



Number 7

***Social Justice Attitudes and Religious Commitment
among Participants in the Jesuit Volunteer Corps***

**Center for Applied Research in the Apostolate
Georgetown University
Washington, D.C.**

***Social Justice Attitudes and Religious Commitment
among Participants in the Jesuit Volunteer Corps***



January 2006

Paul M. Perl, Ph.D.

Collection of the data used in this paper was funded in part by a Jacquet award from the Religious Research Association. I thank James Cavendish, Mark Chaves, and Kevin Christiano for very helpful comments in planning the survey and constructing questionnaires. I received wonderful cooperation from JVC administrators in conducting the survey. Kate Haser, in particular, gave me feedback on preliminary drafts of the questionnaires and provided excellent ideas for research questions. Carol Gabrielli shared information about the early history of the JVC. Sarah Dakin and Michael Davern provided valuable advice on statistical methodology. All errors are my own.



© CARA, January 2006, Working Paper 7

CARA was founded by Catholic leaders in 1964 to put social science research tools at the service of the Catholic Church in the United States.

For information on CARA and its mission of research, analysis, and planning, contact:

Mary E. Bendyna, RSM
Executive Director
Center for Applied Research in the Apostolate
Georgetown University
Washington, DC 20057-1203

CARA.georgetown.edu

INTRODUCTION

To what extent can religious groups succeed in simultaneously promoting religious commitment and social justice activism among their members? A challenge is that mainstream ideologies that support social justice and social service volunteerism are predominately secular. For example, in the general population, belief in the responsibility of people to volunteer to help others is a significant predictor of volunteering in secular nonprofit organizations but not in religious organizations (Sundeen 1992: 280). This challenge is particularly relevant for the Catholic Church today, where the involvement of young people in Church life is lower and lower for each successive generation (e.g., D'Antonio et al. 1996: 77) and where Church leaders and Catholic schools are increasingly seeking to engage young people by providing opportunities for becoming involved in social concerns.

Previous studies show that the Church is relatively successful in encouraging volunteerism among young people, especially those who attend Catholic high schools (Wilson and Janoski 1995; Eccles and Barber 1999). The research of Youniss and Yates (1997; Youniss, McLellan, and Yates 1999) suggests that students performing social service volunteerism at one Catholic high school internalize the religious social justice values promoted by their teachers and display higher rates of volunteering after high school than other students. However, little else is known about the effects of service volunteerism in a Catholic context.

This paper examines effects of participation in the Jesuit Volunteer Corps (JVC), a lay Catholic service program founded by the priests and brothers of the Society of Jesus (Jesuits). Jesuit volunteers, most of whom are recent college graduates, commit to fulltime volunteer work in a social service job for one year. The program officially espouses four central values: “social

justice,” Christian “spirituality,” “community,” and “simplicity” of lifestyle. Leaders of the program not only ask that volunteers live these values for a year but openly seek to inculcate the values permanently. The JVC motto, “Ruined for Life,” expresses the hope that program participants will turn their backs on secular materialism and instead permanently incorporate the counter-cultural ideals of simplicity and faith-based social justice into their lifestyles. Thus, compared to most volunteer experiences, the JVC is a highly intensive program. And because most members are recent college graduates who are seriously contemplating career and lifestyle choices, the JVC has the potential for truly life-changing socialization into social justice activism and Catholic religious participation. The program is large and highly structured, making it possible to draw meaningful comparisons among a large sample of volunteers. Yet there is enough variation in the experiences of Jesuit volunteers that it is possible to test whether different experiences lead to different outcomes.

This paper examines a sample of volunteers who were surveyed before their volunteer year began and again shortly before it concluded. Analyses seek to determine whether there were changes in several attributes of these volunteers: attitudes toward social justice issues, religious commitment, religious beliefs, and interest in future social service work and future involvement in the Catholic Church. The central expectation is that JVC participants will change in the direction of values espoused by the program, i.e., will become more liberal on social justice attitudes and more religiously committed. Analyses also seek to identify JVC experiences—specifically, particular types of social interaction—that increase or decrease the likelihood of such changes.

THE JESUIT VOLUNTEER CORPS

The Jesuit Volunteer Corps is one of many fulltime domestic service programs for lay Catholics. At the time data for this study was collected (1996-1997), there were approximately 90 such programs sponsored by societies of priests, brothers, and women religious in the United States—and dozens of others sponsored by dioceses, lay Catholic communities, and other Catholic charity organizations (Catholic Network of Volunteer Service 1998). The JVC, which has about 450 participants each year, is easily the largest and generally thought to be the oldest.¹ The JVC began very informally in 1955 as an effort to staff religious schools for Eskimos in Alaska, then a Catholic mission territory assigned to the Jesuits (*Focus* 1996). The Sisters of St. Ann—who were working in Alaska along with the Jesuits—realized it would be easier to staff the schools with rotating volunteers, each of whom would stay for one or a few years, than to find lay Catholics who would commit to live permanently in Alaska. The Sisters recruited the first volunteer teachers and school staff from their women’s colleges in New England. About five years later, some formalization was introduced and a “program” of volunteerism was born. A standard application procedure emerged, and the JVC received its original title, “Lay Apostolate Volunteer for Alaska Mission.” Eventually, the Jesuits introduced the program to other areas of the nation, first to Jesuit Indian missions, and eventually to cities, which are now the primary locus of the program (Morris 1996). At the time of data collection, Jesuit volunteers lived in 70 cities in 28 states plus the District of Columbia.²

¹ The Missionary Cenacle Volunteers also claim to be the oldest.

² This study does not include participants in Jesuit Volunteers International (JVI), a separate program.

The type of volunteer work performed by JVC members has expanded beyond teaching. Volunteer positions now encompass many forms of social service, for both Catholic and non-Catholic (including secular) agencies. The organizations for which they work include legal aid offices, homeless shelters, soup kitchens, job training programs, tutoring programs, urban Catholic schools, and family social services. Volunteers working in the same city live “in community” by sharing a house (usually in groups of about four to ten) but typically volunteer during the day for different organizations. When possible, an effort is made to locate the volunteer houses in working class or poor neighborhoods, near the kind of people that most volunteers will be serving. In addition to housing, Jesuit volunteers receive health insurance and a very small stipend of personal spending money. Volunteers are strongly encouraged to pray/reflect with their community members on a regular basis. JVC communities are given a common allowance for food and other household necessities, and they must spend it in accordance with the dictates of simple living—a lay analogue of the vow of poverty.

