly predictive. High alienation and low levels of community engagement are predictive of increased knowledge of power at time 2. In addition, the interaction between spirituality and community engagement was statistically significant, indicating that spirituality may help to offset the effects of low community engagement, leading to a predicted increase in knowledge of power. When this interaction and other covariate effects are controlled for, low levels of community engagement predict higher knowledge of power. In addition while higher spirituality and engagement increases knowledge of power, low spirituality and high engagement decreases knowledge of power. (See Appendix B for diagram of interaction effect).

Table 25

Multivariate Regression for Psychosocial Attributes:
Knowledge of Power at Time 2

		Model 1		N	Model 2			Model 3			Model 4	
	Beta	t	р	Beta	t	р	Beta	t	р	Beta	t	р
(Constant)		52.10	.000					47.88	.000		12.44	.000
Female	089	-2.05	.041				073	-1.71	.088	060	-1.43	.152
African American	.182	4.16	.000				.151	3.47	.001	.108	2.50	.013
Age ORG DOMAIN	.169	3.88	.000				.127	2.91	.004	.133	3.10	.002
CBCO # Institutional							.133	2.92	.004	.132	2.81	.005
Memberships PSYCHOSOCIAL							.123	2.78	.006	.117	2.53	.012
Alienation										.195	4.43	.000
Spirituality										021	32	.751
SOC										.076	1.68	.093
Comm Engagement INTERACTION: Spirituality *										406	-2.32	.021
Community Engage										.448	2.39	.017
F for model	12.88						12.14			10.15		
ΔR^2							.037			.010		
Sig F change							.000			.017		
\mathbb{R}^2	.067						.101			.156		

Alienation

Persons younger in age and who are not church members reported higher levels of alienation. All psychosocial variables including low psychological empowerment, higher knowledge of power, greater spirituality, lower SOC and higher community engagement were significantly related to higher levels of alienation. Interestingly, the interaction effect between spirituality and community engagement is statistically significant and predicts increased alienation. Note, this model is the most "temperamental" of regressions presented in this section of the analysis and/or any previous. Significance of the interaction term is easily made non-significant by removing health and income variables.

Table 26 Multivariate Regression for Psychosocial Attributes: Alienation at Time 2

Alienation		Model 1		1	Model 2			Model 3			Model 4	
	Beta	t	р									
(Constant)		24.36	.000		4.62	.000		4.66	.000		3.57	.000
White	064	-1.32	.187	069	-1.43	.154	099	-2.02	.045	085	-1.75	.081
Age	120	-2.46	.014	113	-2.26	.025	081	-1.58	.115	126	-2.57	.011
Education	208	-3.96	.000	190	-3.98	.000	179	-3.42	.001	096	-1.87	.062
Income	056	-1.06	.289	027	-1.06	.607	028	521	.602	.027	.524	.601
DISABILITY												
Physical Health				09	-1.66	.098	086	-1.62	.105	066	-1.31	.190
Mental Health				158	-3.18	.002	156	-3.15	.002	071	-1.47	.143
ORG DOMAIN												
CBCO							031	59	.553	092	-1.71	.088
Church							153	-3.02	.003	122	-2.52	.012
PSYCHOSOCIAL												
Psy Empower										212	-3.97	.000
Know of Power										.148	3.11	.002
Spirituality										.238	3.25	.001
SOC										234	-4.81	.000
Comm Engagement INTERACT: Spirituality * Community										.506	2.33	.020
Engagement										480	-2.00	.037
F for model	8.30			7.47			7.27			9.24		
$\Delta~R^2$.024			.026			.119		
Sig F change				.005			.002			.000		
\mathbb{R}^2	.066			.086			.108			.218		

Spirituality

Being African American, Latino, and lower in education is significantly related to higher spirituality at time 2. In addition, poor health is also predictive of higher levels of spirituality at time 2. The relationship between health and spirituality is stronger among the young, as evidenced by the significant interactive effect of health and age on spirituality at time 2. (i.e. Age moderates the effects of poor health). In addition, being younger in age has a direct and significant predictive effect on higher spirituality. The most dominant effects in the full model however are those of organizational domain of participation and affiliation. CBCO and church affiliation both significantly predict higher levels of spirituality, as do higher number of total organizational affiliations. In addition, higher psychological empowerment and SOC are both significantly and directly predictive of higher spirituality at time 2. The interaction between SOC and empowerment is additionally significant, yet predicts lower levels of spirituality at time 2. While higher levels of psychological empowerment may offset (moderate) the negative effects of low SOC on spirituality, low psychological empowerment and low SOC combined predict lower spirituality.

