Adolescent Girls' Contributions to Community and Society: Exploring Perceptions, Goals and Motivations

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ADOLESCENT GIRLS' CONTRIBUTIONS TO COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY:

EXPLORING PERCEPTIONS, GOALS AND MOTIVATIONS

Dissertation
by
STACY LYNN MORRIS

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Abstract

Youth contribution is important to the development of a healthy society (Lerner, Dowling et al., 2003; Schmid & Lopez, 2011). As youth develop on positive trajectories, they engage in higher rates of contribution to self, family, community, and civil society (Lerner, 2004). Many youth believe it is important to participate in contribution-oriented activities, but not many are involved in personally meaningful forms of contribution (Hershberg et al., 2014; Zeldin et al., 2013). In order to engage youth in contribution, and thereby increase the likelihood that they will continue to contribute into adulthood, it is important to understand the processes involved in contribution, the ways in which adolescents experience contribution, and how they conceptualize their role in giving back to the community. In the present research, I addressed the following questions: 1) How do adolescent girls experience contribution in their lives? (a) In which contribution-related activities are they involved? (b) What beliefs do they have about contribution? (2) How do adolescent girls direct their contribution goals or efforts? To whom do they contribute, or want to contribute? (3) What motivations are associated with contribution goals or efforts for adolescent girls? Through in-depth semi-structured qualitative interviews, I investigated adolescent contribution in nine adolescent girls in high school. This subsample of participants is drawn from the Connecting Adolescents' Beliefs and Behaviors (CABB) Study (Lerner & Johnson, 2014), a longitudinal investigation of youth character development in adolescent students in the New England area. I analyzed the interviews using the *Listening Guide* (Gilligan, Spencer, Weinberg, & Bertsch, 2006), a method for analysis of qualitative texts. I derived many themes from these texts to address my research questions. Youth expressed a range of contribution experiences, including how they conceptualize what counts as making a contribution. Participants directed their contributions in accordance with their personal social

identifications, their future career goals, and people seen as generally "less fortunate." Youth expressed multiple intrinsic and extrinsic motivators for contributing and wanting to contribute in the future. Implications for future research, programming and policy will be discussed.

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Chapter 1: Introduction and Problem Statement

Until the age of eighteen, adolescents are too young to vote and face barriers to making

their voices heard politically. They are often left out of conversations that impact or are centered

on them. Adolescents in the United States have long been seen by adults as too young to make a

difference in their communities and in society more broadly. However, in the wake of the

massacre that took place at Marjory Stoneman Douglas High School in Parkland, Florida, this

discourse has been challenged as thousands of students across the country have organized to

protest gun violence and advocate for gun law reform. Although engagement on this scale by

young people is extraordinary, youth can and do act as contributing members of their

communities and society; active youth are not a unique phenomenon, even though they may be

viewed as such at the current time, given the prevailing view of youth in the United States. In

this dissertation, I engaged in an in-depth exploration of adolescent girls' ideas about and

engagement in contributions to community and society, their various goals for making

contributions, and their motivations behind these actions and goals. Through this research, I

hope to understand how to facilitate meaningful contribution opportunities among youth, so that

researchers and practitioners can better connect youth with their passions and encourage lifelong

community contributions.

What is Contribution?

Theory and research on youth contribution stress the importance of active and engaged

youth populations (Lerner, Dowling et al., 2003; Schmid & Lopez, 2011). Youth contribution

has been empirically defined and measured in a number of ways. As such, it intersects with

many other constructs (e.g. social responsibility, civic engagement, altruism, volunteerism). Contribution is multifaceted and can be observed through a variety of behaviors and values (Jelicic et al., 2007).

Defined in Lerner and Lerner's positive youth development (PYD) perspective, contribution consists of two overarching components: ideologies (beliefs) and behavior (actions) (Lerner et al, 2005). Youth with contribution ideologies find it important to make a contribution; they see this as a valuable endeavor and goal (Lerner et al., 2005). Youth who engage in the behavioral component of contribution are engaged in any number of activities aimed at making a subjective positive impact directed toward the following outlets: to "self, family, community, and civil society" (Jelicic et al., 2007). Youth contribute to themselves by promoting their own positive development (e.g. healthy eating habits, engaging in school; Lerner, 2004). They can contribute to their families by assisting their family in any way (e.g. helping with childcare of younger siblings, working to assist with school expenses; Lerner, 2004). Youth may make contributions to the community in many ways as well (e.g. volunteering time or money to a community program; Lerner, 2004). Youth contribution to civil society includes promotion of societal values (e.g. participation in a civil protest or social media campaign; Lerner, 2004).

In the present study, I focus on youth contributions to community and society and not contributions to the self or family. Thus, when I refer to contribution within the context of this study, I refer to contributions to community and society only. I examined contribution ideologies and actions, as both aspects are important to understanding experiences, goals, and motivations of youth contributions.

Why is Contribution Important?

Contribution is both a result of positive development (e.g. Lerner et al., 2005) and a

predictor of positive development (e.g. Stoddard & Pierce, 2015). Youth contributions may benefit the individuals and communities to whom contributions may be directed, but may also be self-advantageous to the individuals participating in these efforts. Youth who engage in contribution (e.g. by doing community volunteer work) may benefit from mutually influential relations between individuals and their contexts (Overton, 2015); they strengthen their contexts through their actions or values and thus provide a more positive context through contributions (Lerner et al., 2005). Contributions improve the individual's experience of their context while also strengthening the community more generally, creating a more positive climate for others within it.

The act of participating in contribution-oriented activities or maintaining contribution values in itself is beneficial to the individual doing so. Individuals who contribute tend to show lasting positive developmental outcomes, such as improved overall meaning in life (Van Tongeren et al., 2016), lower internalizing and externalizing behaviors (Padilla-Walker, Carlo, & Nielson, 2015), and hopeful expectations for the future (Stoddard & Pierce, 2015). Research seems to suggest that promotion of contribution behaviors and values early in development begets increased or continued contribution.

Gaps in the Contribution Literature

Current research specifically on contribution is primarily focused on adults (e.g. Christens, Speer, & Peterson, 2016; Ramey, Lawford, & Rose-Krasnor, 2016) although there is research with youth looking at related constructs, such as prosocial or "noble" purpose (e.g. Liang et al., 2016; Damon, Menon, Bronk, 2003; Bronk, 2011). Youth-centered research on this topic is somewhat sparse and limited in generalizability (Hershberg et al., 2014). Quantitative findings from the 4-H Study of Positive Youth Development, a longitudinal study of youth, show

that most youth generally contribute to themselves, to others, and to their communities through their actions or activities (Lerner et al., 2005; Lerner et al., 2013). These contributions, particularly to their communities, tend to occur through participation in youth development programs (Lerner et al., 2005), and so youth may have external pressures rather than the internal motivation to participate in these activities. Contribution ideologies arise as early as sixth grade, and many high school students report being committed to ideologies of contribution, suggesting that they find contribution important (Hershberg et al., 2014). In particular, youth seem to believe that contribution is a crucial component of lifelong positive development, reporting contribution as the second most important theme in describing their future idealized selves (Hershberg et al., 2014). However, not all youth are truly engaged in the contribution activities in which they participate (Hershberg et al., 2014).

Contribution is important for later development, but youth are not always personally engaged in the contribution activities available to them early in life (Hershberg et al., 2014). Although many youth participate in contribution activities and find contribution important to later thriving, qualitative findings from a subsample of interviews from the 4-H Study of PYD suggest that few early adolescents are engaging in meaningful acts of contribution (Hershberg et al., 2014). This may be because youth who are contributing are not doing so in meaningful ways, either because parents/guardians are pressing them to participate in these activities or because the forms of contribution-related activities available to them early in adolescence are not personally meaningful (Hershberg et al., 2014). In addition, existent research has suggested that the forms of contribution available to youth are often poorly aligned with their passions and needs, and that youth may become more engaged in community and social contributions if they have available venues to do so in meaningful ways (Zeldin et al., 2013; Hershberg et al., 2014).

When individuals participate in personally relevant or exciting forms of contribution in adolescence, they are more likely to contribute in adulthood (Hart et al., 2007).

Current Study

  The goal of the study was to investigate qualitative accounts of experiences and goals associated with contribution for adolescent girls, in order to provide a detailed account of various facets of contribution in this population of youth. I conducted in-depth semi-structured qualitative interviews with nine high school students who identified as girls. Participants were recruited from one New England area school through the Connecting Adolescents' Beliefs and Behaviors (CABB) Study (Lerner & Johnson, 2014), a longitudinal, multi-rater investigation of youth character development, moral beliefs and behaviors, and positive youth development. I used data from previously collected quantitative surveys to ascertain demographic information and recruited a subsample of these participants for my interviews. I developed the protocol, conducted interviews, and analyzed data in accordance with the Listening Guide, a method used to develop and interpret qualitative texts (Gilligan, Spencer, Weinberg, & Bertsch, 2006). Using a qualitative design allowed me to gain a more nuanced understanding of youth contribution, allowing me get an in-depth depiction how contribution might occur in adolescence.

  Delving deeper into youth experience of contribution. I investigate youth accounts of their experiences and goals related to contribution so that I can provide a nuanced picture of how youth might personally connect with contribution in their lives. I examine the descriptions of contribution within this sample, to understand how youth are actually engaging in contribution. I also analyze youth explicit responses about their contribution-related goals and the motivations behind those goals. The forms of contribution available to youth today are often poorly aligned with their passions, but research suggests that youth find contribution important and may be

more motivated to participate in contribution activities if the opportunities provided to them are more meaningful for their interests (Zeldin et al., 2013; Heshberg et al., 2014; Liang et al., 2016). Adolescents tend to contribute to various groups at different levels (Padilla-Walker et al., 2015) and so it makes sense that youth may have varying degrees of motivations to contribute to some groups more than others. Understanding the underlying motivations for youth contributions will provide insight into the many facets of this construct, so that researchers and practitioners may work to provide youth with more personally relevant opportunities.

I chose a subsample of older participants from the CABB Study (high school students) because youth are able to describe themselves, their social identities, and their goals with more complexity as they age (e.g. Higgins, 1991; Harter, 1999).

Research Question 1. How do adolescent girls experience contribution in their lives? (a) In which contribution-related activities are they involved? (b) What beliefs do they have about contribution?

Research Question 2. How do adolescent girls direct their contribution goals or efforts? To whom do they contribute, or want to contribute?

Research Question 3. What motivations are associated with contribution goals or efforts for adolescent girls?

Implications

Most youth seem to consider contribution an important aspect of their idealized future selves, but it is possible that those youth may not be currently engaged in any meaningful forms of contribution. Contribution seems to have multi-faceted benefits for the community, but also for the individual partaking in contribution activities and by fostering beliefs associated with the importance of contribution. Thus, it is an important undertaking to empirically explore the

construct of youth contribution, examining what kinds of contributions are personally relevant to adolescents so as to engage youth early in a cycle of positive contributions. The present research addresses a number of questions with the intention of exploring adolescent contribution in depth, asking how, why, and for whom (if anyone in particular) adolescents contribute back to themselves or their communities.

To encourage adolescent contribution, it is necessary to better understand how adolescents think about contributing to their communities or society in general, their contributions beliefs and values, and how they act on those beliefs. It is critical to explore how adolescents conceptualize the role of contribution in their lives, and to understand whether and how their goals relate to contribution. This research provides a deeper understanding of how contribution can meaningfully relate to youth lives, so we can optimize our programming to better connect with youth passions and needs. Doing so can better engage youth in contribution, potentially helping to promote a larger body of contributing adults in the future. Additionally, it is possible that various internal or ecological strengths are associated with the desire to contribute to community; if so, scholars might be able to capitalize on this knowledge to influence community contribution through impacting these assets.

Chapter Summaries

In Chapter 2, I review the literature of relevant contribution-oriented constructs and critique their implications for this study. I frame the chapter with an overview of the theoretical foundations for the study, RDS metatheory and PYD. Next, I describe the link between positive youth development and youth contribution. Then, I describe two frameworks that may elucidate the multifaceted motivations youth have to contribute to community and society: Self-Determination Theory (Ryan & Deci, 2000) and the Expectancy-Value-Cost Model of

Motivation (Barron & Hulleman, 2015; Eccles et al., 1983). Finally, I review the existent research on youth contribution, the importance of contribution for later thriving, and what researchers know about the factors that predict contribution in youth.

Chapter 3 details the research methods employed in the current study, explaining the design for the quantitative survey (only referencing the questions used for demographic information) and the subsequent semi-structured qualitative interview design. I describe the method used to frame the study and used to later analyze the interview texts, The Listening Guide. I explain the rationale for using a qualitative analysis to most appropriately answer my research questions and finally, I overview my plan for analyzing the data.

In Chapter 4, I present the results of my analyses. I first describe each participant individually, listing the key themes that I observed in their interviews. I then present the themes that cut across interviews in relation to the research questions. Excerpts from interviews are included as evidence and illustration of each theme.

In Chapter 5, I summarize the key findings of the study and discuss the implications of these results, with reference to prior research on youth contribution and motivation. I include suggestions for future research and implications for practice, along with strengths and limitations of the present study.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

In this chapter, I briefly review the guiding theoretical framework for this study, relational developmental systems (RDS) metatheory (Overton, 2015). I overview the Positive Youth Development (PYD) perspective, which is derived from RDS metatheory and has been used to frame the present research. In particular, I describe Richard M. Lerner and Jacqueline V. Lerner's Model of PYD, as this research builds on the conceptualization of contribution from that model. Then, I review the literature on youth contribution through the lens of the Lerner and Lerner Model of PYD and in relation to other constructs, such as prosocial behaviors or helping behaviors. I describe the importance of understanding this topic, especially in youth development as contributing youth are more likely to be contributing adults (Hart et al., 2007). Next, I focus on the present research by exploring what the field knows about youth motivations to contribute, using Self-Determination Theory and the Expectancy-Value-Cost Model of Motivation as frameworks. Lastly, I briefly describe the methods of this study and the intention to address my following research questions.

Theoretical Framework: Relational Developmental Systems Metatheory

The relational developmental systems (RDS) metatheory facilitates understanding of human development by looking at the individual in relation to their many related but distinct contexts (e.g. an individual's biology, their family context, their school or institutions; Overton, 2015). These contexts interact with one another and with the individual (individual $\Leftrightarrow$ context relations) all over time to influence an individual's path of development (Overton, 2015). This framework has several assumptions, as follows. Multiple systems influence the development of an individual; these systems work at different organizational levels, moving from more proximal contexts such as biology to more distal contexts such as sociopolitical culture (Lerner, Theokas,

& Jelicic, 2005). According to RDS metatheory, these different systems must be considered when interpreting developmental research, in order to understand how the individual develops within several systems.

These multiple systems coact with the individual (mutually-influential person ⇔ context relations that vary across place and time), meaning that the individual impacts their multiple contexts while the contexts in which the individual develops also impacts the individual. (Lerner et al., 2005). Time (temporality) is the broadest systematic level of development, and it impacts all other systems of development, such that each system is subject to change over time and this may impact the course of an individual's development (Lerner et al., 2005). Thus, there is not just one process for developmental change, but there are many across multiple systems, all impacted by the unit of time (Lerner et al., 2005). The relationship between the context and the individual is inseparable, and is considered the key unit of analysis for research and scholars informed by this framework (Overton, 2015; Lerner et al., 2005).

The RDS metatheory recognizes that the individual has agency over their development and may impact their developmental pathway actively (Overton, 2015). Similarly, development has relative plasticity (Overton, 2015). Although individuals may be susceptible to develop in certain ways, developmental trajectories are neither fixed nor pre-determined, but may be impacted by mutually beneficial individual⇔context relations and therefore can be optimized through researcher and practitioner partnerships.

Positive Youth Development (PYD)

Positive Youth Development models work within the framework of the RDS metatheory (Lerner et al., 2005). There are many PYD perspectives, similar in some basic empirically supported beliefs about development (Lerner et al., 2005). PYD research takes a strengths-based

approach and rejects the dualistic thinking that dominated within most deficit-models (for example, it does not subscribe to reductionist views such as nature versus nurture, continuity versus discontinuity; Lerner et al., 2005). A synthesis of reviews suggests the following six core principles of PYD models (Benson, Scales, Hamilton, Semsa, 2006, pp. 896):

1) All youth have the inherent capacity for positive growth and development.

2) A positive developmental trajectory is enabled when youth are embedded in relationships, contexts, and ecologies that nurture their development.

3) The promotion of positive development is further enabled when youth participate in multiple, nutrient-rich relationships, contexts, and ecologies.

4) All youth benefit from these relationships, contexts, and ecologies. Support, empowerment, and engagement are, for example, important developmental assets for all youth, generalizing across race, ethnicity, gender, and family income. However, the strategies and tactics for promoting these developmental assets can vary considerably as a function of social location.

5) Community is a viable and critical 'delivery system' for positive youth development.

6) Youth are major actors in their own development and are significant (and underutilized) resources for creating the kinds of relationships, contexts, ecologies, and communities that enable positive youth development.

Rooted in the above principles, PYD scholars aim to better understand and optimize positive development for all youth (Baltes, Reese, & Nesselroade, 1977; Lerner, 2004).

The R. Lerner and J. Lerner Model of PYD. Richard M. and Jacqueline V. Lerner presented empirical evidence for five components of the construct Positive Youth Development, the "Five Cs" (Lerner et al., 2005). The Five Cs consist of competence, confidence, connection,

character, and caring. Their model (see Figure 1) purports that given the alignment of individual

assets (internal strengths such as engagement in school, holding expectations for having a future

that is positive) and a community's assets (ecological strengths such as presence of mentors,

access to resources like libraries), an individual may develop these Five Cs, which puts them on

a path to overall contribution, or a trajectory toward thriving. This model hypothesizes that the

development of the Five Cs, or high PYD, is related to dynamic and "multifaceted contributions"

to "self, family, community, and civil society" (described in a following section) along with

reduced risk or problem behaviors (Jelicic et al., 2007). The 4-H Study of Positive Youth

Development showed longitudinal evidence of these links within their sample of U.S. youth
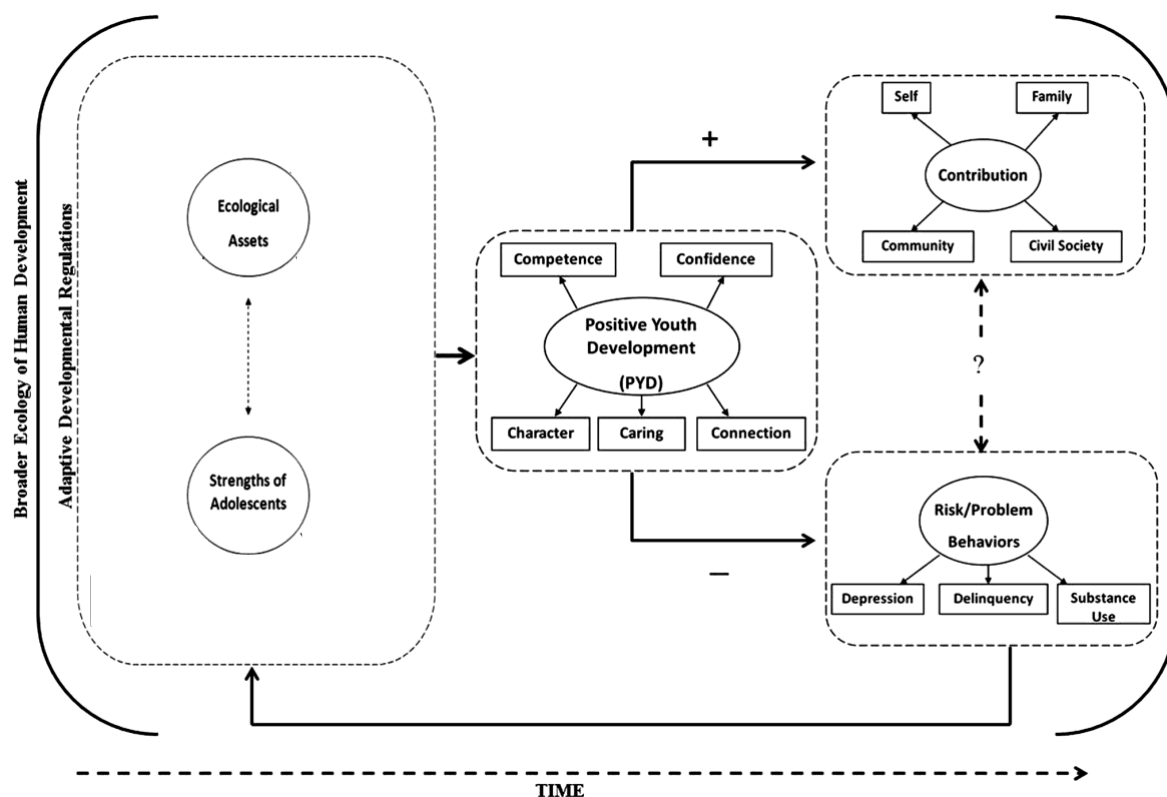
(Lerner et al., 2005).

Figure 1. Lerner & Lerner model of Positive Youth Development, following a relational developmental systems metatheory

Predicting PYD: Developmental assets. In the Lerner and Lerner Model of PYD, PYD

positively predicts contribution in youth and mediates the relationship between assets and contribution (Lerner et al., 2005); thus, it is important to understand how to promote PYD in order to facilitate contribution. Benson and colleagues describe the importance of developmental assets, comprised of both internal and external assets and importantly, the relationship between them (Benson et al., 2011). PYD scholars have expanded this area of research, trying to understand which assets are most predictive of PYD. For example, internal assets such as intentional self-regulation, school engagement, and hopeful future expectations are strongly associated with PYD (Lerner et al., 2005; Li & Lerner, 2011; Bowers et al., 2011). Intentional self-regulation, which involves the ability to set, direct and adjust goals according to the context, may be particularly important for PYD; this strength is associated with higher positive youth development and outcomes of thriving, particularly when aligned with ecological strengths (Bowers et al., 2011).

External assets shown to be predictive of PYD included ecological strengths such as having a consistent and high-quality relationship with a mentor, having access to and participating in youth programming, parental warmth and parental monitoring (Lerner et al., 2005; Bowers et al., 2011). Additionally, the availability of activities in a context and access to those activities is an asset related to higher rates of participation, which is associated with positive development (Callina et al., 2014). These assets are predictive of PYD, but they may also be positively associated with youth contribution because thriving results when an individual's strengths align with the community's assets (Lerner et al., 2005).

Current Knowledge of the Contribution Construct

Youth contribution has been empirically defined and measured in a number of ways, causing it to share characteristics of many other constructs such as social responsibility, civic

engagement, helping behaviors, and volunteerism. Contribution is multifaceted and can be observed through a variety of behaviors and values (Jelicic et al., 2007).

What is contribution? According to Lerner and Lerner's PYD perspective, contribution is the result of positive development (Lerner et al, 2003). It consists of two overarching components: ideologies (beliefs) and behavior (actions) (Lerner et al, 2003). When youth find it important to participate in contribution behaviors, they show ideologies of contribution and when they participate in activities that are intended to make a positive difference, they engage in the behavioral component of contribution (Lerner et al., 2003). As noted previously, youth contributions may manifest in various outlets: to "self, family, community, and civil society" (Jelicic et al., 2007). Youth contribute to themselves by promoting their own positive development; for example, they may engage in healthy behaviors such as sleeping and exercising enough while also studying to do well in school (Lerner, 2004). They can contribute to their families by assisting the family unit in any way; for example, they may assist with errands or work to raise money for family necessities (Lerner, 2004). Youth may make contributions to the community in many ways as well, for example, by volunteering time or money to a community program (Lerner, 2004). Youth contribution to civil society includes promotion of societal values, for example, through participation in a civil protest or social media campaign (Lerner, 2004). This conceptualization of contribution spans a wide range of behaviors and beliefs.