The JVC is now administered primarily by lay people, virtually all of whom are themselves former participants in the program. Because of its size, the program has long been divided into five geographic regions that have separate administrations. Though the structure of the program continues to be inspired by the Jesuit spirituality and way of life, the great majority of volunteers are separated from the daily life of Jesuit priests and brothers. Today, only a small proportion of volunteers work in Jesuit schools or agencies. Most contact between volunteers and Jesuits occurs through social visits to each other’s homes and through occasional retreats held for volunteers.

HYPOTHESES

Collective Change Among Jesuit Volunteers

Several surveys of former Jesuit volunteers indicate that participation in the JVC has likely produced important long-term effects on their lives, particularly on their career choices and current volunteering (Hendry 2002; Schlichting and Boczer 2004; Gaunt 2005). However, in examining change that occurs during the JVC volunteer year, these studies are limited to retrospective reports from later in life (Hendry 2002). Previous studies have not surveyed Jesuit volunteers prior to their volunteer year.

My central expectation is that Jesuit volunteers will change over the course of the year in the direction of values espoused by the program. The social justice ideology of JVC fits strongly with a liberal perspective of communal responsibility for helping the impoverished—including the need for extensive governmental social programs. The JVC’s espousal of prayer and worship among community members creates an environment that is encouraging of religious commitment, particularly Catholic commitment.

Hypothesis 1a: Jesuit volunteers become more liberal on social justice issues during the course of the volunteer year.

Hypothesis 1b: Jesuit volunteers become more religiously committed during the course of the volunteer year.

Effects of Social Interaction on the Likelihood of Change

In addition to understanding how volunteers change collectively, this paper seeks to identify types of social interaction that increase or decrease the likelihood of change. It examines interaction with three types of people. First is interaction with other volunteers. The Jesuit Volunteer Corps brings together generally like-minded individuals, and norms of social

justice or religiosity may be reinforced and strengthened. The primary locus of interaction with other volunteers is the community (i.e., the volunteers with whom one lives). I expect greater change among those who frequently discuss topics such as politics, social justice, and faith with community members. I also expect those who frequently pray and attend worship services with community members to become more religiously committed.

Hypothesis 2a: Discussing politics and social justice with community members increases liberal social justice attitudes among Jesuit volunteers.

Hypothesis 2b: Discussing religion with community members increases religious commitment among Jesuit volunteers.

Hypothesis 2c: Praying and attending worship services with community members increases religious commitment among Jesuit volunteers.

Another possible source of influence on Jesuit volunteers is interaction with poor or needy people. My data (described below) indicate that the great majority of Jesuit volunteers performed volunteer work before joining the program. However, only about half have previously performed volunteer work that allowed them to get to know a poor individual on a personal basis. Hypothetically, increased exposure to the harsh realities of poverty, especially in a context that gives it a personal face, may make Jesuit volunteers more sympathetic to the poor and therefore supportive of a social justice viewpoint. Conceivably, it could also produce reactions working in the opposite direction, including frustration and pessimism about solving the massive social problems associated with poverty—though I view that possibility as less likely. There are two primary ways that interaction with poor people might vary among Jesuit volunteers. First, some participants (though a distinct minority) have volunteer positions that are primarily administrative and therefore lead to less direct, personal interaction with needy clients. Second, some volunteers have more interaction with and develop closer relationships with poor people in the neighborhoods where they live.

Hypothesis 3a: Having a volunteer position that involves direct, personal work with clients increases social justice attitudes among Jesuit volunteers.

Hypothesis 3b: Getting to know poor neighbors increases social justice attitudes among Jesuit volunteers.

A third potentially important source of social interaction for Jesuit volunteers is contact with people whose lives and careers are dedicated to living out values espoused by the program. Staff members at social service agencies where volunteers give their time are one example. Sometimes, these people are deeply involved not just in serving the poor but in political advocacy on behalf of the poor. They may actively encourage volunteers to think about social issues from a social justice perspective. Volunteer agencies also vary in whether they are religious organizations (as opposed to private or public organizations). Interacting with agency employees who have religious motives for their social service work may boost religiosity among volunteers.

Hypothesis 4a: Volunteering at an agency where employees encourage a social justice perspective increases social justice attitudes among Jesuit volunteers.

Hypothesis 4b: Volunteering at a religiously-affiliated agency or at an agency where individual employees are motivated by religion increases religious commitment among Jesuit volunteers.

In addition to employees at the agencies where they volunteer, Jesuit volunteers sometimes meet other social justice activists in the cities where they volunteer. This typically happens through agency and JVC networks. Again, meeting such individuals seems likely to promote social justice attitudes. It may be particularly significant when volunteers meet people who are motivated by religious belief to be involved in social justice work. This may reinforce the JVC's emphasis on religious belief and commitment as a basis for social justice activism.

Hypothesis 4c: Meeting social justice activists increases social justice attitudes among Jesuit volunteers.

Hypothesis 4d: Meeting social justice activists who are religiously-motivated increases religious commitment among Jesuit volunteers.

DATA AND MEASURES

The data for this study comes from two written surveys of Jesuit volunteers conducted in 1996 and 1997. The JVC year extends from August to August. Early in July 1996, I mailed questionnaires to the home addresses of 236 people who had recently been accepted to become volunteers in three JVC administrative regions: East, Midwest, and Southwest.³ Only first-time Jesuit volunteers were included; those about to begin a second year in the program were excluded. One hundred and fifty usable questionnaires were returned, or 64 percent of the 236. Twelve months later, as the volunteer year was nearing completion, I mailed follow-up questionnaires directly to the houses where volunteers were living in community. Questionnaires were mailed in packets, but separate return envelopes were included to insure privacy. While participation in both surveys was anonymous, respondents were asked to provide the final four digits of their social security numbers so that their pre- and post-year questionnaires could be matched. Ninety-five of the original 150 participants responded the second time, or 63 percent.⁴

³ The other two regions are the South and Northwest. Applications to all JVC regions are reviewed and approved on a rolling basis right up until August of each year. Therefore, the study omits a relatively small number of volunteers who were accepted into the program during the last few weeks of July 1996.

⁴ Volunteers were asked to participate in the survey even if they had not responded in July 1996. Respondents who replied only to the first survey or only to the second are not included in this analysis. Some volunteers who responded the first time but not the second are undoubtedly people who dropped out of the program during the course of the year. This typically happens to as many as ten percent of volunteers each year. Unfortunately, I was not given permission by JVC administrators to identify or contact dropouts. I used logistic regression analysis to seek differences between respondents and non-respondents to the follow-up survey. After virtually exhausting information available from the first questionnaire, I found just one significant difference between the two groups. Those who did not respond to the second survey reported lower attendance at Mass/church services during the year prior to entering the JVC. A speculative explanation is that less religiously-committed respondents (those initially displaying less frequent attendance) felt disproportionately uncomfortable with the JVC as a religious program and were therefore more likely to drop out during the course of the year.