Table 27 Multivariate Regression for Psychosocial Attributes: Spirituality

Spirituality	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3			Model 4		
	Beta	t	р									
(Constant)		17.94	.000		5.05	.000		4.98	.000		2.97	.003
Age	.025	.503	.615	015	308	.758	084	-1.80	.073	-4.51	-2.36	.019
African American	.272	5.61	.000	.261	5.42	.000	.208	4.67	.000	.195	4.416	.000
Latino	.154	3.18	.002	.146	3.05	.002	.110	2.50	.013	.116	2.69	.007
Education	083	-1.59	.112	050	945	.345	088	-1.85	.065	122	-2.58	.010
Income	.004	.075	.940	.029	.550	.583	.009	.187	.852	.037	784	.434
DISABILITY												
Physical Health ORG DOMAIN				165	-3.17	.002	149	-3.20	.002	419	-3.22	.001
CBCO							.344	6.01	.000	.300	5.07	.000
Church # Institutional							.322	5.86	.000	.293	5.46	.000
Affiliations							.280	6.27	.000	.244	5.37	.000
PSYCHOSOCIAL												
Psy Empower										.775	2.71	.007
Know of Power										.033	.73	.465
Alienation										.024	.51	.611
SOC										.716	3.26	.001
Comm Engagement INTERACTION:										007	129	.897
SOC * Psy Emp INTERACTION:										978	-2.43	.016
Age * Health										4.362	2.32	.021
F for model	9.01			9.36			18.78			13.59		
ΔR^2				.022			.177			.060		
Sig F change				.002			.000			.000		
\mathbb{R}^2	.091			.111			.286			.335		

Sense of Community

Low alienation and high psychological empowerment were statistically significant predictors of SOC at follow-up interview as was mental health status. The interaction between spirituality and community engagement was also significant, suggesting that high spirituality and high community engagement together can increase the likelihood of SOC longitudinally. This is a notable overtime effect and may point to a resiliency effect that spirituality provides in sustaining connection to community. Interestingly, when the interaction effect of spirituality and community engagement and the other covariates are included higher levels of community engagement are linked to lower SOC. The low R overall in this model, however, does indicates that SOC is only weakly predicted when taking into account psychosocial and other characteristics assessed two years previous.

Table 28 Multivariate Regression for Psychosocial Attributes: Sense of Community

SOC	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3			Model 4		
	Beta	t	р	Beta	t	р	Beta	t	р	Beta	t	р
(Constant)					.480	.631		.506	.613		1.56	.118
DISABILITY												
Mental Health ORG DOMAIN				.181	3.99	.000	.181	3.99	.000	.124	2.77	.006
CBCO							.105	.178	.076	.036	.58	.562
Church #Institutional							.078	1.36	.175	.032	.56	.573
Affiliations							.169	3.66	.000	.093	1.93	.054
PSYCHOSOCIAL												
Psy Empower										.115	2.36	.019
Know of Power										031	667	.505
Alienation										149	-3.08	.002
Spirituality										.024	.34	.733
Comm Engagement INTERACT:										280	-1.54	.124
Spirituality* Comm Engagement										.397	2.05	.041
F for model				15.96			9.44			8.00		
ΔR^2							.042			.062		
Sig F change							.000			.000		
\mathbb{R}^2				.031			.067			.129		

Community engagement

Community engagement was strongly influenced by CBCO affiliation and by increased numbers of organizational affiliations, demonstrating that community engagement is strongly predicted by organizational domains of participation and affiliation.

Psychological empowerment is additionally significant in predicting levels of community engagement at follow-up interview.

