Received: 24 December 2023 | Revised: 21 June 2024 | Accepted: 1 October 2024

DOI: 10.1002/jcop.23157

RESEARCH ARTICLE

JOURNAL OF COMMUNITY PSYCHOLOGY WILEY

Moving money to support social justice movements: A spiritual practice

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Abstract

Wealth inequality is rising, and millennials will be the future recipients of the largest intergenerational wealth transfer. Meanwhile, there is a need to move more money to support transformative social justice movements. This study examines the impact of spirituality as a motivator for the social justice movement giving among progressive young adult activists with wealth and class privilege, organizing toward the equitable redistribution of wealth, land, and power. Using survey data (n = 560), regressions and mediation models suggest that spiritual motivation was a significant positive predictor of how much participants monetarily gave to social justice movements. While religion did not significantly predict movement giving, indirect effects models showed that spirituality positively mediated the effect of being raised with any religion on movement giving compared to those indicating no religion. Implications are explored for how transformative organizing models draw upon secular spiritual practices in their pursuit of individual and collective change.

KEYWORDS

philanthropy: social justice movement giving, spirituality and religion, transformative community organizing, wealth inequality

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There is an increased need to move more money to support and sustain transformative social justice (SJ) movements (Building Movement Project, 2024; Iyer, 2024). These movements have been at the forefront of addressing the intersectional nature of our increasingly polarizing politics, including the continuing assaults on Black, Indigenous, people of Color, and LGBTQIA+ lives; the devastation of our climate; the global immigration crisis; the occupation in Palestine/Israel, and the increasing gap in wealth between the rich and everyone else (Brown et al., 2024; Movement Strategy Center, 2023; Statista, 2020). Simultaneously, as baby boomers die, trillions of dollars (approx. $84 trillion) will be transferred to their children, making this the largest transfer of wealth in history (Smith, 2023). The millennials who will benefit from this shift in wealth are mostly White millennials with class privilege (White, 2024). While there have always been people with power and privilege engaged in these social justice movements, rarely are people with power and privilege as fully engaged and in as many numbers as we have seen recently in movements led by those most impacted (e.g., #BlackLivesMatter, OccupyWallStreet, Israel/Palestine ceasefire) (Meko & Bensimon, 2024; Omer, 2024; Parker et al., 2020; Pearce, 2013).

Along with becoming more fully engaged, they are working to more fully align their participation within transformative social justice movement values. For young adults with class privilege, this has included actively challenging multilevel systems of power and privilege, from which they benefit, while not replicating existing power structures along the way (Dale & Azizi, 2023; Wernick, 2012, 2016). This includes bringing their full selves into these movements, organizing within their own communities, and moving significantly more of their wealth to sustainably fund transformative social justice movements (Dale & Azizi, 2023; Wernick, 2012, 2016). In recognition of the whole self and transformative movement values, there has been greater acknowledgment by movement organizers of the importance of spirituality within transformative SJ movements (Baskin, 2016; Mosley et al., 2020; Ortega-Williams, 2021; Zimmerman & Quiroz, 2016; Zimmerman et al., 2010; Page, 2024). This paper seeks to examine whether spirituality also impacts the giving practices among these progressive young adults.

1 | BACKGROUND

There have always been people with power and privilege engaged in social justice movements: White people involved in racial justice movements, people with class privilege involved in efforts to redistribute wealth, straight/cis people involved in LGBTQIA+ liberation, Jews active in Palestine liberation movements, etc. Sometimes these people are involved more directly, as activists, but more often, especially those with class privilege, they see their role as funding these movements (Silver, 1998). During the 1970s, in an effort to better align their values of accountability, transparency, and power shifting with their giving process, groups of progressive wealthy donors were involved in creating a group of foundations that were funding grassroots movement organizations led by those most impacted by social injustices. This included the Haymarket People's Fund in Boston, North Star Fund in New York City, Headwaters Foundations for Justice in Minnesota, Third Wave Foundation, and Astrea Lesbian Foundation. Over the past 30 years, in an effort to bring their full selves to movement work, we have seen an increase in progressive people with wealth and class privilege participating both as individuals (e.g., #occupywallstreet, #blacklivesmatter) and collectively as groups (e.g., Resource Generation, Responsible Wealth) to participate as both activists/organizers and donors to support social justice movement organizers in ways that align with their transformative, intersectional movement values (Dale & Azizi, 2023; Wernick, 2012, 2016).

2 | INCREASE IN WEALTH INEQUALITY

Wealth inequality is at its most extreme in modern history and rising (Brown et al., 2024; da Costa, 2019; Statista, 2020). Those in the top 10% of wealth saw their wealth increase sixfold (from $294,573 to $1.9 million), and those in the top 1% saw a sevenfold increase (from $1.8 million to $13.6 million; Brown et al., 2024). By 2022, the

top 1% had 71 times the wealth as those in the middle class, even after COVID-19 saw a slight decline in wealth inequality from 91 to 71 times the wealth of the middle class (Brown et al., 2024). The top 1% hold $38.7 trillion in wealth, which is more than 60% of middle-income households that hold about 26% of all wealth (de Visé, 2023). The wealth gap further exacerbates socioeconomic inequalities in the United States, while leaving a minority of wealthy people to hold most of the nation's wealth. Consequently, the racial wealth gap is even more extreme. White families' wealth is over six times that of African American and Latinx families (Brown et al., 2024), with White families averaging $1.4 million. That is over $1 million more than Black families ($211,596) and Hispanic families ($227,544; Brown et al., 2024). Many of these effects are a direct result of wealth and racial inequalities that have existed throughout the United States' colonialist history, and they continue to directly impact the growing wealth gap. Even among college graduates, White graduates have seven times the wealth of Black graduates and four times the wealth of Latinx graduates (Broyles, 2019), demonstrating an interconnection between race, education, and socioeconomic status. Even White single parents demonstrate an advantage with twice the wealth of two-parent Black and Latinx households (Broyles, 2019). The dividing and widening racial and wealth gaps are stark.

As the future recipients of the largest intergenerational transfer of wealth over the next 30 years, millennial inheritors, born between 1981 and 1996, will likely be the wealthiest generation on record. By 2045, as much as $84 trillion will be transferred intergenerationally from older Americans to millennial and Gen X heirs (Smith, 2023), instilling the millennial generation with great power in deciding where and how to allocate their funds. This intergenerational transfer of wealth will disproportionately still go to White and Asian families, who hold a disproportionate amount of wealth in the U.S. (Brown et al., 2024; White, 2024). However, compared to previous generations, millennials are more diverse, with 44% identifying as nonwhite, more likely to be non-English speaking at home, marry another race, from immigrant families, and live in cities (Frey, 2018). Indeed, young progressive wealthy elites are disproportionately women, Black, and LGBTQIA+ (Ackerman et al., 2022). Further, research suggests that millennials, as a whole, are more progressive and are giving at a significantly higher rate compared to the baby boomer generation (Fidelity Charitable, 2019; Hartig et al., 2023; Millennial Impact Project, 2018). With this large transfer of wealth amongst this diverse millennial generation, there is a need to understand how and why young progressive wealthy elites will decide where and how to allocate their funds, and what motivates them to invest money in progressive social justice movements.[1]

