



A Literature Review on Social Change Movements

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Overview

This report seeks to provide information of how social movements emerge, behave, and evolve, as well as how they may be evaluated to discern both impacts and lessons learned. The review pays particular attention to community-led movements, focusing on historical examples of efforts within Indigenous and minority communities. Social change movements within and for these communities highlight struggles for political and cultural sovereignty, racial justice, land and water rights, gender equality, health and food security, and the right to practice Indigenous language in education. This is intended to be a cursory look at social change and social change movements for the purpose of building an understanding of the topic; it is in no way an exhaustive study.

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Social Change Movements: Theoretical Models and Frameworks

Defining Social Change Movements

Broadly, social movements may be defined as the ongoing, collective actions of people working together toward a common goal of social change and/or challenging those in power (Snow et al., 2004; Eyerman as cited in Isaac, 2008; Goodwin & Jasper, 2015; Tremblay et al., 2017; Edrington & Lee, 2018; Tilly et al., 2020). Using a sociological frame, social change may be looked upon as “the changes in human interactions and relationships that transform cultural and social institutions. These changes occur over time and often have profound and long-term consequences for society” (Dunfey, 2019). Also regularly emphasized in academic definitions of social movements is that they often occur outside of traditional pathways and institutions (Snow et al., 2004; Goodwin & Jasper, 2015). While many definitions focus on the structure and organization of social movements, Isaac (2008) provides a synthesis of how cultural production plays a role in the spread and sustainment of movements, which adds to the conversation.

Snow et al. (2004) assert that while the definitions of social change movements found in the literature vary in focus and scope, they are commonly rooted in at least three of the following central ideas: “collective or joint action; change-oriented goals or claims; some extra- or non-institutional collective action; some degree of organization; and some degree of temporal continuity” (p. 6). Their exploration of these foundational aspects of social movements results in the following conceptualization, which they argue offers a wide umbrella for considering what can be classified as a social movement: “...social movements can be thought of as collectivities acting with some degree of organization and continuity outside of institutional or organizational channels for the purpose of challenging or defending extant authority, whether it is institutionally or culturally based, in the group, organization, society, culture, or world order of which they are a part” (p. 11).

The concise definition of social movements offered by Goodwin and Jasper (2015) echoes the explanation forwarded by Snow et al., defining social movements as “conscious, concerted, and sustained efforts by ordinary people to change some aspect of their society by using extra-institutional means” (p. 3). In their literature review, Edrington and Lee (2018) explain that the research often draws attention to the “informal or loosely organized nature of social movements” (p. 291), and from that literature they determine that social movements encompass “organization and collective voices to gain a specific outcome” (p. 292). In both an echo and expansion of these definitions, Tremblay et al. (2017) draws upon the literature to create a conceptual framework which includes seven critical tenets of social movements:

1. Rely on a strong organizational base (involving leaders, members or followers, formal or informal organizations, and coalitions) to build and organize the movement;
2. Pursue a political agenda or a ‘common cause’;

3. Engage in collective actions that are oriented toward clear targets, and use a variety of strategies in pursuit of their goals;
4. Use interpretative frames to define a problematic situation in need of change, to articulate a solution, and to raise awareness or motivate others to take action or garner support;
5. Develop in relation to specific opportunities and follow a long lifecycle that retains some continuity over time;
6. Build on tangible and intangible resources from individuals and groups; and
7. Seek policy, social, or cultural changes (p. 337).

Tilly et al. (2020) describe social movements as “contentious politics,” and what separates social movements from other types of politics are the blend of three characteristics: (1) campaigns, (2) repertoires, and (3) demonstrations of worthiness, unity, numbers, and commitment or WUNC. Social movement campaigns are continual “organized public efforts making collective claims on target authorities” (p. 6). Social movement repertoires consist of a mixture of types of political action including “creation of special-purpose associations and coalitions, public meetings, solemn processions, vigils, rallies, demonstrations, petition drives, statements to and in public media, and pamphleteering” (p. 6). These displays of WUNC, or more so how WUNC is created and sustained, are at the heart of Isaac’s (2008) Presidential address to the meeting of the Southern Sociological Society.

