**Learning to Lead: Youth Organizing in Immigrant Communities**
**Methodological Appendix**


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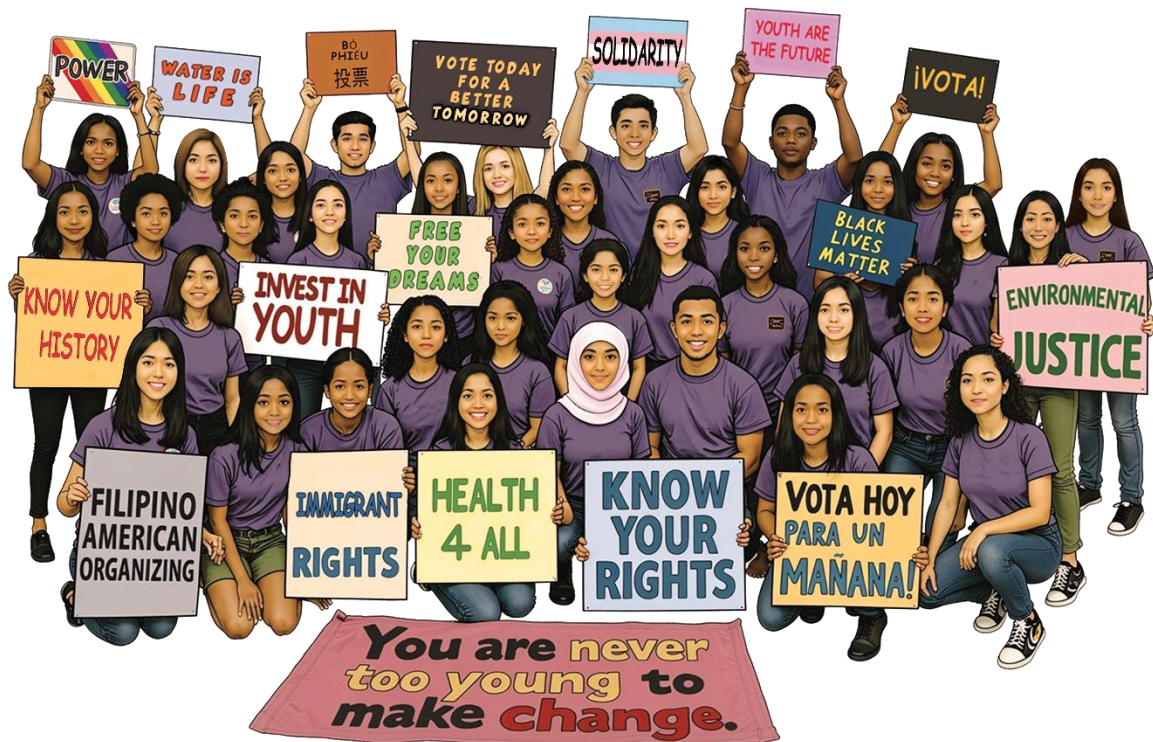January 2026

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**Introduction**

Throughout the 2010s, the adolescent children of immigrants and refugees increasingly emerged as unlikely political actors, organizing campaigns—ranging from modest to ambitious—that sought to reshape debates over educational policy, health equity, environmental justice, public safety, immigrant rights, and other issues. In a select low-income communities across the United States, they asserted their voices by educating voters and pressing local and state agencies to address the inequalities shaping their lives. In places where immigrant families had settled in historically Black neighborhoods, second-generation adolescents at times organized alongside African Americans peers, building on longstanding Black freedom struggles; in a small number of other communities, they joined forces with Native American youth, who leverage their own cultural traditions of resistance. Across these contexts, nonprofit youth organizing groups served as key incubators for collective action, preparing young people to partner with adult allies in navigating political processes.

*Learning to Lead: Youth Organizing in Immigrant Communities* examines how the children of immigrants and refugees acquire the capacities to build political power. Drawing on multiple sources of data collected over a decade, I show how non-profit youth organizing groups foster the civic and political engagement of low-income, second-generation immigrant adolescents. I argue that adolescents can experience a transformative political socialization that enables them to collectively insert their voices into political processes and address community injustices. To varying degrees and levels of success, youth organizing groups facilitate this socialization process by providing (1) age-appropriate developmental supports, (2) a critical civics education attentive to youths' identities and community concerns, and (3) extensive guidance in taking civic action. Through intensive, high-quality programming, young people can

gain formative experience working in solidarity for systemic change and develop an orientation toward long-term participation in both social movements and mainstream politics.

Informed by my quarter-century-long relationship with the field of youth organizing, this project draws on multiple waves of original survey data, over 600 semi-structured interviews, participant observation, voting records, and other secondary sources to provide a comprehensive account of members' experiences within youth organizing groups (see Appendix Table A1). While the analysis focuses primarily on California, I contextualize the findings using national survey data. I adopted this multi-method approach in part to respond to skepticism I have encountered regarding the capacity of adolescents from modest backgrounds to act as political leaders. I have sought to be as thorough as possible in the absence of the large-scale experimental design favored in some corners of the social sciences. Accordingly, the analysis combines variable-oriented approaches aimed at making generalizations, with case-oriented research that illuminates specific social processes (Abbott 2001; Ragin 2008; Smith 2022).

This work proceeds from the understanding that pure objectivity is unattainable in social research (Harding 1993). A researcher's positionality shapes the questions they ask, the data they collect, and the interpretations they offer (Muhammad et al. 2014). A deep engagement with a field site can generate blind spots or lead researchers to take certain dynamics for granted (Naples 2003). Scholars might also adopt a normative stance by prioritizing research intended to inform public debates or contribute to democratic practice (Burawoy 2005). While complete objectivity is impossible, researchers can attempt to mitigate bias through reflexivity, engagement with prior scholarship, consideration of alternative hypotheses, and triangulation across multiple data sources (Axinn and Pearce 2006; Smith 2022).

In an attempt to be reflexive, transparent, and thorough in describing my research process, this methodological appendix contextualizes the empirical research and aims of *Learning to Lead*. While grounded in scholarship across sociology, psychology, political science, and education, the research is also shaped by my own background, values, and longstanding ties to youth organizing groups. As the daughter of Mexican immigrants, my interest in the political socialization of children of immigrants is deeply personal. In conducting this research, I reflected on my own experiences as an adolescent in the early 1990s with those of study participants coming of age two decades later—experiences marked by both divergence and overlap.

Readers should also know that this project was motivated by a desire to inform efforts that build political power among historically marginalized group. To this end, I chose to highlight what might be understood by organizers and educators as "promising practices" for supporting youths' leadership. Given the breadth of the data, I could have written a very different book, one that more closely features organizational challenges or tensions in the field. Alternatively, I could have conducted a deep dive in examining variations in self-reported outcomes among members of organizations. Such analyses would be instructive, and future research should consider these angles.

This manuscript centers on the social processes that challenge social inequality. I intentionally tell a different story from the social reproduction framework advanced by Paul Willis (1977) in his influential book, *Learning to Labor: How Working-Class Kids Get Working-Class Jobs*, which demonstrates how working-class young men's oppositional school cultures ultimately channel them into working-class employment. Encountering Willis's analysis as a first-year undergraduate left a lasting impression and prompted me to think critically about the social mechanisms that reproduce inequality. My research builds on—and departs from—this

tradition by examining an intervention that disrupts these patterns, promoting positive individual outcomes while generating potential collective benefits for communities.

In the pages that follow, I elaborate on my positionality, longstanding relationships with the field, and the ways the research process—and my presence within it—may have shaped the findings. I then detail the study's data collection strategies, sources of evidence, and analytic approaches. Following, I acknowledge many of the individuals who supported this research. My hope is that this appendix equips readers with the tools to critically evaluate the empirical claims advanced in *Learning to Lead* while situating the work within broader debates about engaged scholarship and democratic practice. I also wish to make clear that this decade-long project was sustained through the contributions and collaboration of many individuals.

### Positionality

As a second-generation immigrant from a working-class household, my personal biography has colored my view of grassroots youth organizing. I have long been struck by the political sophistication of many adolescent participants in youth organizing groups. Like many of the youth who took part in this study, I was raised by parents who did not have much formal schooling. But unlike most of the members of youth organizing groups, I had the privilege of growing up in a union household with some level of class consciousness and economic stability. I also benefited from attending Alverno High School, an all-girls Catholic institution that had adopted what might be considered a "second-wave" feminist curriculum.

Despite these relative privileges, my engagement with politics as an adolescent was limited. I followed national politics only superficially and paid little attention to local political dynamics in the multiracial San Gabriel Valley of eastern Los Angeles County, where I was

raised. I was neither taught nor encouraged to participate in any formal political processes. Instead, as an active member of elected student government in middle and high school, I focused on school-based issues relevant to my peers and me, overlooking local government debates about youth crime, teen pregnancy, and the region's rapidly growing Latino and Asian immigrant populations. My personal investment in politics as a high school student paled in comparison to that of the adolescent members of the youth organizing groups featured in this book.

Only in college did I begin to understand why it was important for the children of immigrants and other people of color to engage in mainstream politics. In June of 1994, at the end of my first year at Harvard College, Proposition 187, known as the *Save Our State* (SOS) initiative, was placed on the California ballot; the initiative sought to deny undocumented immigrants access to government services, including the right to attend public K-12 schools. While the majority of citizens sat out of this important election, those who did turn out at the polls overwhelmingly supported the ballot initiative (Hosang 2010). I was shocked at the outcome, angry and hurt by the clearly xenophobic and racist rhetoric of Proposition 187's supporters. I was one of the many Mexican Americans who experienced a political wake-up call from this episode (Ramirez 2015). I grew critically aware of how the interests of immigrants and their children (including those of the Latino and Asian American residents of the San Gabriel Valley) remained unrepresented in the government made decisions that would impact their future. Yet, as a college student on the East Coast, I felt a bit helpless, as I had not yet acquired the knowledge or tools to fight back beyond participating in campus teach-ins and protests.

This sense of powerlessness started to dissipate when I took Marshall Ganz's "People, Power, Change" course offered at the Kennedy School of Government. I had the first-hand privilege of hearing Ganz's inspiring lectures and learning about the behind-the-scenes

grassroots organizing in the UFW, Civil Rights Movement, and other consequential efforts. The course required students to participate in a campaign of some kind, and I opted to address the lack of faculty diversity at Harvard College, somewhat naively believing I could swiftly make an impact. Inspired by my high school feminist education, I thought I was pursuing a righteous cause, since I found it appalling that in 1995, the prestigious college employed only one tenure-track Black female professor (Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham) and not a single U.S.-raised Latina professor. However, despite my passion, the teach-ins and mini-demonstrations I helped organize were a complete failure. Unlike the youth organizers featured in this book, I did not take certain vital steps—researching relevant decision-making processes and conducting a power analysis—before deciding to launch my campaign. At that point, I lacked the direct experience in strategic political action that made many of the grassroots youth organizing campaigns described throughout this book so successful. However, this would change during the summer following my junior year of college.