For the present study, I focus on youth contributions to community and society. When referencing contribution for the remainder of this dissertation, referenced contributions should be interpreted as directed toward community or society, without reference to contributions to self or family. In my operationalization of contribution, I consider contribution ideologies and behaviors with consideration to intentions; when participants intend to create positive change in

their behaviors, or find it important to do so, I will interpret their behaviors as contributions. As such, some contributions may not actually be making positive changes; for example, service trips are often problematic and not helpful to the community supposedly being served, but because the intention is to make a positive difference, I will discuss the intent to contribute and possible outcomes (both positive and negative).

Why is contribution important? Contributions benefit the individuals and communities to whom contributions may be directed, but also are personally advantageous to the individuals participating in these efforts. Youth who engage in contribution (e.g. by doing community volunteer work) may benefit from mutually influential relations between individuals and their contexts (Overton, 2015); they strengthen their contexts through their actions or values and thus provide a more positive context through contributions (Lerner et al., 2005). This would improve the individual's experience of their context while also strengthening the community more generally, creating a more positive climate for others within it.

The act of participating in contribution-oriented activities or maintaining contribution values in itself is beneficial to the individual doing so. A study by Van Tongeren and colleagues suggested the engaging in prosocial behaviors enhances overall meaning in in life (2016). Teen helping behaviors are associated with positive outcomes and protective factors; youth who help show higher positive behaviors and affect in addition to lower internalizing and externalizing problem behaviors (Padilla-Walker, Carlo, & Nielson, 2015). In particular for youth of color, when provided with engaging opportunities, their interest in local politics and their confidence in their ability to positively impact societal change increases (Ginwright, 2010). Additionally, contribution to community may have lasting impacts on continued thriving, as it is associated with higher levels of hope, purpose, and hopeful expectations of the future, all of which are

associated with PYD (Stoddard & Pierce, 2015). Studies examining prosociality in adults showed that adults higher in prosocial behaviors showed more positive affect in the telling of their life stories (Walker & Frimer, 2007). Individuals who contribute tend to show lasting positive developmental outcomes.

People who value contribution and engage in related activities are likely to continue doing so, which may create a positive cycle. When individuals find ways to contribute in personally meaningful ways early in life, they are more likely to contribute in adulthood (Hart et al., 2007). In particular, individuals may feel a sense of gratitude or positive affect when participating in positive behaviors, making them more likely to engage in further prosocial behaviors (Layous et al., 2016). Promotion of contribution behaviors and ideologies early in development may lead to increased and continued contribution.

Who contributes and when do they contribute? Contribution specifically to community and society has been more frequently studied in adults, but recent research and research on related constructs (e.g. civic engagement, prosocial behaviors) has been focused on understanding youth as contributors. In the 4-H Study of PYD, contribution was measured through closed-ended survey questions and several open-ended questions, assessing contribution ideology and behaviors (Lerner et al., 2005; Hershberg et al., 2014). Contribution was perceived as a global indicator of youth thriving, assessing items of leadership, service, and helping to understand contribution action and the extent to which contribution is an important part of the future self to understand contribution ideology (Callina et al., 2014). As anticipated, findings from the 4-H Study suggest that PYD is associated with higher contribution to self, to family, to community, and to civil society (Lerner, 2004). Most youth find it important to contribute, showing that they have high contribution ideologies and self-report its value to society

(Hershberg et al., 2014). Additionally, many act on those beliefs and are involved in contribution efforts, showing that youth engage in a variety of related behaviors (Hershberg et al., 2014). Contribution ideologies arise as early as sixth grade, and many high school students report being committed to ideologies of contribution, suggesting they find contribution important (Hershberg et al., 2014). However, recent research by Wray-Lake and colleagues suggest that there may be a decline in youth sense of social responsibility during middle adolescence, which is connected to their contributions to community and society (2016).

Studies report that various internal and ecological assets are associated with increased contribution ideologies and behaviors, and may be important for fostering more engaged youth. Activity involvement is associated with contribution, as more activity involvement relates directly and indirectly through PYD to higher contribution (Lerner et al., 2005). When individuals have consistently high levels of participation in activities (e.g. 4-H clubs, school government, band), they are more likely to show high PYD and contribution (Agans et al., 2014). However, selection effects may bias these results, as individuals with high PYD and contribution may more likely choose to participate in out-of-school time activities and do so consistently (Agans et al., 2014). Additionally, the opportunity to contribute exists more concretely in out-of-school activities, which may confound these results (Lerner et al., 2005).

Other internal and ecological assets, such as having parental trust, high hopeful future expectations, higher maternal education, and higher SES, have been shown to predict higher contribution in adolescents (Callina et al., 2014; Hershberg et al., 2014). Supportive environments may be especially important for fostering contribution in youth. Research shows that school solidarity, family compassion, and trusted friendships are related to increased youth social responsibility (Wray-Lake et al., 2016). The strengths that connect to greater contribution

may be bidirectionally beneficial for youth and communities; those strengths associated with more youth contribution may benefit the community and create a more supportive environment to further sustain individual and ecological assets (Overton, 2015; Lerner et al., 2005).

Understanding Youth Motivations to Contribute

As motivation is linked to behavior (e.g. Deci & Ryan, 2008), it is essential to examine youth motivations for contributing. Contribution is important for later development, but youth are not always earnestly engaged in contribution activities early in life (Hershberg et al., 2014). Declines in youth contribution may be related to less supportive environments in adolescence, suggesting that youth may need more support to thrive and to engage in social responsibility or contribution (Wray-Lake, Syversten, & Flanagan, 2016). Youth report contribution as the second most important theme in describing their future idealized selves, apparently finding contribution central to future thriving (Hershberg et al., 2014). However, qualitative findings from a subsample of interviews from the 4-H Study of PYD suggest that few early adolescents are engaging in meaningful acts of contribution (Hershberg et al., 2014), which could be important for their future roles as contributing members of society.

Youth may be involved in contribution activities that are not personally engaging, perhaps because parents/guardians are forcing their participation or because the forms of contribution-related activities available to them early in adolescence are not personally relevant (Hershberg et al., 2014). Research has suggested that the forms of contribution available to youth are often poorly aligned with their passions and needs; youth may be more engaged in community and social contributions if they have more venues to do so in more meaningful ways (Zeldin et al., 2013; Hershberg et al., 2014). Thus, it is essential that we better understand adolescent contribution motivations and how to support them that we can create more engaging

environments for youth.

      Theoretical frameworks of motivation. Youth may be motivated to contribute for a variety of reasons, and these motivations may be specific or general. Adolescents show differential contributions to various groups (e.g. family, friends, strangers, their community; Padilla-Walker et al., 2015) and may have more motivation to contribute to specific groups rather than more general motivations. A study by Sam Hardy and colleagues (2015) reported autonomous motivation may be important for increased prosocial behaviors and decreased negative behaviors, suggesting that researchers should explore what types of contributions youth are interested in pursuing and why. One theory of motivation, values theory, posits that the values an individual has should impact their later behavior in a linear fashion; however, it is also possible that behaviors and experiences could predict changes in a person's value system (Wray-Lake et al., 2016). When exploring youth motivations for contribution, it is vital to consider a bidirectional relationship between their experiences or prior actions and their ideologies. Understanding the intricacies of their motivations may be essential in engaging youth further in contribution.

      Youth motivations to contribute are likely multifaceted, and thus, I utilize two empirically-supported and expansive theoretical frameworks for contribution: Self-Determination Theory (Ryan & Deci, 2000) and the Expectancy-Value-Cost Model of Motivation (Barron & Hulleman, 2015; Eccles et al., 1983). Both perspectives intersect with one another and provide useful links to relational developmental systems and positive youth development, as they elucidate the impacts of interactions between the individual and their contexts or experiences shaped over time.

Self-Determination Theory. Self-Determination Theory (SDT; Ryan & Deci, 2000) can facilitate an understanding of youth motivations to contribute. This theory delineates a spectrum of motivators in relation to the ways in which activities may be rewarding, internally or externally (Ryan & Deci, 2000). Intrinsic motivation refers to the desire to engage in an activity because it is inherently and personally interesting or enjoyable (Ryan & Deci, 2000). Extrinsic motivation refers to the desire to engage in an activity because it is associated with an incentive, reward, or lack of punishment (Ryan & Deci, 2000). Amotivation refers to behavior without intention (Ryan & Deci, 2000). Social and contextual factors may support or hinder these motivations for engagement; they may fluctuate across activities, and even within activities over time and across contexts (Larson & Rusk, 2011).

Intrinsic motivation is a very specific facet of motivation and refers to engagement that is motivating in itself. Intrinsic motivation could be self-sustaining for youth contribution, and so I will focus first on its development. Intrinsic motivation can be facilitated through the fulfillment of three key human needs, as specified by a subtheory of SDT, cognitive evaluation theory (CET): relatedness, competence, and autonomy (Ryan & Deci, 2000). Relatedness, or the need to feel connected with others, is important for intrinsic motivation; the initial reason people tend to engage in activities is due to an activity being valued by others and wanting to feel close to those others (Ryan & Deci, 2000). People may then internalize the value of that activity and feel intrinsic motivation themselves to partake (Ryan & Deci, 2000). Competence, or feeling efficacious, is also connected to the internalization of motivation to participate in an activity; when people perceive an ability to understand or master an activity or subject, they are more likely to feel intrinsically motivated to do so (Ryan & Deci, 2000). Finally, autonomy supports the internalization of motivation; autonomy refers not to being independent or self-centered, but

to feeling a sense of volition which is associated with acting, whether that action is collective or individual (Ryan & Deci, 2000; Larson & Rusk, 2011). For anyone, but especially for youth, autonomy support is important for success and continued intrinsic motivation in a task, as feeling too little support or structure can lead to feeling overwhelmed and then less motivated (Ryan & Deci, 2000; Larson & Rusk, 2011). When relatedness, competence, and autonomy are fostered within a given context, individuals feel most intrinsically motivated, but when they are thwarted, there are potentially long-lasting detriments to motivation and well-being in that context (Larson & Rusk, 2011).

There is an array of factors that can promote long-term intrinsic motivation. Positive experiences with an activity can develop situational interest, or a short-term interest in a subject matter (Larson & Rusk, 2011). These experiences can develop into more long-term interest, or dispositional interest (Larson & Rusk, 2011). The development of dispositional interest in an activity promotes long-term intrinsic motivation (Larson & Rusk, 2011). This development is dependent on the acquisition of skills and knowledge, along with positive emotional experiences, to promote continued interest and foster meaningful engagement (Larson & Rusk, 2011). Personal dispositions such as values, goals, life purposes are also influential in intrinsic motivation (Larson & Rusk, 2011; Eccles, 2009). For example, the development of a sense of purpose can promote passionate engagement (e.g. Damon, 2008; Liang et al., 2016). Personal connections can be important to facilitating long-term intrinsic motivation, as evidenced by research on adolescents participating in youth programs (e.g. Dawes & Larson, 2011; Pearce & Larson, 2007). In research by Larson and colleges, adolescents primarily joined a youth program for reasons unrelated to the program mission (e.g. social connections, parents encouraging they join, fulfilling a service requirement), but later experienced increased motivation because they

had developed a personal connection between the program activities and their values and goals (Larson & Rusk, 2011). This process involves an activity becoming integrated into one's perception of self, thus experiencing sustained intrinsic motivation (Ryan & Deci, 2000; Larson & Rusk, 2011). The convergence of these and a diverse array of other dispositional factors (e.g. Eccles, 2005; Cury, Elliot, Da Fonseca, & Moller, 2006) impact activity choice and intrinsic motivation in activities.

Research is mixed on the impact of extrinsic motivation on intrinsic motivation. Some researchers posit that youth are motivated by extrinsic and social rewards (e.g. Flanagan, 2009). Other research suggests that the presence of extrinsic motivation, such as an external reward system for volunteer work, may undermine intrinsic motivation (Deci, Koestner, & Ryan, 1999). In research on civic engagement, researchers saw that emphasizing extrinsic motivators hindered civic commitments in young people (e.g. Warburton & Smith, 2003). However, other research suggests that mandated service (e.g. school required community service hours) does not decrease intrinsic motivation to participate in service (Henderson, Brown, Pancer, & Ellis-Hale, 2007; Metz & Youniss, 2005). There is some research that suggests that initial extrinsic motivations for involvement in extracurricular activities can transform into intrinsic motivations (e.g. Fredricks et al., 2002; Pearce & Larson, 2006). For example, in a study on youth activism, all participants initially joined a youth activism organization to gain school service credits, but many students reported changes in their motivations through participation in the service (Pearce & Larson, 2006). This theoretical perspective provides a framework for understanding the many types of motivations that may interact with one another to impact youth contribution.

Expectancy-Value-Cost Model of Motivation. The Expectancy-Value-Cost Model of Motivation (Barron & Hulleman, 2015) builds on more recognized Expectancy-Value models

(Eccles et al., 1983) by suggesting an expanded structure to its model to account for more facets that may impact motivation. Expectancy refers to an individual having the expectation that they will be successful in an activity, addressing the internal question "Can I do the task?" (Eccles et al., 1983; Barron & Hulleman, 2015). Expectancy is related to other constructs and theoretical perspectives that have important implications for motivation (Eccles and Wigfield, 1995; 2002), such as self-efficacy (Self-Efficacy Theory; Bandura, 1986). Value refers to an individual finding value in engaging in an activity, addressing the internal question "Do I want to do the task?" Value also relates to other theoretical perspectives and constructs, such as the intrinsic motivation detailed in the aforementioned Self-Determination Theory (Deci & Ryan, 2000). Positive responses to the expectancy and value questions are associated with high motivation, but Barron and Hulleman adapt this two-pronged approach to account for cost (which has been previously included by Eccles and colleagues in Expectancy-Value models, but it has not previously been recognized as a distinct component; Barron & Hulleman, 2004; Eccles et al., 1983). Cost refers to the cost of engaging in an activity, which may influence an individual's motivation (Barron & Hulleman, 2004). Individuals should also have no or reasonably low costs in consideration of the value to engage in the activity with motivated behavior (Barron & Hulleman, 2004). Cost is multidimensional, with four reported sub-components: effort involved in or related to the activity; effort unrelated to the activity; loss of valued alternatives; and negative psychological experiences (Barron & Hulleman, 2004). It should be noted that perception matters for cost as it does for expectancy and value; an activity is only considered high in cost when it is perceived to be too much by the individual, addressing the internal question, "Am I free of barriers preventing me from investing time, energy, and resources into the activity?" (Barron & Hulleman, 2004). This model of motivation provides a framework for

understanding the competing components that help determine whether an individual will participate in contribution.

   Understanding youth contribution through multifaceted models of motivation. It would seem that youth are able to hold several differentiated motivations for contributing to their communities and society. Utilizing both frameworks, Self-Determination Theory and the Expectancy-Value-Cost Model of Motivation, allows for a multidimensional analysis of youth motivation. Motivations for action directed toward one's community likely occurs through interactions between values and experiences shaped over time. These frameworks allow for the analysis of internal and external factors, in a dynamic way that fits key components of relational developmental systems metatheory and the positive youth development perspective.

Chapter 3: Methods

In the following section, I overview the study from which this dissertation participant sample comes. I explain my research design, elaborating on the need for the use of qualitative research for this topic. I describe the recruitment, participant make-up, and procedures for the qualitative interviews. Next, I outline my analysis plan for addressing each research question. Lastly, I discuss ethical considerations relevant to this study.

About the Larger Study: The Connecting Adolescents' Beliefs and Behaviors Study

The interviews conducted for this dissertation are subsets of a larger study, The Connecting Adolescents' Beliefs and Behaviors (CABB) Study (Johnson et al., 2016). The CABB Study was a longitudinal, multi-rater and multi-method investigation of youth character development, moral beliefs and behaviors, and positive youth development in sixth to eleventh grade students in the New England area. The CABB Study included four waves of survey data from students, their parents/guardians, and teachers/school staff members who students nominated as people who knew them well. Collection of these survey data began in Fall of 2015 and ended at the end of Spring 2017.

CABB Study Survey Recruitment. I have included the recruitment methods used for the CABB Study student participants as that has impacted the sample that I was able to use for my interviews. Participants in the CABB Study were recruited by first recruiting schools and then recruiting students from within those schools. Researchers contacted 27 schools in Massachusetts and Connecticut; 12 schools agreed to participate and researchers collected data from 11 of those schools (due to scheduling challenges, researchers were unable to collect data from three schools). Eight schools were Catholic or parochial schools and three were public schools. Schools received a $200 gift card for participation.

After school administrators agreed to participate in the study, researchers provided permission forms to send home with students. Parents and guardians of student participants provided permission for their children either online or by returning the paper copy of the permission form in sealed drop boxes at the schools (see Appendix A for a copy of one wave of the parent/guardian permission form for child participation in the survey). Researchers used the email address and/or telephone number provided in the completed permission forms to invite parents/guardians to participate. Parents/guardians of the recruited students were given a parent/guardian consent form and a link to participate in the parent/guardian survey online. Parents/guardians were also able to request a paper version of the survey to be mailed to them, with a pre-addressed and pre-stamped envelope. Parents/guardians received a $20 gift card for participation.

Researchers collected survey data from students at each school during a designated data collection day, the date agreed upon between the school and researchers. Researchers overviewed the assent process and students, after reading the paper assent forms, provided written assent and then completed a paper-and-pencil survey, which took about an hour (see Appendix B for a copy of one wave of the student assent for participation in the survey). Students received a $20 gift card for participation.

Recruitment for Dissertation Interviews

For the present study, I conducted interviews with a subsample of CABB Study student participants. In the following section, I will describe the recruitment methods for the current subsample of interview participants. I used student surveys to identity an interview sample; thus, only students who participated in the CABB Study were eligible to participate in the interview

recruitment. I selected students who, on their survey responses, self-identified as girls and who were in ninth through twelfth grade at the time.

Students who fit the criteria described above were contacted (first via their parents/guardians) for interviews. I emailed and called parents/guardians to contact them for permission for their child's participation; I asked parents/guardians to complete a permission form to allow their child to participate in the interview (see Appendix C for a copy of the parent/guardian permission form for child participation in the interview). The parent/guardians were able to complete this form online, and they were able to request a paper form to be mailed to them.

Once parents/guardians provided consent, I contacted them in order to schedule a time and public location to meet with students to conduct the interviews. On the agreed upon interview day, I overviewed the assent process with the student. After the student read the paper assent forms, they had the option of providing their written assent (see Appendix D for a copy of the student assent form for participation in the interview). After receiving assent, I began the interview. Students received a $25 gift card for their participation in the interview.

Participants

I interviewed nine student participants from the CABB Study sample who previously completed a student survey (see Table 1 for demographic information of the participants). I selected student participants who were in high school and who identified as girls.

Table 1

Participant demographic information

Name	Grade	Gender	Race or Ethnicity	Self-reported salient identities
Ellen	9	Girl	White	Low income to middle-low income
Frankie	11	Girl	White	Gay, not like others (like people who are wealthy and from a two-parent household), private school student
Portia	12	Girl	White	Middle class, girl
Jodie	9	Girl	White	Seen by others as young and tall
Ruby	12	Girl	White	Catholic and Jewish, woman
Judith	12	Girl	White	Catholic
Samira	10	Girl	White	Catholic, middle-class
Sarah	9	Girl	Latina	Catholic, nation of origin is not the U.S., adopted
Hayley	9	Girl	White	Girl

Description of participants' school. Participants all attended the same high school in the North East. This school is an all-girls, private Catholic school, located in a wealthy neighborhood. This high school was selected in part due to their high participation rate in the CABB Study; access to students was most viable. Additionally, this particular school required community service of their students; a number of hours were required of their students every year (this number will not be revealed to protect anonymity of the school and its participants). This mandate is explicitly connected to their Catholic mission, and they advocate service to others. The school has several connections to organizations in the area for student community service. Their service hours are not connected to a class or curriculum.

Procedures for Interviews

For the present study, I conducted in-depth semi-structured qualitative interviews in order

to investigate adolescent contribution in detail, exploring how, why, and to whom youth contribute, or intend to contribute. Interviews were conducted in the Summer and Fall of 2017 with a subsample of CABB Study student participants. Prior to conducting interviews, I participated in interview training, provided by the Principal Investigator of the CABB Study. Interviews followed the main themes of the semi-structured interview protocol (see Appendix E for the Interview Protocol). Each interview lasted approximately an hour to an hour and a half. With written and verbal permission, I audio-recorded each interview in order to more closely follow the participants' speech both during the interview and afterward in analysis. All participants granted permission to audio-record; if any participant had not granted permission for recording, I would have taken notes by computer. After each interview, audio files were transcribed verbatim, including pauses and filler words (e.g. "um," "like") to stay closer to the participants' voices.

Protocol and procedure development were guided by the *Listening Guide* (Gilligan, Spencer, Weinberg, & Bertsch, 2006). This method (described in more detail in the following data analysis section) emphasizes active listening, centering the participant voice while also acknowledging the researcher role in the process. During each interview, I took minor notes so that I could focus mainly on listening to and engaging with the participant. In order to facilitate in-depth and reflexive analysis, after each interview, I took more extensive field notes; this allowed me to assess any reactions or questions I had after speaking with the participant.

The protocol was developed to elicit participant reflection and probes were structured to specifically ascertain motivations behind their responses. Questions were open-ended and designed to allow participants to respond in-depth. I used field notes to help me navigate the interview, highlighting pieces of their responses that needed elaboration or themes that I thought

needed to be approached again near the end of the interview, so as to not interrupt or skew participants' responses in the bulk of the interview. Questions in the beginning of the interview were designed to establish rapport with the participant, allowing them to speak more generally about themselves so I could hear first more broad characteristics and interests. Questions in the middle of the interview were specifically focused on different phrasing and foci related to contribution. These themes in the protocol were developed with regard to literature on youth contribution (e.g. Jelicic et al., 2007, Stoddard & Pierce, 2015). At the end of the interview, I asked about their identification with social categorizations (e.g. gender, socioeconomic status) and their interest in social issues (e.g. Black Lives Matter or racial equity, protection of the environment, feminism) to hear more depth about their personal connection to what they have spoken about related to contribution. I asked the key questions in the protocol first, and allowed participants to respond until they had stopped speaking. I would prompt for more with small probes related to what they had said, asking for more information. I would then use any probes listed in the protocol to elicit further response. Particularly with questions specifically on contribution, I asked "why" explicitly to hear about their motivations.

Data Analysis

I analyzed participant interviews using the *Listening Guide* method (Gilligan et al., 2006), which is a method of analysis for qualitative texts – in the present case, transcripts of qualitative interviews.

Rationale for selected qualitative inquiry. The *Listening Guide* is particularly useful for exploratory research questions related to individuals' multifaceted experiences. Additionally, when research includes multiple interviews (in the present study, single interviews with multiple participants), it can be a helpful method for illuminating the similar and contrasting themes

between interviews. This method is influenced by feminist theorists, acknowledging that an individual's story may be multilayered and that no one interpretation can stand alone as a complete analysis (Gilligan et al., 2006). Gilligan and colleagues caution researchers from overpowering the participant's voice and emphasizes active "listening" through the analysis process, rather than "reading" (2006).

This method and qualitative research in general is valuable for exploratory analyses or for studying areas that have not been extensively studied in prior research (Hsieh et al., 2005). Although related constructs have been studied qualitatively in youth (e.g. prosocial purposes; Liang et al., 2016), contribution has been more frequently studied quantitatively and studied in adults, providing limited generalizability. Since there are developmental differences between youth and adults in how they conceptualize contribution, it is important to hear an in-depth narrative from youth. In particular, qualitative interviews are integral to understanding how youth may identify with certain contribution goals (in particular, the individuals to whom youth want to contribute). To my knowledge, this specific facet of contribution has not yet been studied. Surveys alone will not capture the nature of this subject because youth have varied responses; interviews are crucial to better understanding this topic. This information is useful for gaining a broader understanding of participants individually and as a group, beyond the interview questions. Utilizing semi-structured qualitative interviews allow for a nuanced picture of youth contribution.