Isaac (2008) analyzes the Civil Rights Movement through the less common lens of cultural production, emphasizing the importance of focusing on the *movement of movements* as opposed to only examining movement infrastructure. Isaac builds on Crossley (2005) and Eyerman (2006) and other literature that emphasizes cultural production as a part of the discussion. The author contends that “a movement emerges when a mass of disparate and continuously changing people develop an awareness that they are united and moving in the same direction for social change” (Eyerman as cited in Isaac, 2008; pp. 35-36). Isaac focuses on how cultural production is at the core of how social movement culture is spread and sustained. This is accomplished through literal geographic movement of activists, the spread of collective action, the dissemination of movement-centered arts (such as literature and dramatic performances), and the movement of mentors who help spread the culture of the movement. Furthermore, “moving emotions” is required to ignite passion and mobilize activists in the efforts of social change.

Social Movement Types

Social movements occur at varying levels, from the local, state and regional to the national and global. Movements can begin as localized campaigns and expand as they attract wider audiences and participants, or establish themselves at the onset as larger movements by who and what they address. For example, because Idle No More initially protested the conservative C-45 omnibus bill that violated national treaties, and simultaneously inspired protest actions in multiple sites across Canada, the movement can be classified as a national one (Little and McGivern). Social movements have also been classified into types based on their perceived motivations, as well as the object and degree of change they pursue. Building on David Aberle’s framework, Little, McGivern and faculty contributors to BC Open

Textbooks project offer concise definitions of these types. *Reform movements* are viewed as campaigns that seek to change something structural within society. Movements for gun legislation reform, nuclear de-escalation, or Mothers Against Drunk Driving (MADD) are examples that fall in this category. *Revolutionary movements*, on the other hand, pursue a complete change or overhaul of all aspects of an existing society. Anarchist movements, anti-colonial movements, and counter-culture movements might best animate this category. *Redemptive movements* seek meaning with the goal of effecting inner change or spiritual growth among individuals. Alcoholics Anonymous or Christian fundamentalist groups best illustrate this category. *Alternative movements* focus on limited, specific changes to individual beliefs and behaviors through the means of self-improvement. The Slow Food movement and Planned Parenthood are among these. Finally, *resistance movements* aim to prevent or undo a change to the social structure. Movements that protest the Ku Klux Klan or pro-life movements can be considered within this category.

Social Movement Theories and Frameworks

Charles Tilly punctuates the emergence of modern social movements in Western societies in the 19th century alongside the rise of nation-states, capitalism, industrialization, and the urban workforce. Prior to this time, countries such as England and France saw localized forms of protest that were largely defensive in nature. That is, people within a particular community would gather to defend local interests against particular individuals using tactics drawn from their local culture. Tilly describes these limited expressions as a “repertoire of collection action” (Tilly in Staggenborg, 2016; p. 4). However, the sweeping forces of modernity brought change to the fabric of political, economic and social life, including the ways in which people worked and associated. For instance, national electoral systems ushered the formation of special interest groups, which sometimes aligned themselves to dissatisfied workers. The new structure of wage labor meant that workers became untethered from particular landlords and masters, and were more able to engage in political activities (Ibid, p. 5). Such coalitions adopted new means of making claims, such as mass petitions and disciplined marches, which replaced tactics of the past that were often violent in nature and more easily suppressed by authorities (e.g. food riots, grain seizures). Rooted in Marxist economic principles, social movements of the 19th and early 20th centuries in Europe and North America most commonly expressed the plights of white male labor, with some notable exceptions such as the abolition, temperance, and suffrage movements.

In the 1950s and 1960s, scholars began to acknowledge that the ideology of “old” labor movements within industrial society were inadequate to explain new social phenomena. Additional theoretical perspectives emerged to explain why and how social movements occur, including: (a) *collective behavior theory*, which posits that protests arise during exceptional times of social disruption when grievances are deeply felt; (b) *symbolic interactionism*, which claims that participants are forced to