Table 29 Multivariate Regression for Psychosocial Attributes: Community engagement

Comm Engage	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3			Model 4		
	Beta	t	р	Beta	t	р	Beta	t	р	Beta	t	р
(Constant)		3.39	.001		.646	.519		.966	.335		.968	.334
Female Race (White reference)	049	-1.06	.288	042	923	.357	005	134	.893	008	219	.826
African American	.030	.65	.516	.038	.82	.414	064	-1.70	.090	072	-1.88	.061
Latino	.122	2.64	.009	.121	2.63	.009	.061	1.65	.100	.061	1.61	.108
Age	.116	2.54	.012	.137	2.88	.004	.027	255	.799	.019	.475	.632
Education	.106	2.31	.021	.099	2.07	.039	077	.693	.489	016	397	.691
DISABILITY												
Physical Health				.033	.646	.518	.012	.306	.759	.009	.213	.831
Mental Health ORG DOMAIN (CBCO reference)				083	-1.76	.080	077	-2.02	.044	090	-2.27	.023
CBCO							.368	7.54	.000	.361	7.20	.000
Church # Institutional Memberships							012 .413	266 10.83	.790 .000	016 .392	338 10.19	.735
PSYCHOSOCIAL							.415	10.05	.000	.572	10.17	.000
Psy Empower										.158	3.88	.000
Knowledge of Pow										.029	73	.464
Alienation										.005	.122	.903
Spirituality										002	048	.962
SOC										009	223	.824
F for model	3.49			3.11			30.59			22.08		
ΔR^2				.009			.353			.022		
Sig F change				.124			.000			.005		
\mathbb{R}^2	.026			.030			.385			.401		

Hypothesis 6: When combined in an explanatory path model, spirituality mediates psychosocial effects on civic engagement.

Traditional ML chi-square ([chi square]) goodness-of-fit statistics were used to test the overall ability of the model to reproduce the observed data matrix; chi-square, Goodness-of-Fit Index (GFI), adjusted goodness of fit (AGFI), Normed Fit Index (NFI), Comparative Fit Index (CFI), Tuck--Lewis Index (TFI), and the root-mean-square error of approximation (RMSEA). Tests of wave 1 data did not meet the goodness of fit criteria.

For the test of data longitudinally, differences between the implied variance/covariance matrix and the observed matrix, tested by use of Chi-square, were non significant indicating that the model met the criteria of "goodness-of-fit". In addition, model fit was further supported by a comprehensive assessment of the other fit indices. Good model fit was considered achieved if the values of these fit indices exceeded .90 (GFI), .80 (AGFI), .90 (NFI), .90 (CFI), .90 (TLI) and if the value for RMSEA was less than .05 (Browne & Cudek, 1993). Twenty-two percent of the variation in community engagement is explained by this model.

In the model shown, spirituality is found to moderate the effects of psychological empowerment on community engagement through sense of community, as well as, directly. Spirituality also moderates the effects of knowledge of power on community engagement through sense of community and directly.

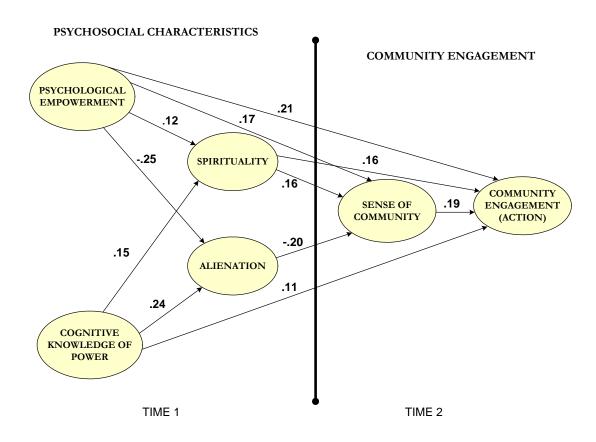


Figure 5
Psychosocial Effects on Community Engagement

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

"...first of all, you do it because of your faithJeremiah talks about seeking the welfare of the city for in it you will find your own welfare. And so [participating in CBCO] empowers [members of a congregation] to exercise their faith. It is scripture based. It's an opportunity... to put their faith in action⁹, is what I call it."