A guide to The Listening Guide. I will describe the steps that have been provided as a general guide for researchers, although these steps may differ depending on the research questions and the nature of the project. The first two steps engage with the text without concern to the research questions. The next two steps bring the analysis back to the level of the research

questions and within scope of the relevant literature. Following this method, each step is considered a "listening" rather than a "reading," centralizing the active engagement of both participant (teller) and researcher (listener; Gilligan et al., 2006). I followed the steps as described below, while actively reflecting (through memos) on the usefulness of this method for my questions and allowing for time to reassess throughout the analysis phase.

Step 1: Listening for the plot. In this first listening, the goal is twofold: 1) to listen for the plot, and 2) to assess the listener's response to the interview. It is important to thoroughly read the text first in order to ascertain the "plot" of the story. The listener should identify the context, what is happening in the story, when, where, with whom, and why. Dominant themes, contradictions, similarities, and potential withheld information should be noted with consideration for the larger social context identified.

In this step, the listener also identifies their own responses to the interview text. This method recognizes that the researcher does not take a neutral observer stance, and therefore explicitly calls the researcher voice into the analysis. The listener should note their own social locations, reflections and connections with the teller. This process helps the researcher identify their responses and work toward reflexivity in the research.

In this stage of analysis, I read and analyzed one interview transcript at a time. For each interview, I read the full transcript once to ascertain the key plots. I then re-read that interview immediately after my initial reading and wrote responses each time the plot shifted in focus. After this, I went on to the next transcript until I had read them all.

Step 2: I poems. In a second listening of the text, the researcher focuses on the use of first-person pronouns by the participant and creates "I poems," so called by Elizabeth Debold (as cited in Gilligan et al., 2006). In order to do this, the researcher first underlines every first-

person "I" within the chosen passage along with the verb and any important adjoining words. They then extract these "I" phrases in the respective order and copy each phrase to a separate line. The use of "I poems" should help the researcher listen to the participant's first-person voice with particular attention to how the participant speaks about themselves.

After I had listened for the plots of all nine transcripts, I began Step 2 of my analyses. Analyzing one transcript at a time, I re-read my responses from Step 1 and listened to the passages again to create I poems. I wrote responses to each I poem, incorporating the associated plots to contextualize my analyses.

Step 3: Listening for contrapuntal voices. In the third listening, the researcher engages with the text in relation to their research questions. The researcher reads through the interview text two or more times, focusing on one aspect of the story at a time. The researcher makes physical notes on the text, marking the transcript for contrapuntal voices or places in which the teller seems to take a different voice; these voices may be in opposition with each other or they may be complementary. In this listening, the researcher's questions should shape the analysis. As such, the researcher uses their questions and listenings to guide the aspects on which they focus. This can be developed both before and throughout the analysis process. After these listenings have been completed, the researcher begins to reflect on the identified voices and the research questions.

As previously noted, in this study, I address the following research questions, and thus focus on the following questions for this listening:

1. How do adolescent girls experience contribution in their lives? (a) In which contribution-related activities are they involved? (b) What beliefs do they have about contribution?

2. How do adolescent girls direct their contribution goals or efforts? To whom do they

contribute, or want to contribute?

3. What motivations are associated with contribution goals or efforts for adolescent girls? I began Step 3 by listening to one transcript at a time, writing responses to contrapuntal voices within each transcript. As contrapuntal voices were identified, I went back to transcripts already analyzed to reflect on similarities and differences.

Step 4: Composing an analysis. In this final step, the researcher has gone through each text at the very least of four times. The researcher now synthesizes what has been learned in this process and relates this synthesis to their research questions. In studies with multiple texts, this is an iterative process whereby the researcher may revisit the research questions, the texts, and notes. At this point, the researcher should make apparent the relevant themes within and across texts.

Steps 1 – 3 were used as methods in preparation for the analysis at Step 4, guiding and informing the final analyses. To emphasize the analyses in relation to the research questions, I highlight Step 4 in the Results chapter. However, because Steps 1 – 3 were integral to the process, I include examples of my work in the appendices (see Appendices for Samples of The Listening Guide; Appendix F for Step 1, Appendix G for Step 2, and Appendix H for Step 3 analyses of the Listening Guide).

Role of Researcher & Ethical Issues

A qualitative design encourages aspects of research such as transparency and positionality. Transparency is crucial to the process of analysis and reporting. Extensive memos were completed throughout each step of data collection and analysis. Self-reflection is essential to identify researcher biases in data analysis, as biases could shape the analyses (Hesse-Biber, 2010, pp. 195). The *Listening Guide* provided a method to stay close to the text of the data, and

thus analysis using this method helped ensure that I center the participant voice over my own biases or hopes for the research outcomes.

Confidentiality. Researchers from the CABB Study received the NIH Certificate of Confidentiality and are committed to maintaining participant privacy. Survey data are stored detached from participant names and interview data are recorded without participant names. Participants were assigned identification numbers, which were used on surveys and in interviews instead of using participant names. Audio files were deleted from recorders after transcriptions were complete. Surveys and recorders are kept in a locked cabinet file behind two locked doors in the research lab, and all identifying information is stored on a secure password-protected server. Audio files, transcripts, and memos are saved on this secure password-protected server as well.

Chapter 4: Results

In this chapter, I review my analyses of the interviews of the nine participants. The first three steps of the Listening Guide (Listening for the Plot, I Poems, and Listening for Contrapuntal Voices) were used in the methods of composing the following analyses; however, in order to emphasize the themes associated with my research questions, the results presented in the present chapter draw primarily from the final step of the Listening Guide (Composing an Analysis). Throughout the analyses, excerpts of the interviews are provided, including my voice as interviewer when it helps to clarifies an interaction between myself and the participant. All names, locations, and other identifying details have been given pseudonyms or edited out of this document.

First, I present an overview of each participant, taking a summary of multiple plots derived from Step 1 of the Listening Guide (Listening for the Plot). Next, I present an accumulation of the Listening Guide analyses, focusing on the themes derived from Step 4 of the Listening Guide (Composing an Analysis). I start by reviewing their beliefs about their own roles as contributors. I then discuss their various motivations to contribute. Finally, I summarize the themes, organized by individual, in order to present a more cohesive understanding of how contribution functioned within each participant.

Brief Introduction to the Participants

In the following section, I introduce each participant by providing an overview of demographic information, interests, goals, and self-described characteristics. Additionally, I present their current contributions to community and society, along with their goals for future contributions. This information is derived from the interviews and from the brief demographic surveys their parents completed; the information presented is summarized, but even when not

presented in quotes, is derived directly from participant data. Because of this, some information is presented inconsistently across participants (e.g. some participants reported their socioeconomic status, whereas others did not, so not all participants will have this information in their summary).

Ellen. Ellen is a student in ninth grade. She self-identifies as coming from a low-to-middle income background. Her parents are divorced and she spends a lot of time with her mom, her mom's boyfriend, and his children. During the interview, she spoke a lot about social isolation at school; she does not feel particularly close to people at school, but talked vaguely about having closer friends from a former school. She talked about wanting to do a job that made money, but she did not have strong ideas about what that would be. She seemed to be motivated by money, wanting to be able to "not worry" about finances in the future. She expressed that her low-to-medium socioeconomic status was a salient social identity to her, and that it has impacted the way she views her life:

> So, like, I guess it's made me more appreciative for the things that I have.   Like, I, like, I feel like I know where things are and what I can have and what I can't have.   And what I can't do and what I can do.

 She expressed a desire to do better in school, but did not seem to find much enjoyment out of school. Several times she expressed wanting to participate in various activities (e.g. join the volleyball team) – or liking the idea of doing different activities – but then not wanting to actually put in the effort to do the discussed activity. Ellen did not express interest in social issues or contribution, either now or in the future. Despite having a school requirement to do community service, Ellen did not mention being involved in any service.

Frankie. Frankie is a student in eleventh grade, coming from a background that is, according to her description, not like others at her school – others having "a wealthy, two-parent household." Her parents are divorced and she has a strained or possibly nonexistent relationship with her father, who has "severe mental health issues." She has close relationships with her brothers, and especially one who serves as a strong emotional support for her. She feels very supported by her therapist. She identifies as a gay person. She loves school and learning. She is involved in an extracurricular program aimed at teaching girls computer coding.

Frankie is participating in contribution activities currently, but sees contribution as part of her future self too. She is currently in a school club established to address social issues at and beyond the school, organizing student activism and other contributions (*Student Activists Club*). Frankie recently joined this club, getting a "late start," because she did not want to join in the middle of the year, noting that she did not want to impose on their already established ecosystem. Frankie is currently serving as a tutor for students (it is not clear whether she tutors within or outside of her school). She wants to be an engineer and to make a difference in the world. In the future, she wants to be an activist who is "able to give back to [her] community, and those around [her]." She thinks as an engineer she would like to invent something that could address a problem in the world. She talked about many social issues that she cared about, talking explicitly about the issues of oppression and discrimination. When asked what she wants to do explicitly to make a difference, she talked about wanting to do a service trip. In wanting to contribute to society, she talked about the importance of awareness; she feels that it is important to stay informed of national and global current events and that this enables more sensitive contributions.

Portia. Portia is a student in twelfth grade. She grew up in a middle-class family, with two parents (a mother and father). She is on the golf and track team at school, and she works three days a week as a lifeguard and swim instructor. Her family enjoys traveling and experiencing different cultures. She reported that she is open-minded and her ability to travel has helped her with accepting differences in others. She wants to work in fashion merchandising because her dream goals of being either a model or a fashion designer are "not realistic." She hopes her job will offer financial security and that she will enjoy it, "not as if I have to go to school." She has ADHD and has a hard time sitting through classes, but she enjoyed the fashion course she took over the summer which offered more "hands-on" projects. She would like to go to school in either New York City or Amsterdam.

Portia talked about her current contributions and hopes for contributing in the future. She cares about animal cruelty; as such, she has attempted to reduce her meat consumption and only buys makeup that does not test on animals. She talked about being passionate about kids who do not have stable homes; she began donating to a non-profit in service of children and families (Safety and Success for Children) when she was ten, with her mother matching her donations. For her community service hours, she participates in a non-profit that provides school supplies, toys, and other materials to children coming from low-income backgrounds and/or experiencing homelessness (Provisions from Pampers to Playdough). In the future, she would like to be able to make substantial donations (recipients unspecified) so that she can make a difference.

Jodie. Jodie is a student in ninth grade. She grew up with two parents (a mother and father) in a small, close-knit community; she did not report her socioeconomic status. She is on the basketball and swim team at school. She likes animals and would like to work in marine biology; she noted that people comment on her poor performance in science classes and think

she should pick a different career, which she says hurts her confidence but she wants to be a marine biologist anyway. She likes to snorkel and is learning to scuba dive. Throughout the interview, she expressed concern multiple times about not wanting to run into people she knows (e.g. during her community service hours) and feeling awkward about that – in particular the "popular girls" that live in her town. She was excited to get her driver's license because she thought it would be fun, but also because she did not want to make her parents have to run all around town to get her and her brother to the places they need to go.

Jodie talked about her current contributions and hopes for contributing in the future. She currently does community service hours in a community garden (not in her own community, but in another town's garden so she would not run into people she knows). In the next semester, she plans to do community service hours by participating in an organization that rescued sea turtles. She talked about several instances in which she stuck up for people who were being bullied, in some cases directly confronting the bully and trying to get them to understand the negative impact they have by bullying. In the future, Jodie wants to be someone that contributes directly to her own community (in contrast to her current contributions, which are aimed away from her direct community) and she wants to participate more through her church. She expressed concern for the way sea animals are treated and for the environment, in addition to her concern over the prevalence of warfare across the world. She seemed to brainstorm about different random ways she could make a difference, but she did not have clear plans for contributing; for example, she talked about wanting to be someone that people can turn to, having a company across the U.S. (e.g. a suicide prevention hotline) so people can talk to her and she could make them feel better. She noted that her backup plan is to be a therapist, but she did not elaborate on this plan. She

recognizes that her first plan of being a marine biologist could make a difference, as she cares about the environment.

Ruby. Ruby is a student in twelfth grade. She grew up with two parents (a mother and father) in a middle-class family. Despite their socioeconomic status, they have struggled financially because Ruby's mom had cancer and many medical bills to pay alongside her school tuition. She is the captain of her school's volleyball team, is on the golf team, and enjoys boating and fishing. She wants to be a supermodel, and recognizes this career is difficult to get into, but she seems to have a lot of confidence in her ability to achieve what she wants. She enjoys public speaking, but talked about the school shutting down a lot of opportunities for her; she thinks the school does not value her voice because she expressed that she is not one of the smartest students at the school – she is "in the middle." She talked about her popularity and the pressure she feels to be strong associated with that. She has experienced anxiety and depression, but has felt supported through her mother and school nurse.

Ruby talked about her current contributions and hopes for contributing in the future. She regularly helps people interpersonally, values giving to others, and wants to help others feel empowered even if she just does this through "talking to them." She does her community service hours at a retirement home and expressed that this participation meant more to her than just fulfilling a requirement. She talked about how she cares about equality and throughout the interview, expressed an affinity for feminism. In her future job as a model, she wants to empower women and display strength and confidence for girls. When talking about her goals for the future, she said that she wants to be a leader in life, she wants to be influential, and she wants to better the community.

Judith. Judith is a student in twelfth grade. She grew up in a strongly Catholic family, with her mother, father, and older brother and sister. She is very involved in her church and campus ministry. She is on the track and field team at school. She likes to sew and do other creative activities. She wants to go to college and possibly major in psychology, but is not sure specifically what she would like to do afterward; she thinks she would like to do something in the fashion industry – perhaps fashion merchandising. She is also interested in possibly becoming a child life specialist in a hospital, helping children cope with coming out of surgery. She did not report her socioeconomic status, but she talked about working one day a week because she knows she is going to have to pay for college and take out student loans.

Judith talked extensively about her current contributions and hopes for contributing in the future. She participates in regular volunteer opportunities through her church youth group and campus ministry (e.g. volunteering at a nursing home), and she has gone on multiple service trips. She has tried to make a difference in her community by doing things on an interpersonal level (e.g. giving people experiencing homelessness water when she passes them). In the future, she would like to do more volunteer work; particularly, she would like to volunteer more at an organization that throws birthday parties for children who are experiencing poverty because she likes children. Judith talked about how she is passionate about the issue of discrimination against the LGBT+ community. She has tried to talk to her parents about being accepting of trans people in particular, and has gotten incredibly upset that they have expressed homophobic and transphobic views.

Samira. Samira is a student in the tenth grade. She grew up in a middle-class family and reported being close to her mother. She is very involved at school, in multiple clubs and sports: she writes for the newspaper; she is on the softball team; she is in choir; she is in the Latin club;

she is in the speech club; and she is in a club aimed at student activism (the same club that Frankie is in: Student Activists Club). She plays piano, likes to knit and crochet, and likes to read. If she had more time, she would join the crew team as well. She might want to go into the medical field or do something related to English or history since she likes those classes, but she is not exactly sure. She talked extensively about being a hard worker and always wanting to do her best in whatever endeavor she approaches. She expressed feeling very religious (Catholic) compared to her classmates.

Samira talked about some of her current contributions but did not have formed thoughts on what she would do in the future. She currently helps in a soup kitchen and was involved in a petition at her school to change the name of Columbus Day into Indigenous People's Day. She thought she may contribute through her future career, but since she is not sure of what that career will be, she could not definitely say whether it will be on an individual or community level. There was not a particular group or issue she wanted to contribute toward; she felt she was not informed enough to identify a direction for her future contributions.

Sarah. Sarah is a student in the ninth grade. She was adopted from outside of the U.S. and lives with her mother and father; she did not report her socioeconomic status. She has a close relationship with her family. Her sister lives in a residential community due to her severe developmental disability. Finding her sister a school that best supports her and is geographically close has been a priority for the family; from the extent that Sarah talked about this concern, it seemed to be taking up a lot of time and emotional energy. However, she did not express any feelings of animosity or burden over this concern, but rather expressed care and concern for her sister. Sarah is interested in art (digital art, photography) and would like to do something art-related as a career. She is not entirely sure what she wants that to be yet. She identifies as

Catholic and feels more accepted at her current school. She went to a charter school previously and did not enjoy the social or academic culture there. At her current school, Sarah has been taking French, is in art club, photo club, and coding club.

Sarah talked very briefly about the current ways that she contributes and what she would like to do in the future. She has participated in food drives, volunteered at a food kitchen, and volunteered at a non-profit that provides school supplies, toys, and other materials to children coming from low-income backgrounds and/or experiencing homelessness (the same organization that Portia also has volunteered in: Provisions from Pampers to Playdough); she talked about picking this location because it sounded fun and a lot of her friends had also chosen this location for their community service hours. She thought the best way she could contribute in the future would be through continued volunteer work through an organization, so you can help in an established group and make a bigger impact. In the future, she would like to be the type of person that helps others interpersonally (e.g. being nice to people).

Hayley. Hayley is a student in the ninth grade. Her parents are divorced. She grew up in a middle-class family. She is not sure what she would like to do for a career in the future; she talked about possibly doing something involving science, astronomy or biology in particular. She knows she would like to attend college in the New England area and study abroad in France. She likes to work out, run, and will be starting track and field at her school. She writes for the school newspaper because she likes to write and share her opinions. She feels passionate about photography and art. She spoke about how she is adventurous and likes to try new things (e.g. cliff diving).

Haley talked about the ways she is currently contributing to her community and ways that she would like to do so in the future. She was previously in a friend group that was making

homophobic and racist jokes; as she realized they were serious about the discriminatory sentiments behind the jokes, she worked toward changing their minds and when she felt she could not, she switched friend groups. She talked about caring about equality and feminism. She did not know how she would be able to make a difference, but she would be happy if she could. She has started trying to be more informed of current events, following an activist on Instagram to learn about different viewpoints and learning "[following] the 2016 election very closely." She wants to attend a protest such as the Women's March; she thinks that showing up for events like that expresses support and helps the movement. In college, she would like to take classes centered on feminism.

What Counts as Making a Difference?

In the following section, I describe the types of contribution activities participants thought could make a difference in communities or society, and the activities in which they had interest. In general, participants expressed doubt in their own ability to make real contributions, identifying contributions that "count" as large acts as opposed to the small acts in which they felt they were engaging. Some participants specified large donations and consistent community service as "making a difference," whereas others thought they could make a difference by doing small things, with the caveat that their own actions were explicitly classified as only small actions. Some students thought they could not make a real contribution to the community or society, even through small actions. Students also talked about service trips and helping people classified vaguely as "those less fortunate," as ways that they could make contributions that counted, without necessarily quantifying those contributions as big or small. I operationalized contributions in these analyses as actions or goals to make positive impacts in the participant's communities, other communities, or society more broadly. Participants did not always explicitly

label such actions or goals as "contributions," and so any discrepancies between their interpretations and my analyses are noted.

Quantifying "making a difference." Seven of the nine participants thought they could make a difference in their communities, but had different ideas about what types of contributions counted as "big enough." Six of these participants qualified that their abilities to make a difference were restricted to small actions or interpersonal contributions. They emphasized that they would not know what to do on a larger scale. In three cases (Hayley, Judith, and Portia), participants also expressed feeling unable to make a difference at all with certain big issues (e.g. addressing discrimination). One participant (Sarah) talked about being able to make a bigger difference through volunteering in an established organization, and so she judged this type of contribution to be worthwhile.

Two students, Hayley and Judith, spoke about attempting to address discriminatory attitudes with friends or family, aiming to contribute through advocating for equality or open-mindedness when they saw issues. Hayley talked about trying to get her main friend group to stop making discriminatory jokes or comments, specifically aimed at people of color and the LGBT+ community. She reported that she was not sure what to do to make a big impact, but she expressed being satisfied with trying to help individuals accept differences and not discriminate:

> Um, I'm not sure about that yet, because um, I'd have to be like in the world, especially for there to be like a really big action or like a really big "reap." But like so far, I'm fine with just like trying to help a few people realize [not to discriminate against people who are different].

Ultimately, Hayley changed friend groups and started to align herself with peers who shared her values around using non-discriminatory language. She felt that she was unable to make a

contribution in this particular instance, noting that she was not able to fully change their opinions:

> Well I've tried to like change the other [original friend] group, to like, change their thoughts, but I mean you can only get so far doing that. Like change their like opinions like that. And like kind of teach them as much as I could. It didn't work out that well, but I tried my best with that.

Although Hayley talked about making a consistent effort to challenge her friend group, she did not classify this as a contribution to her community because it was not making a big difference or a "big reap" in the world. While she seemed to think she could contribute interpersonally, with this issue, she did not feel she made a difference.

Judith tried to make a difference in her context through interpersonal contributions. Similar to Hayley, when attempting to address discriminatory attitudes, Judith felt that she could not change the minds of individuals. Judith attempted to talk to her parents especially about the issue of discrimination against trans people and the LGBT+ community more broadly, advocating for acceptance, but she felt she was not able to make a substantial contribution:

> Like people are always gonna have their opinions and everything, ya know. I can't change the way people think. But, um, I don't know – I'd like to, but I don't know how much of an impact I would have on people.

Related to social issues such as discrimination against the LGBT+ community, Judith did not know what she could do. However, Judith did feel she was able to make small contributions in other ways. She talked about being able to make a difference on an individual person's day:

> Hmm, um, I, I think it's easy to make small differences in people's lives, like you know like, I go downtown [city] a lot with my friends, and we go to [downtown area]. There's

homeless people on the streets. […] I'll carry extra water bottles with me, and I'll give people some water bottles and everything. Cause like, you know that puts a smile, on her, on their face. Puts a smile on my face. It's a win-win situation. Um, and so I think like that, that's a small difference that was made in his or her life, um. But like, as far as like big differences, I don't think I could.

Judith was able to see her interpersonal contribution as making a difference, because the direct action of giving someone a water bottle instantly impacted that person's day. Conversely, attempting to dismantle oppressive ideologies, even interpersonally, did not have such clear impacts on others. Thus, Judith saw herself more able to make a difference through such "small" acts of kindness.

Similar to Judith, Samira expressed that she enjoyed being able to help people on an individual basis. She spoke about her participation in an organized community service opportunity, which could be seen as a larger form of contribution, but she focused on the interpersonal contributions she made in this activity:

Well, I helped out with the um, [soup kitchen]. And um, it's a soup kitchen and um, just seeing how you can make a difference is someone's day, and um, like put a smile on their face. That was really - um, even though it was a small change, to see how that like um, that organization really helped a lot of people.

Samira was able to see herself making a difference because she saw a direct impact on another person's day while working at a soup kitchen, serving food. When asked whether she could make a difference in her community in her future career, she again emphasized the small contributions she could make: "I don't, I mean I don't think so. I mean if I do something in medicine, that's always like changing. That's always like helping the person that you're, that's

your patient. But that's a small thing." Even with her goal of potentially working in medicine, she felt her contributions would likely be minimal because they would be on an interpersonal basis – helping individual patients.

Ruby emphasized her ability to make differences in her community on an interpersonal level, while speaking about goals of contributing to the community more broadly. When speaking about the kind of person she wants to be in the future, Ruby said, "I wanna better the community," but then talked about individual or "small" contributions in helping people who are worried and anxious to know that things will work out for them. Ruby felt that speaking to people on an individual basis could make a contribution to the community, and she was doing this in her community service hours at a retirement home:

> Um I think that, just like whatever I have to do to help someone would better the community, even if it's something small. 'Cause, like, I do some community service at, um, a retirement home, um, and a nursing home.   And what I do is just like, I just like talk to them. And I just like listen to their stories, like that's what I do.

Ruby seemed to have a positive conceptualization of "small" actions aimed at helping the community. She thought that "small" or interpersonal contributions could still make a difference.