Table 1. Social movement and social change definitions

Defining Social Change Movements (SCMs) and Social Movement (SM) Types		
Authors	Social Change	Social Movements
Dunfey (2019)	From a sociological frame, social change is the transformation of culture/society through "changes in human interactions and relationships." Social change can have deep, long-term consequences for society.	
Edrington & Lee (2018)		SCMs are often informal and loosely organized. SCMs consist of "organization and collective voices to gain a specific outcome."
Goodwin & Jasper (2015)		SMs are "collective, organized, sustained, and noninstitutional challenge to authorities, powerholders, or cultural beliefs and practices" (p. 4). They are also an organized and continuous "efforts by ordinary people to change some aspect of their society by using extra-institutional means" (p. 3).
Isaac (2008)		Cultural production plays a critical role in SM sustainment. Isaac explores how movements <i>move</i> , not movement infrastructure.
Little & McGivern (n.d.)		There are five types of SMs: reform movements (seek structural change), revolutionary movements (desire complete overhaul of society), redemptive movements (push for spiritual/inner change), alternative movements (want limited change through self-improvement), and resistance movements (aim to prevent societal changes).
Maton (2008)	At its core, community-led activism is about empowering people within a particular community setting to pursue change.	
Snow et al. (2004)		Definitions of SMs are commonly rooted in at least three of the following: "collective or joint action; change-oriented goals or claims; some extra- or non-institutional collective action; some degree of organization; and some degree of temporal continuity" (p. 6). SMs are a mechanism for "collectivities give voice to their grievances and concerns about the rights, welfare, and well-being of themselves and others by engaging in various types of collective action..." (p. 3).
Tilly et al. (2020)		SMs are "contentious politics," and what separates social movements from other types of politics are the blend of three characteristics: (1) campaigns, (2) repertoires, and (3) demonstrations of WUNC.
Tremblay et al. (2017)		7 tenets of SM theory: solid organizational foundation; common agenda; collective action and diverse tactics; employ frames; sustained over time; make use of resources; pursue social change.

explore new ideas when established systems of meaning break down; (c) *mass society theory*, which explains that collective behavior emerges when individuals experience extreme isolation/alienation from social and political institutions (e.g. rapid industrialization and urbanization); and (d) *relative deprivation theory*, which posits that mass uprisings occur when people feel dissatisfied with their life situations relative to what they think they deserve, and in relation to what other groups have in society (Staggenborg, 2016).

By the 1970s, North American social movements started turning away from collective behavior theory, grounded in the assumptions of relative deprivation. Studies at this time were finding little evidence that indicators of relative deprivation were strong predictors of collective action without the presence of other resource and organizational factors (Staggenborg, 2016; pp. 18-19). *Resource mobilization theory* emerged as a result, which argued that while grievances will always be present in society, social movements need resources, organization, and opportunities for collective action (p. 19). As such, resources, in both tangible and intangible form, are essential to collective action. Moral and cultural resources, social-organizational resources, human resources, and material resources can all be mobilized within social movements. Proponents of resource mobilization theory argue that social movement organizations (SMOs), which are formalized or bureaucratic structures, are better able to sustain movements when compared to informal organizations (p. 20). For example, the Civil Rights Movement derived its effectiveness from a network of organizations, including the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), which worked to raise resources (e.g. from churches), build membership, develop non-violent strategies, coordinate campaigns, and wage legal challenges (e.g. racial segregation in schools) (Lewis, 2019). The Assembly of First Nations (AFN) and American Indian Movement (AIM) are also examples of organized movements that can be looked to for studying structured and sustained social change strategies.

Political process theory “outlines the importance of political contexts and opportunities in the emergence and development of social movements” (Tremblay, 2017, p. 335). It adds the concept of political opportunity to resource mobilization theory, which refers to aspects within the political environment that might allow for the emergence and success of movements (Staggenborg, 2016; Williams, 2004). These factors could include an openness in the polity, shifts in political alignments, divisions among elites, and the availability of influential allies. Simply put, social movements are more likely to emerge when potential collective actors perceive that conditions are favorable. Williams (2004) emphasizes this from a culturalist approach. In fact, as political process approaches have grown in popularity, Kriesi (2004) argues that “the cultural models can be combined with the political institutional structures in order to arrive at more complex and more focused opportunity sets” (p. 77). For sustained significance, Kriesi also pushes for the expansion of the political process framework to include the “role of media and the public space” (p. 86) as public space increases in prevalence in political discourse.