-CBCO clergy leader in Kansas City, KS

Drawing upon congregations and the relationship ties among its members, CBCO is an influential model for individuals, congregations, and communities. Indeed, a growing number of congregations across the country are taking up the challenge to get involved in civic activities and to work for change in their local community. The crisis in the housing market, a turbulent economy, problems in public schools, ongoing racial tensions, and demographic population shifts, point to the need for change and potential for continued CBCO growth across the country. Barack Obama's early training in CBCO in Chicago and the vigor of the 2008 presidential campaign will, no doubt, continue to increase the attention on and conversation about the CBCO process and neo-Alinsky strategies for change. The belief that people in small groups, congregations, and communities can work together, taking the "world as it is" one step closer to becoming "the world as it ought to be" has become a compelling theme and CBCO has clearly emerged as one, among many, influential forces for change at work in communities today.

⁹ Leader is making an explicit reference to Wood's 2002 book *Faith in Action*, a study of the PICO network.

In this dissertation, new insights about the process of working through congregations, as mediating structures, have been explored. Congregations have been shown to have an influential impact on the experience and processes associated with community engagement. Within congregations, beyond their walls, and across communities, spirituality has been additionally shown to be an important facilitative force, helping to mobilize individual citizens into public action. This process of putting *faith into action*, has effects, not just collectively as Wood (2002) and others have ethnographically shown, but contextually, personally and psychologically as this study has shown. A portrayal of who participates in CBCO, evidence of the contextual effects of the congregation as a domain of participation, as well as, the moderating and mediating effects of spirituality on civic engagement are included in the discussion that follows.

Congregation Based Community Organizing: Who participates?

Earlier studies have found that those engaged in civic participation are demographically, economically, and communally distinguishable from those who do not participate or who participate less (Arnstein, 1969; Boyte, Booth, and Max, 1986; Colombo, Mosso, & De Piccoli, 2001; Dahl, 1961; Edwards & Gaventa, 2001; Gaventa, 1980; Gaventa, 2002; Manzo & Perkins, 2006; Perkins, Brown, Taylor, 1996; Saegert, 1989; Speer & Hughey, 1996; Wandersman & Giamartino, 1980). Persons who are lower in income, have less education, are a racial minority, and are female, for example, tend to have lower rates of participation in civic activities (Verba, Scholzman, Brady, and Nie, 1993). In this study, however, participant's organizational domain of primary

affiliation was shown to have important and variable effects on those who participate and found not to be attributable to demographics and experiences associated with demographic status alone.

While participants did tend to be white, above average in income and educated, those who participated in CBCO congregations were more likely to be female, African American, and older than those participating through other organizational domains (non-CBCO church, school, neighborhood, or no identified affiliation). This highlights CBCO's capacity to bring together a diverse constituency and is consistent with what others, too, have discovered about congregational and clergy motives for participation in CBCO. Indeed, Slassarev-Jamir (2004) previously reported that desire to develop diversity of relationships was a primary motive among clergy leaders whose congregations chose to participate in CBCO. One woman, interviewed in another phase of this study described the benefit this way, "[CBCO] puts me in relationship with a lot of more people who are of different economic status than I am and that I wouldn't normally come into contact with." Among the strengths of CBCO then, is its capacity to connect people across diverse backgrounds, including racial and class lines. This is a notable achievement, especially given the relative internal homogeneity that defines many congregations in America today.

The Contextual Effects of Organizational Affiliation

As previously noted organization domain of affiliation greatly influences the likelihood of participation. In addition, the psychosocial effects of participating through

CBCO are notably different than participation through other domains. One leader described differences between working through her neighborhood and her congregation this way.