## My Connection to Youth Organizing

My earliest exposure to youth organizing came on a sunny Saturday in August 1996 when I volunteered for Californians for Justice's (CFJ) door-to-door campaign to educate Oakland voters about Proposition 209, a statewide initiative focused on ending affirmative action. Like Proposition 187 had two years earlier, Proposition 209 sought to undermine the rights of certain residents whose perspectives were not represented in political decision-making processes. I believed that voters needed to understand how the ballot initiative might reverse gains among women and racial minorities in public employment, public education, and public contracting. In volunteering for CFJ, I got my first taste of a coordinated canvassing effort, and I

was pleasantly surprised to meet teenage volunteers who confidently joined their elders in canvassing an Eastlake Oakland neighborhood. Little did I know that two decades later, I would be systematically gathering data from CFJ's youth membership and tracking their voter outreach efforts.

Since 1996, I have maintained ties to youth organizing groups as both a participant and a scholar, and these relationships have informed my understanding of the field, connected me with a network of organizations across California (and elsewhere), and enhanced my ability to gather various forms of data. Between 1998-2000, while pursuing a master's degree in education, I worked as a research assistant for Pedro Noguera, who at the time held an appointment at the UC Berkeley School of Education. Under Noguera's supervision, I helped gather evaluation data on Youth Together, a fairly new group that, at the time, operated in Oakland, Richmond, and Berkeley. This was my first experience collecting data—through interviews, focus groups, and participant observations—from a youth organizing group. Later, while finishing my master's program, I joined the staff of Youth Together, where I gained hands-on-experience implementing the program's ethnic studies-informed curriculum, mentoring students, and helping with their campaign to open a youth center at Skyline High School. This direct experience, as well as the networks I established, eventually proved invaluable for understanding the field and its development.

I expanded my ties to youth organizing groups while pursuing my Ph.D., specifically as a graduate student researcher for John Rogers and the late Jeannie Oakes at the UCLA Institute for Democracy Education and Access (IDEA) from 2004-2009. At the time, IDEA was conducting research on the education justice campaigns of youth, community, and labor organizing groups in Los Angeles County. Additionally, as a graduate student researching for IDEA, I worked

alongside Cinthya Felix, then a fearless undocumented UCLA undergraduate student and a leader in the immigrant youth movement. Cinthya effectively enlisted her peers and co-workers (including myself) to support the DREAM Act and other student-led immigrant rights efforts, while also introducing me to key leaders. Tragically, Cinthya and Tam Tran, a fellow renowned undocumented youth leader, died in a car accident in 2010 (Wong and Ramos 2011). Both were principled and inspiring young leaders who left a lasting imprint on the immigrant youth movement discussed in the manuscript.

The connections that I developed in graduate school and through my organizing work in Oakland shaped the early contours of this study. The project began in 2009, when I began consulting with young leaders involved in the California Dream Network and the DREAM Team Alliance, and the staff of youth organizing groups—including AYPAL, Californians for Justice, CHIRLA, Coleman Advocates, Communities for a Better Environment, the Community Coalition, InnerCity Struggle, and Youth Together (all of whom had alumni involved in immigrant rights efforts). With support from UC ACCORD, the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, the Spencer Foundation, and the Mott Foundation, I worked closely with John Rogers to incorporate youth organizing group members' experiences into a broader study of youth transitions to adulthood and college access. My goal was not only to advance academic debates and secure tenure as an Assistant Professor at the University of Southern California (USC) but also to better understand how academic research might inform youth organizing groups' programming and campaigns.

Throughout the remainder of the 2010s, I deepened my relationships with representatives of youth organizing groups and from the broader social movement and civic infrastructure ecosystem in which they operated, at times reconnecting with people I had originally met in the

1990s or 2000s. USC's Program for Environmental and Regional Equity and the Center for the Study of Immigrant Integration (later rebranded as the USC Equity Research Institute), led by Manual Pastor, provided me with the infrastructure and institutional credibility to strengthen and grow these community-based networks. Moreover, decades-long ties to the field afforded me the privilege of meeting multiple cohorts of youth organizing group members, and I observed some of them taking on vital organizational roles as front-line staff, executive directors, and/or conveners of statewide and regional gatherings.

Established relationships can provide a researcher extensive access to informants and deepen sociological insights (Enriquez 2020; Smith 2022). My ties to the field of youth organizing enabled me to recruit high school interns, undergraduate researchers, and graduate student research managers with connections to youth organizing groups or the communities they serve. These young collaborators were central to the research; they enhanced my access to some of these groups; offered insights on how to interpret findings; secured high survey response rates; and assisted with timely and publicly accessible reports aiming to inform the field of youth organizing. In short, my longstanding ties to California's grassroots youth organizing groups fundamentally shaped the empirical research featured in *Learning to Lead*.

### Contextualizing My Influence on the Field and Research Findings

"Your research is biased. You know too many of the people who took your surveys," a colleague, an economist, remarked after I explained how I achieved a 90 percent response rate on a membership survey of youth organizing groups and completed a statewide census of these organizations. I noted that such high participation stemmed from nearly two decades of engagement in the field: I was familiar with staff at many organizations and had interacted with

youth leaders through statewide, regional, and local meetings and gatherings. My colleague's reaction reflected a longstanding concern in the social sciences—that close relationships between researchers and research participants can undermine the scientific credibility of findings. Given the skepticism directed at community-engaged research in some corners of academia, I was not surprised that my approach, and the access it enabled, prompted such doubts. Moreover, my research was not conducted at a distance: I regularly shared findings with organizers and other stakeholders as part of an effort to inform the field itself.

In his 2022 presidential address to the Eastern Sociological Society, Robert Courtney Smith confronted the longstanding skepticism about the scientific legitimacy of publicly engaged research, including studies—like my own—that involve sustained relationships with the communities under study. Smith also addressed a central tension in social science training: while researchers may aspire to leave a positive mark on their research sites or participants' lives, they are often cautioned against "contaminating" the field or exerting any discernible influence on it. He situated these anxieties within methodological debates about so-called "Hawthorne effects," a concept derived from experiments conducted at Western Electric Company's Hawthorne plant in the 1920s through 1930s and commonly invoked to suggest that a researcher's presence or involvement may bias findings. Drawing on Cho and Trent (2006), Smith argued that this critique rests on a broader myth of purely objective social science—one grounded in the epistemic belief that substantive engagement with participants will either compromise researchers' objectivity or alter participants' behavior in ways that render findings unscientific (Smith 2022:933). As Smith observed, invocations of Hawthorne effects are often used to critique the work of scholars who are deeply embedded, and potentially influential, within their research settings. He countered this view by pointing out that influence on a research site does

not inherently undermine scientific rigor; rather, properly contextualized, it can strengthen data collection and analysis.

I concur with Smith's perspective and therefore find it necessary to elaborate on my research approach and the ways it may have influenced the field. As outlined in this document, I have sought to be reflexive throughout the research process, transparent about the study's limitations, and attentive to the varied strengths and areas of growth among the youth organizing groups included in this analysis. The expansion of the field in the decades prior to the COVID-19 pandemic—as well as concrete youth-led campaign victories—underscore the analytic value of this work. Moreover, feedback from academic interlocutors, insights from research assistants, and critical engagement from individuals within the field itself have strengthened my confidence in the manuscript's arguments and interpretations.

I freely admit that my longstanding engagement with the field and the research process itself may have shaped the study's findings, directly or indirectly. These ties—along with my recruitment of student researchers who shared connections to the communities under study— facilitated high survey response rates and robust participation in in-depth interviews. However, as I mentioned previously, some scholars might view such familiarity raises compromising the voluntary nature of research participation. Implicit in this critique is the assumption that personal relationships with me or my research assistants may have led to respondents feeling obligated to participate. To this, I would respond that access to a field site, and especially sustained engagement with people at a given site, depend on trust; researchers cannot simply enter communities and expect meaningful participation without laying the relational groundwork. My familiarity with the methodology and constraints of youth organizing likely enhanced my credibility with participating groups. Moreover, my regular sharing of findings

through reports and public presentations further demonstrated that I was not a researcher who would extract data without attempting to use the insights gleaned to inform relevant debates.

Data quality—and, more specifically, social desirability bias—is a related concern. Social desirability bias, the tendency of respondents to portray themselves or their organizations in order to impress the researcher or wider audiences, can lead to inflated assessments of positive outcomes and reduced heterogeneity in responses (Gaia 2020; Small and Cook 2021). This risk was particularly salient for close-ended survey responses, and readers should remain aware of the possibility of modest upward bias. However, in general, survey results evidence variations that generally align with findings from other sources of data. Moreover, I noticed that study participants—particularly staff—were often motivated to highlight the successes of their campaigns (as victories tend to impress funders) rather than emphasize the day-to-day, sometimes taken-for-granted components of their programming that I describe in this book.

Beyond questions of data quality, I recognize that I may have had a very modest influence on the field—and, consequently, on the research findings—in other ways. Beginning in 2012, I shared preliminary research findings with select organizations to offer insights on program strengths and potential areas for growth. However, I cannot determine whether or how this feedback influenced programmatic decisions. I also facilitated connections among people across the state engaged in similar work, thus potentially contributing, even if only slightly, to shared approaches across organizations. Additionally, students on my research team occasionally joined or volunteered with youth organizing groups, producing indirect effects. I joined research and community collaborators in sharing research findings, including published reports, with philanthropic agencies, which may have influenced funding streams available for youth organizing. Taken together, these activities may have modestly contributed to a degree of

isomorphism within the field, as organizations adopted overlapping practices and strategies. Any such influence, however, would be minimal compared with the far more consequential roles played by highly networked staff and members, intermediary organizations that convened and trained groups statewide, and philanthropic actors whose priorities and resources shaped the field's development.

Overall, I maintain that my connections to the field of youth organizing both facilitated and strengthened the data collection process and analysis. I am deeply grateful for the trust and critical feedback I received from study participants and others with connections to the field.

**Data Sources and Analysis**

This manuscript synthesizes multiple overlapping studies I've conducted over the years, including the California Young Adult Study (CYAS) 2011-13; the Youth Leadership and Health Study (YLHS) 2013-21; the Central Valley Freedom Summer Participatory Action Research Project 2018; and the FCYO Youth Organizing Field Scan 2019. I triangulated results from these studies with secondary data—news stories, social media posts, and organizational websites—and my analysis is informed by a deep connection to the field of grassroots youth organizing. Appendix A1 lists the data sources and the chapters in which they are utilized. Meanwhile, I describe each of them in greater depth in my methodological overview of each chapter. While I collected multiple types of data, the heart of my theoretical argument about adolescents' transformative political socialization derives from the surveys and semi-structured interview data I collected from young people themselves. In analyzing the original survey data, I use descriptive statistics and logistic regressions. Meanwhile, in analyzing semi-structured interview data from youth participants, I took a fairly consistent approach across the aforementioned studies. A research assistant uploaded de-identified interview full transcripts to Dedoose, a mixed-methods data analysis software that links textual documents to survey data on participants' demographics and group affiliations (when relevant). Trained research assistants initially coded the fully transcribed interviews into broad topical categories. A graduate student or I would then review students' work to ensure consistency in coding, making corrections, and retraining research assistants when necessary.