3 | MOTIVATIONS TO MOVE MONEY TO SUPPORT SOCIAL JUSTICE MOVEMENTS

When considering how to support social justice causes, just like their more conservative and moderate counterparts, progressive and radical wealthy elites draw on moral, religious, economic, and ideological motivations to support their giving (Bekkers & Wiepking, 2010; Dreier & Collins, 2012; Frumkin, 2006; Lloyd, 2004; Ostrander, 1995; Ostrower, 1995; Schervish, 2008). In particular, research suggests that religious practice, defined as attending religious services or praying, is associated with higher levels of giving (Philanthropy Roundtable, 2022; Zinsmeister, 2017), and that 73% of all giving goes to organizations that have an explicitly religious mission (Gerstein et al., 2013). In fact, across the political spectrum, religiosity has also been found to positively affect giving. Research suggests that those who belong to a religious organization are more likely to give at higher levels (Austin & Lake Institute on Faith & Giving, & Indiana University Lilly Family School of Philanthropy, 2017; Schervish & Haven, 2001), and give a higher percentage of their household income (Austin & Lake Institute on Faith & Giving, & Indiana University Lilly Family School of Philanthropy, 2017). According to Lunn (2009), this impact is shared

[1]In this paper, we will be using the terms social justice movements, social movements, and movements interchangeably.

across religions by providing an ethical framework for moral development that can lead to more charitable behavior (Lunn, 2009).

Additionally, a donor's cultural/ethnic background also influences giving. For example, two-thirds of Black Americans donate around $11 billion dollars every year, a higher share of their wealth compared to any other racial/ethnic group in America, giving to higher education, arts, organizations serving the Black community, and Black churches (Ashley & James, 2018; W.K. Kellogg Foundation & Rockefeller Philanthropy Advisors, 2012). In addition, according to Giving USA (Austin, 2017), Jewish households give significantly more than both Protestants or Catholics, as well as those who are not religious. Moreover, while Jews give at similar levels to congregations as other religions, they give more money to nonreligious causes (Gerstein et al., 2013). Donors are also motivated to give by external influences, such as role models and communities of participation (Sargeant & Woodliffe, 2008; Schervish, 2008). Donors often want to feel that they can make a large impact, sometimes referred to as hyper agency (Giridharadas, 2019; Schervish, 2008), or to gain an activist identity (Silver, 1998). Much of the research on moving donors to give to an organization focuses on how to make people aware of a need, how to build a personal connection to an issue or organization, and how they can build trust with the organizations (Bekkers & Wiepking, 2010; Frumkin, 2006; Lloyd, 2004; Ostrander, 1995; Ostrower, 1995; Sargeant & Woodliffe, 2008; Schervish, 2008; Shaker et al., 2022), including appealing to social justice values (Miller, 1977; Sargeant & Woodliffe, 2008).

Historically, even when motivated to give, very few donors go beyond check writing to directly address issues of power, decision-making inequalities, and wealth redistribution (Jenkins, 1989, 1998; Ostrander, 1995; Ostrower, 1995; Skocpol, 2003). However, some donors have radically reimagined a socially just world of healthy communities that are regenerative through shared wealth, land, and power (Lief, 2020). These progressive approaches also focus on the transformation and redistribution of power, participatory processes, social movement-building, and structural change (Lief, 2020; Wernick, 2012, 2016). Actions include, but are not limited to, holding foundations and other funders accountable; calling for transparency and responsiveness; centering philanthropic decision-making to those most marginalized and impacted; and providing more money along with long-term, general support and flexible grants to social justice movements led by frontline grassroots groups who are impacted the most by oppression and wealth inequity (Ranghelli & Choi, 2018; Resource Generation, 2020; Trust-Based Philanthropy Project, 2021; Villanueva, 2020; Wernick, 2012, 2016).

In this vein, young progressive elites use their wealth to support these predominantly secular movements that aim to address the root causes of social, racial, economic, and environmental injustices through structural change (Lief, 2020; National Committee for Responsive Philanthropy, 2003; Wernick, 2012, 2016). These organizations seek to leverage their access to resources to redistribute their wealth, land, and power, without replicating existing power structures—seemingly working against their financial self-interests and that of their wealthy communities (e.g., Resource Generation, Community-Centered Fundraising, Decolonizing Wealth Project, Responsible Wealth, Giving Projects, former Funding Exchange funds, Southern Partners Fund, Trust-Based Philanthropy Project). For example, young wealthy elites' participation has included organizing in their communities to support increased individual giving, democratizing and transforming the philanthropic sector, and leveraging their access to communities with power and privilege to transform systemic inequalities (Bekkers & Wiepking, 2010; Dreier & Collins, 2012; King & Walker, 1992; Odendahl, 1990; Ostrander, 1995; Silver, 1998; Wernick, 2012, 2016). Elite involvement as active members of organizations focused on wealth redistribution, such as Resource Generation (RG), not only has resulted in systemic change, but involvement in these organizations has been found to increase their personal social justice movement giving (Wernick, 2012, 2016). Additionally, young progressive wealthy elites participate in community-centric fundraising (Community Centered Fundraising, 2022), which is grounded in racial and economic justice and emphasizes fundraising that values communities over organizations, instills a sense of belonging and interdependence, and fosters holistic, mutual support between nonprofits.

4 | RELIGION, SPIRITUALITY, AND SOCIAL JUSTICE MOVEMENT ORGANIZING

4.1 | Religion & spirituality

As noted previously, religious and moral ideologies play a large role in donors' motivations to give, indicating a deeper exploration into their influence on donors and organizations is needed. Research suggests that religion and spirituality are distinct yet overlapping constructs (Canda & Furman, 2010; Hill et al., 2000). People can be religious but not spiritual, and people can be spiritual but not religious. Yet, it is essential to consider that the line between religion and spirituality can be blurred across various religious, cultural, and community contexts. The distinction of religion and spirituality is perceived as a Western construct due to secular-religious divisions within Western cultures (Herzog et al., 2020). While scholars have not agreed on a single definition of religion, Canda and Furman (2010) define religion as an "institutionalized (i.e., systematic) pattern of values, beliefs, symbols, behaviors, and experiences oriented towards spiritual concerns, shared by a community, and transmitted over time in traditions" (p. 59). Religion, however, is only a small portion of what comprises the concept of spirituality, even though some people consider it a very large part of their spiritual practice (Hill et al., 2000). While spirituality can encompass religion, the definition of spirituality is much broader. According to Koenig et al. (2001), spirituality can be religious or secular: "Spirituality is the personal quest for understanding answers to ultimate questions about life, meaning and relationship to the sacred or transcendent, which may (or may not) lead to or arise from the development of religious rituals and the formation of community" (p. 18).

4.2 | Religion & community organizing

Congregation-based community organizing (CBCO) is rooted in the networks, relationships, and deep engagement within and across religious institutions to work toward social justice. This organizing approach made popular by Saul Alinsky (1971) and his work with the Industrial Areas Foundation in Chicago, has been used in many campaigns to create change. These have included PICO (originally known as the Pacific Institute for Community Organization), Gamaliel Foundation, the Direct Action and Research Training Center, and the civil rights movement, for example (Jones, 2008). Research on CBCOs (Jones, 2008) has emphasized religion and spirituality as important mechanisms that transmit values, morality, and historical knowledge (Lightfoot et al., 2001); relationship building (Mattis & Jagers, 2001; Speer et al., 1995); and contributing to community development (Dokecki et al., 2001; Jason et al., 1988; Speer et al., 1995; Trout et al., 2003).