"Churches today in this society are where you've got a base to [draw] from. Neighbors don't know each other anymore. We all live in these suburban houses with our backyards and our back patios and most of the time you don't know people who live next door or across the street. Or if you do you only know they a little bit. You don't really know what's going on in their lives. But at church you've got the potential to know people well enough to be able to assume a few things in terms of a shared basis of values. And I think it helps keeps us focused on the values that we want to be working on..... I think a group of people that's, you know, united by the faith has an easier time saying, this is why we're doing what we're doing." — CBCO leader in Fort Collins, CO

As a primary finding, this dissertation provides evidence that supports this leader's claims and underscores the importance of organizational domain as a conduit for bringing persons together upon the basis of shared values and relationships. Variations in domains of participation were shown to evidence a range of differences in psychosocial characteristics. Persons engaged in CBCO evidenced higher rates of empowerment on multiple levels (psychological empowerment, knowledge of power or interpersonal empowerment, and community engagement or behavioral empowerment) compared to those who participated through other types of organizational domains (non-CBCO affiliated congregations, schools, or neighborhood organizations) or those who were not strongly affiliated with any of the previously mentioned organizational types.

CBCO members were found to be similar to other non-CBCO congregational members, in that both groups reported high levels of spirituality, a high sense of community, and were notably lower in feelings of alienation than others participating in neighborhood, school, or no particular organizations in the study. When effects of demographic variables, mental and physical health, and organizational domain were

additionally examined with spirituality and community engagement as independent outcome variables, organizational domain accounted for a notably high percentage of variation in those outcomes. These findings¹⁰ demonstrate that organizational domain in the CBCO context contributes to psychosocial processes necessary for effective community engagement (i.e. cognitive knowledge of power, as one example).

When level of spirituality was controlled for and empowerment measures were measured independently as outcomes, CBCO participants continued to evidence higher rates of empowerment on two of the three levels of empowerment measures (cognitive knowledge of power and community engagement) as compared to other church goers. This is important to note, as it demonstrates that CBCO does not draw from persons who are any more or less spiritual than other church goers. Differences in psychosocial and behavioral outcomes that do occur in the CBCO context are not attributable to differences in levels of spirituality and appear to be attributable to participation in CBCO.

In addition, persons not affiliated with one of the four identified domains (CBCO, other congregation, school, or neighborhood group) had notably negative effects related to their non-affiliation. Non- affiliated participants, in particular, evidenced lower levels of psychological empowerment, sense of community, and knowledge of power than the CBCO participants. In fact, non-affiliated individuals were worse off by most measures, including mental health. This was true when comparing non-affiliated persons to all four other groups, demonstrating that organizational affiliation, regardless of type, can be beneficial and that non-participation can be related to poor mental health.

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¹⁰ Findings from this section were previously presented as a paper at the Social Scientific Study of Religion Conference, Portland, OR, 2006.

Moderating and Mediating Effects of Spirituality

In a previous study conducted by Peterson, Hamme, & Speer (2002), they found that cognitive knowledge of power was associated with minority status and lower rates of participation. In this study these findings were replicated. However, when the mediating effects of spirituality were included in this analysis, cognitive knowledge of power was found to lead to *higher* levels of community engagement. This is an important finding as it empirically demonstrates how negative effects of cognitive knowledge of power can both diminish involvement in community, through alienation, and contribute to community engagement through positive effects of spirituality and sense of community.

In addition, when cognitive knowledge of power was examined it was found to have negative effects on mental health. These effects were reversed, however, when the mediating effects of spirituality were included. In other words, cognitive knowledge of power and spirituality interactively predicted better mental health, while knowledge of power alone predicted poorer mental health. These are exciting findings as they quantitatively demonstrate why spirituality is an important force, both in the resistance to oppression and the fight for change. These findings also provide important empirical support for conclusions reached previously by Wood (2002) and others (most notably, Day, 2002; Warren, 2002) who ethnographically detailed the important additive influence of spirituality within the CBCO process.

Overall, this dissertation finds that spirituality has broad based effects on civic participation and the psychosocial dimensions that directly enhance civic participation.

These findings contribute to empowerment theory as they illustrate crucial processes through which individuals, congregations, and communities can gain influence over their

lives and local surroundings. They also point to important contributions that CBCO provides to participating congregations, namely an opportunity to diversify their external relationship network and a means for congregants to gain transferable skills. The psychosocial benefits associated with participation, including improved sense of community, psychological empowerment, and mental health, provide important psychological benefits.