I also conducted phone interviews with several volunteers after their year of service. Questions in the phone interviews were open-ended and designed to provide a qualitative complement to the mostly quantitative data from the surveys. Though analyses in this paper focus on the survey findings, I make brief reference below to some results from the phone interviews.

One drawback of this study is the lack of a comparison group. It includes no group of non-JVC members who were similar to volunteers at the beginning of the year. My original plan was to survey people who applied and were accepted into the JVC but, in the end, chose not to follow through and participate. This was the strategy employed in McAdam's (1988, 1989) study of "Freedom Summer" participants. Unfortunately, JVC administrators denied my request to survey non-participants—due to both logistical difficulties and concerns about privacy.

Dependent Variables

The main dependent variables are identical measures from both surveys of social justice attitudes and religious commitment. Several agree-disagree statements address attitudes about the causes of poverty and responsibility for helping the poor. Additionally, respondents were asked whether they support or oppose each of several welfare reform proposals. The first measure of religious commitment includes frequency of church attendance, a seven-point scale ranging from "never" to "every day." The second is sense of belonging to "the Catholic Church (or your denomination)," a five-point scale ranging from "none" to a "complete sense of belonging." Analyses of this latter variable examine the responses of Catholics only.⁵

⁵ At the time of this study, none of the JVC regions required volunteers to be Catholic, but some formally required "Christian motivation." As will be seen below, however, the great majority of Jesuit Volunteers are, in fact, Catholic.

Additional religion items—for which I have not developed explicit hypotheses—include several measures of religious attitudes and beliefs.

Analyses also examine respondents' future intentions for involvement in social service and the Catholic Church. Volunteers were asked the likelihood that they will someday hold a paid job in a social service or related field (on a seven-point scale ranging from “extremely unlikely” to “extremely likely”). Finally, volunteers were asked how important it is to them to be active in “the Catholic Church (or your denomination)” in the future (on a four-point scale ranging from “not important” to “very important”). Unfortunately, this question was asked only on the end-of-the-year questionnaire. Analyses of this item examine responses of Catholics only.

Independent Variables

The independent variables are measures of social interaction taken from the end-of-the-year survey. There are five measures of interaction with fellow JVC community members: frequency of discussing politics, frequency of discussing social justice, frequency of discussing religion, frequency of praying or reflecting together, and frequency of attending Mass or other church services together. Each of these measures is based on a seven-point response scale ranging from “never” to “daily.” Two measures describe characteristics of employees at the agency where volunteers worked: the extent to which employees encouraged the respondent to think of his or her volunteer work in terms of social justice (a five-point scale ranging from “not at all” to “very much”) and the proportion of employees whose involvement in social service is motivated by religious concerns (a five-point scale ranging from “none or few” to “all or nearly all”). Additionally, a dichotomous variable indicates whether the agency where respondents volunteered is Catholic.⁶

⁶ In the relatively rare cases where a volunteer switched agencies during the course of the year, characteristics of the

There are three measures of contact with social justice activists: the number of priest or nun (i.e., women religious) social justice activists the respondent got to know during the JVC year, the number of other (non-priest or nun) religiously-motivated social justice activists he or she got to know, and the number of social justice activists not motivated by religion that he or she got to know. These measures are capped at 10 and logged to reduce positive skewness. A final measure of social interaction in an activist context includes the number of political protests or demonstrations the respondent attended with community members or agency employees during the year (the original range is zero to eight, but the measure has been logged to reduce positive skewness).

Finally there are two indicators of social interaction with poor or needy people: the extent to which the respondent's volunteer position involved direct interaction with clients (a three-point scale: "primarily administrative work," "about equal amounts of administration and service," and "primarily direct service") and the number of poor neighbors that he or she got to know during the year (capped at 15 to reduce positive skewness).⁷

Control Variables

Regression analyses control several factors. Demographic characteristics include gender, parental occupational prestige, and the type of college attended (Catholic, public, or non-private Catholic). Age and race are not controlled because—as will be shown below—there is very little variation among volunteers in these characteristics. Models also control several religious and

second agency and its employees are used.

⁷ In response to the open-ended questions (i.e., number of protests attended, number of activists met, number of poor neighbors met, etc.), some respondents gave indeterminate answers such as "a few" or "several." These individuals are assigned the median value for valid responses of at least one.

political characteristics at the time volunteers entered the JVC. These include church attendance during the year prior to joining the JVC, the importance of spiritual growth as a motivation for joining the JVC (a four-point measure ranging from “not important at all” to “very important”), self-placement on a left-right scale of political ideology (a five-point measure ranging from “conservative” to “left of liberal or radical”),⁸ and a scale of prior social justice activism adapted from McAdam (1989).⁹ Two measures of social support upon entering the JVC are controlled. The first is perceived support from one’s parents for joining the JVC (originally a seven-point measure ranging from “completely unsupportive” to “completely supportive”—with the bottom three categories collapsed to reduce skewness). The second is the number of people the respondent knew at the beginning of the year who were also joining the JVC in the same region (logged to reduce skewness).

Other control variables are designed to assist in the evaluation of specific hypotheses. To evaluate effects of attending church and praying with community members, models control the overall frequency of attending church during the JVC year and the frequency of praying or reflecting *by oneself*. Similarly, to evaluate effects of attending protests with community members or agency employees, models control the number of protests volunteers attended by themselves. Finally, to evaluate effects of meeting priests and nuns who are social justice activists, models control for meeting priests and nuns who are *not* activists and for frequency of contact with Jesuits (a five-point measure ranging from “never” to “regular”).

⁸ No respondents chose a sixth option of “very conservative.”

⁹ The scale of social justice activism sums level of prior involvement in each of several social causes (14 causes were listed and space was provided to volunteer up to two others). Examples of the listed causes are AIDS activism, anti-death penalty, environmentalism, and women’s issues. The response scale for each is a five-point measure: “not involved,” “occasional participant,” “frequent participant,” “active worker,” and “leader.” The possible range of the justice scale is 0 to 64 (4 X 16). The actual range is 0 to 33 with a mean of 10.4

RESULTS

Table 1 lists selected background characteristics of the respondents. Jesuit volunteers in this sample were relatively young; the average age at the beginning of the year was 22, with none older than 35. In fact, four-fifths of the respondents joined the JVC immediately after finishing college. Most volunteers (76%) are female, a fact that may be related to a greater interest of women in social service, and perhaps less concern with pursuing a lucrative career immediately after college. A great majority of the respondents (93%) are Catholic. Most attended a Jesuit college. The program's formal recruiting efforts are aimed primarily at students in such colleges, and student networks on Jesuit campuses provide a natural means for learning about the program. Over 90 percent of the respondents who attended a Jesuit college report knowing somebody who had participated in the program before them (usually a student a year or two ahead of them in college). Though the JVC occasionally accepts married people, none in this sample had ever been married.