Until recently, research on spirituality and community organizing was rarely discussed outside of religion, religiosity, and faith-based community organizing. One reason for this is religion has, at times, marginalized individuals within social movements as a result of such issues as sexual orientation, gender identity, race, and class. One critique of Alinsky-style organizing, which includes CBCOs, has been the belief that organizing should be "nonideological" or "pragmatic"; tends to focus on single issues, aim to achieve incremental changes, often within their local neighborhoods/communities, and organizers should be without political perspective, acting as neutral facilitator (Clark, 2022; Pyles, 2021). Addressing intersectional issues related to race/racism, sexual orientation/homophobia, sex/sexism and gender identity/transphobia within their organizing campaigns were often seen as divisive (Pyles, 2021). Thus, many of those who were multiply marginalized looked toward more secular social movement organizations and spaces to engage in their community organizing, especially those that took a more intersectional approach. These approaches were more transparent and clearly based in antiracist, anticapitalist, feminist, and internationalist visions of change (Clark, 2022). However, as a result, when activists moved away from congregations or religious-centered

organizing, discourse around religion or spirituality halted, and many stopped engaging in intentional spiritual practices, often out of personal trauma from these institutions or fear of being associated with a religion.

4.3 | Transformative organizing models & spirituality

While earlier community organizing models were predominantly rooted in personal self-interest, there is a growing interest in spirituality within more contemporary transformative social justice movements that seek to address intersectional, interdependent, and multilevel healing and change (Berne et al., 2018; brown, 2017; Ginwright, 2015; Hutchison, 2012; Ortega-Williams, Beltrán, et al., 2021; Page, 2024; Piepzna-Samarasinha, 2018; Wernick et al., 2014). Zapf (2005) argues this interest is fueled by growing acknowledgment that Western values of individualism and materialism are not working for many people, particularly within our movements (Baskin, 2016; Faith Matters Network, 2018; Mosley et al., 2020). In some cases, those Western values can result in feelings of isolation, burnout, and fragmentation by those within movements that are navigating spaces of oppression, marginalization, and trauma (Mosley et al., 2020; Ortega-Williams, 2021; Zimmerman & Quiroz, 2016; Zimmerman et al., 2010). The ideology of individual determination and effort can stymie the recognition of sources outside of the individual that serves as an essential source of healing and hope (Bernardo, 2010; Mosley et al., 2020).

These approaches integrate personal and collective transformation, spiritual practice and healing justice values, which are anchored in collectivism, critical consciousness, strength and resistance, cultural authenticity, intergenerational and self-knowledge, and radical hope (Duncan-Andrade, 2009; Mosley et al., 2020; Ortega-Williams et al., 2020; Ortega-Williams, 2021; Page, 2024; Wernick et al., 2014). Radical hope is the belief in the collective capacity to heal and transform oppressive forces into a better future despite the odds and is rooted in resilience (Faith Matters Network, 2018; Ginwright, 2015; Mosley et al., 2020). A study of mostly movement leaders of color, conducted at the Movement Strategy Center by Kristen Zimmerman et al. (2010), investigated how leaders within movements integrate transformative and spiritual practice to transform social justice movements. The study's social justice organizations were more effective in addressing internal and external challenges when they implemented spirituality and transformative practices to connect to individuals, communities, values, and goals. The reported use of practices by movement leaders ranged from healing, leadership, insight, and awareness (Zimmerman et al., 2010). The author suggests centralizing core values of interconnectedness, sustainability, and justice by recognizing that creating change requires personal and group transformation.

In a similar study of Jewish social justice leaders (Belzer, 2021), researchers found that these leaders used a transformative approach while harnessing the power of Jewish wisdom, tradition, and ritual around five themes that align powerfully with values associated with Mussar, a practice of Jewish ethics, to advance social justice: wholeness/shleimut, honor/kavod, awareness/zehirut, responsibility/achrayut, and integrity/yosher. Passionately engaged in a process of spiritual reclamation, adaptation, and empowerment, these leaders are drawing upon a deep sense of interconnection, responsibility, belonging, and wholeness to advance their social justice goals (Belzer, 2021). Spiritual practices, symbols, and traditions across transformative organizing models promote the inner and outer transformation to shape cultural practices to bridge communities, foster interdependence, refute existing power structures and empower individuals and groups to transform their environment (Belzer, 2021; Boggs, 2011; Herzog et al., 2020; Zimmerman & Quiroz, 2016).

While spirituality has become more prominent in secular transformative social justice movement organizing, the role of spirituality is under-investigated, outside a religious context, as a motivator for social justice movement giving. Furthermore, there is a dearth of research addressing the impact of spirituality as a motivator for giving among wealthy elite participants in these secular movements.

5 | RESEARCH AIMS

This study examines the impact of spirituality as a motivator of wealthy elites' social justice movement giving, within the context of participation in an organization that seeks to organize young adults with wealth and class privilege to work in social justice movements toward the equitable redistribution of wealth, land, and power. More specifically, we used survey data collected by a large organization of progressive, wealthy young adult activists who engaged in participatory action research (PAR) to help them understand how effective they are in achieving their mission and goals. While the broader survey asked questions related to understanding who the RG community is (demographically), the types of wealth they have, how they engage in a social change, and how they participate in RG, they also included questions related to what motivates their giving. With relation to their giving, they found that RG participant respondents gave $8 million to grassroots social justice movement organizations and activist-led community foundations out of the $10 million total giving over the course of 1 year (Ho & Wernick, 2020). As a secular organization, they were particularly surprised to find that among the 14 motivations for social justice movement giving, "spiritual or healing community's teaching or practices" had the greatest positive association with the amount of social justice movement giving. Neither religion nor spirituality were intentionally or explicitly part of their organizing mission, nor were they often discussed. Thus, to unpack this finding, this paper uses OLS regressions and mediation models to examine the relationships among the specific religion raised (or lack thereof), spirituality, and social justice movement giving among current and former organizational participants (see Figure 1). Research questions include:

1. What is the impact of one's religion on social justice movement giving?
2. What is the impact of spirituality on social justice movement giving?
   To better understand if there is a relationship between spirituality and religion.
3. Does spirituality mediate the relationship between religion and social justice movement giving?
4. Exploratory: How might spirituality differentially mediate the relationship between specific religions and social justice movement giving?
   To understand whether RG participants transformed their giving in alignment with RG's values of "redistribution of wealth, power and land."
5. Exploratory: Have participants' forms of giving changed?

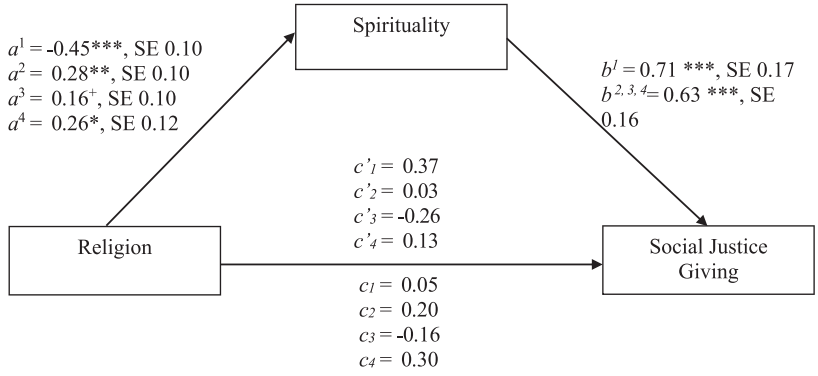


FIGURE 1 Spirituality mediated the effect of religion on social justice giving. Model controlled for race (ref. White), age, years in RG, and net wealth; $n = 257$; 5000 bootstrap. The mediation analysis was conducted using PROCESS (model 4, Hayes, 2017, p. 585). *a*, *b*, *c*, *and c'* are unstandardized regression coefficients. [1] No religion (ref. any religion) [2]Jewish (ref. no religion) [3]Christian (ref. no religion) [4]Other religion (ref. no religion). $^+p < 0.05$, $^*p < 0.05$, $^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{***}p < 0.001$.