Jodie had tried to make a difference on an individual level and struggled to verbalize a way that she could contribute in a broader way. She talked about fighting against school bullying and cyber-bullying by approaching bullies on an individual basis. She feels that she has made a difference in a few cases:

> I feel like I've helped people realize that they, like, need to stop.   And if they want to say something, to say it to their face. And to figure it out before they tell people because

there's like accounts on Instagram, and they are like people private accounts so when they post on it, like only some certain people get to see it, and they like post really bad about people. And they don't understand how much it affects a person behind like the other side of the screen. They're just like, "The post is private." And I like have shown a lot of people just by talking to them about it, that they should stop and that it's hurting them like really bad, so now a lot of people don't post bad, talk bad anymore because I've told them to stop.

Unlike the previous participants, Jodie did not qualify this action as "small," but she still focused on her own contributions on an interpersonal level, addressing bullying on a case-by-case basis. She did not talk about how this could impact the community more broadly.

Portia especially downplayed the impact of her own contributions, even while participating in clear examples of them. When asked about wanting to make a difference in the community, she did not think her actions were significant enough to count. I reminded her of what she had discussed previously in the interview to assess whether she thought those actions counted as contributions. For example, she began donating money to the charity Safety and Success for Children when she was ten years old. Additionally, because she cares about fighting against animal cruelty, she has cut out most meat from her diet and only buys makeup that is not tested on animals. Even when reminded of these actions, Portia thought they were not big enough to make a difference:

> **Participant - Portia**: I mean, yeah. I think it does make a difference but, I feel like, it's not like the makeup company I'm buying from is saying, oh that one girl isn't buying our makeup because we test on animals. Like, I feel like they obviously don't even know I exist, and um, so I feel like it doesn't make that much of a difference. But I guess every

person, one less person, like, does make somewhat of a difference because if everybody thought that way, then they wouldn't have any business to test on animals with.   And I think that might help them change their mind on how they, on what they're doing. But I guess it makes a little bit of an impact, but it's not enough to really say that I, I mean in my mind, it's not enough to say, "Oh I made a difference," like I made a big change.

Interviewer - Stacy: You think it should be bigger?

Participant - Portia: Yeah, I mean I think, not, I think I guess what I'm doing does make an impact, a little bit. But like I said, there's so many people that are gonna buy, continue buying the makeup brands. It's not like me saying, "Oh guys, I don't buy from this company," is gonna stop, I mean, everybody else. I mean, I've told my friends, like, I don't like to buy from them, and it actually has stopped my friends from buying them. So, I guess that it impacted a couple people. But it's, I don't know, I guess I don't really view it as making a huge difference.

Interviewer - Stacy: If you could make a difference, if you feel like you could make a difference, what would that look like?

Participant - Portia: I mean for me personally, I feel like it's kind of out of reach because, I feel like everybody who's made a huge difference on the world has, it's just been something that they worked at their entire lives.

Portia went back and forth between admitting that she could make a small difference and thinking that she could not make a difference at all. While she admitted that she made a small difference in changing her friends' behaviors, she thought her contributions were not important enough because they were not making noticeably larger changes, such as helping to shut down a

company doing animal-testing. Portia thought of the people making "real" contributions as being inspiring, and she did not view herself in that capacity:

> I just don't know if I could do that, like, I think it's, I think it's really, really - I don't know I guess, when I look at someone who does that I find it really, really respectable and just like amazing, and inspiring but I don't know, I don't think I would be able to get to that level of making a difference.

She focused on real contributors being the people they learn about in history: "I mean, like, I guess when I think about people who make a difference, I think about people we've learned about in school, like Rosa Parks, and people like that." Portia thought making a real difference in the world would be impossible for her, because she had not been working toward making change for her entire life; however, she did begin contributing at a young age, making donations to a non-profit at the age of ten, so this message seems to contrast with her actual behaviors.

Portia, who described her own contributions as not impressive enough, was able to recall people from her own life (not just people written about in history textbooks) who were making a difference in society. She talked about having friends who forwent presents for their bar mitzvahs and bat mitzvahs, instead asking people for donations to a charity building wells in different countries. She felt this was a larger scale contribution and thus it counted as a real contribution, while her own contributions did not count as much. She went on to say,

> I think that makes a difference because, then you see the videos of the kids that, like, finally, like, have clean water. And, like, *that* I feel like is really impactful. Um, so that's some, a group, I mean a couple of people that I feel like have, are able to make a difference. Um, and like other friends who didn't have such big like parties as kids, or not as kids, but, like, in their teens I guess, which they don't bring a present, bring a toy

they can donate to, and all donate it [to a non-profit organization for youth from low-income families].

When I asked her how those actions differed from her own, she talked about the scale of the contribution:

> Um, well I feel like I'm just not, they, for an example: donating. Like, if they donated a bunch to Toys for Tots, they just gave presents to kids, for like, I don't know, like twenty kids. They just provided them a toy for their birthday, or Christmas, or whatever holiday they celebrate. And I just, like, I'm, I mean I guess me donating to my friends helps to give a toy to that kid, but I'm not donating on such a large scale like that.

Portia talked about what she would like to do in the future to make a contribution to the community; she wished she had unlimited funds so she could donate "thousands of dollars" and donate clothes and toys to youth organizations. She said she currently donates clothes and toys to the aforementioned non-profit, but she remarked that she does not have enough money to "spend a hundred dollars" on donations:

> I mean, when I think that I've moved on from my lifeguarding job and have a more stable job where I don't have to use my parents' money to do it, um, that would definitely be something I want to continue to do. On a bigger scale.

Portia conceptualized the donations and contributions she made as not big enough to count, and contrasted her own contributions with those of her friends.

Sarah talked about being able to make a contribution when working in a group while doing community service. She expressed ideas similar to the previously described, feeling that her contributions needed to be on a large scale to count: "Um, I think the volunteering is one of the biggest things that I think I could do to help, like others, just because you're with a big group

of people and you're like helping a bigger cause." When asked about why she chose to volunteer with the organization aiming to provide kids coming from low-income backgrounds with school supplies and toys, she talked about the positive experience she had being able to see the volume of her impact when doing her community service hours:

> Um, I was doing it because the [organization] sounded like a really fun thing to do. And just, it was, like, a very… there were a ton of people there just helping and volunteering to help sort out all these things in this giant warehouse, and I was looking around the warehouse, looking at the things like piled up to the ceiling, and thinking, like, I can't, all this stuff was donated by other people. Like, all these kids who were in need. They were just, like, it made me really happy.

By contributing to a collective effort, Sarah felt she was able to make a more significant difference in the community.

The seven participants listed in this section focused on the size of a contribution when assessing whether they were making a difference, or whether they would be able to make a difference at all in the future. They classified their own contributions as small or interpersonal, and in three cases, felt that they were not making a difference in any substantial way. These participants in some ways seemed to devalue their contributions by quantifying them as not big enough to make change.

Community service or donating as the standard. Almost all (seven) of the participants described community service or donations as desirable and meaningful forms of contribution, potentially because their school required community service and encouraged it along with hosting multiple fundraising drives. These forms of contribution seemed within their

reach, and participants expressed feeling able to contribute by participating in community service or making donations.

Frankie was involved in community service, she has participated in fundraisers, and she talked about future goals for community service. She was involved in a club on campus that allowed her to participate more in fundraisers and organized community service. She talked about participating recently in a fundraiser for Puerto Rico, presumably aimed at relief efforts in the aftermath of the devastating hurricane that hit Puerto Rico in 2017. Additionally, Frankie signed up for community service to fulfill her required service hours:

Hmm, well my school's like, to graduate, you need like [an amount of] hours of community service, like, that is a very wide pool of, like, what did I do this year. But I think one of the things that has really resonated with me the most was, I got to be able to play sports with special needs people, and it was really, like, a perspective change, of like how people live differently, because like how they were able to do something, and differently from how I did it was really just fascinating, but also very humbling and changing to like what's going. To, like, how privileged I am as a person, to be able to, like, experience some things, like, very easily, and just go on with my life, different to how, say other people do.

When talking about what she wanted to do in the future, Frankie expressed wanting to give back to her community:

I feel like, I'd wanna be able to help in any way possible, so that's like volunteering at townie events, or like just if there's someone who's in need in the town, that's like the food pantry or something like that. I want to be able to like be involved in something

like that and be able to support those around me, maybe not financially, but maybe

emotionally or like some form of like, hey, it's okay, the world is gonna keep going.

Community service and fundraiser involvement constituted one portion of Frankie's

contributions to community, but she was interested in continuing with those actions in the future,

feeling like they are valuable ways of making a difference.

Ruby, Samira, and Sarah briefly mentioned the community service they do. Samira said

she did volunteer work at a soup kitchen, and she appreciated being able to make a difference in

peoples' days through her work there. Ruby talked about doing community service at a

retirement home, which filled her school requirement, but meant more to her than that:

> **Participant – Ruby** I do some community service at um, a retirement home, um, and a
>
> nursing home. […] And what I do is just like, I just like talk to them. And I just like
>
> listen to their stories, like that's what I do.
>
> **Interviewer - Stacy:** Is that part of your required service?
>
> **Participant - Ruby:** Uh, we do have to do, up until this year we had to do 30 hours every
>
> year. So I mean, I did it. But I also got something out of it.

This was the only formal community service she talked about, but she talked about contributing

in ways beyond community service. Sarah conceptualized making a difference almost

exclusively as donating to a charity or doing community service, noting that this form of

contribution was a priority at her school. When asked about how she could make a difference,

she responded, "Um, also like, helping out and just doing community service in general. Cause

that's like a big thing at my school. Like community service and helping other communities that

are in need." She had participated in food drives, done community service in a food kitchen, and

participated in community service hours at the organization previously described aimed at providing children from low-income backgrounds with school supplies, toys, and more.

Jodie and Portia talked about their current participation in community service, also expressing a desire to continue participating in community service in the future. Jodie was involved in community service hours at a community garden in another town, and for the following semester, she was scheduled to do community service with an organization rescuing sea turtles. She wanted to do community service in her own community in the future. Portia participated in the organization Samira talked about, providing materials to children from low-income backgrounds, and she felt like this contribution made a small difference. Portia conceptualized donations as particularly important; she herself made regular donations to Safety and Success for Children, but in the future, she expressed wanting to donate larger amounts of money.

Judith had a range of community service experience and spoke about community service as an important and enjoyable way to make a difference in the community. She participated in community service through her school, her church youth group, and through campus ministry. By joining these organizations, she aligned herself with friends who similarly valued and participated in community service. She did community service at a nursing home, helping to run a craft hour for the residents. She talked about wanting to volunteer more if she had more time, particularly to one organization:

> I would, and I's probably also do, um they have this now, I don't sign up for it cause it's on a Thursday night. Um, which is birthday wishes, it's an organization where you go to a home with like, like I don't know what you would call it, but there's families there who like don't have enough money to like live in their own home. So, they're just all

together, and you throw a birthday party for all the kids who have a birthday that month.

So, we do like little goody bags, and like cake and all that, and the kids love it. That's

what I've heard. Yeah. And I like kids, so I would want to do that.

Judith conceptualized community service as an important way to make a contribution, and so she

participated in many community service opportunities and planned to do more in the future.

The above seven participants expressed value in the act of community service or giving

donations, deeming them viable ways to contribute. All of the participants partook in some form

of community service to fill their school requirement, but many of them talked about the

importance of contributing in this form. Engaging in community service or making donations

seemed like possible ways of making contributions in the future as well, beyond adolescence.

Service trips and helping "those less fortunate." A subset of four participants reported a

desire to help people labeled vaguely as "less fortunate" than them, and this was typically

associated with the desire to participate in community service via going on a service trip or their

past experience on a service trip. For two of these participants, their reported religious identity

seemed to play a role in their desire to help people categorized as "less fortunate," or to

participate in a service trip (Samira and Judith). For the other two participants, these desires

seemed to be connected to their expressed passion about social issues (Frankie and Portia).

Samira talked about wanting to help people who are less fortunate than she was: "And,

um, and just seeing how like um, like the middle class, like how you can kind of help other

people who are less fortunate and again that circles back to the religion." She did not define

exactly who would be in this group, "people who are less fortunate," but as she related it to her

own economic status, she likely thought about contributing to people who were in lower

socioeconomic statuses. Samira did not connect this to participating in a service group and did not seem to have a clear path toward contributing to this group.

Judith had gone on several service trips through her church youth group, campus ministry, and through her high school. She noted that the service trips were not required: "You don't have to go, but I like to go." She reflected on a recent service trip to New Orleans, and how much fun she had with this experience, calling it the "best trip ever":

> Um, just the people 'cause we met, the place we stayed at we met other people that were volunteering as well. Some people that were like interning from Germany, two boys and they were like so cool and so fun. And the people, the house that I was working on, for hurricane Katrina, the woman there was so nice, she was so sweet. So positive, even though she hasn't had like a home to live in for so long. So, it was so fun.

In her responses, Judith demonstrated at least three different themes associated with service trips, some which also occurred in other participants. First, she expressed a positive emotional experience in attending the service trip; she felt that her experience was a fun one and she had a good time participating. Second, she addressed a positive social aspect related to the service trip; she met other volunteers who she enjoyed spending time with and she talked about enjoying meeting the person for whom they rebuilt a house on the trip. Third, she expressed an appreciation for having a positive attitude even when experiencing hardship; she talked about meeting the woman who had lost her house in Hurricane Katrina and thinking that she was "nice," "sweet," and "positive," even though she had lost her home. She would like to volunteer more in the future, and specifically go on more service trips in and after college.

Judith expanded on her views of people having "less" and how she learned about her own life in witnessing people who were "less fortunate." When talking about the things that were

most important to her in life, Judith talked about how family and friends matter most, and that she learned that money does not matter long-term. She said she learned this lesson after going on her first service trip, because she saw people who have very little economically and remain happy:

> Um, three years ago [friends and family became more important to me]. Cause that's when I went on my first service trip. Cause that just is an eye opener. You see people who, like, you think that you have it bad, like cause, like, you got your phone taken away or something like that. And you see people like, I went to Mississippi in ninth grade. You see people where, like, their houses were robbed and everything was taken, and just like destroyed. And, like, they're still happy because they still have friends and family, like, surrounding them. And so that's just kind of when it clicked, like, ya know, you have a good life now. The material items aren't important.

Service trips seemed to reach beyond contribution to the community for Judith, and were thought of as a learning opportunity as well.

When discussing whether she has a direction for her contribution, she talked about wanting to help "people that are not as fortunate as I am." She talked about service trips positively impacting people who are "less fortunate" than she was:

> You know, just like service trips. Like I'm always up for a service trip, like. Those, I think they're great experiences, and um, those make a difference in other people's lives, so yeah. It's just like, yeah probably for the people who are less fortunate.

I asked her why it was important to help this group of people, and she reflected on her own fortune:

Um, it's important to me because, um, I don't know.   Just because when I think about it, like I have so much, you know? And, like, I think that I should be giving back, ya know? And, like, like, yeah, I think if we have, like, extra, like, you know, an extra dollar in your pocket, or, like, you can give it to like the collection at church that goes to, like, the homeless shelter or something, the soup kitchen or whatever, or like things like that. So, like, I don't know, I think we should just give back.

Judith had somewhat unclear ideas about why she thought giving back to "those less fortunate" was important, saying generally that it is a good thing to "give back." Her experiences on service trips reinforced her desire to give back, as on these trips, she experienced people who might fit into this "less fortunate" group and reflected vaguely on her own fortune or privilege.

Frankie spoke extensively about the social issues that she cared about and had plans on how she wanted to make a contribution, but she also felt inclined to do a service trip. When asked what she wanted to do explicitly to make a difference, she talked about wanting to participate in a service trip:

I feel like if I could do a service trip, I feel like that'd really be able to help, both me and like the world around me.   Cause like, that just to me, those are like fantastic ideas. Whoever thought, let's go to a place that needs help, send a bunch of people, and just help for a week straight, like that to me is just fantastic.   So, like, I feel like if I'd be able to, like, do one of those or help around one of those, like, I feel like that'd be really cool. I feel like I'd wanna do, like, at least once a year, like, some form of service trip.   Even if it's like a weekend. Like somewhere in America, like I just wanna be able to like, do, cause service trips really do stand out to me of like how they're purely just working for others. Like, and not like, it's not a job form of like I'm getting paid for this but like,

someone out of the kindness of their heart being like, yes, I care about you and I want to help you. Like, I feel like doing something of, one of those, and achieving a certain amount, every, by like a certain period of time, of like doing them.

Frankie felt that a service trip was a positive way to make a difference because they people who genuinely want to help and have them address a need. She specified that she would do a service trip in America, and so she seemed to be focused less on "voluntourism," but she did not elaborate on her rationale for this selection.

Portia talked about learning from her experiences through participating in a service trip. Portia went on a school service trip to Puerto Rico, which helped her learn about her own privilege, as she felt impacted by seeing people who did not have as much as she had:

And my school went to Puerto Rico two years ago, or last year, I think it was last year. And we uh, visited kids who didn't have families to live with for whatever reason, and they lived in group homes. And that was really one of the starts to me being super passionate [about the issue of kids not having homes] because they were just so, some of them were just so happy with the little that they had, and that really impacted me because, I feel like I'm really happy now but I feel like there's always things that I want to have, and I know it's really bad. But just like, if I'll be out shopping, and I see a shirt, I'll be like, oh I need that. But I obviously don't need the shirt it's just something that I want to have, and these kids are just so happy with like the one soccer ball that they all share.

Portia reflected similarly on her own fortune when talking about family friends who were adopted:

Uh, and then, for like kids that don't have like a home or a place to live, um, a lot I would say, four of my close friends were adopted. So, um, not my school friends, but more

family friends, so that's something that really impacts me because I know how it, like I

don't know how it feels but I can see how it affects them and how they wish they knew

their real parents because it was, I don't know what the word is, I don't know if it's called

a closed adoption, I'm not sure where they can't like meet their parents, but for a couple

of them that's the case.   And I know that they're really happy in the lives they have now,

but if they hadn't been adopted, like where they'd be now, I think about that a lot because

I know I'm really fortunate to live and grow up in the town that I live in.

Portia witnessed other people who she identified as having less than she did in different ways,

through her experience with service trips and through learning from her friends' stories.

Being Too Young to Make a Difference: Messages of Ageism

In the following section, I describe the ways in which I observed ageism that permeated

participants' perceptions of their abilities to contribute to community or society. Three

participants talked about not having enough experience to know what to do to make a difference,

explicitly connecting this to their age. These narratives contradicted participants' previous

messages, in that they had initially talked about being informed and passionate about various

issues. They then expressed normalcy around the idea that young people do not have enough

knowledge or experience to be able to be sure about anything.

Ruby could not think of a particular group in the community to which she wanted to

contribute, despite previously talking extensively about empowering women. When asked about

what made her feel passionate, she talked about needing time to figure it out, emphasizing her

age as a rationale for not knowing:

Um, I don't know.   I think that, the, I can only go to a certain extent, only being

seventeen. Um, I think that with time, I'll be able to tell, with like what I'm really

passionate about, and I think it goes back to the question, like what am I really passionate

about? And I couldn't tell you at the moment.

Prior to this, she had spoken passionately about valuing women empowerment, respecting

women's bodies, and the importance of confidence for young women; these themes were

integrated throughout her entire interview, prior to expressing this message of ageism. She

talked about the importance of respecting a woman's body:

> Like I'm pro- pro-choice for sure.   I feel that being a woman, you should be able to do
>
> what you want with your body. […] I still think that like respecting the woman's body is
>
> like the most precious thing.

She connected her goals of becoming a model with her feminist values. When talking about

modeling, she said:

> I think it's like, giving a sense of like confidence and like empowerment. Like for, um,
>
> within women. And I think that you don't have to be stick thin to be a model. I think
>
> that it really like, it's just putting yourself out there and making a name for yourself. I
>
> just think that's so, like, strong women do that.

When Ruby attributed her inability to identify a passion to "only being seventeen," she seemed

to contradict the statements she had been making throughout the interview, when she appeared to

have a few very clearly expressed, consistent passions.

Frankie talked about not having enough knowledge or experience as a young person,

despite previously talking about trying to stay informed of current events, and despite her

demonstration of her own sensitivity to the complexity of different issues. She talked about her

own ability to contribute now, at this age:

Um, but I feel like, like for the like character content of it, like I currently do try to do

certain like helpful aspects, but there are some things that, it's, to me, like, you have to

wait until you're older so you can really devote the time, you can really be informed of,

you've matured, you've reached a point in your life where you're, like, I can, I've

experienced this so I can accurately speak on it. Rather than be, like, sixteen, in the

world, being like, hey, I don't really know what I'm talking about but I'm gonna have an

opinion about it.

Prior to expressing this message of internalized ageism, Frankie emphasized her need to stay

informed. First, she expanded on having the goal of remaining informed, talking about how

valuable it is to be aware of social issues and current events around the world:

Cause I don't really wanna be that much, like, I'm kinda a recluse, but I don't want to be

that much of a recluse, of like what's going on in the world, so I wanna be like, very like,

informed of the happenings of not just my own town but like of international lives. […]

Hmm, I wanna be, like, more aware of, like, what's going on in the world and how that

affects maybe not me specifically, but how that affects how the world meshes and how

the world works together and how people like come together on account of that, so like,

how there's all the hurricanes now recently, and, like, how that's affected the people who

live there and how they're, like, coming back from that.   Does that kinda make sense?

Frankie felt that being informed would help her make a difference:

Um, I feel like staying politically involved, and, like, staying aware of the world around

me is one of the most important things. Because it keeps me on my toes of, like, these

people really need help, or those people really need help. Because I feel like if I don't

know what is going on in the world, then I won't be able to effectively make a change, or

a difference because I won't be aware of the situations and, like, aware of what my

actions will do because I don't know like the current situation.   Like it could end up

being something really negative if I'm not well informed enough.

She expressed a sensitivity to social contexts, further demonstrating her awareness of sensitive

social dynamics, when talking about her late start to join a club centered on student activism:

Well (laughter), I'm a very socially awkward person, so I was gonna join last year, but

then I just missed, I had like a bunch of, like, clubs and things going on, so I missed, like,

sign up, and they were like, "All year, you can join, you can join!", and I was like, I don't

want to join half way through the year. I feel bad that I'm imposing on your, like,

ecosystem, because I'm very bad about things like that, and like, you just start when it

starts and end when it ends.   I can't half-way join, so I was, like, kind of helping out and

I was kind of part of it, but I wasn't… Does that make sense? They were like, "Oh help

out with this," and I was like, "Sure why not?" But if there was, like, like, official things,

I was just kinda of staying out of. But I finally, like, actually, legitimately signed up this

year so I've been, like, I've been involved in things.

Frankie also talked about attempting to stay informed of politics and current events, and being

interested by knowing what is happening in different parts of the world:

Cause we do these projects every weekend in French class, where it's like, you need to

find something that's going on in French news, and you have to, like, write about it, and,

like, bring it back. Of course, it has to be in French, so it's not very good, it's not very

intelligible, but it's always, like, interesting to see, like, what's going on, because it's such

a change from what I'm used to in the US, and, like, each country has their own, like,

culture and way of life, and way of, like, coexisting with other people, and it's really

interesting to see the, like, comparison to how the US is and how the way of life is here,

comparative say to other countries in Europe or in Africa, or Asia or anything like that.

Like, it's a very different change, which I'm very fascinated by, of like, we're all in the

same planet but they're so different.

Frankie emphasized the need for understanding a context and one's own role in contributing

within that context; this suggested that she had maturity and awareness, regardless of her age.

Hayley talked about how she was not sure how to make a difference yet, and that she

needed to be "in the world" or have more experience to be able to make a substantial

contribution: "Um, I'm not sure about that yet, because um, I'd have to be like in the world,

especially for there to be like a really big action or like a really big reap." Conversely, she talked

about doing work to learn about what happens in the world:

So, it started with just like following, like just one page on Instagram that like had like a

lot of people who were like activists. And it got very interesting like hearing their points

of views on like a lot of problems. And then the 2015 election, I like followed that very

closely, like watching all of the debates, all of that. It was just like, I came to understand

my own point of view on problems. So, it was like, it was like hearing all these different

people, it just became clear to me what I really thought.