Appendix A1. Data Sources

| Study | Total sample size | Relevant chapters |
|---|---|---|
| **California Young Adult Study (2011-2012)** | | |
| Surveys | | |
| General population | 2200 | 3 |
| Youth organizing | 410 | 3 |
| Undocumented youth activists | 503 | 4 |
| | | |
| Semi-structured Interviews | | |
| General population | 175 | 3, 4 |
| Youth organizing | 84 | 3, 4, 6, 7 |
| Undocumented youth activists | 66 | 4 |
| Youth organizing staff | 8 | 1,2,4,6,7 |
| | | |
| **Youth Leadership and Health Study (2013-21)** | | |
| Surveys | | |
| Youth members (2014) | 1149 | 7 |
| Youth members (2016) | 1396 | 3,7 |
| | | |
| Semi-structured Interviews | | |
| Youth organizing members | 180 | 1,2,3,5,6,7,8 |
| Youth organizing staff | 98 | All |
| | | |
| **Central Valley Freedom Summer Participatory Action Research Project (2018)** | | |
| Participant observations | 1600 hours | 8 |
| Youth member surveys | 71 | 8 |
| Voting records | 105,512 | 8 |
| | | |
| **Funders Collaborative on Youth Organizing Scan (2019)** | | |
| Survey | | |
| Groups serving adolescents | 283 | 2, 8 |
| | | |
| **Other Data** | | |
| Reviews of websites, social media, news stories | NA | All |
| Informal participant observations | NA | All |

In reporting findings, I use pseudonyms for most respondents and share representative interview excerpts, some of which are edited for clarity. I employ the real names of respondents whom I feature prominently in each chapter of *Learning to Lead*. I selected these individuals because I felt that their experience reflected overall patterns highlighted in the chapter. I typically interviewed these study participants twice, so I could gather additional biographical information. I shared a draft of the chapters with these study participants, and some provided me with feedback. Fairly visible leaders within their communities, they were all 18 or older at the time of their second interview, when they agreed to allow me to use their real names. I also use the real names of staff and a few other youth aged 18 or older who agreed to or requested that I do so.

Semi-structured interviews with staff tended to be secondary. My team and I coded data from staff along general themes to triangulate findings from youth interviews. These interviews also provided me with details about groups' programming and campaigns. The following discusses how I incorporate multiple data sources in each chapter.

**Chapter 1 Data and Methods**

Chapter 1 provides an overview of the book and spotlights Caroline Hernandez from the Community Coalition's South Central Youth Empowered thru Action (SCYEA). While I do not feature survey data about SCYEA or the rich interviews that I gathered from its members, my analysis is backed by a fairly deep understanding of SCYEA's program. Over the course of a decade, I conducted three rounds of member surveys, semi-structured interviews with over 20 members, and semi-structured interviews with 6 staff. Additionally, I attended a dozen or so meetings or events in Los Angeles involving their adolescent members.

**Part I: California Statewide and National Patterns**

While providing some historical context, Part I of the book (chapters 2,3,4) aims to establish

generalizable patterns in the field of youth organizing. It draws on a national surveys to

familiarize readers with the field, while relying on California statewide surveys and semi-

structured interviews to demonstrate outcomes associated with adolescents participation in these

non-profit organizations.

**Chapter 2**

This chapter offers a brief history and overview of California's youth organizing field. It

draws on semi-structured interviews, personal communications, informal observations, and

secondary sources. It also relies on national survey data from California's youth organizations to

contextualize their membership, campaigns, and networks, as described below. The analysis

focuses on non-profit 501(c)3 organizations that engage low-income youth, excluding partisan

organizations and large federated networks of organizations that do not specifically target low-

income youth, such as the Sunrise Movement. Hence, the findings presented in Chapter 2 do not

aim to represent organizations with significant proportions of middle- and upper-class members,

those lacking a non-profit legal status, and those affiliated with political parties.

*Semi-Structured Interviews*

This chapter features Lian Cheun, the Executive Director of Khmer Girls in Action. Lian

is a highly visible community leader in Los Angeles County and as a youth was a well-known

activist in Oakland. She represents a growing number of former adolescent youth organizers who

have taken the helm of a non-profit organization. However, I specifically opted to feature Lian

because of her footprint in both the Bay Area and Los Angeles County, the two regions in

California with the highest concentration of youth organizing groups. Her trajectory closely

aligns with the history of the movement, but she may admittedly be *less* representative than

politically active alumni of youth organizing groups who stayed in their home regions or

engaged in other types of political activity that did not center on youth (i.e., labor rights, adult

resident organizing, advocacy, government jobs). While I had briefly met Lian in the late 1990s,

I learned more about her story through hearing her speak in public, secondary news sources, and

through informal conversations with her mentors and other activists who had worked with her

when she was an adolescent. I conducted a one-hour Zoom interview with Lian in 2020. I was

thrilled that she agreed, as I thought her story (or what I knew of it) would nicely weave into the

historical account and program overview of California's grassroots youth organizing groups that

I had compiled.

To obtain additional historical and programmatic insights on the growth of the field, I

also conducted 2020 phone or Zoom interviews with Margaretta Lin, Jidan Koon, Jay Conui,

Millie Cleveland, Warrick Liang, Tony Douangviseth, Jamileh Ebrahimi, Raquel Jimenez, who

all played a role in the development of youth organizing in the Bay Area. In Los Angeles, I

interviewed Aurea Montes, then Vice President of the Community Coalition, who offered deep

insights as she had previously served as SCYEA's youth organizer and also had ties to Youth

United for Community Action in East Palo Alto and InnerCity Struggle. Aurea has supported

youth organizing groups and other grassroots organizing groups in their strategic planning and

programming. My longest interview, lasting about two-and-a-half hours, was with Luis Sanchez,

Executive Director of Power California, who had a hand in early organizing efforts across the

entire state; he also generously shared articles and documentation about the local or statewide organizations he had founded or helped lead.

These 2020 interviews built on 2017 in-depth interviews that May Lin (then a graduate student at University of Southern California), Uriel Serrano (then a graduate student at UC Santa Cruz), and I had conducted with 26 leaders of Los Angeles, Orange, San Bernardino, Riverside, and Ventura County youth organizing groups with support from the Weingart Foundation. These data provided invaluable information about the history, programming, and campaigns of participating Southern California organizations.

Finally, this chapter relies on personal communications with former staff and community leaders familiar with the field's development. It also elaborates on an earlier 2020 historical synthesis of California youth organizing co-authored with Luis Sanchez and Marquise Harris-Dawson (Los Angeles City Council person and former President and CEO of the Community Coalition). Both Sanchez and Harris-Dawson had assumed a leadership role in the field in the 1990s and contributed to its growth.

*Interview and Secondary Data on Youth Organizing Campaigns*

This chapter discusses various youth organizing campaigns, many of which I have written about previously. With the help of student research assistants, I began collecting data on youth organizing groups' campaigns in 2012 and continued collecting information from some groups throughout the rest of the decade. Data on campaigns come from secondary sources, interviews with staff, and interviews with youth. Summaries of many of these campaigns are described in over 45 reports co-authored with students and mostly published by the USC Equity Research Institute (previously known as the Program for Environmental and Regional Equity).

The UCSC Institute for Social Transformation, UCSC Research Center for the Americas, and the UCLA Chicano Studies Research Center also published reports on youth organizing.

*Youth Organizing National Field Scan*

This chapter relies on a national survey of youth groups conducted in 2019 in partnership with the Research Hub for Youth Organizing at the University of Colorado Boulder. The surveys were part of a national field scan of youth organizing groups commissioned by the Funders Collaborative on Youth Organizing (FCYO), an intermediary organization that convenes philanthropic agencies and youth organizing groups. The universe for this survey came from FCYO's national registry of youth organizing groups, as well as my own comprehensive list of California youth organizing groups. One staff person per organization, usually the executive director, the person managing the youth organizers, or the lead organizer, responded to the survey. The entire survey sample contains 312 groups, including those that exclude adolescents and only serve young adults. To incentivize participation, groups invited to take the survey were informed that their organization would be listed in a report that would be shared with funders across the country. The initial link to the survey was sent out by FCYO. Survey findings were reported in the aggregate, along with interviews conducted by the University of Colorado team, and were published in "20 years of Youth Power: The 2020 National Youth Organizing Field Scan" (Valladares et al. 2021).

Questions covered membership demographics, organizational programming, campaigns, networks, and funding sources. Most were similar to questions I had asked in 2013 and 2015 surveys of California groups, as well as those on earlier FCYO field scan surveys. However, we

also added new questions about group programming, organizational networks, funding sources, and a few other topics relevant to the field.

In Chapter 2, I present findings for 283 groups, including 110 in California. My analysis excludes groups from the larger field scan if they did not involve high school-aged adolescents. In reaching out to California groups, my team and I conducted a census of all the California-based youth organizing groups in low-income communities that we knew about. I compiled a list of these groups through my longstanding ties with organizational leaders, statewide and regional youth organizing networks, and supporting foundations. While the list is comprehensive, it is possible that my California inventory missed non-profit organizations that were new to grassroots youth organizing or not linked into the larger statewide and regional networks.

My team and I achieved a 100% survey response rate among California groups on our list, benefitting from a research team with ties to many of these groups or the communities they served. We sent out multiple emails to groups to secure their participation, communications that included FCYO's initial invitation to take the survey. When my team did not receive responses after four attempts, I personally called or texted staff whom I knew to encourage their participation in the survey.

To obtain data from out-of-state organizations, I relied on FCYO's national registry of youth organizing groups. This registry had not been recently updated and included groups whose current contact information could not be found on their websites, Facebook pages (still popular among non-profits at the time), or through Guidestar, an online registry of non-profit organizations. The registry also likely excluded newer groups and others (including those in California) that may not have obtained significant visibility among national funder networks. Ultimately, my team identified 216 non-profit organizations on FCYO's registry that appeared

eligible for the survey. A total of 173 adolescent-serving organizations outside of California completed the survey, while 43 groups on FCYO's registry did not respond to the survey. Assuming all of these groups served adolescents, this gave us an 80% response rate for out-of-state organizations. When we did not receive a response to our initial communication, my team and I re-sent FCYO's invitation to take the survey. However, as I did not have close relationships with staff of groups outside of California, I did not follow up with a personal call or text to staff. Rather, the University of Colorado research team and FCYO staff proved invaluable in helping to secure the number of responses we did outside of California. Ultimately, our high out-of-state response rates were likely achieved because of their personal connections and because the research was being supported by a nationwide philanthropic foundation network.