6 | METHOD

6.1 | Participants

Study participants were current and former members of Resource Generation (RG), a national organization that uses a transformative model to organize young adults (ages 18-35) with wealth and class privilege in the U.S. "to become transformative leaders working toward the equitable distribution of wealth, land and power" (Resource Generation, 2022). RG has over 1200 active members, 22 staff, and numerous activities centered within their 25+ chapters across the United States, along with national convenings and conference calls. Founded in the late 1990s, RG also has about 2800 alumni. Earlier research (Wernick, 2012) suggests that RG constituents often connect with the organization through existing relationships, friends they grew up with, school, and work. Others enter through relationships within the worlds of philanthropy, community organizing, and activism. Most get involved because they are looking for a space to be in community with others who share similar backgrounds and social justice values. Grounded in relationship building and community building, RG uses storytelling and peer-led learning to talk about the complex issues they face as young progressives with wealth and are encouraged and supported to take individual and collective strategic actions that support wealth, land, and power redistribution. In addition to supporting members to increase wealth redistribution, actions include partnering with the Center for Popular Democracy and the Movement for Black Lives to support social and systemic change, challenging traditional philanthropic practices, and engaging in smaller praxis groups where members can learn together and can engage one another in mutual accountability toward their actions. RG's organizing model is rooted in their values of inner and outer transformation, ending racism and restructuring the economy, community-led movements, collective prosperity devoid of exploitive practices of people and the planet, and addressing wealth inequality by organizing those with wealth and class privilege to commit to building a more just world (Resource Generation, 2022). Investigating RG offers an important case because earlier findings from this study (Wernick, 2012, 2016) found that among the 560 individual respondents to this survey, they collectively held $1.9 billion in total net assets as individuals, and $22 billion in total net assess through their families. Moreover, this study showed that RG's participants increased their social justice movement giving 16 times after participating in RG, controlling for both age and number of years of RG involvement. Given that RG alone has 1200 current members, and even more alumni, understanding the motivations of social justice movement giving of on these current and former participants can have profound impact on how we increase social justice movement funding in the future.

6.2 | Positionality and intersectional identity statement

The ability to critically reflect and become self-reflexive regarding one's own intersectional identities and positionality are viewed as necessary processes in becoming critically conscious and to social justice education (Freire, 1970; Tien, 2019). As researchers, engaging in ongoing and dynamic critical reflection and reflexivity not only facilitates our own understanding of how our worldviews may impact the research process, but this transparency also provides information to others who wish to critically interpret the study and its findings (Brodsky, 2008; Robinson et al., 2022; Tien, 2019). Although individuals on the research team hold differing ontological (e.g., postpositivism, constructivist) and epistemological (e.g., subjectivist and interpretivist) perspectives (Guba & Lincoln, 1994), we holistically grounded ourselves in critical theory(s) (e.g., critical pedagogy, Critical Race Theory, Critical Feminist Theory, Critical Queer Theory, etc.). Thus, we acknowledge that history and culture continue to shape inequitable power structures throughout contemporary society that uphold institutions meant to systematically and systemically oppress, marginalize, and disenfranchise targeted communities (e.g., LGBTQ

+community, communities of color, and low-resourced communities), and we come to this team holding multiple intersectional identities and relationships to power, privilege, oppression, and justice (Littman et al., 2023).

While we have divergent experiences, we are all deeply committed to community, liberation, justice, and freedom. Some of us were raised poor or working class and others were raised with economic privilege and wealth, and are former RG participants. We range in age from our early 20s to 60s and live in the Northeast, South, and Midwest of the United States. We are White, Black, Asian, Latina, mixed-race, cisgender, women, men, nonbinary, queer, straight, temporarily able-bodied, disabled, Jewish, and Christian. Some of us are academics (pre-tenured and tenured), reverends/pastors, students, social workers, somatic coaches, consultants, yoga practitioners, parents, poets, dancers, activists, organizers, and fundraisers.

6.3 | Procedure

A web-based, self-administered survey was developed under the leadership of RG organizers and leaders, in collaboration with Laura Wernick, a professor of Social Work and an RG alumni. Questions were based upon three prior waves of surveys (Wernick, 2012, 2016) but modified to help RG learn how effective they are in achieving their mission. To address RG's organizing priorities, the survey predominantly asked questions related to understanding who the RG community is (demographically), the types of wealth they have, and how they engage in change. They also included questions related to how they participate in RG, and what motivates their giving. The surveys collected during this wave were distributed in two phases: over a 3-month period to 1200 currently active and 2800 former (alumni) RG participants. Then, 2 months later, to all registrants of RG's conference. Outreach included emails from the national office, an outreach video on how to take the survey, emails sent through local chapters, and chapter gatherings intended for people to bring their computers and take the survey simultaneously. Surveys were anonymous or confidential depending on whether respondents chose to self-identify and make their responses accessible to RG leadership and the researcher. The initial page of the survey requested informed consent, and respondents were only allowed to proceed to the survey after providing consent. Fordham University's institutional review board approved this study.

The sample, which was representative of the organizational membership, included respondents who self-identified as current or former RG participants, young people (18–35) with wealth or class privilege ($n = 560$). RG defines wealth or class privilege as being in the top 10% of the U.S. economy, which includes individual or household income or wealth, family net wealth or income, being an RG alumnus, a partner of a young person with wealth, or having a family foundation or family-giving vehicle. Among the sample, personal net worth varied from $90,000 to $330,000,000. The median personal net worth was $500,000, and the mean was $3,415,463. The majority of the same identified as monoracial-White (83.2%, $n = 462$), and 16.8% identified themselves as people of color or having more than one race ($n = 93$). Among all respondents, 87.7% identified as White ($n = 491$), 0.7% as Black or African American ($n = 4$), 2.5% as Hispanic or Latinx ($n = 13$), 3.2% as Arab American or Middle Eastern ($n = 18$), 0.5% American Indian or Alaska Native ($n = 1$), 12.3% as Asian American ($n = 69$), and 2.9% as other ($n = 16$). The majority of respondents identified the religion they were raised as Christian (42.3%). Respondents who identified as either raised Jewish or ethnically identified as Jewish were 38.4% of the sample. The remainder of the sample identified as being raised as Buddhist (6.0%), Hindu (1.5%), Muslim (1.1%), other (11.4%), or no religion (20.8%). Buddhists, Hindus, Muslims and other religions were combined into a variable called “Other Religion.” The majority (58.3%) of the sample identified their sexual orientation as lesbian, gay, bisexual, queer, or similar non-straight identities (LGBQ). Also, the majority of the sample identified their gender as cisgender women (59.9%). Almost one out of five respondents identified as transgender or gender non-conforming (TGNC; 18.3%) and 20.0% identified as cisgender men. Table 1 presents a summary of the sample used for the present analysis.