Resource and political process theories reached pinnacle popularity in the 1980s and 1990s, during which time scholars produced a variety of models that drew from both. In these synthesized or “synthetic” models, scholars emphasized the importance of ideology, or the importance of meaning making and ideas, in stimulating movements. They captured this emphasis in the concept of “collective action frames”. The *framing perspective* explains that social movements construct cultural meaning by the ways in which movement leaders and organizations “frame issues in particular ways to identify injustices, attribute blame, propose solutions, and motivate collection action” (Staggenborg, 2016, p. 23). Put another way, framing theory allows for the conceptualization of collective identity as social movements “articulate grievances, generate consensus on the importance and forms of collective action to be pursued, and present rationales for their actions and proposed solutions to adherents, bystanders, and antagonists” (Williams, 2004, p. 93). Movement theorists have gone on to analyze the role of framing in multiple movement processes, drawing on discourse analysis to understand the ways in which movement actors use discursive strategies within particular structures of political and cultural opportunity from which to position their issue (Staggenborg, 2016 pp. 23-24).

By the turn of the 21st century, “new cultural synthesis had transformed social movement theory, providing ways to talk about meaning and feeling that were not only richer and more systematic but also less pejorative than earlier efforts. The cultural toolkit was now as rich as the structural one” (Jasper, 2010, p. 72). Williams (2004) posits that these cultural approaches all share an “interactionist” view of culture and cultural production as well as an analytical method that is “movement-centric” where movements are treated as the units of analysis (p. 94). The overall shift in social movement theory bends toward a reliance on a “range of networks and informal, participatory structures” as opposed to “centralized organizations” and attend to the cultural as well as the political sphere in which diverse participants are motivated to activism for quality of life issues and “postmaterialist” values, beyond the scope of economic self-interest (Staggenborg, 2016).

Some scholars warn against the abandonment of structural paradigms in favor of cultural and political ones when analyzing social movements. Edwards and Kane (2014) argue that, today, resource mobilization theory is “under-developed and under-utilized...and remains very relevant to analyzing the full spectrum of contemporary movements” (p. 206). They discuss how three resource categories - money, people, and organizations - motivate and impact social movements. They also offer less restrictive resource categories from the current literature: “material, human, social-organizational, cultural and moral” (p. 212). Their conclusion pushes for the systematic use of resource mobilization theory to both build and improve the framework as well as to uncover other resources yet examined.

Table 2. Social movement theories and frameworks

Social Movement Theories and Frameworks			
Authors	<i>Resource Mobilization</i>	<i>Political Process</i>	<i>Cultural</i>
Edwards & Kane (2014)	Resource mobilization theory continues to be relevant in SM analysis. The less restrictive categories of "material, human, socio-organizational, cultural and moral" help explain the motivations and impacts of SMs.		
Jasper (2010)			Current collectivist paradigms in sociology allow for analyzing and discussing culture in SMs (carriers of meaning, emotions) in a systematic way. Viewing other frameworks through a cultural lens adds depth to analysis.
Kriesi (2004)		Political process analysis can be combined with cultural models to provide a more complete picture of SMs. Inclusion of "media and the public space" can also add to political frameworks.	
Staggenborg (2016)	Precursors to current SM theories include collective behavior theory, symbolic interactionism, mass society theory, and relative deprivation theory. Studies demonstrated that void of resource and organizational factors, previous theories failed to predict collective action. Resource mobilization theory argues that, while grievances will always be present in society, social movements need resources, organization, and opportunities for collective action.	<i>Political process theory</i> adds to the concept of political opportunity to resource mobilization theory.	The <i>framing</i> perspective explains that social movements construct cultural meaning by the ways in which movement leaders and organizations "frame issues in particular ways to identify injustices, attribute blame, propose solutions, and motivate collective action" (p. 23) their members.
Tremblay et al. (2017)		Political process theory "outlines the importance of political contexts and opportunities in the emergence and	

Social Movement Theories and Frameworks			
		development of social movements” (p. 335).	
Williams (2004)		As political process models developed and “added important contextualizing understandings to structural approaches to movements” (p. 95), scholars refocused somewhat off of movements and onto <i>environment</i> .	Cultural approaches all share an “interactionist” view of culture and cultural production as well as an analytical method that is “movement-centric” where movements are treated as the units of analysis (p. 94).

Leadership in Social Change Movements

Morris and Staggenborg (2004) argue that while leaders are crucial to social movements, “leadership in social movements has yet to be adequately theorized” (p. 171). Goodwin and Jasper (2015) echo this critique as they write that “research tends focus on networks, organizations, and groups” (p. 102). This dearth of leadership theory in social movement research is prevalent for the political process and resource mobilization approaches as well as framing theory, and Morris and Staggenborg argue that these holes in analysis continues to overlook how “leaders affect movement strategy and outcomes” (p. 174). This section uses Morris and Staggenborg’s (2004) theoretical work as a foundation for explaining the various roles leaders play in social movements, along with Ganz’s (2008, 2011) exploration of key leadership practices in social movements (with an emphasis on narrative/storytelling). The section ends with a short description of the Social Change Model of leadership, which offers a practical tool for developing leaders in an education setting.