This survey may raise concerns about desirability bias, given that it was sponsored by a funder network. However, the survey did not ask about the "success" of youth programming and campaigns but rather solicited descriptions of membership demographics, programming, campaign foci, and networks. Some of the information requested could be verified or confirmed through other sources (i.e., organizational and network websites, social media, etc.), reducing the likelihood of staff reporting inaccurate data. In the case of California groups that I tracked for multiple years, I can confirm that staff survey results generally aligned with data collected from members and participant observations.

Nonetheless, it is important for the reader to interpret some research findings shared in Chapter 2 with caution. Specifically, the survey questions asking about membership demographics tended to be broad, as staff were asked to list the different types of groups that were "well represented" among their memberships. As noted in the chapter, one-third of California groups report a significant racial representation of only one racial group (e.g., Latinx

or AAPI), which reflects the segregation of the large Latinx population in high-poverty neighborhoods across the state or the targeted outreach conducted by a handful of AAPI groups. However, is always possible that some groups might be inclined to over-report their diversity if their membership does not reflect the community they serve. I therefore closely reviewed the data for California, where I could triangulate survey results for race and gender for groups that had participated in the prior membership surveys that I conducted. In general, staff survey responses about their group's diversity generally reflected the racial and gender demographics of youth members. Unfortunately, I could not verify the findings regarding undocumented or LGBTQ membership representation, as I did not collect this sensitive information from adolescent survey respondents.

Our demographic survey questions, as worded, rely on subjective responses to what it means for a group to be "well represented." This subjectivity potentially becomes an issue when the group under consideration is a small minority. Questions concerning Black representation in California groups illustrate this problem clearly. Specifically, only 6% of adolescents in California identify as Black. Does a Black membership reaching or slightly exceeding 6% in any given group therefore mean that Black students are well represented? In my 2016 survey of 43 groups detailed in Chapter 3, 17% self-identified as Black, and thus Black youth were objectively better represented in youth organizing groups than in the general population. Respondents generally agreed with this view. Indeed, as discussed in Chapter 2, 56% of groups claimed that Black youth were "well represented" among their memberships, even though they composed a small minority of their memberships, as most low-income Black youth tend to be outnumbered by Latinx peers in schools and communities. In sum, readers should be careful to interpret results indicating that Black, as well as other minority groups—specifically AAPI,

Native American, undocumented, LGBTQ, and trans youth—are "well represented." These results may merely indicate that these minority groups are represented in numbers that reflect or exceed their representation in the general population, which in some cases may be quite low.

In Chapter 2, I also share results for self-reported campaign issue areas (such as education, immigrant rights, voting, etc.). I am fairly confident that these data generally reflect groups' involvement in different issues, as the survey results reflect other data collected from youth, news media articles, and other observations—at least for California. It is important that the reader understand that groups can simultaneously be connected to various ongoing campaigns, but youth members tend to primarily focus their energy on one or two efforts at a time. Finally, survey results on reported intergenerational alliances and networks reflect findings gleaned from other data as well.

**Chapter 3 Data and Methods**

This chapter describes the political incorporation pathways of second-generation youth. It demonstrates how members of youth organizing groups experience the various elements of the transformative political socialization process and reveals how organizational programming develops members' skills and dispositions to remain highly active in civic affairs as young adults. The analyses primarily rely on surveys and semi-structured interviews with youth participants, while data collected from staff allow me to cross-check or elaborate on my findings. These data are part of the CYAS (2011-12) and the YLHS (2013-21) described below and in Tables A3.1-A3.5 on page 52-57 in this document

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*The California Young Adult Study (CYAS) 2011-13*

During the early 2010s, I launched the CYAS, a mixed-methods investigation of youth transitions to adulthood. With support from the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, the Spencer Foundation, and the Mott Foundation, the study included data collected from a random sample of young adults, alumni of youth organizing groups, members of undocumented youth organizations, and participants of other educational interventions not featured in this book. Here, I discuss the surveys and interviews gathered from a random sample of young people and alumni members of youth organizing groups.

Surveys. The CYAS contains 2011 survey data from a randomized stratified survey sample of 2,200 young adults aged 18-26 who attended high school in California. This sample included 1,180 study participants with at least one immigrant parent. (I refer to this group as the "second generation" and include the 1.5 generation under this category as well, unless otherwise specified.) The data contained an oversample of young people residing in high-poverty zip

codes. Survey questions focused on respondents' education, labor market participation, civic engagement, health, and demographic backgrounds. The survey protocol included questions from validated survey instruments as well as new ones that my team and I rigorously tested using cognitive interviewing and other methods.

Study participants were offered $30 gift cards for completing the survey and were asked if they would be willing to participate in a follow-up in-person interview, which I describe below. I contracted Laura Gil-Trejo and her team at Cal State Fullerton Social Science Research Center, who achieved a 56% response rate for this telephone survey, far exceeding the typical telephone poll response rate of under 15% at the time (Hartig and Kennedy 2019). The survey dataset included sampling weights, allowing me to generate findings that would be generalizable to California residents aged 18-26 who attended high school in the state.

In addition to featuring findings from a representative sample, Chapter 3 also references survey findings based on data collected from 410 alumni of eight youth organizing groups. I invited every group I knew of with a minimum 10-year track record of engaging adolescents in campaigns to participate. One group declined, and those that agreed were: Asian Youth Promoting Advocacy and Leadership (AYPAL), Californians for Justice, Coalition for Humane Immigrant Rights of Los Angeles's Wise Up! program, Community Coalition's South Central Youth Empowered thru Action (SCYEA), InnerCity Struggle's United Students, Coleman Advocate's Youth Making a Change (YMAC), Youth Together, and Youth United for Community Action (YUCA). I used the same survey questionnaire administered to the general population (the above aforementioned representative sample). All participants were asked if they wanted to participate in a follow-up in person interview.

Measures. Table A3.1 provides descriptive statistics for variables of interest for the CYAS general population. The table includes weighted results for young adults: (a) in the entire sample; (b) from non-immigrant families; (c) who were not previously involved in any relevant civic group in high school; (d) who were previously involved in an adolescent public-oriented group; (e) who were previously involved in an adolescent youth organizing or other political group. Table A3.2 includes descriptive statistics for the entire alumni survey sample, as well as results disaggregated by immigrant origin.

The key outcome variables of interest consist of self-reported dichotomous indicators of political participation: whether or not respondents engaged in community work, expressed an opinion on a social or political issue, engaged in protest activity within the last year, or were registered to vote. The descriptive statistics reinforce findings emphasized in Chapter 3, which shows how adolescent group membership predicts the political incorporation pathways of the second generation. Compared to their peers of non-immigrant parentage, second-generation youth who had participated in youth organizing as adolescents tended to remain more politically active as adults. The second-generation alumni of youth organizing groups were also more likely to take civic action in early adulthood when compared to their second-generation peers who were involved in apolitical public-oriented groups, such as student government, community service, and other apolitical groups, as well as those who were not involved in any civic group.

The reader may be interested in other general population and youth organizing sample characteristics that could predict political participation. I therefore share descriptive statistics for other relevant measures. These include parental or educational determinants of political socialization, specifically being raised by a parent or guardian who followed current events and governmental/public affairs; enrollment in advanced coursework; and college enrollment.

Unfortunately, the CYAS survey did not include questions that could reveal political socialization occurring through social media and peers.

Tables A3.1 and A3.2 contain demographic characteristics, including two measures for family socioeconomic background: the first indicates whether or not the respondent was raised by a parent with a college education; the second whether the respondent came from a low-income family (determined by free or reduced-rate lunch eligibility while in high school or by parental reliance on public assistance). The tables also show legal status data, with "likely undocumented" serving as the default category for those who lack citizenship, lawful permanent residence, or a visa. The tables include average age, as well as gender—measured as a problematic binary, which is typical of most surveys at the time the CYAS was conducted.

Readers may notice that descriptive statistics indicate that the youth organizing sample (Table A3.2) comes from a relatively low-income background when compared to the general population (Table A3.1). In terms of academic achievement, however, these alumni evince above-average academic performance and 4-year college-going rates, demonstrating how the impact of developmental supports and academically relevant programming offered by youth organizing (Terriquez and Rogers 2017).

Interviews. As part of the CYAS, my research team and I collected in-person interviews from 175 individuals (98 of whom were the children of immigrants) who participated in the CYAS general population survey and 84 interviews with youth who had participated in the youth organizing alumni survey (67 of whom were the children of immigrants). Interviews lasted between 40 minutes to nearly three hours. Study participants were compensated with an additional $30 gift card for their time.

For both sets of study participants, I used quota sampling by race and gender to ensure a diverse representation of young people. Because of funding limitations, I selected the first available respondents who primarily resided in greater Los Angeles and the San Francisco Bay Area, where my research team members and I were based. A project manager reviewed the interviewers' work to ensure validity and reliability across the research project. Topics covered were immigration experiences (if relevant), family background, educational experiences, job experiences and aspirations, reasons for joining civic organizations in high school (if relevant), experiences in adolescent civic groups, and political activity in early adulthood. Descriptive statistics for both interview samples can be found in table A3.3.

I used data from the general population and youth organizing samples (including data from youth from non-immigrant families) to inform my analysis. However, in this chapter and in Chapters 4, 6, and 7, I primarily draw on findings from second-generation immigrant youth organizing alumni.

*Youth Leadership and Health Study (YLHS)*

For the YLHS, I tracked youth organizing groups from 2013 through the rest of the decade. With support from The California Endowment and other private foundations, I collected surveys and in-depth interviews from youth and staff. I also occasionally conducted informal participant observations at statewide or public events and gathered other secondary data.

In 2013, I began collecting data in 14 urban neighborhoods or rural areas experiencing 2010 poverty rates of 30-50% (higher than the 22% poverty rate for the entire state). These communities included Del Norte and Adjacent Tribal Lands, South Sacramento, East Oakland, Richmond, Merced, Fresno, South Kern County, Salinas, Eastern Coachella Valley, East Los

Angeles, South Los Angeles, Long Beach, Santa Ana, and the City Heights neighborhood of San Diego. In subsequent years, I expanded the work to other communities, gathering more data than I could utilize for this manuscript. The following details the data I featured in Chapter 3 and some of the subsequent chapters.

2016 Cross-sectional surveys. In 2016, I surveyed members from 96 401(c)3 non-profit civic groups across the 14 communities. The survey sample contained 1,396 youth, representing 90% of core members who regularly attended meetings, according to staff rosters. My research team and I gathered data from 53 public-oriented groups whose main programming did not focus on grassroots campaigns, as well as from 43 youth organizing groups. Some youth organizing groups—such as Californians for Justice, the Gender and Sexualities Alliance Network, and the Labor Community Strategy Center—are counted multiple times (ranging from two to four) based on the number of distinct chapters from each group that participated in the study.

Youth members completed a three-page paper survey. High response rates were in part achieved through the persistence of my young research assistants, who attended multiple organizational meetings and invited members to participate. I also attribute high response rates to their strong community ties; some attended high school in the community being served by the organization, while others had previously established relationships with participating organizations. My research team and I also raffled 14 pairs of movie tickets to incentivize youth participation.