[Table 1 About Here]

It is important to recognize that people entering the JVC already display relatively high levels of social service participation and religious involvement. During the previous year, respondents gave an average of nearly twelve hours per month in volunteer work. And more than nine in ten report having done volunteer social service work at least once since high school. Most respondents have participated in religious liturgies and retreats since high school, and nearly a third have been involved in a regularly-meeting religious group (Bible study, faith-sharing, etc.). The new Jesuit volunteers also expressed decidedly liberal political views; two-thirds identified themselves as Democrats in the first survey. In fact, the end-of-the-year survey

reveals that seventy-three percent of volunteers who voted in the 1996 Presidential election chose Clinton, and another fourteen percent chose Nader.

Thus, there is some evidence that many new volunteers are already oriented toward the values espoused by the JVC: religious involvement, service, and social justice. This fact is not surprising; young people who are not interested in these things are not likely to want to join the program. Moreover, JVC administrators make an effort to screen out applicants who are a poor fit. Nevertheless, the ability of programs like the JVC to further socialize their members into values of social justice and religious participation is important for molding people willing and able to carry forth the work of the Church.

Table 2 shows means for social justice attitudes at the beginning and end of the volunteer year. Over the course of their volunteer participation, respondents became less likely to believe that the teaching of self-help is an important part of aid to the poor (though the mean on this item remains high relative to others). Though their attitudes about whether poverty is caused by social problems did not change significantly, they were increasingly likely to see a causal link between some people being rich and others being poor. Volunteers also became more optimistic about the possibility of eliminating poverty in America.

[Table 2 About Here]

The next set of items ask about approval of various welfare reform proposals. Because most Jesuit volunteers work in agencies that assist poor people, this is a topic with which they were likely to have been confronted during the year. At the time of the survey, it was also a very salient political topic because the U.S. Congress was seriously debating an overhaul of the federal welfare system.¹⁰ On seven of the nine items, attitudes changed significantly, and the

¹⁰ Just a few weeks after the initial questionnaire was mailed in 1996, Congress passed legislation to end Aid to Families with Dependent Children, the main federal welfare program for families. It was replaced with a package of

direction of change was uniformly toward more “liberal” positions. For example, respondents became less supportive of time limits, work requirements, and drug tests for welfare recipients. They became more supportive of benefit increases and less supportive of spending for prosecution of welfare fraud. Thus, virtually all the significant attitudinal changes reported in Table 2 can be characterized as an increasing social justice perspective on issues of poverty and welfare. They reflect less of an “individual responsibility/blame” explanation for poverty and greater support for governmental aid to the poor.

The final item presented in Table 2 is how likely volunteers felt it was that they would someday work for pay in a social service or related job. At the end of the year, they felt substantially more likely that they would do so. Other questions (not presented in the table) asked for further details about volunteers’ plans for the year following JVC participation. At the beginning of the year, just one-third had plans for what they would do after the JVC. By the time of the follow-up survey, sixty-seven percent of the initially undecided respondents had chosen to spend the following year working in a social service job or doing post-graduate study in a “helping profession” field such as social work, education, or nursing. It appears that volunteers do not just express more positive attitudes about social justice; they very much intend to put those new attitudes into practice.

Table 3 presents measures of religious commitment and religious attitudes. Contrary to Hypothesis 1b, church attendance was significantly *less* frequent during the volunteer year than during the prior year. During the prior year, the median frequency of attendance was “weekly.” It dropped to “a few times a month” during the volunteer year. This result is somewhat

block grants to states, which were permitted to institute many restrictions and requirements not previously allowed.

surprising because members of volunteer communities often go to weekly Mass as a group, creating social support for attendance.

The second item in Table 3 measures the extent to which respondents felt a sense of “belonging” to their denomination (only responses from Catholic volunteers are presented). Sense of belonging, like attendance, declined during the volunteer year, though the change is shy of statistical significance by the narrowest of margins.¹¹ These apparent declines in attachment to the Church may be related to changing attitudes about spirituality.

The next set of items asked volunteers to rate the appeal of various aspects of denominational belonging. At the end of the year, they found “clearly established doctrines” and “clearly established moral rules” less appealing than at the beginning. I interpret these changes as reflecting a less “traditional” style of spirituality—and perhaps a corresponding emphasis on the individual conscience as a source of moral authority. On the other hand, there was no significant change in the appeal of worship services (even though attendance declined).

[Table 3 About Here]

The final set of items in Table 3 consists of questions about Christian values and ethics. Volunteers displayed no significant change in self-reports of the extent to which their political opinions were determined by their religion. This is an issue of interest because the JVC strongly encourages participants to see their faith as relevant to political issues. It does not just promote social justice, but *faith-based* social justice. Nevertheless, volunteers did become more approving of political discussion in sermons. Another significant attitudinal change was growing disapproval of Christians making lots of money. This may reflect the Jesuit Volunteer Corps’s emphasis on simplicity of lifestyle. Though their basic needs are well-provided, volunteers are

¹¹ For analyses of Catholics, I have excluded one individual who was Catholic at the beginning of the year but had switched religious affiliations by the end of the year. Had this person been included, the decline in belonging would

asked not to supplement their (very small) personal stipend. This creates a Spartan existence, which is often a new experience for the mostly middle and upper-middle class people joining the program. Volunteers expressed greater support for women priests at the end of the year but did not change significantly in their general attitude toward strictness on “sexual morality.”

As mentioned earlier this study lacks a comparison group of non-volunteers, limiting the certitude whether changes observed in volunteers were due to participation in the JVC. It is conceivable that the changes were caused by aging effects (possibly related to graduation from college) that would have taken place regardless of whether respondents had joined the program. This seems most plausible with the case of religious change. Studies of attitudinal changes among college graduates indicate that, above and beyond period effects, they tend to become somewhat less traditionally religious than they were during their college years (Hoge and Hoge 1984). However, aging effects seem much less likely in the case of attitudes toward poverty and social justice. There is little evidence of any consistent aging effects on college graduates’ economic attitudes. Rather, changing economic attitudes are tied to the specific fields in which people pursue post-graduate studies and careers (Hoge and Hoge 1984). For example, involvement in social science and social service fields tends to increase support for government intervention in the economy, and involvement in areas such as business, accounting, and engineering increases support for free markets (Hoge and Hoge 1984). It seems likely that changing attitudes toward poverty and welfare among Jesuit volunteers are analogous and related partly to the type of work (social service) in which volunteers are involved during the year.