Also interesting to consider is the inter-relationship between sense of community and spirituality. In this dissertation spirituality was found to be positively correlated with SOC, although not as Dokecki, et al (2001), hypothesized as a constituent sub-component of spirituality. In our median split analysis spirituality moderated the effects of SOC on a range of psychosocial outcomes. Spirituality also positively moderated the connection between psychological empowerment and SOC, as well as, the relationship between cognitive understandings of power and SOC, a factor that otherwise increases alienation and reduces SOC. These relationships between SOC, spirituality and empowerment, are an important part of the CBCO process and the outcome of community engagement.

Finally the capacity to predict spirituality over time was linked to church membership, both CBCO and non-CBCO, and total number of other organizational affiliations, with higher affiliations increasing spirituality. Earlier levels of psychological empowerment and SOC are also importantly predictive. Interestingly and in addition, SOC and psychological empowerment interact, with SOC moderating the effects of low psychological empowerment, in the prediction of higher levels of spirituality over time. This is an important finding, because it points to important, though previously unexplored intersections, between SOC and psychological empowerment.

Study limitations

This study has several important limitations. Although data are drawn through random sample, this study was only conducted in five communities, Kansas City, Kansas, Kansas City, Missouri, Brooklyn, New York, Rochester, New York and the front range of Northern Colorado. Notably larger communities with more dense and powerful federations could have evidenced different results. In addition, sampling procedures differed slightly between the CBCO and other groups. CBCO participants were randomly sampled from those know to be high vs. low in participation, with oversampling occurring among persons lower in participation. For the other groups, each was obtained through random digit dialing via telephone. There is no means to assess biases in sampling from those of the larger population.

Further, although the organizational domain was shown to have important participatory effects, so too do community characteristics, geographies of space, historical events, and other factors both related to and independent of place. Thus, some effects, though significant, were quite small, explaining less than one percent of the variation in the outcome variable, for example. This is not to say that these effects are not important, but rather that other factors might greatly contribute to the depth of understanding and power of the models offered previously.

This analysis primarily examined the effects of only one ecological dimension, that of congregation and organizational domain of affiliation. The important role of CBCO networks of affiliation and their broader social network (beyond that of the congregation or other organizational domains) are additionally predictive in affecting level of community engagement. Thus, supporting Granoveter's popularized claim that

weak ties or broad-based connections increase one's likelihood of achieving desired outcomes. The importance of such networks locally, regionally, and nationally is deserving of further attention, however. Indeed, much additional analyses remain to be conducted using data from the Skipper Initiative and drawing from other sources as well. Such analyses are important both for advancing the field and in providing those engaged in CBCO with increased information that may prove useful as they pursue their challenging work promoting community engagement and democratic renewal.

Looking Forward: Toward a "We and Thou" process for change

Earlier critiques of Alinsky organizing condemned the method for being too instrumental in its use of relationships; unnecessarily conflict oriented, dogmatic, sexist in culture and process, and rigidly hierarchical. Wood (2002) has argued that CBCO has succeeded, in part, because it intentionally, and in some ways inadvertently, softened or altered some of the less appealing elements of Alinsky's method, by drawing from relationships that have a potential for deeper connection, and achieving a grounding in the values and cultural narratives of spiritual belief and practice. The adaptation of Alinsky's model to a CBCO strategy has symbolically offers the potential of working toward change in a way that not only brings power to the disenfranchised, but spiritual value to the process and participants. One- to – one conversation in the CBCO process provide members the potential for authentic and sometimes spiritual connection. The heartfelt testimonies delivered in public actions provide opportunities for persons previously silenced to be heard and those, previously unaffected, to listen to the pain and challenges that others have experienced.

Such moments of connection in and through relationship are what theologian Martin Buber termed the I-Thou relationship or the process of treating others as if "God is present" and that "....when I encounter you I encounter [God]" (p. 28, Kaufman, 1970.). Some theologians have argued that Buber's I-Thou ignores the important influences and variations of communal experiences, (Near, 1992) and have suggested that the collective meeting between persons and the divine is more appropriately termed a We-Thou relationship, where reciprocity is communally experienced and encountered (Friedman, 1996; Horowitz, 1988; Noel & DeChenne, 1971) and accountability for the well-being of the whole is required. The high levels of SOC (we-ness) and spirituality (Thou-ness) evidenced by CBCO participants in this dissertation suggest that, at its best or in certain moments, CBCO may very well promote a We-Thou connection.