Roles of Leaders in Social Movements

Morris and Staggenborg (2004) offer the following definition of social movement leaders: “...strategic decision-makers who inspire and organize others to participate in social movements” (p. 171). They emphasize the importance of leaders to social movements: “Social movement leaders are the actors whose hands and brains rest disproportionately on the throttles of social movements” (p. 191). Morris and Staggenborg describe the demographic traits of social movement leaders — leaders typically emerge from the middle or upper-class, are educated, are more likely to be male, and “usually share the race or ethnicity of their supporters” (p. 174). They describe the roles that leaders play at the beginning stages of movement development and why these are typically gendered roles:

To mobilize movements out of these early interactions, leaders offer frames, tactics, and organizational vehicles that allow participants to construct a collective identity and participate in collective action at various levels. In doing so, leaders rely not only on their personal attractiveness and abilities, but also on previous experiences, cultural traditions, gender norms, social networks, and familiar organizing forms. Insofar as men have traditionally occupied positions of authority and dominated mixed-sex interactions, the gendered character of leadership in many movements is not surprising. (p. 180)

This social composition of leadership is often the result of existing structures and channels. For example, being a pastor was one of the main ways someone once attained a leadership role in the Civil Rights Movement, and at the beginning of the movement 99% of black pastors were men. While leaders of certain types of movements emerge from pre-existing structures, other movements gain leaders through “suddenly imposed grievances” (p. 179). As the cycle of a social movement continues, leaders continue to play key roles as strategists, organization builders, and relationship formers/networkers. Morris and Staggenborg argue that “SMOs are social structures with a division of labor in which leaders usually determine organizational goals and design the strategies and tactics for reaching those goals” (p. 183), with framing being a crucial aspect of these processes. Morris and Staggenborg also describe the critical role played by leaders in achieving movement outcomes as they serve as “the primary decision-makers within social movements” (p. 188). This powerful role positions the success of a social movement as dependent on the decision-making ability of movement leaders.

Morris and Staggenborg envision the diversity of leadership within social movements as tiered and distinguishable by position and function. They describe four tiers of leadership within social movements. These are: (1) Top tier—official leadership positions; (2) Second tier—leadership team members who fill official positions at the secondary level; (3) Third tier—“bridge leaders” who form connections between the top leadership and supporters; and, (4) Fourth tier—supporters of the movement who assist in forming networks and “also routinely engage in leadership activity” (p. 188). Each of these leadership tiers have an impact on various movement outcomes, and success is typically achieved when leadership teams draw from “both insiders and outsiders” (p. 189) and people who display “diverse backgrounds, skills and viewpoints” (p. 188). Furthermore, social movement structure should allow for leadership teams to participate in shared decision-making. They conclude with an acknowledgement of previous research: “On balance, however, we agree with Ganz (2000) that teams of diverse leaders anchored in authoritative organizational structures that are conducive to open and critical debate and challenging deliberations are more likely to succeed because of the creativity and innovation such leaders generate as they execute leadership activities” (p. 190).

While individual leaders are important for movement coherence, messaging, and management, the increasingly decentralized and voluntary nature of social movements also necessitates structures for distributed leadership. Drawing from his research on the Sierra Club, Ganz (2008) offers a framework of leadership management that emphasizes (a) team design; (b) deliberative practice; and (c) mechanisms of accountability to deal with the unique structural challenges presented by diffuse movements reliant on the work of volunteers. These approaches restructure leadership practice away from the dominate model of a heroic individual toward a model of collaboration, grounded in ‘membership’ and in the skills that team members have acquired specifically for the context of their work. This model also promotes a consensus-based decision-making process, which allows team members to engage with conflict without suppressing it or personalizing differences. Finally, rather than requiring volunteers to be claim authority, and therefore accountability

for their actions (or inaction), Ganz's framework of leadership focuses on "naming the problem, identifying norms that could help solve the problem, and institutionalizing those norms – something real only in the context of an entire team". Doing so equips teams with the capacity to confront those who do not honor their commitments in the movement, celebrate those who do, and provide coaching to one another. According to Ganz, these approaches to cultivating leadership within the Sierra Club helped to establish clear norms, develop effective work strategies, efficiently leverage talent, and better accomplish goals.