While Hayley did not explicitly refer to her age when talking about being unable to make a

difference, she referred to her lack of time in the world, which had similar implications regarding

her internalization of ageism.

Notably, these three participants who had internalized messages of ageism in their

interviews had all expressed being actively involved in contribution activities, along with

endorsing personal goals to continue being contributors in the future.

Motivations for Contributions

Participants described a range of motivations for both contributing currently and wanting to contribute in the future. Because the themes for motivations to contribute currently and motivations to contribute in the future intersected, both current and future contribution motivations will be presented in the following section. Most motivations for contributions connected back to the participant, and particularly aspects of their identifications with social categories. When talking about who they wanted to be in the future, four participants (Ruby, Judith, Frankie, and Jodie) identified that being able to make a difference or contribute was a part of their idealized selves. Four participants (Frankie, Jodie, Ruby, and Portia) connected their future career goals to being contributors; one participant (Portia) had not previously made this connection, but then in thinking about this question through the interview, thought this connection could and should be made. Two participants (Hayley and Samira) wanted to made a contribution, but were unsure of their future paths and so they could not make clear statements on how they would do so. For five participants (Ruby, Judith, Hayley, Samira, Frankie), their goals for contribution were related to their identifications with various social categories in some way. Six participants expressed caring about various social issues or human rights, which then connected to contribution and may motivate future contributions. Two participants (Ruby and Jodie) talked about a connection to their community, which fueled some of their contributions.

Being a contributor as part of the idealized self. When describing who they want to be in the future, four students (Ruby, Judith, Frankie, and Jodie) promptly identified contribution-related goals. Being a contributor connected to who they wanted to be as people. Further, four participants linked contribution to their desired future careers, which is encompassed in their ideal future selves (Frankie, Jodie, Ruby, and Portia). Two participants (Hayley and Samira)

were unsure of their career goals but thought that they would possibly be contributing, depending on what they ended up doing.

Ruby said she wants to "be a leader.   Um, I want to be influential, I wanna better the community." Later in the interview, she talked about her goals for leadership being linked to making the world a better place:

> Um, I guess, helping others and myself, bettering who I am as a person, bettering the future of, like, the world, and the society that we live in. Um, I think that being, like, not many people can step up the plate and be a leader, so there's a very select amount of people that are made for the job. And I think that I have, like, the qualities to do so. And it's just like, I don't know, it's almost like a vocation.

Ruby felt like contribution was integrated into her future self, in the role she would take as a leader.

Judith talked about wanting to volunteer more in the future and keep up the connections with volunteering that she currently has. She said if she had more time now, she would do more volunteering:

> "I think I would probably also do more volunteering things, cause like I do volunteering things now, but it's only like once a month, with like a specific group. But I think I would volunteer weekly if I had time, yeah."

When she identified the type of person she wanted to be in the future, she also talked about wanting to contribute through volunteer work:

> Um, I'm hoping that I will be successful, and um, I, when I grow up and, like, when I start, you know, like, I pay for a lot of things for myself now, but when I pay for things, um, all together on my own, I don't want to take anything for granted. So, I feel like

now, I kind of do because my parents pay for things, like, you know, my phone, my

electricity, all that stuff, food.   So, I want to be like grateful for everything, um.   I want

to, I want to do more volunteer things, 'cause like, 'cause I feel like once I'm an adult, I

have my license, I can drive places, I can do more things that way.

Judith's ideal future self included being a contributor and increasing the amount of participation

that she was able to do.

Frankie talked about wanting to give back to the community in relation to social issues

specifically:

I'd kinda wanna be one of those people that like, is known for being like an activist sort

of thing like, like wow they're giving back, cause I really wanna be able to give back to

my community, and those around me.

She talked about needing to be informed of current events and different community issues in

order to effectively contribute, so she wants to learn more about the world now and in the future.

Frankie pictured herself making a difference in her community and in society in the future.

Jodie talked about wanting to contribute more than she currently does, as currently she

does community service in an effort to fill her school requirement.   When asked what kind of

person she wants to be in the future, she responded: "Um, I wanna be, I wanna contribute, to like

the community, and live with them, and go to church more, and participate in it, which I don't

really do now." She spoke about caring about her current community and wanting to live in a

close-knit community, so she would like to be active in the ways she has seen other adults be

active contributors in her neighborhood.   Being a contributor was a part of Jodie's ideal future

self, particularly in her own neighborhood.

Contribution connected to career aspirations. Three participants (Frankie, Jodie, and Ruby) had found clear links between their desired future careers and their roles as contributors, with the understanding that their career path is a goal and not a guaranteed trajectory, and thus might change. One participant, Portia, had not initially connected her career goals to contribution, but in talking about it throughout the interview, realized it was connected. Two participants (Hayley and Samira) were not sure about their future contribution goals but thought they would possibly be contributing in their careers.

Frankie would like to be an engineer and talked about her future aspirations to make a difference. She would like to invent something that can help and be really useful; she used the example of Life Straws, which were designed to make contaminated water safe to drink. Although she did not have a specific invention or design in mind yet, she knew she would want to do something to help and that it would be connected to her future career aspirations:

> I'd like to be able to, like, as an engineer I'd like to be able to like make something that helps the world and not just be one of those people who's like, ah yes I invented something, that does something. Like I want to be able to be a notable of like yes, I built this and it's helping this many people do this, and live, and like Life Straws, like something like that, like how it just is such a, not a common place, but such a thing you don't expect but it's fantastic for the world.

While talking about Life Straws, she said, "That just amazes me. Like I'd want to be able to do something like that, that like helps." Frankie recognized that her engineer career aspiration connected to contribution, and she wanted to be able to contribute through that role.

Jodie had signed up to do community service in the following semester that related directly to her career aspiration of becoming a marine biologist; she planned to do work helping

to rescue sea turtles in the following semester. She was interested in environmental issues, which related to her love for animals:

> Um, well they all [social issues] kind of stand out to me because I, basically want to help try to make the world better. And war and poverty and like the environment right now, aren't like the best I feel like. Cause I feel like people are still polluting even though there's like recycling and all this stuff they can easily go to. And they throw stuff into the ocean that are affecting other living creatures. And the people don't like respect the fact that if it was like fish started littering into our world, and then we started getting damaged, people don't think about that because they're too caught up in being like selfish and not realizing that they're not, like humans are not the only living things.

She connected this interest directly to her marine biology goals:

> I know I've always like cared about the environment and about animals and stuff.   And I feel like if I went more into discovering stuff about animals that are like under the ocean and stuff then I could figure out what the world needs.   Other than just like not throwing stuff into the ocean, but like, if there's something that could actually help the animals who like can't talk to us, then I feel like I could help them, and help like basically doing the whole ocean if I could.

Jodie recognized that she would have the ability to make a difference through her career aspiration of becoming a marine biologist. She connected this to her concern for the environment and sea animal safety.

Ruby wanted to be a model, which may seem less explicitly linked to contribution at a superficial level; however, she connected her goals for modeling to her goals for female empowerment:

I even like - talking to like guys, like, like at a high school level, like I'll never like set the bar lower than like, okay I deserve this. And I think that guys, like in this world, just think that they can get away with anything and I don't think, and I feel like, it's a movement that needs to happen and I think we need to do something about this. And I think that modeling can like, set, like, being, being in the public eye, you can do a lot with that. I, it's not even that I, I don't want to be famous. Like that's not my motive here. Like it's like, okay I want to make money, I want to be happy, *and* I want to do something to influence people.

While Ruby expressed multiple reasons for wanting to be a model, she included female empowerment in her list of motivations, ideally contributing to women and girls through her career aspirations.

Frankie, Jodie, and Ruby had already thought about the links between their career goals and their goals to give back to society or to make the world a better place, but one participant, Portia, made a link between her career goals and her contribution goals in the middle of the interview, even remarking at the end of the interview that she had new things to think about. Initially, Portia did not see a connection between her desired future career in fashion merchandising and making a difference in the community. Despite wanting to do good in the world, she recognized that clothes can be expensive and fashion merchandising cannot really help people even on an individual level:

That's the thing, I don't really think that fashion merchandising, cause like. What I want to do is like, I want to pick out the clothes that the company is gonna sell. And I don't really see that helping people, in a way, because I know right now like a lot of the big companies that have that like Bergdorf's, or even finally, not finally cause that's where

my grandfather worked, now Macy's it's like things are expensive and it's not always accessible for every person. So I don't really see that my job or my future job hopefully, would help that many people, in that, on that big a scale. I mean I wish it would but I know that clothes can be expensive, especially department stores, and its just not really a realistic thing.

Portia later revealed that for an assignment in her summer fashion course, she had to design a brand and pick what they would sell; she chose bathing suits and tried to find a way of getting bathing suits that had been made outside of a factory. Because the material for bathing suits are all made in the same location, she talked about how they were not able to design their bathing suits ethically in the way they wanted to. However, this was something she had thoroughly researched for her class. Portia had not connected working in the fashion industry to being able to make a difference at first, but at the end of the interview, she talked about a shift in her thinking:

Yeah I mean like, one of the [questions] that now I'm gonna think about a lot more is the one that you had brought up about the fashion industry and like how you can impact, not like impact people, but you can make a little bit of a difference. And I guess I just didn't really see myself being able to do that in the field that I want to go into. And also the, making a large difference versus making a small difference. Cause I didn't really view myself by not buying makeup products as making a difference at all, but I guess now that I'm thinking about it, it did impact a few people because now at least like five or six of my friends don't buy from that company anymore.

Portia did not originally think it would be possible to make a contribution while working in the fashion industry. Even though she wanted to be able to contribute in her life, she felt that her

contributions would have to be in other ways (e.g. her previously described goals of making substantial donations to non-profit organizations). Through the interview process, Portia recognized possible opportunities to make a contribution while working in the fashion industry.

Two participants were not entirely sure of their future career goals and while they thought it would be desirable to have a job that connected to contribution, they could not expand on that without definite future goals. Hayley talked about how she was not sure what she wants to do for a career, so her job could be linked to making a difference in the community: "So like it could always lead to that, like I would not be mad if it did. If I did like a fun and interesting job." Samira had not settled on a career path either. She had thought about being in the medical field, but was not sure that she would succeed as a doctor. If she did get into that field, she noted that she would of course be contributing to her patients' well-being, but she clarified by saying, "Um, I think it could depending on what, um, what I do. Depending um, it only, not, it only impacts a few people or if it impacts like the community around me." Both participants had talked about contribution being important to them, but they were unable to connect their roles as contributors to their future careers since they had not determined their career paths.

Connection to self-identification with social categories. Throughout the interview, participants disclosed various aspects of the social categorizations in which they. In five different cases, the contributions that participants made and especially the ones that they wanted to make were directly connected to their identities. While there are additional cases that may have been linked to identification within a social category, I will not list those examples that have not been made explicit (e.g. in cases where a participant did not directly or explicitly disclose identifying as a member of a social category).

Ruby talked about the importance of feminism and empowerment for women, and that as

a young woman herself, feminism was especially important. She had previously spoken out in class discussions about women's issues that did not have wide support in her school (e.g. being pro-choice): "Like I'm pro- pro-choice for sure. I feel that being a woman, you should be able to do what you want with your body. […] I still think that like respecting the woman's body is like the most precious thing." She linked her goals around modeling to feminism, respect, and confidence as well, as noted previously, connecting her career aspirations to contribution:

> I think it's like, giving a sense of like confidence and like empowerment. Like for um, within women. And I think that you don't have to be stick thin to be a model. I think that it really like, it's just putting yourself out there and making a name for yourself. I just think that's so like, strong women do that. […] I even like - talking to like guys, like, like at a high school level, like I'll never like set the bar lower than like, okay I deserve this. And I think that guys, like in this world, just think that they can get away with anything and I don't think, and I feel like, it's a movement that needs to happen and I think we need to do something about this. And I think that modeling can like, set, like, being, being in the public eye, you can do a lot with that. I, it's not even that I, I don't want to be famous. Like that's not my motive here. Like it's like, okay I want to make money, I want to be happy, *and* I want to do something to influence people.

Ruby's identification with being a girl linked to her goals for contributing, along with her career goals.

Hayley spoke about feminist movements and wanting to contribute to them more actively. She started following an activist on social media and started learning more about political issues. She wanted to take part in the Women's March but she was out of town; she talked about the importance of attending protests and marches such as that one: "So it's like, kind

of like attending too, I would feel like I helped a little bit. And to show to that like I really just appreciate what people are doing." She connected her interest in this to her own identity: "Because I mean, I am a girl, so it would be nice for the world to be even better when I grow up." When talking about the social interests she is passionate about, she talked about feminism again: "Um, I mean definitely having to do with like feminism, and making sure that people like get to do something big. Because like I mean, obviously I am a girl, so that's like shaping my future." Hayley conscientiously connected her identification as a girl to her goals for contribution to women's movements.

Judith identified being raised Catholic as the most influential of her social categories, recognizing that it had impacted all of the choices she had made:

And um, and so I think a lot of my decisions and everything come from my Catholic background. Like, yeah, cause like what is the right decision, I think I would take that from like what my parents say about it and stuff. […] I think that now that people [at school], like now that we're all like older, like specifically my grade or the juniors, um, they like, they're like at that point where they can think for themselves. You know, they don't necessarily like want to, or have to take their Catholic background, and apply it to their life now. Um, so you know people are rebellious (laughter). I'm just not one of those people but, but yeah, I'm sure some people do.

Judith participates in forms of contribution (e.g. service trips, volunteer work) through her church youth-group and campus ministry at her high school. This particular identity is in conflict with her views about the LGBT+ community though, which has caused Judith some emotional turmoil (this conflict will be discussed further in a later section). Judith explicitly connected her identification with the social category "Catholic" as impacting her contributions

and contribution goals.

Samira talked about religion and socioeconomic status in a way that they both intersected with her contribution behaviors. She talked about being raised very religious (Catholic), going to Catholic school, and learning that helping others is paramount:

> Um, well I think that um, my life is definitely shaped around um, our religion. And um, just seeing the world through a different lens, and like a more peaceful lens I guess. And again, the helping others, and that's a really um big thing that I've learned through um, the school, and just always looking out for others, and that's just really something that's been shaped by my religion.

She also talked about her socioeconomic status impacting her ability to help in the ways that tend to be encouraged in her school: "And, um, and just seeing how like um, like the middle class, like how you can kind of help other people who are less fortunate and again that circles back to the religion." She talked about recognizing her proclivity to want to help being shaped by religion, but being enabled to help by recognizing her class privilege to a certain extent:

> Well I think, I think that's kind of my attitude towards like how I can help others. Like I am fortunate to have, have these things so I should be helping others. And I think um, at least people don't. Again, people in my school at least they don't verbally express this. They might feel differently. But um, they, they sort of. What I've seen and what I've gathered is that they think kind of more towards themselves and they're not thinking, what can I do for others? And oh why do I have to do this. And our school, like they'll have days where they collect money for a certain charity, and they'll say, oh I have to, I have to bring money in, I couldn't get Dunkin Donuts today.

From her analysis, Samira felt that her intersecting identities have set her apart from her

classmates, as she noted that other classmates may fall into the same socioeconomic status, but they did not connect as strongly to their religion.

Ruby identifies her religion as an important element of her social identities as well, and notes that it is in contrast with many of the students at her school. Her mother is Jewish and her father is Catholic:

> And, I think that, I kind of got a mixture of both sides, like um, each religion, like what we each believe in, and obviously I go to a Catholic school. I identify with being Catholic, but I call myself a Cash-Jew, cause like its Catholic and Jewish, and also a nut.

Ruby's language around contribution often echoed religious sentiments. In referring to an incident where she helped a classmate who had an injury, she said,

> It's just that goodness out of my heart. Cause it's the right thing.   And I think that, um, it's in giving that we receive. That like something positive is gonna come out of, like, I don't expect anything in return, I just know that, it makes me feel better when I do good things.

Statements such as the one above echo religious sentiments, suggesting that Ruby's identification with religious social categories were involved in her contributions.

Frankie, who identified as a gay person, talked about wanting to contribute and give back to anyone outside of society's norms: "Cause they're always thrown a hard ball, when it comes to be anything other than these four prerequisites of you need to be this to be able to be successful. Like that's just, that's not cool." She related her concern for people coming from communities experiencing oppression by linking back to her own identification with the LGBT+ community:

> Hmm, well as a gay person, 'cause like, the homo-, the LGBT community in the world is very oppressed and very down trodden in many situations, in many countries. It just

discourages me to see, like, these are people. I'm being affected by this, and like, I'm literally a person. Why is this so different? 'Cause I'm the same person twenty minutes ago that I am now, like there's not, just because I'm attracted to the same gender doesn't mean I'm gonna go, "God I'm a terrible human." It just doesn't make sense to me that people judge people based on, like, things that they can't control, or they're, like, born with. Like, does that make any sense at all? Um, like, it just doesn't make sense to me that people would like judge someone or get annoyed at someone they really can't control, and how like people would be extremists about a certain situation, but because someone's different than what they've experienced throughout their life. Like, life's about change, and changing your perspective, and growing to be a different person, based on the things you encounter in your life. And if someone judges someone on the fact that I've never experienced something like this, that just doesn't make sense to me because people should be able to say, okay, I've never experienced this, but I'm going to keep an open mind about it, and have that shape me as a person later on, because I'll see how this situation works and how this can flourish, and if I think in my mind, like, okay, it's negative, but like, I don't know why people go into something with a terrible mindset, and an awful perspective on something based on the fact that they've never experienced it, or they've never come into first hand contact with like something like that.

Frankie felt it was important to contribute to people who have experienced marginalization, explicitly connecting her goals to contribute with her own identification within a marginalized social category.

Feeling connection to social issues. Six participants expressed varying levels of concern for a social issue which then connected to their goals to contribute. The depth of forethought

varied greatly amongst these participants. Some participants talked about social issues throughout the interview and without prompting, while others only brought up social issues when asked about them directly. Some participants had thorough conceptualizations of their passions around social issues, while some seemed to be thinking of them on a surface level. These concerns related to social issues motivated participants to take actions to varying degrees. The one participant (Ellen) who did not express a concern for a social issue did not verbalize apathy, but she could not think of any specific social issues that she cared about, which might suggest apathy toward such issues.

Frankie had the most consistent and integrated report of being passionate about social issues; they seeped into almost the entirety of her interview without any prompting, starting with when she said that in the future she wants to be an activist sort of person. She stated that she was passionate about "equal rights" and this was clear throughout the interview:

I am, oh my God, I'm such one of those politically people, politically involved people but it's the worst and I'm like oh God, I'm like that person. But um, I just think people are people they shouldn't be oppressed or be forced to deal with awkward and terrible situation because they're a person, like that doesn't make sense to me, of like ah your skin is a different color so you, so you must be different, like no. Biologically, everyone is literally the same. Like there is literally not different, among anything.

This message parallels what she talked about when explained her identification as a gay person; she emphasized being the same person whether or not people knew about her sexual orientation. In the above quote, Frankie may have been referring to the social construction of race, as she had talked about context and culture being important to understand in other sections (e.g. talking about cultural differences in different countries when listening to news reports). Conversely, she

may have been taking a more colorblind perspective, suggesting either that race does not play a role in a person's identity or that there are not differences in outcomes based on race. When she talked about her sexual orientation, she stressed that simply being a part of the LGBT+ community did not make her a bad person like some people believed. Here, she speaks about oppression based on race; she may be making similar claims, that people should not be seen as inferior due to one aspect of their social identities.

Frankie consistently talked about her passions related to social issues, which may serve as motivators to contribute to people who have been impacted by historical oppressions. I asked participants to identify five wishes they could make, if they could wish for anything. All five of Frankie's wishes were oriented toward social issues: she wanted to get rid of poverty; make the world more environmentally aware; encourage more space exploration, for one, because she likes science and thinks that would be cool, but also with consideration to humans potentially needing to leave Earth in relation to climate change; get rid of political borders and amend the immigration crises happening in the U.S.; increase literacy for everyone. Her passion for equality is evident further by her contributions. She talked about her current contributions in a school group centered on activism and social issues along with her efforts to stay informed of politics and other issues, because she felt that was the best way to be able to make a difference.

Portia talked about being concerned about two general issues: animal cruelty and children who do not have stable homes. She talked about her passions around fighting animal cruelty:

Um, I mean, besides, I would say that I am passionate about fashion, and design. But, besides those two things, um, for me, I know this has nothing to do with fashion, but um, animals and animal safety is really, really important to me. And I just, animal cruelty, like I just can't deal with that in any way.

Portia learned from a friend she had in fifth grade who was a vegetarian; the friend did not want to support companies that sold meat and reinforced the eating of meat. Even though it was just one person stopping, it was one less person eating meat and supporting the companies that sold meat, the friend noted. Portia stopped eating meat for six months but said she had to stop being vegetarian because she is a picky eater and it was too difficult to find food she was able to eat; however, she drastically cut back on her meat consumption. Through talking to her friend and learning from her father, who also is passionately against animal cruelty, she began to realize how poorly animals are treated and thus stopped buying makeup that was tested on animals. She also reported being passionate about "kids who don't have a stable home":

> So that's something that I am like passionate about, and I, um, and also, I guess in the same category is like kids that don't have a stable home, or aren't like, like, aren't living with their parents is a really big thing as well.

She has a few family friends who were adopted in closed cases and she thinks about how different their lives might be if they had not been adopted, but also how they wish they knew their bio parents. Through her school, she visited kids who did not have or live with their families in Puerto Rico. When she was 10, she started donating to Safety and Success for Children – she admits she did so at first because they were advertising a teddy bear for a donation, but she did not have enough for the teddy bear so her mom matched her $15. Since then, however, she has donated four to five times per year with her mom matching her donation. Portia's passions for these reported social issues were related to her to making consistent contributions.

Judith talked about one issues she tends to think about in particular: discrimination against people in the LGBT+ community. She talked about her passion around this subject:

Participant - Judith: Yeah, cause like, like, I don't know how to describe it. Like I'm passionate about the issue because like I don't get too much about like why they're discriminated against that much, ya know? Cause like, I know people who are a part of that group, and like they're just the same as me or anybody else. You know, I get it, people think it's like weird or whatever. I get that, but at the same time, it doesn't affect you, so I don't get it.

Interviewer - Stacy: And you said, so you have people in your community, or people who you know personally are in that community?

Participant - Judith: Yes.

Interviewer - Stacy: Okay, um, is that something that you tend to think about, or is it just when it comes up?

Participant - Judith: Just like when it comes up, ya know, yeah.

Interviewer - Stacy: Okay.

Participant - Judith: I try, I try to hold back because I'm very passionate about it.

Interviewer - Stacy: Can you tell me more about that?

Participant - Judith: I'm just like, I just don't get how people don't think it's okay. But like, at the same time I do get why people don't think it's okay. But like, I just don't get why people are like discriminating against them, or think that they should like die because of who they are. Like because they want to be transgender or something. Like, cause like transgender people, another topic I'm passionate about - like they, it's not them wanting to be the opposite sex or anything. It's like, it's a birth defect of their brain, ya know? And it's not. And so like, I don't know.

Interviewer - Stacy: Yeah. So this is something you have really cared about?

> **Participant - Judith:** Yeah. Something I care about, but at the same time doesn't affect me.

Notably, Judith has misinformation about the trans community. Being transgender is not a birth defect, a brain defect, or a diagnosis, but rather an identity; the former conceptualization is not empirically supported nor is it endorsed by the American Psychological Association. Still, she expresses clear passion about the issue of discrimination of this community and the broader LGBT+ community. Judith previously described herself as quiet, someone who does not usually voice her opinions, especially if they may be controversial. However, her passion around the issue of discrimination against the LGBT+ community lead her to speak out on this topic. She got emotional talking about confronting biased opinions of trans people when talking to others – specifically her parents:

> I mean I kind of have at home. Cause now I'm the only child at home, so now my parents like gang up on me. But like we've talked about like transgender people and stuff, and they don't accept it, which is like irritating, it makes me upset. Like, I've talked to them about it, then I've gone upstairs and cried about it, because I don't get it. […] Yeah, cause you don't fully, you can't judge a person without meeting them, ya know? 'Cause I don't get how people can be like best friends with someone and then they like come out, and then they don't like that person because of their sexuality.