TABLE 1 Descriptive statistics for a total sample of [organizational] constituents ($n = 560$).

Continuous variables	***M* (SD)**
Spirituality[a]	2.99 (0.97)
Log spirituality[a]	0.72 (1.40)
Social justice giving	$21, 432 (113,228)
	Median $2,956
Log social justice giving	8.11 (1.84)
Net wealth	$3,415.463 (17,000,000)
	Median $500,000
Log net wealth	13.00 (2.18)
Age	29.27 (6.04)
Years in RG	2.80 (3.51)
Categorical variables	***n* (%)**
Religion	
Buddhist	32 (6.0)
Christian	226 (42.3)
Hindu	8 (1.5)
Jewish	207 (38.4)
Muslim	6 (1.1)
Other	61 (11.4)
None	111 (20.8)
Race	
White	491 (87.7)
Black or African American	4 (0.7)
Hispanic or Latinx	13 (2.3)
Arab American or Middle Eastern	18 (3.2)
Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Island	3 (0.5)
American Indian or Alaska Native	1 (0.2)
Asian American	69 (12.3)
Other	16 (2.9)
Sexual orientation	
Straight	231 (41.7)
LGBQ	323 (58.3)
Gender	
Cis men	112 (20.0)

TABLE 1 (Continued)

Categorical variables	*n* (%)
Cis women	335 (59.9)
Transgender/gender nonconforming	102 (18.3)

Note: LGBTQ = lesbian, gay, bisexual, queer, and similar identities.
[a]Theoretical range [1, 5].

6.4 | Measures

6.4.1 | Dependent variable

Social justice movement giving was calculated by taking the dollar responses to the question "How much of your 2017 giving was to social justice movements?" Because the social justice-giving variable was strongly positively skewed, a log transformation was performed to normalize the responses.

6.4.2 | Independent variables

Spirituality and religion. The extent to which participants' spirituality motivated their giving was measured using the item: "To what extent does your spiritual or healing community's teachings or practices motivate your giving?" This variable was analyzed on a 5-point Likert-type scale [1 = not at all, 5 = very significantly]. Because the spirituality variable was strongly positively skewed, and to address heteroskedasticity in the model, a log transformation was performed to normalize responses. Religion was measured by asking the question: "What is your religion or religious background/what religion were you raised as? Check as many as apply." They were given Buddhist, Christian, Hindu, Muslim, Jewish, other, and none as choices. Respondents were also allowed to provide a comment. In addition, the measure "Jewish" also included all who also chose Jewish (Ashkenazi), Jewish (Sephardic), Jewish (Mizrahi), and/or Jewish (other). These were coded into dummy variables as Jewish, Christian, Other Religion, and No Religion.

Forms of giving and other actions: Assessment of whether RG participants transformed their giving in alignment with RG's values of "redistribution of wealth, power and land": was measured using the following items: "How frequently did/do you do the following practices, before and after your involvement with RG?: Make multi-year giving commitments to organizations; give general operating support to organizations; give through giving circles; give to community foundations/regranting institutions; share decision making with poor or working class people; make my name accessible when giving (not giving anonymously); when asked, meet with organizations that I give to; use a giving plan." These questions were asked using a likert-type scale: Never (1) Rarely (2) Sometimes (3) Often (4) Always (5). All of these questions were asked twice: "Before RG" and "Since RG." Likewise, respondents were asked "How have you taken action? To what extent has your involvement in movements taken the following forms?: telling my story to the media; working on an economic justice campaign; fundraising for an organization; transforming or reforming a family foundation; organizing institutional philanthropy; redistributing land (land-based giving/organizing); investing in non-extractive investments/investing in the next economy; attending rallies, marches, protests, or participating in civil disobedience; participating in an action publicly as a young person with wealth; recruiting other young people with wealth into RG; educating or facilitating about class and wealth privilege; participating in shareholder activism; providing nonmonetary support for social movements, such as hosting events, giving rides, making food, etc.; challenging classism in the policies or practices of my school, workplace, faith community, etc.; working on an electoral campaign; and organizing with a union." Respondents were asked to report "yes" or "no" to "Before RG" and "Since RG."

6.4.3 | Covariates

The age variable was calculated by asking respondents the year they were born, and it was subtracted from 2018. To calculate the number of years respondents participated in RG, we subtracted the responses to the question that asked the year they first participated in an RG program from when they most recently participated in an RG program. The net wealth measure was collected through the question, "What are your total net assets? (What you own minus what you owe. Include stocks, cash, real estate, property such as cars, as well as assets in your name that you may not have control over yet.)." A log transformation was performed to normalize responses for net wealth because the variable was strongly positively skewed. Race was measured across eight categories: American Indian or Alaska Native, Arab-American or Middle Eastern, Asian American, Black or African American, Hispanic or Latinx, Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander, White, and Other (fill in the blank), and respondents were asked to check all that apply. For this study, due to the low sample size, respondents were categorized as White (0) if they selected only "White" and people of color (1) if they selected one or more nonwhite identities. Gender categories were based upon six categories (check all that apply), which were collapsed into three categories due to sample size: cisgender man, cisgender woman, and trans* (included genderqueer, gender non-conforming, trans, and other). Sexuality was coded as straight only (0) and LGBQ (1) (gay, lesbian, queer, bisexual, asexual, demisexual, and other).

6.5 | Analysis

We began our analysis by examining variable distributions (review) and group differences. Using both Stata 14 and SPSS 28, ordinary least squares (OLS) models were then used to test associations between religions, spiritual motivations for giving, and social justice giving in 2017. These analyses included control variables for personal net wealth, race, age, years in RG, gender identity (cisgender woman, cisgender man, and TGNC), and sexual orientation (LGBQ and straight). Because gender identity and sexual orientation were not statistically significant in any models, these variables were removed from our final model to optimize the variable-to-sample size ratio. In addition, we also ran moderation OLS models to examine interaction effects between spirituality and religion, and no statistically significant effects were found. To examine our hypothesis on social justice movement giving, we tested mediation effects using PROCESS macro for SPSS (Hayes, 2017). Only significant models are reported. To test that spirituality will mediate associations between religion and higher reported social justice movement (SJM) giving (Religion → Spirituality → SJM Giving), we used SPSS PROCESS macro (Model 4, Hayes, 2017, p. 585), which tests mediation effects by using OLS regressions. Separate mediation models were run for Jewish, Christian, other religions, and no religion as the independent variable. "No religion" was the reference for the three religion categories, while the other two served as covariates. When "no religion" was the independent variable, "any religion" was the reference. Because of the strong correlation between net wealth and the amount of money given, we also included the effect size of our variables of interest. The direct, total and indirect effects of religion on social justice giving through spirituality are summarized in Table 2. Finally, we assessed the forms of giving and other actions by running t-tests comparing their self-reported "Before RG" responses to their "Since RG" responses.

7 | RESULTS

The direct effects estimated by regression models of study variables on respondents' social justice movement giving are summarized in the direct effects columns in Table 2. Both models (any religion & specific religions) accounted for 40% of the variance of respondents' social justice movement giving, chi-squared = 18.23,

TABLE 2 Direct, total, and indirect effects of religion on social justice giving through spirituality ($n = 256$).