Though it is not possible to compare volunteers with non-volunteers, it is possible to examine factors that vary *among* volunteers and predict greater or lesser degrees of change. To do so, I have constructed a scale of welfare reform attitudes by summing eight of the nine

have been statistically significant.

welfare items shown in Table 3 (coded so that higher values indicate greater “liberalism,” i.e., greater opposition to reform measures).¹² Table 4 presents results of regressions in which the end-of-the-year welfare scale is the dependent variable and the beginning-of-the-year scale is used as a predictor (control) variable. With the latter scale controlled, effects of additional independent variables can be interpreted as indicators of *change over time* in welfare attitudes (Werts and Linn 1970; Finkel 1995). First, predictor variables are entered into the model one at a time (along with the base-line control of welfare attitudes at the beginning of the year). Coefficients from each of these separate regressions are listed in the first column. The second column shows the results of a single multivariate regression in which all non-significant factors have been removed and only significant predictors remain.¹³

[Table 4 About Here]

The first three sets of predictor variables in Table 4 include background characteristics of volunteers at the time they joined the program. These items are intended primarily as controls. However, some of the results are interesting and merit comment. Respondents who initially described themselves as more politically “liberal” display increased opposition to welfare reform measures. This finding suggests that a latent inclination toward supporting welfare rights may be reflected in the “liberal” self-label. However, prior social justice activism does not predict change in welfare reform attitudes. Respondents who reported little support from their parents

¹² The excluded item is “Making it easier for child welfare workers to take children away when they suspect abuse or neglect”—omitted because of ambiguity regarding what a “liberal” or “conservative” position on this proposal is. Chronbach’s alpha for the eight included items is 0.70 (beginning of the year) and 0.77 (end of the year). The correlation between the two scales is 0.69. Missing values for specific items in the scales have been replaced with individual-level means. In the regressions, missing values for predictor variables have been imputed, usually with global means.

¹³ I use this approach rather than enter all variables into the model at once because there are many predictor variables and a rather small sample size. Most authorities recommend that the number of predictor variables in a regression equation not exceed $N/15$.

for joining the JVC display less change in the direction of welfare liberalism, as do those who rated spiritual growth as an important motive for joining the program.

The predictor variables of primary interest are the measures of social interaction. The extent to which the respondent's volunteer position involved "direct" service with clients (rather than administrative work) is unrelated to changing welfare attitudes. Also unrelated is a dichotomous measure of whether volunteer work was performed at an agency that serves women or children—controlled because welfare reform might be a more salient issue for such respondents. However, getting to know a greater number of poor neighbors predicts increased liberalism. Thus, changing welfare attitudes among volunteers appear to be influenced less by exposure to poverty in the social service agencies where they work than by the context of daily life in their neighborhoods. Perhaps meeting poor people in the informal and somewhat egalitarian relationship of "neighbor" evokes more empathy than the client/service-provider relationship that forms the basis of interaction at typical agencies.

The final items in Table 4 reflect interaction with other Jesuit volunteers and with social justice activists. Frequency of discussing politics or social justice with other volunteers does not predict changed welfare attitudes at the conventional .05 level of significance. However, volunteers display substantially increased support for welfare if they report that staff members at their agencies encouraged them to "think of their volunteer work in terms of social justice." Support for welfare also increases among volunteers the more frequently that they attended political protests or demonstrations with workers from their agency or with other volunteers. Note that frequency of attending protests/demonstrations *by oneself* has no effect on welfare attitudes. Therefore, I attribute the former effect to the social interaction component of political demonstration. Neither meeting priest/nun social justice activists nor secular activists (not

motivated by religion) is related to changing welfare attitudes. Thus, it appears that changing attitudes about welfare are not due to interaction with activists per se but to the *nature* of the interaction. Increasing liberalism occurs when volunteers are actively encouraged by others to adopt a social justice viewpoint or when they accompany others in political activism (as measured in participation in demonstrations).

I conducted analogous regressions of volunteers' decreased religious commitment (lower church attendance and reduced sense of belonging to the Catholic Church). However, virtually no variables available from the questionnaires predict these changes. Reduced religious commitment simply does not vary by the specific background characteristics or JVC experiences of volunteers.¹⁴ It takes place "across the board." Because these results are essentially "non-results," they are not presented in a table.

Instead, I present regressions of the importance volunteers place on being active in the Catholic Church in the future. These are shown in Table 5. Because the question was not asked at the beginning of the year, results cannot strictly be interpreted as change over time. The regressions do, however, control religiosity at the beginning of the year by scaling three items from the first questionnaire.¹⁵ As with the previous table, the first column in Table 5 shows coefficients from models in which predictor variables are entered singly (with the religiosity scale only). The right two column show coefficients from multivariate models with most non-significant factors omitted.

[Table 5 About Here]

¹⁴ The changes in religious beliefs are also not predicted by any variables in the dataset.

¹⁵ The items are: frequency of worship attendance during the prior year, frequency of personal prayer during the prior year, and sense of belonging to the Catholic Church at the time of the first survey. This scale has an alpha of 0.69, and its correlation with importance placed on being active in the Church is 0.45.

No background factors significantly predict importance of future involvement in the Catholic Church. However, the predictor variables of primary interest are the social interaction measures. At the univariate level, volunteering at a Catholic agency is a (marginally) significant predictor of increased importance on future involvement in the Church. Volunteering at an agency with a large proportion of staff whose work is motivated by religion also increases importance on future involvement in the Church. As the multivariate models show, the key factor is proportion of religious staff; once this is taken into account, the Catholic identity of the agency becomes statistically non-significant. Measures of interaction with other volunteers in one's community—frequency of communal prayer/reflection, frequency of communal church attendance, and frequency of discussion of religious topics—are not significant predictors of the importance placed on future involvement in the Church. However, overall frequency of church attendance during the JVC year is a very strong predictor. In fact, when this measure of attendance is included in the model, the scale of religiosity at the beginning of the JVC year becomes non-significant. Clearly, a large part of what the dependent variable reflects is current commitment to the Catholic Church. Because it is such an overwhelmingly strong predictor, there is some ambiguity with whether church attendance should be included in multivariate models. The final two models present results with and without this control.

The final predictor variables in Table 5 measure contact with social justice activists. At the univariate level, getting to know priest or nun social justice activists increases importance of future involvement in the Church, but getting to know secular social justice activists *decreases* the importance. Getting to know religiously-motivated activists who are not priests or nuns has no effect. As points of comparison, I have included two controls: the number of nuns or priests met by the volunteer who are *not* social justice activists and frequency of contact with Jesuits

during the volunteer year. Neither of these predicts the importance placed on being active in the Church. Thus, getting to know priests and nuns during the volunteer year is, in and of itself, unimportant in predicting importance of future Church involvement; it matters only if those priests or nuns are social justice activists. And getting to know religiously-motivated activists is important only if those activists are priests or nuns. However, once church attendance during the JVC year is controlled, the significance of getting to know priest or nun activists washes out.