In Chapter 3, I restrict survey data analysis to 520 respondents who reported at least one immigrant parent and belonged to one of the 43 youth organizing groups that participated in the 2016 survey. Of these 520 children of immigrants, 74% were U.S.-born and 26% born

elsewhere. This sample, described in table A3.4, excludes 203 members of non-immigrant parentage, who make up 28% of the total memberships of these 43 groups combined.

Measures. The survey asked members about their demographic background, how long they had been part of their group, why they joined their group, the activities they participated in, and how they benefited from their involvement. Table A3.4 contains descriptive statistics about the sample's demographic background and their involvement in their group. Additional findings are reported within the text of chapter 3.

*Youth Leadership and Health Study Semi-Structured Interviews*

Between 2018 and 2020, my research assistants and I reached out to youth organizing groups once more to gather information on voter outreach and other campaigns. While gathering these data, we invited members for in-depth interviews to learn more about their experiences with youth programming. We deliberately sought to speak with members who had been part of their organization for at least one year, reasoning that they could discuss their organizations' programs in greater depth than newer members. As such, these data do not necessarily reflect the experiences of novice members or those who left their organizations within a year of joining.

Interviews lasted from 40 minutes to two-and-a-half hours. The questions solicited information about members' immigrant and family backgrounds and exposure to politics through their family, school, social media, or any other civic organizations adolescent groups they were involved in aside from their youth organizing groups. The bulk of the questions focused on their experiences within their youth organizing group, including why they joined, how the group prompted them to think about their own identity and their peers' identities, the healing and wellness in their organizations, and their campaign work. Graduate students involved in the project—May Lin, Randy Villegas, Uriel Serrano, Roxanna Villalobos, and Betania Santos—

also asked questions in the interviews they conducted that were relevant to their own research. Over the course of the three-year data collection period, I shortened the interview protocol as I narrowed the focus of my study. Additionally, I added probing questions regarding the different components of the transformative political socialization process in order to test my assumptions around the themes that had emerged in the first 120 or so interviews. The book manuscript drew on the first 180 semi-structured interviews conducted for the YLHS. Table 3.5 describes the interview sample.

Mirroring the processes used for the CYAS, my research team and I analyzed semi-structured interviews using Dedoose, a mixed methods software that linked interviews to respondents' demographic characteristics. In a first round of coding, undergraduate assistants coded de-identified full transcripts based on broad themes. Next, graduate students, experienced undergraduates, and I reviewed these broadly coded themes to identify emerging patterns. We examined whether and how youth were recruited into their organizations, encouraged to attend to their well-being, received exposure to their own and other cultures, learned about campaign issues, and prompted to take on leadership roles within their organizations and campaigns. These coding processes enabled me to identify similarities and differences in youths' experiences within their groups. In the data analysis, I also examined the roles of other socializing agents (parents, schools, social media, public-oriented civic groups) to better understand the distinct role of youth organizing groups in spurring a transformative political socialization. This additional analysis strengthened my argument, as results show that very few youth received significant political knowledge and experience from other agents of political socialization prior to joining their organization.

One interesting finding that emerged was that youth paid more attention to political posts on their social media sites *after* they joined their organizations. This finding suggests that organizations helped expand members' online political networks and enhanced their interest in political content.

I should note here that Halima Musa, the young woman featured prominently in the chapter, was initially surveyed in 2016 and interviewed by an undergraduate student in 2018. I opted to tell her story because I found her adolescent youth organizing experiences and her ongoing political commitments to be generally representative of youth organizing group members across the state. While I was writing the chapter in 2020, I reinterviewed her in order to gather additional information about her family background and community participation after she graduated from high school.

## Chapter 4 Data and Methods

Chapter 4 features leaders of the undocumented youth movement, including many young people who advocated for the 2010 federal DREAM Act and the 2011 California DREAM Act. My connection to these immigrant youth leaders preceded the collection of data featured in this chapter by several years, facilitating my ability to work with them.

I first connected with the immigrant youth movement in 2005 through Cynthia Felix, the prominent leader of IDEAS (Improving Dreams, Equality, Access, and Success) mentioned earlier in this methodological appendix. Thanks to Cynthia's invitations, I initially attended events in support of the DREAM ACT and other causes as an ally, not knowing that one day I would write about the immigrant youth movement. Through DREAM Act and related immigrant youth movement activities, I became familiar with activists and young adult leaders across the state.

Some of these immigrant youth leaders inspired and facilitated the research featured in Chapter 4. This chapter relies on the larger set of CYAS survey and interview data collected from immigrant members of college and community organizations affiliated with the California Dream Network (CDN) and the DREAM Team Alliance.[1] The CDN, a project of the Coalition of Human Immigrant Rights of Los Angeles (CHIRLA), largely consisted of college campus-based student groups. At the time, many of these student organizations called themselves "AB540" groups, referencing the California state legislation (Assembly Bill 540) that provided many of them access to in-state tuition (Abrego 2008). This study also recruited respondents from the DREAM Team Alliance, a network of five regional community groups whose membership consisted primarily of recent college graduates.

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[1] A response rate is unavailable due to lack of data about population estimates.

In the pages that follow, I provide information about the survey data collection process and sample characteristics. I also share the results of regression models illustrated in the charts included in the chapter. I then describe the process for conducting semi-structured interviews, the interview sample, and data analysis. Tables A4.1 and A4.2 on pages 58-60 provide additional information about the survey and interview samples not found in the book.

*Surveys of California's Undocumented Youth Activists*

The survey of immigrant youth activists was conducted in partnership with the CDN and Dream Team Alliance. The questionnaire was a shortened version of the CYAS general population survey, but it also contained questions added by leaders of these organizations, as well as queries gauging members' political participation mirroring those in Joe Kahne and Cathy Cohen's Youth & Participatory Politics Survey Project (YPPSP). YPPSP contributed to funding gift card incentives for survey participants.

To recruit study participants, CDN and Dream Team Alliance leaders sent the survey link to their networks' listservs, inviting current immigrant members over the age of 18 to participate. Respondents received a $15 Amazon gift card for their participation.

The total survey sample contained 503 participants, including 93 group members who were citizens or had other forms of documentation. Chapter 4 features findings from the 410 study participants who I presumed were undocumented, as they reported lacking citizenship, lawful permanent residency, or a visa at the time they took the survey. Unfortunately, I cannot assess the extent to which my sample was representative of young adult DREAM movement activists in California, nor can I calculate a response rate because of the lack of population estimates from movement leaders or other sources.

Survey measures and sample characteristics. Chapter 4 includes analyses of immigrant youths' organizational leadership, political participation, and prior access to developmental supports during adolescence. I use dichotomous measures as indicators of these three sets of outcomes. I examine organizational leadership by drawing on responses to two questions regarding participants' roles in their AB540 group or other organizations; they were asked whether they made decisions affecting their group or its activities, and if they helped with outreach to get other people involved. Indicators of political participation draw data from two questions that were also asked of other CYAS participants regarding online civic communication and protest attendance (see methods appendix for Chapter 3), and from four questions asked in the YPPSP. YSSP questions asked whether or not the respondents had (within the prior year) contacted print or broadcast media; signed a petition; canvassed; and contacted an elected official. Finally, to assess whether respondents previously accessed developmental supports as adolescents, I drew on responses to questions asking if they had had a mentor in high school and if they knew about AB540 while in high school.

In this chapter, I compare the above outcomes among immigrant youth leaders based on their prior adolescent civic group affiliations, including those who had previously participated in (a) youth organizing groups; (b) public-oriented groups (but not in youth organizing); (c) neither of these group types.

Table 4.1 within the main text of the manuscript contains descriptive statistics for the 410 survey respondents who were likely undocumented, and they are not repeated here. However, I remind the reader that the questions for these indicators mirror those asked in the main CYAS questionnaire (for details, see methods appendix in chapter 3).

I must note here that the sample of immigrant youth activists remains very distinct from the representative sample of California residents of the same age (see Table A3.1). These activists exhibited high levels of political participation and disproportionately participated in youth organizing and political groups while in high school (26% compared to 6% in the general population). At the same time, these young people disproportionately came from socially and economically marginalized backgrounds. Women and LGBTQ-identified young adults were highly represented among immigrant activists.

Survey findings were shared broadly, as the leaders of the CDN were particularly invested in disseminating some of the descriptive results. Consequently, I quickly cleaned the survey results and produced descriptive statistics as soon as the survey was completed. I incorporated survey results into a report that was translated into Spanish and Korean per activists' requests and published by the University of Southern California (USC) Equity Research Institute (then called Program for Environmental and Regional Equity) (Terriquez and Patler 2012). The survey results highlight the economic hardships immigrants faced, while also noting their civic contributions and hence deservingness. At the time, CDN leveraged these statistics to gain public support for DACA (Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals) and other resources for undocumented youth leaders. Young leaders were strategic about this dissemination—they believed that potential allies might perceive a report published by USC as authoritative.

Regression results. While descriptive statistics produced by this study met the applied interests of my community partners, I rely on logistic regression models to advance the theoretical arguments made in this monograph: that adolescent youth organizing groups facilitate

their members' transformative political socialization, thus enabling them to exercise civic leadership as young adults.

Results shown in Table A4.1 offer support for this argument by demonstrating the net effects of adolescent civic group membership on youths' organizational leadership, political participation, and prior access to developmental supports. Logistic regression models control for other sources of political socialization, including parental political engagement, honors (or advanced) course enrollment in high school, and four-year college enrollment. Models also incorporate age and gender as control variables.

The top panel shows the theoretically relevant results. The first set of findings rely on young people who were not involved in any civic group as the reference. Here, results indicate that members of youth organizing groups were more likely than those without prior group affiliations to have exercised organizational leadership, participated in political activities, and benefited from developmental supports. Results are statistically significant at the p<.01 or p<.001 level across all outcome indicators.

The second set of findings uses respondents who were part of a politically salient group as the reference. Here, net results suggest that the alumni of youth organizing groups may be more likely than former members of politically salient groups to exercise leadership within their organizations, but results are not statistically significant. Meanwhile, net findings also indicate that the alumni of youth organizing groups are more likely than former members of politically salient groups to take political action and to have accessed developmental supports while in high school; these results are statistically significant at varying levels of confidence. The results for control variables are displayed in the bottom panel of Table A4.1.

*Semi-structured Interviews*

My research team and I conducted semi-structured, in-person interviews with 66 immigrant youth leaders who completed the above detailed survey. This aggregated interview sample does not include interviews with Irvis Orozco, who is featured prominently in the chapter. Research team members who conducted interviews were undocumented themselves or were allies who had supported the movement. This proximity to study participants facilitated access and trust.

Interviews lasted between 45 minutes and 2.5 hours. I selected interview participants using quota sampling based on organizational affiliation, gender, two-year vs. four-year college enrollment, and sexual orientation. In conducting the first 50 interviews in 2011-12, I deliberately oversampled individuals who identified as LGBTQ to understand their leadership in the movement for separate articles published elsewhere (Terriquez, Brenes, and Lopez 2018; Terriquez 2015). After completing the initial 50 interviews, I opted to interview more community college students to learn more about their experiences. My team and I also interviewed two respondents who had not gone to college but remained involved in the immigrant rights movement.