	Any religion → Spirituality → SJ giving			Specific religion → spirituality → SJ giving		
	SJ giving	Spirituality	SJ Giving	SJ giving	Spirituality	SJ giving
Model	Direct effect		Total effect	Direct effect		Total effect
Outcome	*B(SE)*	*B(SE)*	*B (SE)*	*B(SE)*	*B(SE)*	*B (SE)*
Controls						
Race[a]	−0.50 (0.27)	0.14 (0.10)	−0.40 (0.28)	−0.44 (0.27)	0.11 (0.11)	−0.36 (0.28)
Age	0.01 (0.02)	−0.00 (0.01)	0.01 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)	0.00 (0.01)	0.01 (0.02)
Years in RG	0.17 (0.03)***	0.00 (0.01)	0.18 (0.03)***	0.18 (0.03)***	0.00 (0.01)	0.18 (0.03)***
Sexual orientation[b]	0.17 (0.23)	0.01 (0.09)	0.18 (0.24)	0.15 (0.23)	0.01 (0.09)	0.14 (0.24)
Gender						
Cis woman[c]	0.14 (0.25)	−0.08 (0.10)	0.08 (0.26)	0.15 (0.26)	−0.05 (0.10)	0.11 (0.26)
Trans[c]	0.00 (0.34)	−0.03 (0.13)	−0.02 (0.35)	−0.07 (0.34)	−0.01 (0.13)	−0.08 (0.35)
Religion[d]						
Any	−0.38 (0.27)	0.45 (0.10)***	−0.05 (0.27)			
Jewish				0.04 (0.26)	0.28 (0.10)**	0.22 (0.27)
Christian				−0.29 (0.25)	0.17 (0.10)	−0.18 (0.26)
Other				0.12 (0.31)	0.26 (0.12)*	0.29 (0.32)
Independent						
Net wealth	0.35 (0.05)***	0.01 (0.02)	0.35 (0.05)***	0.35 (0.05)***	0.00 (0.02)	0.35 (0.05)***
Spirituality	0.73 (0.17)***			0.65 (0.16)***		
Model stats						
Constant	2.71 (0.72)***	0.31 (0.27)	2.94 (0.74)***	2.57 (0.72)***	0.45 (0.28)	2.86 (0.73)***
R^2	0.40	0.08	0.35	0.40	0.04	0.36

(Continues)

TABLE 2 (Continued)

	Any religion → Spirituality → SJ giving			Specific religion → spirituality → SJ giving		
	SJ giving	Spirituality	SJ Giving	SJ giving	Spirituality	SJ giving
Model	**Direct effect**		**Total effect**	**Direct effect**		**Total effect**
Outcome	***B(SE)***	***B(SE)***	***B (SE)***	***B(SE)***	***B(SE)***	***B (SE)***
Indirect effects						
Any Religion		*B(SE)* = 0.32 (0.10); 95% CI (0.1536, 0.5516)*				
Jewish					*B(SE)* = 0.18 (0.09); 95% CI (0.0433, 0.3772)*	
Christian					*B(SE)* = 0.11 (0.07); 95% CI (−0.0046, 0.2703)	
Other religion					*B(SE)* = 0.17 (0.09); 95% CI (0.0184, 0.3788)*	

[a]Ref. White.

[b]Ref. straight.

[c]Ref. cis-men.

[d]Ref. no religion

*$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$; ***$p \leq 0.001$.

14.95 (respectively), $SE = 0.72$, $p < 0.001$. While controlling for the extent to which participants' spirituality motivated their giving in the direct effects model, there was no statistically significant difference between being raised with any religion (or a specific religion) and raised with no religion on respondents' social justice movement giving. However, there was a positive association between the extent to which participants' spirituality motivated their social justice movement giving in both models, $B = 0.73$, $SE = 0.17$ and $B = 0.65$, $SE = 0.16$ (respectively), $p < 0.001$. The effect size for spirituality accounted for 6.7% and 5.7% (respectively) of the 40% of variance reported in the two models. In terms of control variables, net wealth was positively associated with social justice movement giving in both models $B = 0.35$, $SE = 0.05$, $p < 0.001$, with an effect size of 16.5% of the 40% in both models, and the number of years the respondent participated in RG was positively associated with reported social justice movement giving, $B = 0.17$, 0.18 (respectively), $SE = 0.03$, $p < 0.001$, with an effect size of 10.9% of the 40% in both models, controlling for age and other demographic variables. The regression models estimating the extent to which participants' spirituality motivated their giving are estimated in the middle columns of both models. Both models reveal significant relationships between respondents' reported religion and the extent to which spirituality motivated their giving. In the first model, indicating being raised in any religion was significantly positively associated with the extent to which spirituality motivated their giving $B = 0.45$, $SE = 0.10$, $p < 0.001$. In model two, identifying as Jewish or another religion (other than Christian) was significantly positively associated with the spirituality motivating their giving, $B = 0.28$, $SE = 0.10$, $p < 0.01$ and $B = 0.26$, $SE = 0.12$, $p < 0.05$ (respectively).

The test for indirect effects in the first model showed evidence of a significant positive effect of being raised with any religion on social justice movement giving through reports of the extent to which spirituality motivated their giving (Any Religion → Spirituality → SJ Giving), compared to those who indicated being raised with no religion, $B = 0.32$, $SE = 0.10$, 95% CI [0.15, 0.56]. In the second model, the indirect effect of those who identified as being raised Jewish, controlling for other religions, had a significant positive effect on the social justice movement giving through their spiritual motivation to give in comparison to being raised with no religion, $B = 0.18$, $SE = 0.09$, 95% CI [0.04, 0.38]. Likewise, being raised in another religion, other than and controlling for Jewish or Christian, has a significant positive effect on social justice movement giving through their spiritually motivated giving, $B = 0.17$, $SE = 0.09$, 95% CI [0.02, 0.38]. There was no statistically significant effect of being raised Christian on social movement giving as spiritual motivation to give. Similar to the direct effects models, in the total effects models that did not contain the spirituality variable, net wealth was positively associated with social justice movement giving in both models, $B = 0.35$, $SE = 0.05$, $p < 0.001$, and the number of years the respondent participated in RG was positively associated with reported social justice movement giving, $B = 0.18$, $SE = 0.03$, $p < 0.001$.

Exploratory paired *t*-tests examining the change in respondents' forms of giving and other actions before and since RG participation are summarized in Table 3. These results indicated significant increase in the frequency of making multi-year giving commitments to organizations, giving general operating support to organizations, giving through giving circles, giving to community foundations/regranting institutions, sharing decision making with poor or working class people, making their names accessible when giving (not giving anonymously), meeting with organizations when asked, and using a giving plan between their prior involvement in RG and since their participation in RG. Moreover, respondents also indicated an overall significant increase in the number of participants who are telling their story to the media; working on economic justice campaigns; fundraising for an organization; transforming or reforming a family foundation; organizing within institutional philanthropy; redistributing land (and land-based giving/organizing); investing in non-extractive investments/investing in the next economy; attending rallies, marches, protests or participating in civil disobedience; participating in an action as a young person with wealth; recruiting other young people with wealth into RG; providing nonmonetary support for social movements; and challenging classism in policies or practices of their schools, workplaces, faith communities, etc. The only action areas where there was no significant change were working on an electoral campaign and organizing with a union.

TABLE 3 Comparisons of forms of giving and other actions taken before and since RG participation.