DISCUSSION

In summary, involvement in the JVC appears to socialize young people to the norms of social justice and concern for the poor that the program espouses. Though already favorably inclined toward such norms, volunteers tend to become more supportive of government welfare and more likely to agree that the fact of some people being rich causes poverty among others. Volunteers also display much stronger intentions of pursuing careers in social service at the end of the year. However, participating in the JVC does not increase religious commitment; rather, commitment tends to decline somewhat. Though changing religious beliefs should not necessarily be interpreted as declining commitment, volunteers attend Mass less frequently and express (to a degree that is just shy of statistical significance) less sense of belonging to the Church.

This declining commitment is striking given the religious nature of the JVC, but it is consistent with retrospective reports of former Jesuit volunteers surveyed by Hendry (2002), who said that they now attend church about 10 percent less frequently than they did before they joined the JVC. As mentioned above, aging effects could partially account for the decline in attendance. A related explanation is that most volunteers spent the previous year as college students. The presence of chapels and Catholic “Newman” centers on or near colleges campuses

may have made attendance very convenient. Exploratory analyses (not shown) indicate that respondents who were not students the previous year did exhibit a somewhat smaller decline in attendance, though a decline nonetheless.

In phone interviews conducted soon after their JVC year, I asked former volunteers why they believed Mass attendance declined during the JVC year. A frequent comment was that because they were doing God's work during the week (putting their faith into practice through volunteering with the poor, praying with community members, etc.) they felt less obligated to attend weekend Mass.

I have my doubts about this post-facto explanation. If it were true, the decline in Mass attendance among Catholic volunteers ought to have been greater among those who were doing more religious activities during the week (e.g., praying more frequently with community members) or had greater exposure to Catholicism during the week (e.g., working in a Catholic social service agency). No such factors—in fact no variables in the dataset—predict declining Mass attendance among volunteers. Another speculative suggestion that has been made to me is that the JVC, with its emphasis on social justice and the social teachings of the Church, turns volunteers off to the more “institutional” aspects of Catholic obligation. This seems like a real possibility to me. And it seems bolstered by some of the changes in religious attitudes in Table 3. However, it is probably only a partial explanation. Many—if not most—JVC communities typically attend Mass at parishes with strong social justice emphases. Often these are Jesuit parishes or “urban mission” style parishes that offer many social services and where Sunday homilies can be expected to emphasize social justice. In other words, Jesuit volunteers typically have no problem finding parishes that reinforce the religious and social justice perspective of the JVC.

It is worth revisiting a possibility raised earlier in this paper—that it is simply difficult in the American cultural context to simultaneously instill social justice commitment and religious commitment. Jesuit volunteers in this study display a substantially stronger interest in future social service than in being active in the Church. (Sixty-four percent of Catholic volunteers say it is “important” or “very important” for them to be active in the Church in the future. In comparison, ninety-nine percent of all volunteers say that “continuing to give time in service of others” is important or very important). Sundeen (1992: 284) found (not surprisingly) that higher religious commitment increases the likelihood of volunteering time to a religious organization. However, he also found that religious commitment is inversely related to the likelihood that people will volunteer their time to “social-action projects, such as anti-poverty boards” (1992: 284). He concluded that such social action involvement may be motivated by a secular ethic. Similarly, Sundeen’s (1992: 280-1) results indicate that support for the welfare state predicts less volunteering for religious organizations. General cultural norms may be such that religious commitment and social justice activism are not typically seen as compatible aspects of social identity.

One consistent result of the analyses in this paper is that interaction with other volunteers has relatively limited influence on the attitudes of JVC participants. Frequency of discussing politics and social justice with other volunteers does not significantly predict change in welfare attitudes. And frequency of praying, attending services, and discussing religion with other volunteers has no effect on importance of being active in the Church. These findings are somewhat surprising. Attitudinal changes that occur during college are related much more strongly to interaction with peers (fellow students) than interaction with non-peers such as professors (Milem 1998). By contrast, non-peers appear to exhibit a rather strong influence on

JVC participants. Workers at the agencies where participants volunteer are one example. The greater the extent to which workers encourage volunteers to think of their contributions “in terms of social justice,” the more liberal the latter are likely to become on welfare reform. And if a high proportion of those workers are motivated by religious beliefs, volunteers are more likely to express a desire to remain active in the Catholic Church. In both cases, it appears that the values and concerns of agency workers are transferred to volunteers. Employees of social service and similar nonprofit agencies are often talented individuals who could be much more financially successful in other lines of work. However, they have passed up such opportunities for personal material gain to dedicate their lives to causes in which they deeply believe. They may therefore have a great deal of social credibility in persuading others of the importance of their beliefs.

Importance placed by volunteers on being active in the Church is influenced in opposite directions by interaction with two types of social justice activists. Getting to know priest or nun activists tends to increase the importance of future involvement in the Church while getting to know secular activists tends to decrease it. Thus, the greatest influence on volunteers appears to come from activists at the extremes of religious commitment—those whose motives are non-religious and those who have pursued religious vocations. (Getting to know activists who are motivated by religious beliefs but are not priests or women religious has no influence on volunteers). Previous research on the commitment of Catholics to the Church has revealed the importance of relationships with priests. Greeley (1990: 221) found that the single most influential factor in determining whether young Catholics who have “drifted away” from the Church return is a relationship with a priest. The findings presented here may be somewhat analogous. As argued above, it may be difficult to socialize people to both religious commitment and social justice ideology. Cultural norms may hold that these are incompatible.

However, priest and nun social justice activists embody and model a full integration of these values systems.

Applied Implications of Findings

There appear to be at least two concrete ways that the Jesuit Volunteer Corps can improve chances of socializing young Catholics to future participation in the Church. First, it can increase the number of volunteer positions in agencies with religiously-motivated employees. It does not appear necessary that the agencies themselves be explicitly religious or Catholic. Not surprisingly, however, my data show that the vast majority of agencies with high proportions of religious workers are, in fact, operated under religious auspices. Placing volunteers at sites with religious employees need not conflict with the social justice goals of the program. There is an extremely strong correlation ($r=0.83$) between the proportion of employees with religious motivations and the extent to which employees encouraged volunteers to think of their service in terms of social justice. (Nevertheless, it is only the former variable that predicts future importance of being active in the Church). The second thing that administrators can do is increase opportunities for volunteers to interact with priests and nuns who are involved in social justice activism. Aside from placing volunteers in agencies where such priests and nuns work, there are other ways to foster this type of interaction. One is to recruit them to be “support people” for JVC communities. Support people are individuals who act as advisors to a single community of volunteers and make regular visits to the community house. They are chosen for their familiarity with the program and are typically Jesuits or former JVC members. It appears that further attention to the characteristics of support people can promote the religious socialization of program participants.