Among the 66 interviewees (not counting Irvis), 34 individuals identified as women, 31 as men, and 1 was a transgender individual who did not identify along the gender binary. In terms of country of origin, 54 respondents were born in Mexico, 3 in South America, 4 in Central America, 2 in the Pacific Islands, and 1 each in Southeast Asia, East Asia, and Europe. Respondents ranged in age from 18 to 30; the average age was 22.5. Educationally, 25 were enrolled in community college at the time of the survey, while 39 had been enrolled in or graduated from a four-year college. Two had not attended college.

During interviews, respondents were asked about their high school civic and college educational experiences. Participants also responded to questions about the structures and demographic compositions of their immigrant youth organizations; the LGBTQ inclusivity of their organizations and the movement more broadly; their roles within their immigrant youth organization; and other topics. Furthermore, the participants were asked about the structure and activities of their immigrant rights youth organizations; their impressions of the movement more broadly; and other topics. During the course of the study, I shortened the interview protocol as I homed in on theoretically significant themes. As such, early interviews were longer than those conducted later in the study. Table A4.2 describes the interview sample.

I interviewed Irvis Orozco, the leader featured throughout the chapter in 2011 and in 2013, and I also informally spoke with him on a few occasions when I saw him at youth organizing-related events. In 2020, I conducted a third interview with him, as I felt his story was representative of undocumented youth leaders who maintained some connection to youth organizing and affiliated organizations throughout the decade.

*Additional Contextual Data*

Chapter 4 primarily emphasizes findings from the surveys and interviews described above, but additional data reinforce my arguments. Specifically, I analyzed 30 interviews with undocumented youth who were part of the CYAS general population (n=18) and youth organizing alumni samples (n=12) described in the appendix of Chapter 3. Findings support my argument that adolescent youth organizing groups prepared undocumented youth for leadership roles in the immigrant rights movement. Meanwhile, undocumented youth who did not have

access to either publicly oriented or youth organizing groups as adolescents tended to be reluctant to engage in politics.

Casual observations and interactions with youth leaders also inform my interpretation of data gathered from individual respondents. My participation in and observation of the DREAM movement between 2004-2012 helped contextualize my understanding of youths' trajectories and the immigrant youth movement more broadly. Meanwhile, between 2012-2020, I obtained insights into the spillover effects of the immigrant youth movement on the youth organizing field through formal interviews and informal conversations with youth organizing group staff who had previously campaigned for the DREAM Act. Like Irvis, some DREAM movement activists opted to share their organizing expertise with younger cohorts of second-generation youth as they grew older.

**Part 2 Case Studies and Sampling**

In part 2 of the book (chapters 5-9), I delve more deeply into the activities of specific organizations to illustrate the organizational processes that facilitate a transformative political socialization. Rather than elaborating on statewide patterns, I found it useful to highlight how select organizations engage young people within the localized contexts in which they operate.

I selected organizations using purposive sampling based on two criteria. First, I featured organizations that had well-developed programming reflective of a key component of the transformative socialization process, as evidenced by surveys conducted as part of the YLHS described above. The selected organizations offer quality programming that, while similar versions could be found across the state, was illustrative rather than "representative." Second, I opted to select organizations in different communities across the state of California to demonstrate some of the ways in which groups locally adapted their programs in response to local political dynamics.

Chapters 5-9 rely significantly on interview data. While informed by an analysis of the larger statewide semi-structured CYAS and YLHS interview samples, I focus specifically on interviews conducted with members of selected organizations, which were intentionally oversampled. These interviews were analyzed both independently and in relation to the broader statewide datasets. Based on this comprehensive approach, I am confident in concluding that youth within the selected organizations experience a transformative political socialization similar to that of others across the state.

I triangulate interview data collected from youth with staff interviews, as well as other sources. Below, I summarize the additional sources of data utilized in each of the chapters.

*Chapter 5*

Featuring Resilience OC (ROCs) in Santa Ana, Chapter 5 incorporates individual

interviews with five staff members conducted between 2016–2020. I also completed two staff

focus groups that included representatives from three other Orange County-based organizations

(LGBTQ Center OC, Kidworks, and Korean Resource Center). Taken together, these data

allowed me to better understand the Orange County context and how ROC's healing and self-

care programming connected to the organizations' broader efforts to prepare youth to lead

campaigns.


*Chapter 6*

Chapter 6 focuses on how two youth organizing groups in Oakland address issues of

identity and diversity in their curriculum. The analysis incorporates interviews conducted with

AYPAL and Youth Together staff in 2012, 2014, 2016, and 2020 about their programs and

campaigns. Both groups shared curriculum outlines, which I used to triangulate findings gathered

from in-depth interviews of staff and students.


*Chapter 7*

Chapter 7 details the guidance in civic action that youth receive in their groups, using

InnerCity Struggle as an illustrative case. This chapter draws on interviews with staff and former

staff conducted in 2012, 2013, 2014, 2016, 2018 and 2020. This chapter incorporates secondary

data on InnerCity Struggle's campaign wins and occasional participant observations of public

campaign activities conducted by myself or research assistants.

This chapter also includes aggregated results for two waves of member surveys from the YLHS, collected in 2014 and in 2016. The 2014 wave used the same methodology (although not all of the same questions) employed in the 2016 survey, as described in Chapter 3's appendix. I use the data to examine differences in self-reported growth of civic skills between group novice and "veteran" members who had been part of their organization for one year or longer.

*Chapter 8*

Chapter 8 synthesizes multiple sources of data that highlight how young people in California's conservative Central Valley receive extensive guidance in conducting nonpartisan voter outreach. It incorporates 59 interviews from the YLHS, staff surveys collected as part of the FCYO Field Scan (see Chapter 2's methodological appendix), and data from the Central Valley Freedom Summer Participatory Action Research Project, which I describe below.

*Central Valley Freedom Summer (CVFS) Participatory Action Research Project 2018*

This chapter incorporates participant observations from the Central Valley Freedom Summer (CVFS) Participatory Action Research Project, a university-community partnership in involving UC Santa Cruz and UC Merced students from the Central Valley. Through coursework offered at both schools, I trained students from the Central Valley on the basics of participatory data collection methods, youth organizing, and voter outreach. While a total of 25 undergraduate students participated in the program in different capacities, 20 were specifically responsible for data collection and received $4,000 stipends for their work alongside youth organizing groups in the region. All were Latinx, except for one student of Punjabi parentage and a second of Hmong origin. I deliberately restricted stipend positions to students who attended public high school in

the Central Valley in order to address the youth organizations' intention to build local leadership in low-income communities in the region. Graduate students Randy Villegas and Roxanna Villalobos served as project managers and co-authored separate publications that resulted from this project (Terriquez, Villegas, and Villalobos 2019; Terriquez et al. 2020). They played a critical role in mentoring and managing the undergraduate students.

Participant observations. Twenty undergraduate members submitted field notes on their observations of over 1,600 combined hours of activities during the summer of 2018. Students collected data on voter efforts in high schools and community colleges, youth leadership conferences, workshops, youth organizing meetings, school board meetings, public presentations, and social gatherings. Additionally, five students observed voter mobilization efforts leading up to the fall 2018 general elections. Their observations focused on five groups— Act for Women and Girls, Californians for Justice, Mi Familia Vota, Loud 4 Tomorrow, 99Rootz—all of which were affiliated with Power California at the time.

As part of their duties, undergraduate student research team members collected field notes on any voter registration and outreach efforts while volunteering at the youth organization. Randy Villegas and Roxanna Villalobos initially deductively coded field notes, focusing on broad themes, including context of reception, interactions with school personnel, socialization within youth organizing groups, public outreach to peers, and phone-banking activities. After inductively recoding larger thematic excerpts based on relevant emerging themes, they analyzed specific themes in order to triangulate patterns found in the interview and survey data. I utilize these field notes to triangulate and contextualize survey and interview data.

Surveys of youth organizing group members. This chapter draws on surveys collected from members of Central Valley organizations involved in Power California's fall 2018 "Get Out

the Vote" campaign. Student researchers collected brief paper surveys from youth members during their research internship. Research assistants' familiarity with organizations contributed to the high 90% response rate of youth members involved in the voter outreach efforts. I should note here that occasional or drop-in volunteers were not invited to take the survey. I restrict my analysis to 50 second-generation participants and exclude 21 who were third-generation plus. In addition to questions about their demographic background and history of involvement in the organization, the survey asked members to rate how much their group involvement increased their civic knowledge and skills. Table A8.1 provides descriptive statistics for the second-generation sample.

*Voting Records*

In Chapter 8, I also provide evidence of the effectiveness of youth-led voter outreach efforts. As part of a broader examination of Power California's statewide voter outreach efforts, I utilized de-identified voting records to examine whether surveyed youth effectively increased turnout among 105,512 Central Valley voters aged 18 to 34. The analysis is restricted to zip codes with voters reached by Power California-affiliated organizations, as some groups concentrated their resources on lower-income communities. Power California obtained the voting lists from Political Data, Inc. (PDI), a private company that regularly compiles and updates public voting records for California-based political campaigns and imputes racial/ethnic classifications (including Latinx heritage) into the voting files. Using Stata software, I provided Power California staff with programming (what is called a "do" file), allowing them to set aside a randomly selected control group. In this study, the control group that was not targeted for outreach by youth leaders made up 28% of Central Valley voters. The treatment group,

representing the remaining 72% of cases, received phone calls from youth leaders of the aforementioned five Power California-affiliated organizations. As is the case with many voter outreach experiments, the treatment group is significantly larger than the control group because participating organizations want to target as many voters as possible within their financial constraints. After the election, Power California provided us with de-identified voting records purchased from PDI that indicated whether an individual had voted and whether they were part of the control or treatment group. For those in the treatment group, Power California created a variable to indicate if the registered voter answered the phone or not. The file also contained variables for voting history and zip code (scrambled); additionally, the file contained gender and race/ethnicity variables, imputed by PDI.

I focus my analysis on the voters residing in targeted zip codes across 11 Central Valley counties. The average age of these voters at the time of the study was 26.2 years, and the average number of registered voters per household was 2.5. Meanwhile, 59% had voted at least once before the 2018 general election, 46% were female, 46% reported a Democrat party affiliation, and 70% were registered as absentee voters. The 2018 election turnout rate for these young adults was around 34%.