Judith talked about her Catholic background being a strong part of her identity, but noted that on this issue, she strongly differed with her community: "So [my Catholic community] will have, like, the same beliefs, or um, you know like judgement as I would. Except for like the LGBT+ community." She cares about the issue of discrimination against this community and has tried to make contributions on an individual basis, but feels like she has not been able to make much

movement in changing anyone's opinions.

Hayley cares about discrimination as a social issue and feminism; she has been involved in making contributions related to these issues and has goals to contribute more. She talked about her experiences with a friend group, trying to combat their discriminatory jokes:

Yeah, mostly at school because there are people who aren't that open minded as they should be. So they'll say things about other people. Sometimes it's racist, sometimes it's homophobic, just it's not okay to say ever. So it's like, and then you tell them like, hey you shouldn't say that, that's like a terrible thing to say, but then they keep saying it over and over again. It just like kind of gets to you. […] So it's like difficult to see that happening, because our school is pretty diverse, and they just say it behind peoples backs. […] I used to be friends with like a group of people, then I just distanced myself off from them because it was like, that like, you know how high schools have like an exclusive group, and it's like yeah. So I was friends with all of them, but then they started saying racist and homophobic stuff, and I was like ooh I'm out of here. So then I found, like people I was already friends with, but then I like pushed myself more towards them, and away from the other people because what they were saying was so wrong, and I couldn't deal with it anymore.

Hayley feels like she hasn't really been able to make a big difference just yet in changing peoples' discriminatory attitudes, but she feels like our society needs to make more progress, or the cycle of discrimination will persist:

Because the people that are like saying it, they're gonna grow up and keep saying it. Like if they don't learn now they're just gonna grow up like teaching their kids that. It should just stop now with this generation. So like it shouldn't keep going, like you have

common sense, you just have to realize it. Well I've tried to like change the other group,

to like, change their thoughts, but I mean you can only get so far doing that.   Like change

their like opinions like that. And like kind of teach them as much as I could. It didn't

work out that well, but I tried my best with that.

She has been motivated to be more informed and she has felt interested in social issues. She

started by following an activists' Instagram account and then learning more about what's going

on, different viewpoints. She followed the 2016 election very closely. She has been learning

about protests and wants to attend some in the future. She wanted to attend the Women's March

but was not able to; she has become more interested in feminism and would like to take classes

related to the subject in college. Hayley thinks the discriminatory jokes are what really pushed

her to be more active in seeking out current events and justice-oriented information.

Ruby talked about female empowerment and her attempts to contribute in relation to this

social issue. She connected her goals of becoming a model to empowering women:

I think it's like, giving a sense of like confidence and like empowerment. Like for, um,

within women. And I think that you don't have to be stick thin to be a model. I think

that it really like, it's just putting yourself out there and making a name for yourself. I

just think that's so, like, strong women do that.

Ruby talked about intentionally trying to empower girls in interpersonal interactions after she

reported that her friends talked about feeling better about themselves through being friends with

her:

I feel I'm, like, I make, I've been told that I make people feel very comfortable, and

actually this past week, um, I had a group of friends, and they were like, "Ever since

becoming, like, becoming friends with you, I've been more comfortable with who I am,"

and like, it's just like the best thing to, like, hear. Like, I made someone, like, be

comfortable with who they are.

Ruby consistently spoke about the importance of feminism and female empowerment,

integrating her self-concept, her future career aspirations, and her interpersonal interactions with

contributions around this issue.

Jodie talked about being concerned with a range of social issues, but she consistently

spoke about the environment and bullying along with her contributions around these two issues.

She felt concerned with the ways that humans are hurting our environment:

I basically want to help try to make the world better. And war and poverty and, like, the

environment right now, aren't, like, the best, I feel like. 'Cause I feel like people are still

polluting, even though there's, like, recycling and all this stuff they can easily go to. And

they throw stuff into the ocean that are affecting other living creatures. And the people

don't, like, respect the fact that if it was, like, fish started littering into our world, and then

we started getting damaged, people don't think about that because they're too caught up in

being, like, selfish and not realizing that they're not, like, humans are not the only living

things.

Jodie had connected her concern with the environment to her career aspirations, realizing that her

role as a marine biologist in the future could make a substantial contribution. As noted

previously, she planned to do her next community service hours somewhat in relation to this with

an organization that helps to rescue sea turtles. Jodie talked throughout the interview about

bullying and cyber-bullying as well. As previously described, she reported standing up for

people in the school who were bullied, approaching bullies and trying to get them to recognize

the harm they do by bulling:

Um, there have been times where there have been, my friends who I know have gone through like really hard times because they've like gotten into arguments with people who are considered to be popular and they felt really, really bad about themselves because they felt like the whole town hated them. Because that's kind of what happens, and every once and a while I would hear people like talking bad about my friends. And there have been times, where I got so like fed up with it, where I just like started a full-on argument with the people who were talking bad about them, and I've like, I feel like I've helped people realize that they, like need to stop. And if they want to say something, to say it to their face. And to figure it out before they tell people because there's like accounts on Instagram, and they are like people private accounts so when they post on it, like only some certain people get to see it, and they like post really bad about people. And they don't understand how much it affects a person behind like the other side of the screen. They're just like the post is private. And I like have shown a lot of people just by talking to them about it, that they should stop and that it's hurting them like really bad, so now a lot of people don't post bad, talk bad anymore because I've told them to stop. […] And that like helps me protect my friends and the people who can't stand up for themselves from getting hurt.

She expressed a consistent concern over the impacts of bullying and addressed them in her own school community. Jodie's concerns around the environment and bullying were related to the contributions she made and planned to make in the future.

Feeling connected to community. Two students (Ruby and Jodie) expressed motivations to contribute related to their sense of connectedness to their community. These students drew from examples of service in their community along with positive feelings related

to how close the community felt.

Ruby listed the different ways her community has come together to contribute to people within the community:

> Yeah, cause like we have lots of outings to like benefit, well I guess this is like a community service thing. So we have a friend who got paralyzed in a car accident. So we have like um, we have a [sport], we have a, what was it, a [sport] tournament for him. We have a girl who graduated from the school, from [location], her brother got hit by a car and passed away. So we have a [sports] tournament every year for him. Like we have these different community outings, kind of like to come together, and we all just kind of like do something.

Ruby talked about how unique the community feels to her in terms of closeness: "So it's like as a community we come together, which is like, I love it personally, and like my brother, living in [another state], he's like no one else does that besides us. Like in [our city]. There's like no sense of community like that, like all different towns coming together." She made contributions to her community by participating in collective efforts such as those she described. She also expressed wanting to be someone who makes a difference in her community.

Jodie talked about wanting to contribute to the community by doing community service directly in her town, not far away. When she grows up and has children, she wants to be the go-to parent that people know they can rely on:

> Like, I want to try to go, like community service kind of things in my town and not like further away, and I want to be the person that like all the parents know because they like help around, and if somethings wrong, like it's somebody gets hurt, they might call me.

Currently, the community garden she does community service in is a few towns over because she talked about being nervous about running into anyone she knows:

> **Participant – Jodie:** Whenever I do community service and stuff now it's like at a garden in [other town], or just not [my part of town], cause I'm too afraid I'm gonna see people I know. And I don't want to like deal with them.
>
> **Interviewer - Stacy:** Um, why is that? Can you talk more about that?
>
> **Participant – Jodie:** Well there's like popular people in [my part of town], and it's not, it's just everybody gets intimidated by them I guess. And I always feel like if I got my confirmation, done at this one specific church they would all be there and I wouldn't be able to talk to anybody. Because they'd be there and I'd feel like insecure a bunch, to be myself around them, in case they think I'm like annoying or something.

She and her friends selected this spot specifically so they would not run into anyone they knew. I note that we had to schedule this interview in coffee shop in the town over from her town because she didn't want to run into people she knew. Despite being nervous about running into the "popular people" now, Jodie thought it would be important to do community service more locally. She said it is important to her because, "I want to be helping the people that are actually around me and I can see every day." Jodie had begun walking around her community, making friends with people she did not know, which she said helped her start to feel more comfortable with people; she had not done this earlier, when she selected her service location.

Summary of Themes by Participant

In the following section, I summarize the themes presented in this chapter, organized by participant, allowing for an understanding of how the themes occur both within and across participants.

Ellen. Ellen did not express talk about her current contributions to community or society, and did not elaborate on any goals for contributing in the future. Despite having a school requirement to do community service, Ellen did not mention being involved in any service. She was unable to identify any passions or concerns over social issues, suggesting that she had not thought through these subjects previously and possibly that she may feel apathetic toward being a contributor. Ellen's goals centered around money, feeling comfortable and reducing stress.

Frankie. Frankie identified several ways in which she was currently contributing, along with goals for contribution in the future. She was involved in community service and saw that as a valid option for making a difference. She participated in a club focused on student activism and participated in community service and fundraisers through working with the club. She filled her service hour requirement for the school by participating in a sports program for people with people who were differently abled. She placed importance in participating in community service directly in her own community in the future. She wanted to go on a service trip to make a difference in the future. She expressed internalized messages of ageism; even though she emphasized being aware of contexts and current events, she felt she could not have enough knowledge to understand complex issues at her age. Frankie expressed a range of themes related to her motivations to contribute. Contributing was a part of her idealized self, as she wanted to be an activist. Her ideal career, being an engineer, connected to her contribution goals as well, as she wanted to invent a useful product to fulfill some crucial need. Frankie connected her identity as a gay person to her desire to contribute to people who experienced oppression. Further, she talked about her connections to social issues, specifically caring about equal rights, in relation to her contribution goals.

Portia. Portia quantified the contributions she was able to make, emphasizing that the differences she was able to make were too small to be consequential. She reduced her meat consumption and did not buy makeup that was tested on animals, talking to her friends about the latter issue to influence their purchasing decisions; she felt these actions were too small to be real contributions at first. She also had been consistently donating to Safety and Success for Children. She felt that community service and donations were valid forms of contribution, but felt like her impact was small still. She did community service in a non-profit that provides school supplies, toys, and other materials to children coming from low-income backgrounds. In the future, she would like to be able to make substantial donations to some kind of organization. Portia talked about learning from her experiences through participating in a service trip. Portia had not initially connected her career goal in fashion merchandising to contribution, but in talking about it throughout the interview, realized it was connected. Portia was concerned about two social issues: animal cruelty and children who do not have stable homes. She worked to contribute around both of them.

Jodie. Jodie quantified the differences she was making on an interpersonal level. She talked about fighting against bullying by approaching bullies on an individual basis. Unlike other participants, Jodie did not qualify her actions as "small," but she struggled to verbalize a way that she could contribute in a broader way. Jodie was participating in community service, working in a community garden in another town. She expressed various motivations for her contributions and goals to contribute. Contribution was a part of Jodie's idealized self, and it linked to her career aspirations in marine biology. She felt connected to a social issue involving the environment and the ways humans are creating inhospitable environmental conditions for sea

animals. She also felt connected to her community and wanted to give back to her specific

community.

     Ruby. Ruby emphasized her ability to make differences in her community on an

interpersonal level, while speaking about goals of contributing to the community more broadly.

Ruby conceptualized "small" actions as positive contributions that could help the community.

She thought that "small" or interpersonal contributions could make an impact. Ruby talked

about doing community service at a retirement home, which filled her school requirement and

gave her great enjoyment. Ruby expressed internalized ageism as she could not think of a

particular group in the community to which she wanted to contribute, despite previously talking

extensively about empowering women. She had many motivations connected to her

contributions. Ruby connected being a contributor to her idealized self, as she wanted to make

the community better and be a leader. Contribution connected to her career aspirations, as she

felt she could help empower girls and women through modeling. Rubies identifications in social

categories motivated some of her contributions and goals, as she talked about identifying with

being a girl and with her religious background. As a social issue, Ruby also focused on

feminism and her contributions centered on women empowerment. She felt very connected to

her community and this spurred contributions to that community in particular.

     Judith. Judith quantified the contributions she was able to make. She tried to make a

difference in her context through interpersonal contributions (e.g. passing out water bottles).

Judith attempted to talk to her parents especially about the issue of discrimination against trans

people and the LGBT+ community more broadly, but did not feel like she was able to make a

real difference. Judith had a range of community service experience and viewed community

service as a worthwhile way of making a difference in the community. She had participated in

multiple service trips and felt as though she learned about her own life through participating in them. She wanted to do more volunteer work and participate in more service trips in the future. Judith's motivations to contribute were mostly associated with her religious social identity, but her religious background was in conflict with her passion for LGBT+ equality.

Samira. Samira quantified the contributions she was able to make, expressing that she enjoyed being able to help people on an individual basis. Samira conceptualized community service as a viable option for making a contribution, and she participated in volunteer work at a soup kitchen. Samira talked about wanting to help people who are less fortunate than she was; this related to her own social group categorizations, as she identified herself in a higher socioeconomic status and she talked about her religion being important in her role as a contributor. Samira was not sure about what she would do in the future for a career, but she thought it was possible that it would involve contribution, at least on an interpersonal level if she went into the medical field.

Sarah. Sarah quantified her ability to make a contribution, expressing that she felt more able to make a more significant contribution when working in a larger group while doing community service. Sarah conceptualized making a difference almost exclusively as donating to a charity or doing community service. She had participated in food drives, volunteered at a food kitchen, and volunteered at a non-profit that provides school supplies, toys, and other materials to children coming from low-income background. In the future, she expressed wanting to be the type of person that helps others interpersonally (e.g. being nice to people); she did not have identified contribution goals beyond that.

Hayley. Hayley quantified the differences she was able to make when she tried to get her main friend group to stop making discriminatory jokes or comments, specifically aimed at people

of color and the LGBT+ community; she felt she was not able to make a big impact, but she was happy to attempt to address issues interpersonally. Hayley had some messages of internalized ageism, saying she needed more experience in the world to be able to make a substantial contribution. Even though she did not explicitly refer to her age when talking about being unable to make a difference, she referred to her lack of experience in the world, which alludes to her internalization of ageism. Hayley was unsure of her career goals but thought that she would be happy if it ended up connecting to contribution. She spoke about feminist movements and wanting to contribute to them more actively, and conscientiously connected her identification as a girl to her goals for contribution to women's movements.

Chapter 5: Discussion

Through this study, I sought to understand the experiences these adolescent girls have around contribution, in which contribution-related activities they are currently involved and in which they would like to become involved. The results of this study provide insight into the many ways in which adolescent girls may experience contribution in their lives, the ways they see themselves as contributors to communities and society more broadly, along with their multifaceted motivations for contributing. In this chapter, I summarize the results, relating them back to my research questions and assessing them within the context of literature on development of contribution and motivation theory. I then discuss the strengths and limitations of this study, along with the implications of these results for practice. Finally, I conclude this chapter by offering recommendations for future research on youth contribution to community and society.

How Do Adolescent Girls Experience Contribution in Their Lives?

In the present study, I explored youth contribution, focusing on their contributions to community and society. Youth may make contributions to the community in many ways (e.g. volunteering time or money to a community program; Lerner, 2004). They may contribute to civil society by promoting societal values (e.g. participation in a civil protest or social media campaign; Lerner, 2004). Contribution overlaps with a range of related constructs, including social responsibility, volunteerism, prosocial behaviors. Youth contributions to community and society are particularly indicative of a thriving society (e.g. Lerner et al., 2003).

Based on my operationalization of contribution, almost all of the participants in this study contributed to their communities in some way, as a result of their school community service requirement. However, as expected, their current experiences with their roles as contributors

varied widely across each individual. There were likely many intersecting factors impacting the differences observed in the present study, including but not limited to participant social identities, socialization from models (e.g. parents, teachers, peers), prevalent contexts, and developmental factors (e.g. cognition). Participants quantified the differences they felt they were able to make in different ways. Six of these participants qualified that their abilities to make a difference were restricted to small actions or interpersonal contributions. In three cases (Hayley, Judith, and Portia), participants expressed feeling unable to make a difference when dealing with big issues (e.g. addressing discrimination). One participant (Sarah) talked about being able to make a bigger difference through volunteering in an established organization, and so she perceived that type of contribution to be worthwhile. Internalized messages of ageism were present in three participants' reports of their abilities to be contributors, contradicting their prior narratives of competence.

Issues related to feelings of efficacy. Even while contributing in different ways, participants expressed some similar experiences and perceptions of trying to contribute to their communities or to society more broadly. Most of the participants devalued the contributions they were making, talking about how they were not truly making a difference in the community or rather making small, individual-level contributions. Six of the participants talked about being able to make small differences. Some participants, like Ruby or Hayley, were content with being able to do make differences on "small" levels. Some participants emphasized that they would not know how or what to do to make a bigger difference in the community. For example, Hayley cared about large-scale issues, such as feminism and equality, but she did not know what she would be able to do to address these issues herself. She talked about being happy being able to individually address discriminatory speech in her old friend group. She and Judith both

expressed an inability to change people's minds about their biases. Judith talked about wanting a difference, but not knowing how to do so: "I can't change the way people think. […] I'd like to, but I don't know how much of an impact I would have on people." Despite caring about societal issues impacting their communities directly, many participants could not see a way of making meaningful contributions, even when they were working toward addressing issues on an interpersonal level. By conceptualizing their contributions as small or inconsequential, they seem to express low efficacy as contributors.

Similarly, some students expressed messages of low-self efficacy to be able to contribute in their communities or society in relation to their age. Three students talked about a lack of experience and direction connected to their age, suggesting they had internalized ageism. Ruby talked about not knowing what she is passionate about due to her age, despite having spoken elaborately about the importance of feminism and women empowerment, and then clearly connecting those passions to her future career aspirations. Frankie, who seemed incredibly informed about social issues, talked about being too young to have enough experience to make a real difference. Hayley similarly spoke about needing more experience in the world to make a big impact, while she cared about social issues such as feminism. Notably, these three participants in particular had previously expressed high hopes for their roles as contributors; they had active involvement in contribution-oriented activities and they expressed interest in making a difference in their community and society more broadly. However, almost simultaneously, they expressed an inability to make an impact due to being too young or inexperienced "in the world." Because these participants used age as an explanation for not knowing what they wanted to do, I suspected that ageism was implicit in their responses. However, there may be other or multiple factors influencing them here. For example, youth may feel that it is acceptable to explore

different paths before they become adults, and thus they may feel that their age allows the freedom to not commit to any one path to contribution.

Feelings of competence or expectancy of success in a task are important for fostering motivation (e.g. Ryan and Deci, 2000; Barron & Hulleman, 2015). Between their thoughts about the size of their contribution and the internalization of ageism seeping into their thinking, participants indicated feelings of low self-efficacy within the realm of contribution. Many students did not feel like they could make a difference in a whole community, especially as adolescents. Some students expressed the ability to make small differences, but by quantifying their contributions as small, they are subtly devaluing their abilities and expressing feelings of ineptitude. Feelings of incompetence or inability are likely to impact student intrinsic motivation, which is important for continued engagement in an activity such as contribution to community or society.

In order to foster motivation for youth to contribute, it is essential to attempt to dismantle ageism in working with youth. Research in youth activism organizations facilitated by adult mentors suggests that adults must carefully balance youth autonomy and providing structure to the youth involved in their programs (Larson & Rusk, 2011). Motivation is likely hindered either when youth either feel that they are given too much structure and are feeling micromanaged or when youth feel that they have too little structure and are feeling less supported (Larson & Rusk, 2011). While guidance is important in facilitating successful and meaningful contributions, too much guidance may make adolescents feel infantilized and incapable of making autonomous contributions. Given the findings from this study, it is clear that even some very involved youth may experience low self-efficacy in their ability to contribute.

These findings have implications for practice in school and youth programming settings. In order to encourage youth motivation to contribute, researchers and practitioners must find ways to address low expectations for success; we should foster a sense of efficacy around making a difference in the community or society. One way of doing this may be through connecting youth to organized structures that are already in place, such as non-profits that already encourage and support youth contributions. Participants felt a sense of efficacy when they contributed by doing community service hours in established organizations. For example, Sarah felt that she was able to make a difference when she looked around during her volunteer hours in a non-profit aimed at donating supplies and toys to children coming from low-income backgrounds. She explained that in "a big group of people," it is possible to contribute toward "a bigger cause." Being able to see the impact of their contributions may help adolescents feel efficacious, which may spur on future contributions.

Participants who attempted to contribute through addressing issues of discrimination (Judith and Hayley) reported feeling unable to make a difference. While they attempted to improve their communities through confronting bias interpersonally, they both talked about being able to try to address the issues with the people they knew, not being able to actually change anyone's deeply ingrained opinions. Both Judith and Hayley indicated that they placed high value on being able to contribute in this way. Judith said she was passionate about equality for the LGBT+ community and Hayley talked extensively about the importance of equality, wanting to eradicate discrimination with our current generation. Valuing these issues and contribution around them is important for fostering motivation. However, feeling a lack of competence could make it seem impossible to make a real difference, which both students expressed. Low expectations for success could drastically detriment student motivation to

continue participating as they have. If youth-oriented organizations such as schools want to promote equity within their schools and beyond, it is important to find was of enabling their youth to contribute. Neither Hayley nor Judith talked about being members of the activism-oriented club at their school; perhaps students in this club are equipped with tools to address inequity (or perhaps not), but it would be useful to reach beyond such specific groups to foster these contributions in the general youth population.

Additionally, we should facilitate an understanding that larger contributions are almost always made up of smaller actions or actors and additional supports are sometimes needed, making "small" contributions helpful for larger issues. For example, Portia talked about learning about Rosa Parks, who she talked about as an inspirational historical contributor; however, students are likely not learning that Rosa Parks was one member of a larger, organized and strategic social movement for civil rights, rather than an independent actor who simply got tired one day and decided to stand up for her own individual rights. While Rosa Parks may have done something inspiring, she was one actor in a much larger movement, and she did not act alone. Some participants, like Ruby or Hayley, thought that small contributions were worthwhile, but this sentiment was not shared by all participants. It is important to help adolescents understand how they can contribute, placing importance on individual-level contributions but also connecting youth to relevant opportunities to be a part of larger or broader contributions. Promoting feelings of efficacy in different types of (or sizes of) contributions can facilitate continued motivations to contribute.

How and To Whom Are Their Contributions Directed?

I sought to understand how these adolescent girls direct their contribution efforts and goals. Further, I wanted to know whether they had specific issues, people, or groups to whom

they wanted to direct their contributions.

Addressing how to contribute. Participants described a range of possible ways to make contributions both now and in the future. Seven of the participants described participating in community service or making donations as meaningful forms of contribution. Three participants (Judith, Frankie, and Portia) reported a desire to contribute through a service trip; Judith and Frankie had indicated past experience participating in service trips. Four participants (Frankie, Jodie, Ruby, and Portia) felt that they would be able to contribute in the future through their careers.

Participants recognized doing community service with a group made them feel like they were making a bigger impact. For example, Sarah talked about participating in a large toy drive with her peers, which made her feel like she was "helping a bigger cause." Judith referenced the many ways she was involved in community service through her church youth group. Ruby spoke about her community service in a retirement home, saying she was doing more than just filling a requirement and that she got something out of the experience. Initial positive experiences with an activity may lead to increased future interest and long-term participation in the activity (e.g. Hidi & Renninger, 2006; Larson & Rusk, 2011). Students having positive experiences wherein they feel like they are making a difference may encourage their future contributions.

Participants likely saw community service as a viable and valuable form of community contribution. They had extrinsic motivators to encourage community service, since their school required yearly community service hours. Additionally, they were able to engage socially with their peers through many community service opportunities (e.g. Jodie volunteering in a community garden with friends; Sarah selecting her community service hours so she could

participate in the service opportunity her friends chose). While some research would suggest that the presence of extrinsic motivators may undermine intrinsic motivation (e.g. Deci, Koestner, & Ryan, 1999), participants reported intrinsic motivation for engaging in these activities. Participants talked about being able to see their direct impact on individuals, creating interpersonal change, and thus likely were rewarded intrinsically through a sense of competence. Such positive influences on intrinsic motivation may have contributed to the transformation of goals from extrinsic to intrinsic (e.g. Fredricks et al., 2002; Pearce & Larson, 2006).