One aspect of JVC involvement that does not receive a great deal of formal attention from administrators—but which appears influential for volunteers’ attitudes—is interaction of volunteers with poor neighbors. Though JVC communities are intentionally placed in poor neighborhoods when possible, there is little overt encouragement of such interaction. In exploratory analyses (results not shown) having met poor neighbors is significantly related to a number of attitudes displayed by volunteers at the end of the year. For example, the more poor neighbors they have met, the *less* likely they are to express satisfaction with the way they have lived out the ideal of a simple lifestyle during the JVC year. A possible explanation for this result is that volunteers who know poor neighbors are more conscious of the harshness of real poverty and therefore more aware that their own sacrifices in pursuit of simplicity are, in fact, quite meager. They may feel the pangs of social privilege more acutely. Differences in exposure to poverty in agencies have no effect on volunteers’ views on how well they have lived the value of a simple lifestyle. Thus, informal exposure to neighborhood poverty arising out of everyday life in JVC communities should probably be actively encouraged.

REFERENCES

- Catholic Network of Volunteer Service. 1998. *Response: Volunteer Opportunities Directory 1999*. Washington, DC.
- D'Antonio, William V., James D. Davidson, Dean R. Hoge, and Ruth A. Wallace. 1996. *Laity: American and Catholic: Transforming the Church*. Kansas City, MO: Sheed and Ward.
- Eccles, Jacquelynne S. and Bonnie L. Barber. 1999. "Student Council, Volunteering, Basketball, or Marching Band: What Kind of Extracurricular Involvement Matters?" *Journal of Adolescent Research* 14: 10-43.
- Finkel, Steven E. 1995. *Causal Analysis with Panel Data*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Focus* (Newsletter of Jesuit Volunteer Corps: Northwest). 1996. "From Copper Valley to the Inner City: The First 15 Years of JVC." Winter: Pp. 4-8.
- Gaunt, Thomas. 2005. "Enduring Influences from a Year of Voluntary Service: JVC and Adult Faith Formation." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Religious Research Association. Rochester, NY.
- Greeley, Andrew M. 1990. *The Catholic Myth: The Behavior and Beliefs of American Catholics*. New York: Macmillan.
- Hendry, Simon Joseph. 2002. "'Ruined for Life': The Spirituality of the Jesuit Volunteer Corps." Ph.D. Dissertation. Graduate Theological Union: Berkeley, CA.
- Hoge, Dean R. and Jann L. Hoge. 1984. "Period Effects and Specific Age Effects Influencing Values of Alumni in the Decade after College." *Social Forces* 62: 941-962.
- McAdam, Doug. 1988. *Freedom Summer*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- . 1989. "The Biographical Consequences of Activism." *American Sociological Review* 54: 744-760.
- Milem, Jeffrey F. 1998. "Attitude Change in College Students: Examining the Effects of College Peer Groups and Faculty Normative Groups." *Journal of Higher Education* 69: 117-140.
- Morris, Jack. 1996. "A Celebration of Forty Years!" *Focus* (Newsletter of Jesuit Volunteer Corps: Northwest) Winter: Pp. 1, 3.
- Schlichting, Kurt and Amy Boczer. 2004. *Former Jesuit Volunteer Survey*. Unpublished report, Fairfield University.

- Sundeen, Richard A. 1992. "Differences in Personal Goals and Attitudes Among Volunteers." *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly* 21: 271-291.
- Werts, Charles E. and Robert L. Linn. 1970. "A General Linear Model for Studying Growth." *Psychological Bulletin* 73: 17-22.
- Wilson, John and Thomas Janoski. 1995. "The Contribution of Religion to Volunteer Work." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 56: 137-152.
- Youniss, James, Jeffrey A. McLellan, and Miranda Yates. 1999. "Religion, Community Service, and Identity in American Youth." *Journal of Adolescence* 22: 243-253.
- Youniss, James and Miranda Yates. 1997. *Community Service and Social Responsibility in Youth*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

TABLE 1
SELECTED BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS

Characteristic	Mean/ Percentage	(Std. Deviation/ Count)
Demographic Characteristics		
Female (%)	75.8	(N=72)
Non-white (%)	7.4	(N=7)
Age (Beginning of the Year)	22.5	(SD=2.1)
Never Married (%)	100.0	(N=95)
Denomination (%)		
Catholic	92.6	(N=88)
Protestant Mainline	5.3	(N=5)
Protestant, Unspecified	1.1	(N=1)
None ("Just Spiritual")	1.1	(N=1)
Type of Undergraduate Institution (%)		
Jesuit	62.1	(N=59)
Other Catholic	16.8	(N=16)
Private, non-Catholic	5.3	(N=5)
Public	14.7	(N=14)
Didn't Attend College	1.1	(N=1)
Prior Service Involvement		
Hours Volunteered Per Month, Previous Year	11.7	(SD=13.8)
Ever Participated in a College Service Trip (%)	47.4	(N=45)
Prior Religious Involvement, Since High School (%)		
Ever Planned or Participated in a Liturgy	62.1	(N=59)
Ever Participated in a Retreat	70.1	(N=67)
Ever a Member of a Faith-Sharing/Bible Study Group	31.6	(N=30)
Ever Received Personal Spiritual Direction/Counseling	20.0	(N=19)
Political Party Preference, Beginning of Year (%)		
Democrat	65.3	(N=62)
Republican	12.6	(N=12)
Independent	20.0	(N=19)
Other	2.1	(N=2)

N=95

TABLE 2
MEANS FOR POVERTY/SOCIAL JUSTICE ITEMS,
BEGINNING AND END OF VOLUNTEER YEAR

Variables	N	Means	
		Year's Beginning	Year's End
Causes and Solutions of Poverty (Range = 1-5, Higher = Agreement)			
Poverty is primarily the result of economic and social problems beyond the control of individuals.	95	1.92	2.19
Providing help to poor people should include the teaching of responsibility and self-help.	95	3.51	3.21*
The fact that some people are rich causes other people to be poor.	94	2.10	2.61*
If all Americans would just dedicate themselves to it, they could easily eliminate poverty in this country.	95	2.39	2.64*
Welfare Reform Attitudes (1-5, Higher = More Liberal)			
“Would you support or oppose each of the following proposals regarding welfare for single mothers? . . .”			
Instituting a time limit for welfare receipt	94	2.77	3.28*
Requiring more mothers to work or be in high school	94	2.19	2.53*
Instituting random drug tests for mothers	94	2.63	2.91*
Making it easier for child welfare workers to take children away when they suspect abuse or neglect	93	2.51	2.63
Increasing benefits so nobody on welfare lives below the poverty line	95	3.46	3.81*
Decreasing benefits to encourage work	95	3.35	3.56
Spending more money to prosecute welfare fraud	95	2.57	3.12*
Paying to send mothers to college if they want to go	95	3.60	3.92*
Eliminating welfare checks and providing housing, food stamps, and health care only	95	2.94	3.28*
Future Service Involvement (1-5, Higher = More Likely)			
Likelihood of someday having a social service or related job	92	3.56	3.90*