To assess the effectiveness of peer-to-peer outreach efforts, I followed the methodology commonly employed in evaluations of voter mobilizations (Green, Gerber, and Nickerson 2003). First I conducted an ordinary least squares (OLS) regression to measure the percentage-point impact of phone outreach on turnout. In other words, I assessed the extent to which eligible voters in the treatment group turned out at higher rates than those in the comparison group. The analysis controlled for voting history, gender, Democratic Party registration, age, number of registered voters per household, voting method (mail or poll), and zip code-level fixed effects

(using data from de-identified zip codes). The OLS regression, which measures what is sometimes referred to as the intend-to-treat (ITT) effect, does not account for the fact that only 16% of the voters picked up their telephones. I therefore analyzed the direct impact of an actual telephone conversation on turnout, after controlling for the aforementioned variables. I applied a two-stage least squares regression to estimate the treatment-on-the-treated (TOT) effect, with the "treated" representing those who answered the phone. The two-stage least squares regression accounts for the likelihood that someone will answer the telephone, and thus estimates the actual impact of a peer-to-peer phone conversation on voter turnout. The results from regression analyses are presented in Table A8.2.

## Chapter 9 Data and Methods

Chapter 9 briefly features Future Leaders of America (FLA), a group I started observing in 2017. I purposefully selected this organization to highlight a group operating in a moderate politicized context. I opted to feature Lilibeth Ramirez, whom I interviewed in 2021, because she was involved in the organization prior to the pandemic and could elaborate on how it evolved to address students' needs during the height of the public health crisis. I also interviewed three staff members to learn more about the organization's programming and campaigns in 2020-21.

Appendix Tables

Table A3.1. Weighted Telephone Survey Sample Description, General Population, California Young Adult Study (2011)

| | Full sample | | | Children of immigrants | | |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| | All young adults | Children of non-immigrants | Children of immigrants | No civic group | Politically-salient group | YO group |
| **Demographic characteristics** | | | | | | |
| Average age | 21.3 | 21.4 | 21.1 | 21.3 | 20.9 | 20.6 |
| *Gender* | | | | | | |
| Male | 52% | 51% | 52% | 58% | 48% | 33% |
| Female | 48% | 48% | 48% | 42% | 52% | 67% |
| *Race/ethnicity* | | | | | | |
| Latino | 44% | 21% | 63% | 72% | 51% | 67% |
| White | 35% | 61% | 12% | 11% | 12% | 27% |
| Asian/Pacific Islander | 11% | 2% | 19% | 14% | 28% | 5% |
| Black | 6% | 12% | 2% | 1% | 3% | 1% |
| Multi-racial/other | 4% | 4% | 3% | 2% | 6% | 0% |
| *U.S. Nativity* | 84% | 100% | 71% | 68% | 74% | 76% |
| *Citizenship* | | | | | | |
| U.S. citizen | 97% | 100% | 84% | 80% | 90% | 88% |
| Lawful permanent resident | | 0% | 10% | 13% | 6% | 4% |
| Undocumented | 3% | 0% | 6% | 7% | 4% | 8% |
| *Socioeconomic background* | | | | | | |
| Parent with BA degree | 35% | 43% | 28% | 18% | 39% | 39% |
| Low-income background | 38% | 23% | 51% | 55% | 46% | 51% |
| **Politicizing agents** | | | | | | |
| Raised by a politically engaged parent | 53% | 66% | 42% | 34% | 49% | 63% |
| Enrolled in high school advanced coursew | 52% | 50% | 54% | 41% | 70% | 68% |
| *College enrollment* | | | | | | |
| No college | 35% | 41% | 38% | 43% | 30% | 44% |
| Community college | 32% | 33% | 32% | 35% | 27% | 32% |
| Four-year institution | 33% | 36% | 30% | 22% | 42% | 23% |
| **Political participation in young adulthood** | | | | | | |
| Community involvement | 27% | 30% | 24% | 13% | 34% | 56% |
| Online voice | 30% | 35% | 27% | 20% | 35% | 39% |
| Attended protest | 13% | 12% | 14% | 6% | 21% | 35% |
| Registered to vote (citizens) | 68% | 73% | 64% | 59% | 67% | 81% |
| *Adolescent associational membership* | | | | | | |
| None | 52% | 50% | 54% | 100% | 0% | 0% |
| Public-oriented group | 42% | 43% | 41% | 0% | 100% | 0% |
| Activist group | 6% | 6% | 5% | 0% | 0% | 100% |
| **Unweighted sample size** | **2200** | **1020** | **1180** | **612** | **580** | **60** |

Table A3.2. Youth Organizing (YO) Alumni Telehone Survey Sample Description
California Young Adult Study (2011)

| | All YO Alumni | Children of non-immigrants | Children of immigrants |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Demographic characteristics** | | | |
| Average age | 20.6 | 21.1 | 20.4 |
| *Gender* | | | |
| Male | 36% | 34% | 37% |
| Female | 64% | 66% | 63% |
| *Race/ethnicity* | | | |
| Latino | 58% | 29% | 64% |
| White | 1% | 4% | 0% |
| Asian/Pacific Islander | 23% | 0% | 28% |
| Black | 11% | 51% | 2% |
| Multi-racial/other | 7% | 16% | 5% |
| *U.S. Nativity* | 73% | 100% | 67% |
| *Citizenship* | | | |
| U.S. Citizen | 82% | 100% | 78% |
| Lawful permanent resident | 4% | 0% | 5% |
| Undocumented | 14% | 0% | 17% |
| *Socioeconomic background* | | | |
| Parent with BA degree | 15% | 32% | 12% |
| Low income background | 88% | 75% | 91% |
| **Politicizing agents** | | | |
| Raised by a politically engaged parent | 34% | 59% | 29% |
| Enrolled in high school advanced coursework | 80% | 63% | 84% |
| *College enrollment* | | | |
| No college | 30% | 28% | 30% |
| Community college | 25% | 26% | 25% |
| Four-year institution | 45% | 46% | 45% |
| **Political participation in young adulthood** | | | |
| Community involvement | 65% | 55% | 68% |
| Online voice | 56% | 57% | 55% |
| Attended protest | 51% | 45% | 53% |
| Registered to vote (citizens) | 75% | 82% | 73% |
| **Unweighted sample size** | **410** | **76** | **334** |

Table A3.3.
General Population and Youth Organizing Semi-Structured
Interview Samples
California Young Adult Study (2011-12)

|  | General Population | YO Alumni |
|---|---|---|
| Average age | 21.2 | 21.3 |
| *Gender* | | |
| Male | 51% | 43% |
| Female | 49% | 57% |
| *Race/ethnicity* | | |
| Latino | 51% | 55% |
| White | 18% | 0% |
| Asian/Pacific Islander | 15% | 23% |
| Black | 12% | 19% |
| Multi-racial/other | 3% | 4% |
| *Immigrant parent(s)* | 56% | 80% |
| **Sample size** | **175** | **84** |

Table A3.4

Youth Organizing Group Findings, Children of Immigrants

Youth Leadership and Health Study - Self-Administered Paper Survey (2016)

**Members' background**

*Age group*

| | |
|---|---|
| High school student | 77% |
| Average age | 17.1 |

*Gender*

| | |
|---|---|
| Male | 43% |
| Female | 56% |
| Non-binary | 1% |

*Race/Ethnicity*

| | |
|---|---|
| Latinx | 70% |
| Asia American Pacific Islander | 20% |
| White | 1% |
| African-American | 8% |
| Native-American | 1% |
| Other | 1% |

| | |
|---|---|
| *U.S. nativity* | 74% |

*Socioeconomic background*

| | |
|---|---|
| Low-income | 79% |
| Has parent with BA degree | 8% |

*Length of time in youth group*

| | |
|---|---|
| Participated in group < 6 months | 16% |
| Participated 6-11 months | 13% |
| Participated in youth group 1 year+ | 64% |
| Did not specify | 8% |

**Organizational Participation**

*Reasons for joining organization [respondents selected up to 3 answers]*

| | |
|---|---|
| Liked what the group focused on | 45% |
| Wanted to make a difference | 45% |
| Wanted to develop skills | 42% |
| It seemed like fun | 50% |
| Invited by friends | 44% |
| Invited by Staff | 20% |
| Free food | 20% |
| Wanted to get paid | 20% |
| Looks good on my resumé | 16% |
| Recommended by family | 16% |
| Had free time to get involved | 25% |
| Other reason | 0% |

*Frequency of involvement*

| | |
|---|---|
| Two+ times/week | 46% |
| Two-three times per month | 12% |
| Less than once a month | 3% |
| One time/week | 32% |
| One time/month | 6% |

*Type of Involvement*

| | |
|---|---|
| Participated in college preparation and success | 57% |
| Made important decisions | 53% |
| Made a public presentation | 50% |
| Participated in activities that promote healing or emotional well-being | 41% |
| Planned a meeting or event | 46% |
| Participated in a march, action, or rally | 50% |
| Participated in physical exercise at least once a week | 26% |
| Performed at cultural/artistic event or showcased art | 34% |
| Participated in a statewide or regional event | 30% |
| Met with elected officials | 30% |
| Collected signatures/canvassing | 32% |
| Wrote about community issue | 17% |
| Facilitated restorative justice circle | 23% |
| Talked to voters about elections | 22% |
| None of the above | 6% |

| | |
|---|---|
| **Sample size** | **520** |

Table A3.5 Youth Organizing Semi-Structured Interview Sample
Youth Leadership and Health Study (2018-21)

|  | All interviewees | Children of non-immigrants | Children of immigrants |
|---|---|---|---|
| Average age | 18.9 | 19.0 | 18.8 |
| *Gender* |  |  |  |
| Male | 37% | 34% | 38% |
| Female | 59% | 58% | 60% |
| *Race/ethnicity* |  |  |  |
| Latino | 68% | 37% | 76% |
| Asian/Pacific Islander | 16% | 5% | 18% |
| Black | 11% | 47% | 1% |
| Native | 6% | 11% | 4% |
| Immigrant parent(s) | 79% | 0% | 100% |
| **Sample size** | **180** | **38** | **142** |