Whether these moments or potentiality can be advanced *fully* beyond the limitations and more questionable aspects (both moral and spiritual) of earlier modes of Alinsky organizing remains unclear, although this potentiality deserves further reflection and future consideration.

Appendix A. Skipper Survey Questions

For each statement, please check the box which shows whether you strongly agree, agree, are neutral, disagree, or strongly disagree.	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
When there is a problem in this community, I am better able to deal with it on my own than as a member of a group.					
Only by working together can people make changes in a community.					
I can impact community issues only by working in an organized way with other people.					
To improve my community, it is more effective to work with a group than as an individual.					
The effectiveness of activists and corporate leaders is really due to the quality of their organizations, not from their personal characteristics.					
The only way I can act to improve the community is by connecting to others.					
Changing a community almost always results in conflict.					
Because the interests of the powerful are so different from the interests of common people, sooner or later tensions are to be expected between these groups.					
When community groups work to improve schools, housing, public safety and the like, then they must be ready for tensions with local institutions.					
Community groups should not strive for conflict, but they must be ready for conflict with local institutions when making change to improve community conditions.					
When community groups work to improve things like public health or crime, they sooner or later come into conflict with business leaders or public officials.					
Things happen in my community because those with power reward their friends.					
The powerful punish their enemies.					
The powerful control what information gets to the public.					
Those with community influence keep many issues out of the news.					
Those with power shape the way people think about community problems.					
Influential groups shape the way a community interprets local events.					

The following is a list of activities that you may or may not have engaged in over the last year. For each activity, please mark whether you have done this 5 times or more, 2 to 4 times, 1 time, or not at all over the last year.	Not at all	1 time	2 to 5 times	5 to 10 times	About monthly	About weekly
Written a letter or made a telephone call to influence a policy or issue						
Attended an event that provided information about community services						
Attended a meeting to pressure for City or County policy change						
Arranged an agenda for a public meeting						
Had an in-depth, face-to-face conversation about an issue affecting your community						
Attended a meeting to gather information about a neighborhood issue						

The next questions are about participation in your community. For each, please check whether you strongly agree, agree, are neutral, disagree, or strongly disagree.	Strongl y Agree	Somewha t Agree	Neutral	Somewha t Disagree	Strongly Disagree
I am often a leader in groups.					
I would prefer to be a leader rather than a follower.					
I find it very hard to talk in front of a group.					
I can usually organize people to get things done.					
I enjoy political participation because I want to have as much say in running government as possible.					
It hardly makes any difference who I vote for because whoever gets elected does whatever he wants to do anyway.					
People like me are generally well qualified to participate in the political activity and decision-making in our country.					
Most public officials wouldn't listen to me no matter what I did.					

For the following statements, please check whether you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree or strongly disagree.	Strongl y Agree	Somewha t Agree	Neutral	Somewha t Disagree	Strongl y Disagre e	
Most people today seldom feel lonely.						
The end often justifies the means.						
Sometimes I have the feeling that other people are using me.						
People's ideas change so much that I wonder if we'll ever have anything to	depend on.					
Real friends are as easy as ever to find.						
It is frightening to be responsible for the development of a little child.						
Everything is relative, and there just aren't any definite rules to live by.						
There is little chance for promotion on the job unless a man gets a break.						
I don't get to visit friends as often as I'd really like.						
Preventing social problems requires that we change people, not communitie	s.					
The only way to really prevent community problems is to improve things like housing, crime and the local economy in our neighborhoods.						
Social problems are most effectively addressed by changing community living	ing conditions.					
Drugs, crime and violence are symptoms of impoverished community condi- people.	itions, not bad					
People are poor mainly because of their bad habits.						
People who experience homeless, crime, and unemployment generally have blame.	themselves to					
This section of the survey asks for your views about your health.	Excellent	Very Good	d Goo	od	Fair	Poor
In general, would you say your health is:]		
	Much better	Somewhat Better	The S		mewhat Worse	Much Worse
Compared to one year ago, how is your health in general now?]		