Service trips were seen as a viable option for contributing. Three students talked about having gone on a service trip before or wanting to in the future. These participants (Judith, Portia, and Frankie) felt that service trips provided a meaningful way of making a contribution. Two participants (Judith and Portia) talked about their experiences having been on a service trip, and specifically they talked about being inspired by seeing people show good attitudes in the face of hardship. Similar to community service, participation on a service trip provides a formulaic way of contributing; adolescents in this school are familiar with the format of a service trip and thus they may be able to have positive expectations for their success in contributing on the trip. Further, many community service opportunities and service trips are task-oriented. Participants usually have clear assignments or goals that are assigned to them are accomplishable, designed so that participants can achieve and then leave. Participants likely feel high efficacy when participating in structured forms of community service and in going on service trips. Feeling a sense of efficacy would promote participants' intrinsic motivation to contribute.

In participating in service trips, participants are fulfilling additional needs that may positively impact their motivation to contribute. These trips are not required, and so they are

able to autonomously select into them. The trips often offer social opportunities, potentially allowing for a sense of connectedness in their engagement; for example, Judith talked about enjoying meeting and spending time with student volunteers from Germany while on the trip. Participants talked about connecting to the people they served on these trips as well (e.g. Portia talked about meeting children who were less economically privileged than she was, but enjoying seeing them happily play). There are multiple reasons that participants may place high value on service trips as well. They are likely praised for participating in these trips, in a way that makes them feel selfless and good-hearted. Frankie talked about the appeal of a service trip, in how they are "purely just working for others." She went on to explain why they were such valued opportunities:

> Like, and not like, it's not a job form, of like, I'm getting paid for this, but like, someone
>
> out of the kindness of their heart being like, yes I care about you and I want to help you.

Participants are able to view themselves as good people doing "purely" good things for others in participating in a service trip. Although the cost of attending such a trip may be high (e.g., financial ability to fund a trip if there are fees, time away from other work or opportunities), the costs may not be perceived as too high for participants who place such value in these trips.

Service trips or "voluntourism" opportunities are controversial and can possibly be deleterious forms of involvement in contribution, however. Students who participate in service trips may have positive experiences that shift their world views, but these programs often provide little training to participants and are not as effective as they are costly (e.g. Smaldino, Lasker, & Myser, 2017). Although these programs have the intentions of serving people or communities "in need," they often reinforce systems of power and oppression, while constructing new methods of colonialism and dependency (Hartman, Paris, & Blache-Cohen,

2014). Service trips, especially those that are not supplemented with culturally-competent, contextualized, education can serve to "other" people from the community being visited (e.g. Smaldino et al., 2017; Hartman et al., 2014). Although service trips may be helpful learning opportunities for students involved, often these trips do not take into account the real needs of a community, and offer a narrative of the recipients of service that fit a decontextualized dominant discourse of the privileged saviors and "those less fortunate." Based on their interview responses, the participants appeared to have internalized this narrative in some ways.

Four participants (Frankie, Jodie, Ruby, and Portia) felt that they would be able to contribute in the future through their careers and had plans to contribute in via these chosen paths. Frankie connected her goals of becoming an engineer to wanting to invent something to make a contribution. Jodie wanted to be a marine biologist and knew that would make a difference, especially for the environment and sea animals. Ruby felt her goals of being a model would contribute toward female empowerment. Portia had not immediately connected her career aspirations in the fashion industry to being a contributor, but later connected it when talking about her class project and trying to design an ethically-sourced bathing suit. Adolescents may connect their careers to contribution because they place value in being contributors and thus are drawn to careers that enable them to be in such a role. Conversely, they may see contribution as something they must engage in separate to their careers. For youth who find contribution valuable, it may be beneficial to engage them in conversations to explore the connections that may exist in their career aspirations, thus encouraging more meaningful engagement in contribution and more sense of meaning within their future careers. However, it is important to still allow adolescents to explore different options, so this should not be done to set them on a strict path to one career or one type of contribution.

Addressing the direction of contributions. Some participants were able to identify a direction for their future contribution goals, choosing a group of people or social issue to contribute toward. Four participants (Samira, Judith, Frankie, and Portia) reported a desire to help people labeled vaguely as "less fortunate" than them, and except for Samira, this was explicitly associated with past experience participating in a service trip. Five participants wanted to make contributions to people sharing group membership with a self-identified social category. Six participants expressed varying levels of concern for a social issue and wanted to contribute toward people (or animals) impacted by their identified issue. Two participants (Ruby and Jodie) wanted to contribute back directly to their community or neighborhood.

Four students wanted to contribute toward a vaguely identified group, "those less fortunate," which would imply a general reflection on their own privilege or position of "fortune." However, participants seemed to use this coined phrase without much thought behind what being "less fortunate" meant. Nonetheless, participants placed value on the idea of a service trip as a possible way to make a contribution to this group. They seemed to place value on this group, without knowing much about who they were, likely because this has been language that they have heard and could draw from without actually thinking concretely or critically about them. Their desires to help this group often connected to wanting to do a service trip, which as noted above, has potential to be problematic.

Several students expressed interest in contributing to people falling within a similar social category as they did. Ruby and Hayley both expressed interest in helping with feminism and women empowerment, and both identified as girls. They each talked about the importance of feminism and creating a better world for women. Ruby also talked about wanting to help students who were experiencing anxiety at her school, which she has had experience with

personally. Frankie expressed wanting to make a difference for people who have been oppressed, as she identified as a member of an oppressed group, the LGBT+ community. Two students expressed a desire to contribute because of a sense of responsibility in relation to their identities. Two students, Samira and Judith, talked about their religious identities; they did not express wanting to contribute to people from the same religious background, but they talked about wanting to contribute in response to or because of their religious upbringing. Samira also felt a sense of responsibility to contribute because her higher socioeconomic background enabled her to contribute in ways that tend to be recognized by participants in this sample (e.g. community service, donating).

Making contributions to individuals or groups who share identities can serve as a particularly motivating experience, as it intersects with several proposed human needs (Ryan & Deci, 2000; Barron & Hulleman, 2015). By self-identifying into a social category, participants feel a sense of connectedness to others sharing identification within this group. For example, as a girl who thought respect for women was important, Ruby felt a sense of relatedness to other girls. Frankie expressed wanting to help people who experienced oppression, because as a gay person, she felt she could relate to such people. Involvement in contribution activities related to social categorization automatically puts youth in a preexisting conversation; they are able to feel relatedness to others explicitly like them in various salient ways. Because participants expressed a strong importance of these social categories (i.e. these expressed identities have impacted their development and are important to them), participants see value in being contributors toward similar groups; they place value in their own social identities, and so contributing toward people with potentially similar experiences is seen as valuable. Youth may be perceiving costs that serve as barriers to contributing. When youth identify costs that are perceived as too great, their

motivations are likely impacted (Barron & Hulleman, 2015). Although the cost of contributing in these circumstances may be high, they are likely not seen as too high because of the vested interest in contributing toward them. For example, participants (e.g. Judith, Hayley) expressed that doing work to reduce bias in others was very difficult; however, Frankie likely thought the effort involved in reducing bias against people against the LGBT+ community or other marginalized communities was not too great, because the personal value outweighs the cost. Such dynamic cost-benefit analyses are involved in participant motivations to contribute toward communities that share social identities with them.

Many students had interests in social issues, but not all of them were able to express ways in which they wanted to contribute in relation to those issues. Participants such as Frankie talked about concern for various social issues, and talked about them through the entire interview consistently. Some participants, like Hayley, only talked about their concerns when prompted, but then had clear passion for the issue and some formed thoughts about how to contribute in the future in "small" ways. Some participants, such as Portia, were interested in social issues but did not think they would be able to make an impact on the related communities. Almost all participants could express the issues they were passionate about, but few participants had clear ideas about how they could have efficacy in being contributors. Participants who expressed interest in social issues placed high value in contributing in relation to them, but lacked efficacy or a sense of competence, which likely impacts their motivations to get involved in such large-scale issues.

Two students wanted to contribute specifically to their neighborhood communities. Ruby discussed prior contribution efforts that have been facilitated in her own community; she appreciated the ways her community came together to support its members and talked about

being a part of these efforts. Jodie talked about the value she placed on her community and in the future, wanting to be a contributor. She was starting to build up confidence and connections in the community by going outside of her comfort zone and making friends with people in the community she had not previously known. Making contributions to one's neighborhood specifically provides the opportunity for a sense of relatedness and autonomy. Ruby and Jodie felt an internal sense of connection to their communities, and had clear examples from within their neighborhoods of other individuals making contributions. Readily having these examples and having the sense of neighborhood cohesion, Ruby and Judith particularly felt that their own contributions to their neighborhoods would be connected to a larger, already established purpose. Further, having expressed a sense of interest in their communities, they are able to feel volition in their goals of contribution. This likely impacted their intrinsic motivation to contribute to their communities.

What Motivates Their Contribution Efforts and Goals?

Finally, in this study, I wanted to better understand adolescent girls' motivations to contribute, with the understanding that these motivations will be complex and varied. Participants described a range of motivations for both contributing currently and wanting to contribute in the future. Four participants (Ruby, Judith, Frankie, and Jodie) expressed a connection between contribution and their idealized selves. For five participants (Ruby, Judith, Hayley, Samira, Frankie), their goals for contribution were related to their identifications with various social categories in some way (detailed in the previous section on direction of contribution). Six participants expressed caring about various social issues or human rights, which then connected to contribution and may motivate future contributions (also described in the previous section on direction of contribution).

When describing who they want to be in the future, four students (Ruby, Judith, Frankie, and Jodie) promptly identified their futures in relation to contribution-related goals. These participants characterized the type of person they pictured being in the future, and each felt they wanted to contribute in some way. Ruby wanted to make her community a better place and be a leader. Frankie wanted to be a person known for being "like an activist sort of thing" who "gives back." Jodie wanted to be a community contributor in her future neighborhood. Judith wanted to contribute more than she does, which was already quite frequent. These participants supplied these contribution-oriented future descriptions immediately when talking about who they wanted to be, suggesting they had internalized the motivation to contribute. Because participants expressed contribution being important to their conceptions of self, they exercised autonomous motivation, self-identifying this aspect as vital to who they were and wanted to be. This sense of volition is likely to facilitate future motivation to contribute.

These prior sections indicate that youth have both intrinsic and extrinsic multifaceted motivations to be contributors to community and society. To some extent, participants reported extrinsic motivators to contribute; they had to fill their school community service requirement; they liked the social element of going on service trips or doing large organized community service events; they wanted to boost their resumes for college applications. However, this was not the only motivation they had for their current and future contributions, which supports the evidence that extrinsic motivations do not always undermine intrinsic motivation for engagement in activities (Henderson, Brown, Pancer, & Ellis-Hale, 2007; Metz & Youniss, 2005). Furthermore, it is possible that some of these extrinsic motivators created value in the experience of contributing or facilitated positive experiences surrounding contribution, thus transforming prior exclusively extrinsically motivated activities into intrinsically motivated activities as well.

Participants discussed a range of intrinsic motivators for their contributions and goals. For example, some participants found joy in giving back and saw their ideal self as someone who could better their community (e.g. Ruby, Frankie). Some participants cared about social issues and wanted to make a difference because they saw value in doing so (e.g. Portia, Hayley). Individual students had a range of intrinsic and extrinsic motivations for contributing, and this may vary across different contributions.

Limitations

Although the present study lends insight into the dynamic nature of youth contribution, it has some limitations that impact how these results may be interpreted. Data were collected from one school that has very particular demographics; the school is a private, all-girls Catholic school that requires students to complete yearly community service hours. While this sample provides an interesting and valuable perspective, findings should be interpreted with the context in mind. The goal of the present study was to provide an in-depth analysis, and as such, findings cannot be widely generalized but rather help understand how contribution might be perceived by individual participants. The goal of the present study was to provide depth to a complex topic, but each participant was interviewed only once. I was therefore unable to follow up with participants after initial analyses and could not expand on emergent themes in the data. Follow-up interviews would have provided more depth to these topics, especially in areas where themes were initially unanticipated (e.g. the way in which ageism seeped into participant narratives).

Suggestions for Future Research

Future research should expand upon developmental and motivational aspects of contribution. It would be helpful to better understand the cost-benefit analysis that adolescents go through when deciding to participate in contribution efforts. More analysis of the barriers and

supports that adolescents face would help inform educators and youth programs of the various challenges to engaging youth. Further, it would be beneficial to explore specifically what helps students connect their personal passions to contribution. Youth have a vast array of interests and passions even in the one school represented in this study; it would be beneficial to youth and their communities to find ways of enabling personalized, meaningful opportunities for contribution.

Conclusions

Through this study, I sought to provide an in-depth analysis of the experiences these adolescent girls have around contribution, in which contribution-related activities they are currently involved and in which they would like to become involved. Multiple studies suggest that prosocial behaviors, helping, and participation in service are all associated with beneficial outcomes. Making contributions to the community is associated with higher hope, sense of purpose, and more positive expectations about one's future (Stoddard & Pierce, 2015). Engaging in prosocial and helping behaviors is linked to better health outcomes and well-being (e.g. Van Tongeren et al., 2016; Schwartz et al., 2009; Brown et al., 2003; Schwartz & Sendor, 2000). Prior research has suggested that students benefit from both voluntary and school-required community service, as these were both predictive of adults voting and later volunteering (e.g. Metz & Youniss, 2003; Hart, Donnelly, Youniss, & Atkins 2007). Participants are most likely benefiting from their varied contribution efforts, even when their actions are a mix of intrinsically and extrinsically driven motivations. Thus, it is essential to better understand the complex ways adolescents understand their roles as contributors.

The present study provides a nuanced illustration of the various ways adolescent girls view their own abilities and goals for contribution, along with their multiple motivations for

being contributors. Exemplified in the results of this study, adolescents have many different ways of being contributors in their own communities and in society. They have a dynamic mix of intrinsic and extrinsic motivators that help encourage their contribution efforts, which we can begin to understand through participant-centered, qualitative accounts of their experiences. It is important to consider these complexities when working with youth to facilitate their current and future roles as contributors so that we can foster an engaged, thriving youth population.

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Appendices

A. Parent/Guardian Permission for Child Participation in Survey

B. Student Assent Form for Survey

C. Parent/Guardian Permission for Child Participation in Interview

D. Student Assent Form for Interview

E. Semi-structured Interview Protocol

F. Sample of The Listening Guide: Step 1

G. Sample of The Listening Guide: Step 2

H. Sample of The Listening Guide: Step 3

Appendix A: Parent/Guardian Permission for Child Participation in Survey

BOSTON COLLEGE & TUFTS UNIVERSITY

Parental/Guardian Permission for Child to Take Part in the
Connecting Adolescents' Beliefs and Behaviors Study
Jacqueline V. Lerner & Sara K. Johnson, Principal Investigators

We study child and adolescent development at Boston College and Tufts University. We are conducting an exciting research project about connections between adolescents' beliefs and behaviors. We are inviting your child to take part in this project. Please read this form before giving permission for your child to be in the study.

Why is my child being asked to take part in this study?
Your child has been chosen because he or she is in the 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, or 11th grade in a Boston area school.

What is this study about?
This study is about connections between adolescents' beliefs and behaviors. We also want to know about the roles that adolescents' parents/guardians and other adults play in their lives. We will use the results of the project to improve programs that help young people act in positive ways.

Who will take part in the study?
We are trying to reach 1200 youth from the Boston Area. We are also trying to reach their parents/guardians and other adults who know them well, such as teachers.

If I give permission for my child to take part, what will he or she be asked to do?
1. We will explain the details of the study to your child. We will make sure he or she understands what we are asking him or her to do.

2. We will ask your child to agree (in writing) to take part. If your child does not want to take part, he or she does not have to.

3. During the school day, we will give students a survey that takes about 45 minutes to do. The survey has questions about your child's behaviors, opinions, and experiences. There are also a few questions about whether your child has done things that may be illegal or potentially bad for them, like smoking cigarettes. We will keep your child's answers to the survey questions private. We have a special certification from the US Department of Health and Human Services, called a Certificate of Confidentiality. This means that we will not tell your child's answers to anyone outside of the research team (such as teachers at your child's school). We will only speak to others if we learn from these surveys or interviews that your child has caused, or might cause, serious harm to himself/herself or to someone else. In that case, we must notify the authorities.

4. We will ask your child to complete a similar survey two more times in the next two years. Each time, we will explain the survey to your child. He or she will be able to decide then about whether to do the survey or not (just like this time).

5. Later this year, we will ask to interview some students. If your child is selected to be interviewed, we will contact you, and you can decide then whether you want your child to take part in the interview. The interview is optional, and you do not have to decide now.

Can I see the questions you are going to ask my child?
If you want to, you can see a copy of the questions we will ask your child on the survey. Please email or call us using the information below if you would like to see the questions.

What are the risks to being in the study?
There are no expected risks to participants in this study. Most of the questions on the survey are not invasive. There are a few questions that may be sensitive, like smoking cigarettes. We will keep your child's answers private. No one outside of the research team can see your child's answers. If your child feels uncomfortable answering a question, he or she can skip it.

What are the benefits to being in the study?
There are no direct benefits to you for taking part in this study. The results of this study will give researchers new information about connections between adolescents' beliefs and behaviors. This information is helpful for parents/guardians, teachers, and other people who work with youth. They can use this information to improve programs that help young people act in positive ways.

What is the compensation for being in the study?
Your child will get a $20 gift card for doing the survey.

How will my child's answers be kept private?
All of the records from this study will be kept private. We will do everything we can so others do not know your child took part in this study. We have a Certificate of Confidentiality from the US Department of Health and Human Services. This means other people cannot force us to tell them your child's answers. They cannot force us to tell them things about your child. We will only speak to others if we learn from these surveys or interviews that your child has caused, or might cause, serious harm to him or herself or someone else. In that case, we must notify the authorities. The Certificate does not stop your child from sharing with others his or her own answers. Your child has to protect his or her own privacy. You will not be able to see your child's answers to the survey questions.

If we publish a report, we will not include your name or your child's name. We will keep research records in a locked file. We will keep electronic data on a computer with a password that only the research team knows. Sometimes, the Institutional Review Board or other agencies may review the research records to make sure the researchers are following procedures. They will not look at your child's answers.

Are there costs for being in the study?
There is no cost for you or your child to take part in this research study.

What is the procedure for taking part in the study?
If you agree to allow your child to take part, please do the following:

1. Read this Consent Form.
2. Let us know if you give permission for your child to take part by picking one of the options. Pick "Yes, my child can take part in this study" or "No, my child cannot take part."
3. Complete the information at the end of this form (including your name and address).

What if I do not want my child to take part in the study, or if I change my mind later?
Your child's participation is voluntary. Your child can stop taking part at any time, for any reason. There is no penalty or loss of benefits if your child does not take part or decides to stop later. Your and your child's relationships with Boston College, Tufts University, or your child's school will not be affected if you choose not to let your child take part in the study, or if you change your mind later.

Who can I contact if I have questions?
The researchers in charge of this study are Jacqueline V. Lerner and Sara K. Johnson. You can email them at lernerj@bc.edu or s.johnson@tufts.edu, or you can call them at 617-552-2648 (Lerner) or 617-627-4449 (Johnson). If you have any questions about your child's rights as a research participant, please contact either: Dr. Stephen Erickson, Director, Office for Research Protections, Boston College at (617) 552-4778, or irb@bc.edu or Dr. Lara Sloboda, Institutional Review Board Administrator, Tufts University, at (617) 627-3417, sber@tufts.edu

COPY OF CONSENT FORM
You will be given a copy of this form to keep for your records.

RESEARCHER'S STATEMENT
I have fully disclosed to the participant the nature and purpose of the research.

Dr. Jacqueline V. Lerner/Dr. Sara K. Johnson
Printed name of Principal Investigators

STATEMENT OF CONSENT:
I have read (or have had read to me) the contents of this consent form and have been encouraged to ask questions. I have received answers to my questions (if any). I give my consent for my child to participate in this study. I have received (or will receive) a copy of this form.

PARENT/GUARDIAN: Do you allow your child to take part in this study?

☐ Yes, my child can take part in this study.
☐ No, my child cannot take part in this study.

Your Signature: _____
Today's Date (month/day/year): _____/_____/_____

INFORMATION
(please fill this out carefully so we can make sure that your child gets to take the survey):

Information about You:
Your First Name: _____
Your Middle Name or Initial (if you have one): _____
Your Last Name: _____

Street Number and Name: _____
Apartment or Unit Number (if you have one): _____
City/Town, State, and Zip Code:_____

Your Phone Number: _____
Your Email Address: _____

Information about Your Child:
Child's First Name: _____
Middle Name or Initial (if he or she has one): _____
Child's Last Name: _____
Child's Date of Birth (month/day/year): _____/_____/_____
Child's Grade: _____
Child's School: _____
Child's Classroom or Homeroom Teacher: _____

Child's Address (ONLY if it is different from yours):
Street Number and Name: _____
Apartment or Unit Number (if you have one): _____
City or Town Name and Zip Code: _____

Parental/Guardian Permission Form 4

Appendix B: Student Assent Form for Survey

BOSTON COLLEGE & TUFTS UNIVERSITY
Student Assent to take part in the
Connecting Adolescents' Beliefs and Behaviors Study

Why have I been asked to be in the study?
- Because you are a student in 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, or 11th grade.
- We want to know more about what it's like to be a student in your grade. What do students in your grade think? What do they like to do?
- You might like to share thoughts or feelings about yourself, your activities, and your behaviors.

What do I do first?
- Please read this form (or ask us to read it to you).
- Please ask us if you have any questions.

What is the Study about?
- What young people think about themselves, other people, and the world.
- The relationships that young people have with adults.
- What young people do with their friends, their family, in their town, and at school.

Who will be in the Study?
- About 1200 students in 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, or 11th grade in the Boston area
- Parents/guardians of these students and people who work at schools

If I agree to be in the Study, what will I be asked to do?
1. Fill out a survey for about 45 minutes. The survey has questions about you, your opinions, and your behaviors. There are also a few questions about things like smoking cigarettes. Your answers to all of the questions will be kept private. We have a special certification called a Certificate of Confidentiality. This means that we will not tell your answers to anyone besides the research team unless we learn during these surveys or interviews that you might cause or have caused serious harm to yourself or to another person. In that case, we will have to notify the authorities. Your parents/guardians and teachers will not able to see any of your answers.
2. If you do not want to answer a question, you can skip it.
3. We will ask you to do two more surveys over the next two years. You can decide later whether you want to do those surveys.
4. Later this year, we will ask some students to be in an interview. If you are picked, you can decide then whether you want to do the interview.

What are the risks to being in the study?
- There are no expected risks.
- If any questions make you uncomfortable, you can skip them.

What are the benefits of being in the study?
- There are no direct benefits to you. Your answers will be used to help parents/guardians, teachers, and other adults.

Do I get anything if I take part in the study?
- You will get a $20 gift card for taking the survey.

Will the things I say be kept secret?
- The records of this study will be kept private. Only the researchers will be able to look at them.
- We will do everything we can so others do not know you took part in this study. We have a Certificate of Confidentiality from the US Department of Health and Human Services. This means other people cannot force us to tell them your answers. They cannot force us to tell them things about you. We will only speak to others if we learn during the surveys or interviews that you might cause or have caused serious harm to yourself or someone else. In that case, we will have to notify the authorities.
- The Certificate does not stop you from sharing with others your own answers. You have to protect your own privacy. If we write a report, we will not include your name or anyone else's name. We will keep survey records in a locked file.
- Sometimes, officials at Boston College or Tufts University or the people who pay for this study may have to look at the records. These people will only look to make sure the researchers are doing things the right way. They will not look at your specific answers.