Table A4.1  Logistic regression results for Organizational Leadership, Political Action, and Access to Developmental Supports, Immigrant Youth Leaders, CYAS

| | Organizational Leadership: Helped make decisions | Organizational Leadership: Helped with outreach | Shared perspective online | Contacted print or broadcast media | Signed a petition | Canvassed | Contacted a public official | Attended a rally or protest | Had a mentor | Knew about AB540 in high school |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Adolescent civic group membership** | | | | | | | | | | |
| (Reference–no group) | | | | | | | | | | |
| Politically-salient group | 1.701+ | 1.974* | 1.787* | 1.401 | 1.597 | 1.148 | 1.281 | 1.677+ | 1.547 | 2.351** |
| | (0.470) | (0.616) | (0.518) | (0.416) | (0.526) | (0.409) | (0.328) | (0.443) | (0.465) | (0.624) |
| Youth organizing group | 2.775** | 3.235** | 4.023*** | 3.119*** | 8.078*** | 4.232*** | 3.529*** | 4.600*** | 3.602** | 3.821*** |
| | (0.963) | (1.295) | (1.544) | (0.996) | (4.697) | (1.534) | (1.145) | (1.577) | (1.491) | (1.208) |
| (Reference–politically salient group) | | | | | | | | | | |
| No group | 0.588+ | 0.506* | 0.560* | 0.714 | 0.626 | 0.871 | 0.781 | 0.596+ | 0.646 | 0.425** |
| | (0.163) | (0.158) | (0.162) | (0.212) | (0.206) | (0.311) | (0.200) | (0.157) | (0.194) | (0.113) |
| Youth organizing group | 1.631 | 1.639 | 2.252* | 2.227** | 5.058** | 3.688*** | 2.755*** | 2.743** | 2.328* | 1.625+ |
| | (0.518) | (0.605) | (0.801) | (0.589) | (2.801) | (1.095) | (0.798) | (0.851) | (0.899) | (0.455) |
| **Control Variables** | | | | | | | | | | |
| Politically engaged parent | 0.984 | 2.387* | 0.897 | 1.018 | 1.108 | 0.578 | 0.854 | 0.902 | 3.081** | 1.750* |
| | (0.289) | (0.944) | (0.279) | (0.289) | (0.426) | (0.201) | (0.231) | (0.253) | (1.273) | (0.500) |
| Enrolled in high school honors courses | 0.733 | 0.688 | 1.174 | 1.470 | 0.580 | 0.415* | 0.850 | 0.769 | 1.324 | 1.590 |
| | (0.264) | (0.291) | (0.425) | (0.526) | (0.272) | (0.147) | (0.276) | (0.263) | (0.484) | (0.516) |
| Four-year college attendance | 1.144 | 1.094 | 1.975** | 0.958 | 2.328** | 0.916 | 1.367 | 1.553+ | 1.190 | 1.584+ |
| | (0.288) | (0.311) | (0.519) | (0.234) | (0.741) | (0.256) | (0.312) | (0.367) | (0.335) | (0.377) |
| College-educated parent | 1.328 | 0.734 | 0.694 | 1.473 | 1.176 | 1.123 | 1.322 | 0.688 | 0.856 | 0.832 |
| | (0.439) | (0.253) | (0.225) | (0.422) | (0.508) | (0.381) | (0.391) | (0.202) | (0.301) | (0.243) |
| Low-income background | 1.376 | 1.639 | 0.950 | 0.683 | 1.089 | 1.138 | 1.070 | 1.049 | 1.161 | 1.097 |
| | (0.503) | (0.648) | (0.398) | (0.239) | (0.543) | (0.486) | (0.377) | (0.383) | (0.471) | |
| Female | 0.697 | 0.526* | 0.731 | 0.655+ | 0.584+ | 1.063 | 0.789 | 0.718 | 0.762 | 0.615* |
| | (0.173) | (0.151) | (0.192) | (0.153) | (0.186) | (0.287) | (0.177) | (0.168) | (0.208) | (0.141) |
| Age | 0.970 | 1.004 | 1.236*** | 1.156** | 1.182* | 1.129* | 1.121* | 1.166** | 0.887* | 0.808*** |
| | (0.047) | (0.057) | (0.073) | (0.053) | (0.085) | (0.058) | (0.052) | (0.058) | (0.047) | (0.038) |
| Constant | 3.962 | 2.753 | 0.019** | 0.014*** | 0.133 | 0.022** | 0.106* | 0.056* | 22.079* | 42.605*** |
| | (4.777) | (3.856) | (0.026) | (0.017) | (0.220) | (0.030) | (0.121) | (0.068) | (29.123) | (48.358) |
| Observations | 410 | 410 | 410 | 410 | 410 | 410 | 410 | 410 | 410 | 410 |

Table A4.2  Undocumented Youth Leader Interview Sample

| Pseudonym | Age | Gender | Sexual orientation | College type |
|-----------|-----|--------|--------------------|--------------|
| Javier | 24 | Male | Queer | Four-year college |
| Lida | 20 | Female | Straight | Four-year college |
| Sergio | 22 | Male | Straight | Four-year college |
| Malena | 21 | Female | Straight | Community college |
| Ernesto | 18 | Male | Straight | Community college |
| Angelica | 19 | Female | Straight | Four-year college |
| Abdiel | 20 | Male | Straight | Community college |
| Tomas | 19 | Male | Straight | Community college |
| Karla | 20 | Female | Straight | Community college |
| Marta | 22 | Female | Straight | Four-year college |
| Rosa | 20 | Female | Straight | Four-year college |
| Rigoberto | 30 | Male | Straight | Four-year college |
| Eugenio | 20 | Male | Straight | Community college |
| Bertha | 18 | Female | Straight | Community college |
| Socorro | 20 | Female | Queer | Community college |
| Joel | 22 | Male | Straight | Four-year college |
| Alberto | 26 | Male | Queer | Four-year college |
| Miguel | 27 | Male | Queer | Four-year college |
| Moises | 27 | Male | Straight | Community college |
| Marika | 21 | Female | Straight | Four-year college |
| Victor | 21 | Male | Queer | Four-year college |
| Carina | 22 | Female | Queer | Four-year college |
| Roberto | 21 | Male | Queer | Community college |
| Lourdes | 26 | Female | Straight | Four-year college |
| David | 23 | Male | Queer | Four-year college |
| Pete | 21 | Male | Straight | Four-year college |
| Miriam | 21 | Female | Straight | Community college |
| Allen | 20 | Male | Queer | Community college |
| Dinora | 22 | Female | Queer | Community college |
| Samir | 24 | Male | Queer | Four-year college |
| Jared | 19 | Male | Straight | Four-year college |
| Yohanna | 24 | Female | Queer | Community college |
| Mateo | 23 | Male | Queer | Four-year college |
| Eliezer | 19 | Female | Straight | Four-year college |
| Gricelda | 21 | Female | Straight | Four-year college |
| Regina | 18 | Female | Straight | Community college |
| Diego | 23 | Male | Straight | Four-year college |

| Name | Age | Gender | Sexuality | Education |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Cris | 26 | Non-binary | Queer | Four-year college |
| Gabriela | 26 | Female | Straight | Four-year college |
| Oscar | 22 | Male | Straight | Four-year college |
| Hilda | 20 | Female | Queer | Four-year college |
| Zulema | 26 | Female | Straight | Community college |
| Monica | 21 | Female | Straight | Four-year college |
| Roman | 27 | Male | Queer | Four-year college |
| Raphael | 25 | Male | Straight | Four-year college |
| Francisco | 23 | Male | Queer | Community college |
| Paulina | 21 | Female | Straight | Community college |
| Raul | 24 | Male | Straight | Community college |
| Raquel | 20 | Female | Straight | Community college |
| Ixchel | 26 | Female | Queer | Four-year college |
| Cora | 25 | Female | Queer | Four-year college |
| Brenda | 28 | Female | Queer | Community college |
| Lorena | 25 | Female | Queer | Four-year college |
| Michelle | 20 | Female | Queer | Community college |
| Gustavo | 28 | Male | Queer | Four-year college |
| Zaira | 24 | Female | Queer | Four-year college |
| Jaime | 22 | Male | Straight | Four-year college |
| Jason | 24 | Male | Queer | Four-year college |
| Ixcalli | 24 | Female | Queer | Four-year college |
| Dulce | 18 | Female | Queer | No college |
| Myrna | 22 | Female | Straight | Community college |
| Ivan | 18 | Male | Straight | No college |
| Silvia | 26 | Female | Queer | Four-year college |
| Edwin | 24 | Male | Straight | Four-year college |
| Norma | 21 | Female | Straight | Community college |
| Oracio | 22 | Male | Straight | Community college |

Table A8.1

Youth Leadership and Health Study - Central Valley (2018)

Second-Generation Immigrant Members

| | |
|---|---|
| *Age group* | |
| High school student | 46% |
| Young Adult | 54% |
| | |
| Average Age | 19.2 |
| | |
| *Gender* | |
| Male | 24% |
| Female | 74% |
| Non-binary | 2% |
| | |
| *Race/Ethnicity* | |
| Latinx | 92% |
| Asian American Pacific Islander | 6% |
| Native-American | 2% |
| | |
| *U.S. Nativity* | 64% |
| | |
| *Noncitizen* | 18% |
| | |
| *Socioeconomic background* | |
| Low-income | 88% |
| Has parent with BA degree | 4% |
| | |
| *Length of time in youth group* | |
| Participated in group < 3 months | 42% |
| Participated 4-11 months | 30% |
| Participated in youth group 1 year+ | 28% |
| | |
| *Organizational Participation* | |
| Phone-banked voters | 88% |
| Registered voters | 74% |
| Canvassed door-to-door | 32% |
| Participated in a march, action, or rally | 48% |
| Conducted social media outreach | 34% |
| Made a presentation | 32% |
| Texted voters | 28% |
| | |
| **Sample size** | **50** |

Table A8.2 Central Valley Youth-Led Voter Outreach
Impact on Voters, Ages 18-34
Results of two-stage least-squares regression

| | |
|---|---|
| Intent-to-treat (ITT) | 2.2*** |
| *standard error* | *(-0.4)* |
| Treatment on the treated (TOT) | 13.5*** |
| *standard error* | *(-1.9)* |
| | |
| Predicted voter turnouts (control group) | 32.80% |
| Predicted voter turnouts (ITT: treatment group) | 35.00% |
| Predicted voter turnouts (TOT: contacted voters) | 46.00% |
| | |
| Contact rate | 16.30% |
| % in treatment group | 72.20% |
| **Sample Size** | **105,512** |

Lidia Gonzalez, and Valeria Cervantes for their care commitment to their communities and assistance with documenting youth civic engagement efforts.

On the Central Coast, Eder Gaona-Macedo played a crucial role in facilitating and contextualizing the research. I also thank Ivan Vega, Nicole White, Elias Solorio, Ruben Espinosa, and Ana Mendoza for their assistance in gathering and interpreting data from young people and organizations in the region.

I hold deep respect for the first cohort of graduate students who helped launch this line of research in 2011. I am grateful for the foundational contributions of Christina Chin, Hyeyoung Kwon, William Rosales, Caitlin Patler, Jeff Sacha, and Karina Chavarria, then graduate students and now accomplished scholars.

As undergraduates, Gabriela Dominguez (USC) and Steven Carmona Mora (UC Santa Cruz) played important roles in managing data collection and analysis, helping to sustain high survey response rates and data quality among peer researchers. Jiayi Xu shared her technical expertise in conducting experimental and longitudinal data analysis. Undergraduate researchers from USC, UC Santa Cruz, and other institutions—including Evelyn Larios, Ana Gomez, Lanisha Butler, Jazmine Miles, Jennifer Soto, Nyereath Nhial, Rabiah Almajid, Marlen Reyes, Erick Gasca, Miguel Carvente, Ariana Verdu, Luna White, Emily Macer, Isabel Dueñas, Courtney Howard, Christopher Yik, and Adriana Villegas—contributed careful data collection and thoughtful analysis. Uriel Rivera, Angel Ross, Claudia Rodriguez, Hector Plascencia, and Alejandra Vargas-Johnson provided essential support in gathering and contextualizing data from immigrant students.

Research interns from the Building Healthy Communities initiative, funded by The California Endowment, also made meaningful contributions to refining survey instruments,

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