The following questions are about activities you might do during a typical day. How often does your health now limit you in these activities?	Always	A lot	Sometime s	Rarel y	Never
Moderate activities, such as moving a table, pushing a vacuum cleaner, bowling, or golfing					
Climbing several flights of stairs					
The next few questions are about your health over the last month:	Always	A lot	Sometime s	Rarel y	Never
How often have you accomplished less than you would like due to health?					
How often were you limited in the kind of activity you did due to health?					
How often have you accomplished less than you would like due to emotional problems (such as feeling depressed or anxious)?					
How often have you been less careful in work or other activities than you would like due to emotional problems (such as feeling depressed or anxious)?					
How much did pain interfere with your normal work and activity level?					
How often have you felt calm and peaceful?					
How often have you felt you had a lot of energy?					
How often have you felt downhearted and depressed?					
How much of the time has your physical health interfered with social activities?					

To what extent have you exberienced the following aspects of faith through your involvement in your congregation's community organizing process:	A great deal	A lot	Somewha t	Rarely	Not at all
Answers to prayers					
Feeling closer to God					
Less interested in people outside my group/congregation					
More understanding of persons with different religious perspectives					
More open and honest with other people					
More open and honest with myself					
Has helped me to share my faith with others outside my group/congregation					
Has helped me to serve people outside my group/congregation					
My religious beliefs are very personal and private					
My spirituality does not depend on being involved in a relgious organization.					

For the following statements, please check whether you stor strongly disagree.	trongly agree, a	igree, are neu	tral, disagree	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagre	e Strongly Disagree
If I were in trouble, I could count on people in CAP to	help.							
I trust the leaders of CAP to do what is best for me.								
Most members of CAP forget the meaning of brotherh the meetings.	ood/sisterhoo	d when they	get out of					
People have no say about what goes on in CAP.								
My goals for CAP are pretty much the same as everyb	ody else's.							
No one in CAP responds to what I think is important.								
Everyone in CAP is pushing in different directions.								
CAP gets overlooked in this city.								
CAP gets very little done in this community.								
CAP has had a part in solving at least one problem in	this city.							
CAP helps me to be around important people.								
CAP helps me to be a part of other groups in this city.								
Because of CAP, I am connected to other groups in the	is city.							
I would really live in a different town, Brooklyn is jus	t not the place	for me.						
Brooklyn is a good place for me to live.								
Living in Brooklyn gives me a sense of community.								
What is your age?	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	5	5-64	65-74	75 +
What is your gender?	Male □	Femal e						
	African-	Asia	Caucasia	Latino	Other	r:		
What is your ethnicity?	American	n	n □					
What grade you complete in school?	high school	High school	ol graduate	Some colle	ge Co	llege degi	ee Grad	uate degree
what grade you complete in school.								
How many people under 18 years of age in your ho	ousehold?	None	One	Two Th □ □	ree	Four	Five	Six or more
Which best describes your annual family income?	Under \$15,000	\$15,000 to \$24,999	\$25,000 to \$34,999	\$44,999		4,999	\$55,000 to \$69,999	More than \$70,000
	D4	0	D'4-I/					
Do you rent or own your home?	Rent	Own	Don't Kno	ow .				

105

No

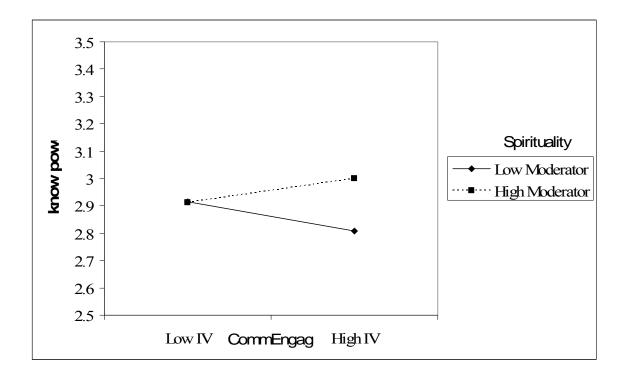
Are you a registered voter?

Yes

Don't Know

Appendix B.

Moderating Effects of Spirituality on Community Engagement on Dependent Variable: Cognitive Knowledge of Power



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