*p < .05, two-tailed test of difference in means

TABLE 3
MEANS FOR SELECTED RELIGION ITEMS,
BEGINNING AND END OF VOLUNTEER YEAR

Variables	N	Means	
		Year's Beginning	Year's End
Religious Commitment			
Frequency of Mass/church service attendance, during previous year and volunteer year (Range = 1-7)	94	4.46	4.12*
Feel a sense of belonging to the Catholic Church (1-5, Higher = Greater Belonging) ^a	88	2.66	2.50
Appeal of Traditional Church Life (Range = 1-5, Higher = More Appealing)			
"People find fulfillment in belonging to a Church (i.e., a denomination) for different reasons. For each of the following aspects of Church, please indicate how appealing it is for you. . ."			
Attending worship services	93	2.92	2.81
Having faith based on clearly established doctrines	92	1.98	1.65*
Having clearly established moral rules to live by	93	2.58	2.13*
Being part of a long religious tradition	92	2.61	2.51
Experiencing a sense of community with other Church members	93	3.45	3.32
Christian Values and Ethics (1-5, Higher = Agreement)			
Religious beliefs/values guide or influence political opinions	94	3.18	3.13
Believe Christians are mainly responsible for living ethically in one-to-one relationships	90	1.97	1.82
Approve of priests/ministers talking about politics in sermons	92	3.21	3.56*
Believe Christians should remain strict on sexual morality	91	1.93	1.79
Acceptable to be Christian and also make lots of money	92	2.72	2.33*
Favor women priests in the Catholic Church	93	3.19	3.47*

*p < .05, two-tailed test of difference in means

^aCatholic respondents only

TABLE 4
OLS REGRESSIONS OF END-OF-THE-YEAR WELFARE ATTITUDES SCALE,
CONTROLLING WELFARE ATTITUDES AT BEGINNING OF THE YEAR

Predictor Variables	Standardized Coefficients	
	Each Predictor Variable Separately	Final Multivariate Model
Baseline Control		
Beginning-of-the-Year Welfare Attitudes Scale	0.67*	0.55*
Demographic and Background Controls		
Male	-0.02	
Parental Occupational Prestige	0.02	
Graduated from a Public College ^a	0.15 ⁺	
Graduated from a Private but not Jesuit College ^a	0.07	
Level of Prior Social Justice Activism	0.10	
Political Ideology, Year's Beginning (Higher = Liberal)	0.20*	0.18*
<i>Religious Background</i>		
Frequency of Church Attendance, Year Prior to JVC	-0.02	
Importance of Spiritual Growth as Motive for Joining JVC	-0.14 ⁺	-0.20*
<i>Social Support upon Entering JVC</i>		
Level of Perceived Parental Support for Joining JVC	-0.16*	
Number of Other Volunteers Knew at Start of Year	0.02	
Interaction with Poor People		
Extent to which Volunteer Work Involved "Direct" Service	0.08	
Volunteer Work Was With Women/Children	0.09	
Number of Poor Neighbors Got to Know	0.19*	0.16*
Interaction with Other Volunteers in One's Community		
Frequency Discussed Politics with other Volunteers	0.13	
Frequency Discussed "Social Justice" with other Volunteers	0.12	
Social Justice Perspective Was Encouraged at Work	0.19*	0.17*
Number of Political Demonstrations Attended with Other Volunteers or Agency Workers	0.20*	0.19*
Number of Political Demonstrations Attended Alone (Control)	0.07	
Interaction with Social Justice Activists		
Number of Social Justice Activists with Non-Religious Motives Got to Know	0.07	
Number of Priest/Nun Social Justice Activists Got to Know	0.11	
Number of Other (Non-Priest or Nun) Religiously-Motivated Social Justice Activists Got to Know	0.04	
R²		0.60

N=95

Note: Positive coefficients indicate change toward more liberal welfare attitudes.

^aThese two variables are entered together. The reference category is a Jesuit college or no college.

*p < .05, ⁺p < .10

TABLE 5
OLS REGRESSIONS OF IMPORTANCE OF FUTURE INVOLVEMENT IN
CATHOLICISM, CONTROLLING RELIGIOSITY AT BEGINNING OF THE YEAR
(CATHOLIC RESPONDENTS ONLY)

Predictor Variables	Standardized Coefficients		
	Each Predictor Variable Separately	Multivariate Models	
Baseline Control			
Scale of Religiosity at Beginning of the Year ^a	0.45*	0.34*	0.13
Demographic and Background Controls			
Male	0.05		
Parental Occupational Prestige	0.07		
Graduated from a Public College ^b	-0.002		
Graduated from a Private but not Jesuit College ^b	-0.11		
<i>Social Support upon Entering JVC</i>			
Level of Perceived Parental Support for Joining JVC	0.02		
Number of Other Volunteers Knew at Start of Year	-0.04		
Type of Agency Where Volunteer Work Was Performed			
Agency was Catholic	0.18 ⁺		
Proportion of Workers at Agency Motivated by Religion	0.34*	0.26*	0.27*
Interaction with Other Volunteers in One's Community			
Frequency Discussed Religion with Community Members	0.01		
Frequency Attended Church with Community Members	0.18 ⁺		
Frequency Prayed/Reflected with Community Members	-0.001		
Overall Frequency Attended Church (Control)	0.53*	—	0.48*
Frequency Prayed/Reflected Alone (Control)	0.10		
Interaction with Social Justice Activists			
Number of Social Justice Activists with Non-Religious Motives Got to Know	-0.23*	-0.27*	-0.17*
Number of Priest/Nun Social Justice Activists Got to Know	0.19*	0.20*	
Number of Other (Non-Priest or Nun) Religiously-Motivated Social Justice Activists Got to Know	0.05		
Number of Non-Activist Priests/Nuns Got to Know (Control)	0.03		
Frequency of Contact with Jesuits (Control)	0.09		
R²		0.39	0.52

N=88

Note: Positive coefficients indicate greater importance of being active in the Catholic Church in the future.

^aThe components are frequency of church attendance, frequency of prayer, and sense of belonging to Catholicism.

^bThese two variables are entered together. The reference category is a Jesuit college or no college.

*p < .05, ⁺p < .10