How frequently did/do you do the following practices, before and after your involvement with RG?	Before RG		Since RG					
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*t*	*n*	*p*	Cohen's *d*
Make multi-year giving commitments to organizations	1.437	0.769	2.638	1.203	17.998	309	0.000	1.173
Give general operating support to organizations	2.779	1.438	3.809	1.216	14.148	303	0.000	1.267
Give through giving circles	1.191	0.600	2.086	1.120	14.067	304	0.000	1.109
Give to community foundations/regranting institutions	1.338	0.728	2.649	1.237	18.409	308	0.000	1.251
Share decision-making with poor or working-class people	1.569	0.946	2.556	1.170	16.026	306	0.000	1.077
Make my name accessible when giving (not giving anonymously)	2.523	1.296	3.471	1.228	13.661	306	0.000	1.214
When asked, meet with organizations that I give to	1.903	1.329	3.042	1.486	13.758	288	0.000	1.405
Use a giving plan	1.242	0.628	3.023	1.415	21.435	306	0.000	1.453

How have you taken action? To what extent has your involvement in movements taken the following forms?	Before RG		Since RG					
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*t*	*n*	*p*	Cohen's *d*
Telling my story to the media	0.139	0.347	0.223	0.417	3.835	309	0.000	0.386
Working on an economic justice campaign	0.325	0.469	0.442	0.497	4.572	308	0.000	0.449
Fundraising for an organization	0.459	0.499	0.704	0.457	7.924	314	0.000	0.548
Transforming or reforming a family foundation	0.033	0.178	0.173	0.379	7.062	306	0.000	0.348
Organizing institutional philanthropy	0.056	0.229	0.229	0.421	7.500	306	0.000	0.404
Redistributing land (land-based giving/organizing)	0.026	0.160	0.111	0.315	5.323	305	0.000	0.280
Investing in non-extractive investments/Investing in the next economy	0.162	0.369	0.440	0.497	10.114	309	0.000	0.484
Attending rallies, marches, protests, or participating in civil disobedience	0.825	0.380	0.917	0.276	4.349	315	0.000	0.376
Participating in an action publicly as a young person with wealth	0.032	0.177	0.357	0.480	12.035	311	0.000	0.476

TABLE 3 (Continued)

How have you taken action? To what extent has your involvement in movements taken the following forms?	Before RG		Since RG					
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*t*	*n*	*p*	Cohen's *d*
Recruiting other young people with wealth into RG	0.048	0.214	0.691	0.463	23.437	314	0.000	0.486
Educating or facilitating about class and wealth privilege	0.222	0.416	0.753	0.432	17.812	316	0.000	0.531
Participating in shareholder activism	0.090	0.286	0.151	0.358	3.732	312	0.000	0.288
Providing nonmonetary support for social movements, such as hosting events, giving rides, making food, etc.	0.591	0.492	0.732	0.444	6.103	313	0.000	0.408
Challenging classism in the policies or practices of my school, workplace, faith community, etc.	0.404	0.491	0.724	0.448	11.610	312	0.000	0.488
Working on an electoral campaign	0.359	0.480	0.330	0.471	−1.117	312	0.265	0.456
Organizing with a union	0.157	0.364	0.151	0.358	−0.308	311	0.758	0.367

8 | DISCUSSION

We found evidence that spiritual motivation was a significant positive predictor of how much participants monetarily gave to social justice movements within this secular movement context, controlling for religion. However, participants' reported religion (Christian, Jewish, other religion, or no religion) did not significantly predict social justice movement giving, both when controlling and not controlling for spirituality. These findings challenge earlier research about the relationship between religious affiliation and giving (Lunn, 2009; Schervish & Haven, 2001). However, due to the fact that most of those studies include religious institutional giving, they might not apply directly to social justice movement organizational giving outside one's religious affiliation. Thus, it is important not to conflate the concepts of religiosity with spirituality. Spirituality, within this context of RG's transformative organizing model, may give people a sense of connection beyond one's individual self, one's personal religion, and toward a sense of interconnectedness, moral development, individual and collective healing and transformation, and creating a better world for all (Baskin, 2016; Faith Matters Network, 2018; Lunn, 2009; Page, 2024; Zimmerman & Quiroz, 2016). As described above, while religiosity is based upon practicing one's own religion, including practicing at home or at one's religious institution, or having strong religious beliefs (Koenig et al., 2001; Lunn, 2009), spirituality is much broader, particularly within a transformative organizing and/or healing justice movement framework (Baskin, 2016; Mosley et al., 2020; Ortega-Williams, 2021; Zimmerman & Quiroz, 2016; Zimmerman et al., 2010; Page, 2024), where one's religion is only a small part of what people consider spirituality (Hill et al., 2000). While religion and extrinsic religiosity are thought to be strongly related to moral development, this finding supports the growing empirical support that spirituality and other factors may be stronger predictors (Craft, 2013). Furthermore, within these transformation practices at RG, participants are supported and challenged to address their own internalized intersectional superiority and oppression, while addressing and changing these systems of power and domination in society. To be clear, participants of RG are being organized using transformative social justice values, as activists, to bring their full selves to social justice movement organizing and to participate in the day-to-day movement work while also engaging in wealth redistribution. This collective, nondenominational concept of spirituality might account specifically for the higher association with social justice movement giving, thus adding the spiritual importance of participation in transformative movements to the philanthropy literature on social justice movement giving, as opposed to just learning about and/or writing checks (Bekkers & Wiepking, 2010; Community Centered Fundraising, 2022; Dale & Azizi, 2023; Frumkin, 2006; Lief, 2020; Lloyd, 2004; Miller, 1977; National Committee for Responsive Philanthropy, 2003; Ostrander, 1995; Ostrower, 1995; Sargeant & Woodliffe, 2008; Schervish, 2008; Shaker et al., 2022; Trust-Based Philanthropy Project, 2021; Villanueva, 2020). In other words, this finding suggests that specific participation as activists in organizations that incorporate transformative principles and practices, such as interconnectedness, interdependence, individual and collective healing, and making the world better, not only supports impactful changes but is also associated with significantly higher levels of social justice movement giving. Furthermore, these findings contribute not only to our understanding of why young progressive wealthy activists give more to social justice movements but also suggest that highlighting the spiritual impact of participation in transformative social justice movements may also increase the giving (monetary or otherwise) of grassroots activists who do not identify as wealthy (Baskin, 2016; Community Centered Fundraising, 2022; Hill et al., 2000; Mosley et al., 2020; Ortega-Williams, 2021; Pyles, 2021; Zimmerman & Quiroz, 2016; Zimmerman et al., 2010; Page, 2024).