What if I choose to not take part or leave the study?
- You do not have to be in this study if you do not want to be.
- If you decide not to do the study, it will not affect your grades or anything else at your school. It will not affect your present or future relationships with Boston College or Tufts University.
- You can quit at any time, for any reason. There is no punishment for not being in the study or for quitting.

Who can I contact if I have any questions?
- The researchers running this study are Jacqueline V. Lerner and Sara K. Johnson. If you have questions about this research, please contact them at: Jacqueline Lerner (lernerj@bc.edu or 617-552-2648); Sara Johnson (s.johnson@tufts.edu or 617-627-4449)
- If you think this research has harmed you, call Jacqueline Lerner at 617-552-2648. She will tell you what to do next.
- If you have any questions about your rights as a person taking part in the study, you should call: Stephen Erickson at Boston College, at (617) 552-4778, or irb@bc.edu or Lara Sloboda at Tufts University, (617) 627-3417, sber@tufts.edu.

Will I get a copy of this Assent form?
- Yes, you will be given a copy of this form to keep.

Statement of Assent:

- I have read (or have had read to me) the contents of this assent form.
- I have been encouraged to ask questions. My questions have been answered (if I had any).
- I want to take part in this study.
- It is OK for the researchers to ask me later if I want to do an interview.
- I have gotten (or will receive) a copy of this form.

Signatures/Dates:

Please print your name carefully:

Your First Name: _____

Your Middle Name or Initial (if you have one): _____

Your Last Name: _____

Now, please sign your name below:

Sign Your Name Here: _____

What is Today's Date (month/day/year)? _____/_____/_____

Appendix C: Parent/Guardian Permission for Child Participation in Interview

BOSTON COLLEGE & TUFTS UNIVERSITY
Parental/Guardian Permission for Child to Take Part in Interview
Connecting Adolescents' Beliefs and Behaviors Study
Jacqueline V. Lerner & Sara K. Johnson, Principal Investigators

We study child and adolescent development at Boston College and Tufts University. We are conducting a research project about connections between adolescents' beliefs and behaviors. You may recall giving your child permission to participate in our survey, and we are now inviting your child to take part in an interview. Please read this form before giving permission for your child to take part in our interview.

Why is my child being asked to take part in this interview?
Your child has been chosen because he or she has completed a survey for our study.

What is this interview about?
This study is about connections between adolescents' beliefs and behaviors. We also want to know about their goals for the future and motivations for those goals.

Who will take part in this interview?
We are going to interview about 35 children who already completed a survey for our study.

If I give permission for my child to take part, what will he or she be asked to do?
1. At a public location such as a school or library, we will do an interview with your child. First, we will explain the details of the interview to your child. We will make sure he or she understands what we are asking him or her to do.

2. We will ask your child to agree (in writing) to take part in the interview. If your child does not want to take part, he or she does not have to.

3. If your child agrees to take part, we will ask him or her some questions about what kind of person your child wants to become and how he or she wants to make an impact on the world. With your permission, and your child's agreement, we will record the interview. Interviews will be about 45-60 minutes long.

4. We will keep your child's answers private. We have a special certification from the US Department of Health and Human Services, called a Certificate of Confidentiality. This means that we will not tell your child's responses to anyone outside of the research team (such as teachers at your child's school). We will only speak to others if we learn from these interviews that your child has caused, or might cause, serious harm to himself/herself or to someone else. In that case, we must notify the authorities.

Can I see the questions you are going to ask my child?
You can see a copy of the questions we will ask your child during the interview. Please email or call us using the information below if you would like to see the questions.

What are the risks to being in the interview?
There are no expected risks to participants in this study, although there may be unknown risks. The questions are not invasive. We will keep your child's answers private. If your child feels uncomfortable answering a question, he or she does not have to answer it.

What are the benefits to being in the interview?
There are no direct benefits to you for taking part in this study. The results of this study will give researchers new information about connections between adolescents' beliefs and behaviors. This information is helpful for parents/guardians, teachers, and other people who work with youth. They can use this information to improve programs that help young people act in positive ways.

What is the compensation for being in the interview?
Your child will get a $25 gift card for doing the interview.

How will my child's answers be kept private?
All of the records from this study will be kept private. We will do everything we can so others do not know your child took part in this study. We have a Certificate of Confidentiality from the US Department of Health and Human Services. This means other people cannot force us to tell them your child's answers. They cannot force us to tell them things about your child. We will only speak to others if we learn from these interviews that your child has caused, or might cause, serious harm to him or herself or someone else. In that case, we must notify the authorities. The Certificate does not stop your child from sharing with others his or her own answers. Your child has to protect his or her own privacy. You will not be able to see your child's answers to the interview questions.

If we publish a report, we will not include your name or your child's name. We will keep research records in a locked file. We will keep electronic data on a computer with a password that only the research team knows. Sometimes, the Institutional Review Board or other agencies may review the research records to make sure the researchers are following procedures. They will not look at your child's answers.

Are there costs for being in the interview?
There is no cost for you or your child to take part in this interview.

What is the procedure for taking part in the interview?
If you agree to allow your child to take part, please do the following:

1. Read this Consent Form.
2. Let us know if you give permission for your child to take part by picking one of the options. Pick "Yes, my child can take part in this interview" or "No, my child cannot take part."
3. Complete the information at the end of this form.

What if I do not want my child to take part in the study, or if I change my mind later?
Your child's participation is voluntary. Your child can stop taking part at any time, for any reason. There is no penalty or loss of benefits if your child does not take part or decides to stop later. Your and your child's relationships with Boston College, Tufts University, or your child's school will not be affected if you choose not to let your child take part in the study, or if you change your mind. If you would like to opt out of future communications with the CABB Study, please notify us by email or phone.

Who can I contact if I have questions?
The researchers in charge of this study are Jacqueline V. Lerner and Sara K. Johnson. You can email them at lernerj@bc.edu or s.johnson@tufts.edu, or you can call them at 617-552-2648 (Lerner) or 617-627-4449 (Johnson). If you have any questions about your child's rights as a

research participant, please contact either: Dr. Stephen Erickson, Director, Office for Research Protections, Boston College at 617-552-4778, or irb@bc.edu or Dr. Lara Sloboda, Institutional Review Board Administrator, Tufts University, at 617-627-3417, sber@tufts.edu

COPY OF CONSENT FORM
You will be given a copy of this form to keep for your records.

RESEARCHER'S STATEMENT
I have fully disclosed to the participant the nature and purpose of the research.

> **Dr. Jacqueline V. Lerner/Dr. Sara K. Johnson**
> Printed name of Principal Investigators

STATEMENT OF CONSENT:
I have read (or have had read to me) the contents of this consent form and have been encouraged to ask questions. I have received answers to my questions (if any). I give my consent for my child to participate in this interview. I have received (or will receive) a copy of this form.

PARENT/GUARDIAN: Do you allow your child to take part in this interview?

☐ Yes, my child can take part in this interview.
☐ No, my child cannot take part in this interview.

Information about You: (please print)

Your First Name: _____

Your Middle Name or Initial (if you have one): _____

Your Last Name: _____

Your Phone Number: (_____)_____

Information about Your Child: (please print)

Child's First Name: _____

Middle Name or Initial (if he or she has one): _____

Child's Last Name: _____

Child's Date of Birth (month/day/year): _____/_____/_____

Your Signature: _____

Today's Date (month/day/year): _____/_____/_____

Appendix D: Student Assent Form for Interview

BOSTON COLLEGE & TUFTS UNIVERSITY
Student Assent for Interview
Connecting Adolescents' Beliefs and Behaviors Study

Why have I been asked to be in the interview?

- Because you are a student in the 11th or 12th grade
- You filled out a survey for this study a while ago and now we would like to hear your thoughts and opinions in an interview.

What do I do first?

- Please read this form (or ask the researcher to read it to you).
- Please ask the researcher if you have any questions.

What is this interview about?

- What young people think about themselves, other people, and the world.
- The goals young people have for their futures.
- What young people do with their friends, their family, in their town, and at school.

If I agree to be in this interview, what will I be asked to do?

1. You will be asked questions by a researcher. The interview will take about 45-60 minutes.
2. With your permission, we will audio record the interview.

What are the risks to being in the interview?

- There are no expected risks.
- If any questions make you uncomfortable, you can skip them.

What are the benefits of being in the interview?

- There are no direct benefits to you. Your answers will be used to help parents/guardians, teachers, and other adults.

Do I get anything if I take part in the interview?

- You will get a $25 gift card for doing the interview.

Will the things I say be kept secret?

- The records of this study will be kept private. Only the researchers will be able to look at them.
- We will do everything we can so others do not know you took part in this study. We have a Certificate of Confidentiality from the US Department of Health and Human Services. This means other people cannot force us to tell them your answers. We will only speak to others if we learn during the interview that you might cause or have caused serious harm to yourself or someone else. In that case, we will have to notify the authorities. We will not tell your parents/guardians or teachers what you say during the interview.
- The Certificate does not stop you from sharing with others your own answers. You have to protect your own privacy. If we write a report, we will not include your name or anyone else's name. We will keep survey records in a locked file.

- Sometimes, officials at Boston College or Tufts University or the people who pay for this study may have to look at the records. These people will only look to make sure the researchers are doing things the right way. They will not look at your specific answers.

What if I choose to not take part or leave the study?
- You do not have to be in this study if you do not want to be.
- You can quit at any time, for any reason. There is no punishment for not being in the study or for quitting.

Who can I contact if I have any questions?
- The researchers running this study are Jacqueline V. Lerner and Sara K. Johnson. If you have questions about this research, please contact them at: Jacqueline Lerner (lernerj@bc.edu or 617-552-2648); Sara Johnson (s.johnson@tufts.edu or 617-627-4449).
- If you think this research has harmed you, call Jacqueline Lerner at 617-552-2648. She will tell you what to do next.
- If you have any questions about your rights as a person taking part in the study, you should call: Stephen Erickson at Boston College, at 617-552-4778, or irb@bc.edu or Lara Sloboda at Tufts University, 617-627-3417, sber@tufts.edu.

Will I get a copy of this Assent form?
- Yes, you will be given a copy of this form to keep.

Statement of Assent:
- I have read (or have had read to me) the contents of this assent form.
- I have been encouraged to ask questions. My questions have been answered (if I had any).
- I want to take part in this interview.
- I have gotten (or will receive) a copy of this form.

Do you agree to be interviewed?

☐ Yes, I will take part in the interview.
☐ No, I DO NOT want to take part in the interview.

Is it OK for the researchers to record your interview?

☐ Yes, it is OK to record my interview.
☐ No, DO NOT record my interview.

Sign your name here:

_____

Print Your First Name: _____

Print Your Middle Name or Initial (if you have one): _____

Print Your Last Name: _____

What is Today's Date (month/day/year)? _____/_____/_____

Appendix E: Semi-structured Interview Protocol

Interview Protocol – Sept. 2017

General Introduction Hi! Thank you so much for coming to talk to me today. My name is [name], and I am part of the research team at Boston College and Tufts University. We are trying to find out more about young people and their lives and we are really excited to learn from you. You might remember taking our survey back in [insert Month participant took the survey. Specifically, we are interested in learning more about you, what you'd like to do when you grow up, and some of your other hopes or goals. Before we get started with the interview itself, we need to go over something called the Assent Form [take out assent form/point to it on table/etc, depending on the situation].

Going over the Assent Form

- ☐ The first part of the assent form says why we're interested in talking with you, because you're a young person in New England and we want to find out more about you and your life. You filled out a survey for us a while ago and now we want to ask you a couple more questions.
- ☐ The next part says what we'll ask you about.
- ☐ If, after we go over this, you decide that you want to do the interview, then I will ask (you some questions. If you say it's ok, I will record our conversation. The reason (why we record the conversation is so that we can make sure to get your words right.
- ☐ **If** there are any questions you don't want to answer, you don't have to answer them. (You can also stop the interview at any time.
- ☐ You will get a $25 gift card for doing the interview.
- ☐ Everything you tell me today will be kept private. Every time you say someone's (name we will replace it with a fake name. The recordings and the transcripts will be kept on our computers that only the research staff can see. Your parents and your teachers, and other people who know you, won't know what you told us.
- ☐ Do you have any questions about this form? [Answer if they do]
- ☐ OK, great! Please review the form & let me know whether you would like to (participate. If so, please also select the option to tell me whether you're okay with this interview being recorded. (

Explaining the Interview Process (OK, so we are almost ready to start the interview. The interview isn't going to be like a regular conversation, where you and I go back and forth and we each get our turn to talk. Since this is an interview about **you**, I won't talk that much, and that is OK! You don't have to let me have my turn, and don't feel like you are talking too much – I am really interested in hearing what you have to say. The other thing that might happen to make this not feel like a normal conversation is that at some points there might be pauses or periods of silence. That's ok. I just want to let you know that I'll be pausing to make sure you have plenty of time to think about your answers.

Do you have any questions before we start?

[Turn on recorder device, state your name and participant's interview ID number, the date and time of the interview and where it is taking place. For example, "This is Sara J. I am interviewing participant 7, at the Somerville Public Library, on July 28th, 2016, at 1 PM.]

Intro	First, can you tell me a little bit about yourself?
	• What you've been doing this summer? How school is going? • Things you like to do? Hobbies? Goals? Activities involved in? • Words you'd use to describe yourself to someone who doesn't know you? • What words would <u>another person use</u> to describe you? (Friends, family, teachers, others) o Do those words fit?
Free Time / Activities	What do you do in your free time? *What do you wish you could do? Why <u>don't</u> you?*
Future Self	Can you tell me, what kind of person you want to be as you get older? *Maybe some things are the same as you are now, maybe some things are different? It could be characteristics you want to have, things you want to do, the job you want to do, etc.* Are you doing anything right now to help you become that kind of person? *How is that going? Are you thinking about doing anything else about it later?* Ask for **motivation / why!** (WHAT motivates you / Who? Connect back to aspirations – anything from life?)
If you could do anything:	If you could do anything you wanted to, what would you do? *For work? For fun? For school?* Why? Do you already – if not, why don't you?
5 wishes	If you could make 5 wishes, what would they be? *Do you think [whichever wish] will become a reality? If no explanation given, ask for elaboration on points.* Why are these important to you?
Important to you	WHO is most important to you? *When did this become important to you? /* Why? WHAT is most important to you? *What are you passionate about? What motivates you?*
Like to Be YOU	Can you tell me what it is like to be you? *Can you tell me a bit about how you got to be who you are today?*
Barriers / Facilitators	Is there anything standing in your way right now? *(Of doing what you want to do / being who you want to be?)* Anything helping you? <u>Ask about contexts</u>
SOCIAL ISSUES	What social issues matter to you? What are some issues that you tend to think about? *In the world? In your community? Have you had any experiences with these issues?* Why are they important to you?

Making a difference / impact	Have you thought about making a difference – in your community, in the world, for anyone? Making an impact? If you could make a difference, what would it look like? ***Have you attempted to do something like this before? – Have you done anything before?*** *Are there any challenges you've faced related to this?* *Accomplishments related to this?* *What or who has influenced you to consider this contribution?* **Ask "why" explicitly. – why is this important to you? Why are you the one to do this?**
Target Group	Is there a particular group of people or a social issue you want to make a difference for? Have you done anything yet? Will you do anything later, in future? How? Will it connect to your future job? Why does this matter to you?
Social IDs	Can you tell me about your social identities? Some things that peple think about for these include things like: - gender – social class or income level – race or ethnicity – religion What social identities do you have & which ones are most important to you? How is that sim / diff from people at your school? In your community?
Any more?	Thank you so much for talking with me about these questions. Is there anything else you think I should know about anything we've talked about today?
Cog Interview	One more question for you, just to help me in future interviews. What did you think about the questions we asked you? Where there any questions that were unclear or that didn't make sense? Were the things that we asked you about, things that you think about?

Appendix F: Sample of the Listening Guide: Step 1

Sample Plot Listening from Analyses of Frankie's transcripts

Interviewer: Okay, um, what, we've talked a little bit about this, but is there anything else that you do in your freetime? \r\r[00:08:56.29]

Participant: Hmm, I'm part of a computer science class here at the library actually.\r\r[00:09:01.09]

Interviewer: Oh nice\r\r[00:09:02.20]

Participant: It's like a nation, girls who code, it's like this nationwide thing, but we're like our own Watertown club, and its so cool. \r\r[00:09:08.22]

Interviewer: Okay\r\r[00:09:08.22]

Participant: It's every Thursday night\r\r[00:09:12.26]

Interviewer: What do you do in that?\r\r[00:09:12.26]

Participant: Pretty, it's very like self taught of like, they give us all the tools, and they're like okay you can do one of four things today, like it's very open ended of we have all the course material and then you have to go through your computer and do the coding stuff, but it's really cool cause by the end of the year you like know so much more than you started with, so I've been doing it for about two years now and like, it just keeps growing on top of it. Insane\r\r[00:09:40.24]

Interviewer: That's awesome, do you have a project that you do in that?\r\r[00:09:42.24]

Participant: We have like a final project at the end of the year that's like a class wide, we break up usually, usually it's some form of website but it's like geared to something so the format and stuff like that will be different depending on like what we're doing. But it's like very like okay, you're gonna do this hald of it, you're gonna do this and you're gonna do that, so it's very broken up but it's very cool to see at the end. It all meshes together.\r\r[00:10:07.12]

Interviewer: Yeah\r\r[00:10:07.12]

Participant: So it's a very stressful like two weeks before trying to go through the kinks of like, does it run on its own, why isn't it running it here?\r\r[00:10:15.20]

Interviewer: Yeah, um why did you get involved in this?\r\r[00:10:18.11]

Participant: My mom got an email at the library about it, and my cousin is like, I don't even know what he does, he does something, but he was talking to her over Christmas about how like codings like a really up and coming thing and people should know it, and then she got the email from

the library, about like, here's the happenings here, and it was like the
new girls who code club, adn she was like you should do this, and then it
all went from there\r\r[00:10:42.14]

Interviewer: Nice, and you were, you were interested in
it?\r\r[00:10:45.09]

Participant: Yeah I was, I heard the email, and I was like oh this could be
really cool. \r\r[00:10:50.04]

Interviewer: That's awesome, okay, and it sounds like it's going well.
\r\r[00:10:52.10]

Participant: Yeah\r\r[00:10:52.10]

Stacy's listening:

Frankie sounds like she enjoys learning and talks about participating in an extracurricular
learning-oriented club centered on computer coding. Additionally, it is focused on girls
(girls who code). I'm interested in hearing how Frankie understands feminism in her life
– whether this element was desired or coincidental in her membership. I will listen more
for elements of feminism. I didn't hear much about why she wanted to participate in this
group, other than it sounding "cool."

Appendix G: Sample of the Listening Guide: Step 2

Sample I Poem from Analyses of Frankie's transcripts

Participant: Hmm, well as a gay person, cause like, the homo-, the LGBT community in the world is very oppressed and very down trodden in many situations in many countries, it just discourages me to see like, these are people, <u>I'm being affected by this</u>, and like <u>I'm literally a person</u>, why is this so different cause <u>I'm the same person 20 minutes ago that I am now</u>, like there's not, <u>just because I'm</u> attracted to the same gender <u>doesn't mean I'm</u> gonna go, god <u>I'm a terrible human</u>, it just doesn't make sense to me that people judge people based on like things that they can't control, or there're like, born with, like does that make any sense at all?

Participant: Um, like it just doesn't make sense to me that people would like judge someone or get annoyed at someone they really can't control, and how like people would be extremists about certain situation, but because someone's different than what they've experienced throughout their life. Like life's about change, and change your perspective, and growing to be a different person, based on the things you encounter in your like. And if someone judges someone on the fact that <u>I've never experienced</u> something like this, that just doesn't make sense to me because people should be able to say, okay <u>I've never experienced this but I'm going to keep an open mind</u> about it, and have that shape me as a person later on because <u>I'll see</u> how this situation works and how this can flourish, and <u>if I think in my mind</u>, like okay it's negative, <u>but like I don't know why people</u> go into something with a terrible mindset, and an awful perspective on something based on the fact that <u>they've never experienced it</u>, or <u>they've never come into first hand contact</u> with like something like that.

I'm being affected by this
I'm literally a person
I'm the same person 20 minutes ago that I am now
just because I'm
doesn't mean I'm … I'm a terrible human

I've never experienced
I've never experienced this but I'm going to keep an open mind
I'll see
I think in my mind
But I don't know why people
they've never experienced it
they've never come into first hand contact

```
I'm being affected by this
I'm literally a person
I'm the same person 20 minutes ago that I am now

        just because I'm
        doesn't mean I'm … I'm a terrible human

                        I've never experienced
                        I've never experienced this but I'm going to keep
                        an open mind

                        I'll see
                        I think in my mind

But I don't know why people
they've never experienced it
they've never come into first hand contact
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Stacy's listening: The comparison between the self "I" and others "I" – pitting Frankie against others, a reminder that she's not like everyone else, even while she's using language to put herself in their frame of mind while refuting it. It seems like she is able to put herself into another person's shoes; she used the "I" when talking about another person who is completely unlike her – someone who is homophobic. She emphasizes the contradictions between not having experienced something and making an assumption about something, going back and forth between what she is not, what she is, and another's assumptions.

Appendix H: Sample of the Listening Guide: Step 3

Sample Contrapuntal Voices from Analyses of Frankie's transcripts

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Bold: Listening for a voice of control
Green: Listening for a voice of insecurity

Participant: Well, I feel like, I gotta do collegy stuff, and tours and stuff for the engineering aspect of it. Cause like **I have to study hard, and get all the grades to be accepted.** Um, but I feel like, like for the like character content of it, like I currently do try to do certain like helpful aspects, but there are some things that it's to me like you have to wait until you're older so you can really devote the time, you can really be informed of, you've matured, you've reached a point in your life where you're like, **I can, I've experienced this so I can accurately speak** on it. Rather than be like, 16, in the world, being like hey, I don't really know what I'm talking about but I'm gonna have an opinion about it.

Interviewer: Why would you say these things are important to you?

Participant: Mmm, uh, I'm gonna be one of those people who has one of those tragic backgrounds stories. Eww I hate that. Um, I have a very like rough relationship with my father, and he's like severely mentally ill, so I had a very like, I had a very hard encounter with that, and just that aspect of my life, but, **he was very deceitful,** and **he was very lying,** and he was very like negative and stuff like that so I was always like thrown under the bus and put in a situation of I don't really know what's going on, **which is why to this day, I'm like I need to know all the facts of what's going on because I don't want to be caught in a situation like that again.** Because for the, I think for like five years of my life I was stuck under being the impression of oh god what is going on today? Ugh, eww, I hate, mmm\r\r[00:21:08.13]

Interviewer: You're fine, I appreciate that you're sharing that. So it sounds like you're informed by that, in some of the moves that you make in life?

Participant: Yeah

Interviewer: Okay

Participant: It's, it has a very big impact on how I like go about my daily life, cause I'm very like, not guarded, but I'm very peculiar about certain things because they remind me of certain situations that I was through, so I'm like I have to be able to like maneuver how to deal with them, while still being a decent human, like, like, without making, without that turning me into a negative person, who's always like screw this and screw that, but like more of like a **alright, it happened, cool, yay.**

Frankie again is expressing the importance of being informed. Interestingly, a new facet of that is arising in that it seems like she doesn't think that young people can really be informed. It seems like this would be due to lack of experience perhaps – in that 16 year olds haven't experienced much and so they can't "accurately speak on it."

Frankie expresses a troubled relationship with her father, saying it's important for her to know the facts and have a clear understanding of what's going on because her father was really deceitful and suffering from mental illness. She talks about moving on and being positive – not wanting her past traumatic/difficult experiences with her father to veer her off the course of "being a decent human."

She links this troubled relationship to her own need to be informed. Perhaps this links back to how she approaches contributions, as she previously talked about needing to feel informed to make a difference in her community.