While the result shows that participant-identified religious affiliation did not directly predict social justice movement giving in both models, the indirect effects in model one indicate that spiritual motivation significantly positively mediates the relationship between religion and social justice movement giving for those who identify with any religion compared to those that reported no religion. It is possible that having been raised or affiliated with a religion might make one more open to spirituality, or more likely to identify a motivating factor toward social justice movement as spiritual. When examining specific religions, spirituality positively mediated giving to social justice movements among those identifying as Jewish or another non-Christian religion, in comparison to those who didn't identify a religion. In other words, those who identified as Jewish or another non-Christian religion, were more likely to also identify spirituality as a motivator for their giving than the other religions. These differences might relate to the interconnection between religion and culture/ethnicity among many

non-Christians, not separating the sacred from everyday life, whereas the concept of religion is a Christian construct tied to specific practices and beliefs (Boyarin, 2019; Dubuisson, 2007; Fitzgerald, 2007). For example, the concept of "Judaism," as a religion, was invented by the Christian church (Boyarin, 2019). While only a small percent of Jews identify themselves as religious, a majority of them still identify themselves as ethnically or culturally Jewish (Pew Research Center, 2021). Instead, research on Jewish social justice activists describes their Jewish ethics and spirituality as tied to their interconnectedness, responsibility, wholeness, and social justice goals (Belzer, 2021). Together, these results may indicate that, compared to people who identify "no religion," those who grew up within a religion, especially non-Christian identified religion, might be more open to naming their spirituality as a motivator to giving to social justice movement organizations, particularly among those involved in transformative organizing that is more intentional around bringing in spiritual, yet not specifically religious, practices.

Not only did participants increase the amount of their social justice movement giving, but exploratory results indicated that they also changed the forms of giving and other actions. Taking to heart the importance of incorporating giving and action practices that directly addressed issues of power and decision-making, there was a significant shift in how participants gave money. For example, they increased their giving to community-led regranting institutions where community activists most impacted by social injustices make the decisions about where movement dollars should go. When they were involved in giving, they increased the use of giving circles that used collective decision-making processes. At the request of movement organizations, they shifted their funding to make multi-year commitments and support general operating expenses. They were also more public about their giving, instead of hiding behind anonymous donor-advised funds. They also were more open about their class privilege, owning their power and privilege, and taking more public stands on issues. For example, during Occupy Wall Street, RG participants claimed that they were the 1% in support of the 99% and publicly demanding a redistribution of wealth through tax justice (Resource Generation, 2011). There was a significant increase in the number of participants who changed their investment practices and engaged in shareholder activism. While their numbers were still small, there was a significant increase in the number of people who had redistributed land or were working on land-based giving.

In summary, these findings suggest that intentionally incorporating transformative movement values related to spiritual practices into community organizing of wealthy progressive activists, such as interconnectedness, interdependence, moral development, individual and collective healing and transformation, and creating a better world for all, can lead to an increase in the amount of money progressive wealthy elites are moving toward social justice movements, as well as changes in their giving practices moving toward a redistribution of wealth, land and power. As described above, these findings are a significant addition to the philanthropy literature, especially literature on secular (aka. not religiously affiliated) social justice movement giving. This may be especially the case for those rooted in ethnic, cultural, or religious practices. Part of these transformative values is the development of an understanding of their intersectional social identities, especially their power and privilege, and how they can effectively and respectfully more fully participate in social justice movements, without replicating existing power structures (Wernick, 2012, 2016). Taken together, the use of transformative organizing techniques, which lean into incorporating more spiritual practices based on interdependence, interconnectedness, mutual responsibility, wholeness, healing, and a pursuit of individual and collective change within our day-to-day organizing practices, can simultaneously lead these progressive wealthy activists to significantly increase the amount of wealth they are redistributing toward social justice movements while actively and fully participating in these social change movements.

8.1 | Limitations and future directions

While this study offers an important contribution to the impact of spirituality on social justice movement giving, particularly within a secular context, this study is not without limitations. While we asked about spirituality, we did not define spirituality for respondents. Therefore, this variable was left to the respondent to interpret. And, we only had one question related to spirituality, which asked about spirituality and healing as one concept. On one hand,

this question is somewhat double-barreled, but within transformative social justice movement organizing, they are interrelated. However, in light of this strong finding related to spirituality, it offers important insights into motivations for secular social justice movement giving. Future research should include more nuanced questions related to spirituality, including validated scales that may further unpack these findings.

Likewise, within RG, they intentionally engage in transformative practices within their workshops, organizing, and within the movement spaces with whom they participate. Consequently, these results may be specific to RG participation. In future studies, we recommend separating these concepts into separate questions, and asking additional questions related to spirituality within movement spaces.

Also, while we asked about both current and past religious identity, we did not ask about religious practice or religiosity and thus were not able to operationalize what meanings or practices were embedded within their responses to the questions around their personal religion. For example, we did not inquire about current participation in an institutionalized place of worship, whether or not they identified as religious or secular, or questions of prayer. Another limitation was that non-Christian and non-Jewish religions were combined into one variable "other religion" due to the low sample size. As a result, we were unable to unpack this variable. Likewise, it was difficult to unpack the item "no religion," especially since Christianity is normative in the United States. As a result, someone might have Christian parents, be raised secular or religious, and celebrate Christmas, but they may have identified themselves as "no religion." Whereas, there were many Jews who identified themselves as secular Jews but may or may not identify as religiously "Jewish." Another limitation is that "Christian" was lumped together. We want to note that Christianity is operationalized and experienced very differently across different racial/ethnic groups and denominations, especially between predominantly African American churches and predominantly White churches. Unfortunately, we were not able to explore these differences because of the low number of respondents of color, particularly among African Americans. Future studies may want to unpack these differences within Christianity, especially across race, in relation to spirituality and religion impacting the financial giving to social justice movements among young, wealthy activists.

In addition, while there is clearly a strong association between spirituality and social justice movement giving, we are unable to fully unpack whether or not respondents' identification of spirituality as a motivator for movement giving is linked specifically to their participation in RG, as a transformative organization, or somewhere else. Finally, due to the limited scope of this paper, we also did not assess the relationship between spirituality, religion, and the various forms of giving and other actions, other than dollar amounts given to social justice movements. Therefore, the results of the impact of spirituality cannot necessarily be applied to other types of giving or actions.

8.2 | Conclusion

Spirituality, particularly within transformative movement spaces, has emphasized interconnectedness, interdependence, individual and collective healing and transformation, and working to make the world a better, more just, place. This study suggests that spirituality, particularly when aligned with and embedded in transformative organizing practices, can motivate young wealthy adult activists to support and challenge one another to heal and transform themselves, one another, and their communities from systems of power and domination, while also moving more money toward social justice movements and greater redistribution of wealth, land, and power, regardless of religious, or nonreligious, affiliation.

AUTHOR CONTRIBUTIONS

Laura J. Wernick: Conceptualization; visualization; methodology; investigation; formal analysis; writing—original and subsequent drafts. **Danielle R. Jimenez**: Methodology; formal analysis; writing—original draft. **Mica Nimkarn**: Conceptualization; methodology; formal analyses; writing—original draft. **Sarah Abbott**: Conceptualization; visualization, methodology; investigation; writing—original draft. **Ashley Green**: Writing—original and subsequent drafts.

John H. Vaughn: Writing—original and subsequent drafts. **Blythe L. Robbins**: Writing—final drafts. **Derek Tice-Brown**: Writing: original and subsequent drafts.

DATA AVAILABILITY STATEMENT

The data that support the findings of this study are available on request from the corresponding author. The data are not publicly available due to privacy or ethical restrictions.

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PEER REVIEW

The peer review history for this article is available at https://www.webofscience.com/api/gateway/wos/peer-review/10.1002/jcop.23157.

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How to cite this article: Wernick, L. J., Jimenez, D. R., Nimkarn, M., Abbott, S., Green, A., Vaughn, J. H., Robbins, B. L., & Tice-Brown, D. (2025). Moving money to support social justice movements: A spiritual practice. *Journal of Community Psychology*, *53*, e23157. https://doi.org/10.1002/jcop.23157