Key Social Movement Leadership Practices

As referenced above, the success of leaders is tied to how leaders employ their practices in inventive and productive ways. Ganz (2008) describes key practices for social movement leaders. The importance of building relationships, storytelling, and "creative strategizing" are emphasized. Ganz also discusses "action," or "the work of mobilizing and deploying resources to achieve outcomes" (p. 12). He suggests that the most important aspect of social movement action is to be able to gain commitments. Building on Ganz (2008), Ganz (2011) describes the storytelling aspect of leadership in depth. The author explains that leading a social movement calls for more than the "stereotypical charismatic public persona with whom it is often identified" (p. 273). Ganz breaks down how "mobilizing others to achieve purpose under conditions of uncertainty—what leaders do—challenges the hands, the head, and the heart" (p. 273). The challenges of the heart are met by narrative: "Public narrative is a leadership practice of translating values into action. It is based on the fact that values are experienced emotionally... Narrative is the discursive means we use to access values that equip us with the courage to make choices under conditions of uncertainty, to exercise agency" (p. 274). He describes the ways in which narrative can be used to break barriers with people and spur mobilization. He also focuses on leadership and public narrative, which includes the ability to tell "a story of self, a story of us, and a story of now" (p. 282). This public narrative connects personal values with those a leader is wishing to mobilize as well as establishes a call to action: "Public narrative, understood as a leadership art, is thus an invaluable resource to stem the tides of apathy, alienation, cynicism, and defeatism. Stories strategically told, can powerfully rouse a sense of urgency; hope; anger; solidarity; and the belief that individuals, acting in concert, can make a difference" (pp. 288-289).

Social Change Model of Leadership

In examining models that promote practical leadership development with an eye toward social change, the higher education literature provides one final insight on leadership. The social change model (SCM), which is frequently employed in university leadership development programs (Dixon et al., 2018), was developed in the 1990s by a group of educators (Higher Education Research Institute [HERI], 1996) and purports the position that anyone can be a leader: "A leader is not necessarily a person who holds some formal position of leadership or who is perceived as a leader by others. Rather, we regard a leader as one who is able to effect positive change for the betterment of others, the community and society" (p.

16). In their description of the model, HERI describes the importance of values at various levels:

The notion of leader as change agent and of leadership as collective action to effect social change suggest that a conscious focus on values should be at the core of any leadership development effort. We believe that any new program in leadership development should focus not only on the value implications of any proposed social change, but also on the personal values of the leaders themselves (p. 16). The values that make up the model are referred to as the 8Cs and include three “domains”: (1) individual values, which include *consciousness of self, congruence, and commitment*; (2) group process values, consisting of *collaboration, common purpose, and controversy with civility*; and, (3) community/societal values, which encompass *citizenship* and the value “hub” of *change* (HERI, 1996; Dixon et al., 2018).

Community-led Change vs. Other Forms

Community-led movements may be differentiated from other forms of organizing primarily by the ways in which activism is structured. Maton (2008) defines community-driven change as “a group-based, participatory, developmental process through which marginalized or oppressed individuals and groups gain greater control over their lives and environment, acquire valued resources and basic rights, and achieve important life goals and reduced societal marginalization” (p. 37). At its core, community-led activism is about empowering people within a particular community setting to pursue change. Maton goes on to explain that the work of community empowerment is grounded in a group-based belief system with a core set of high-quality, meaningful activities. Community-led movements also operate within a relational environment comprised of community-based support systems and relationships, build and mobilize the emerging and revolving skills/talents within the group membership to assign roles and responsibilities, engage in shared leadership that is open to expansion, and put in place mechanisms to adapt to internal and external challenges and change. What is perhaps most notable about community-led movements are the ways in which they are dynamic, nimble to respond to change, and operate with ever-expanding, iterative networks of relationships.

Because of these characteristics, community-led change may be differentiated from professionalized social change movements. Kallman (2015) observes that, since the 1970s, neoliberal market principles have increasingly influenced how social change is made, spurring the proliferation of nonprofits or SMOs connected to funders. SMOs vary in the extent of their formalization, but generally exhibit some form of centralization with a bureaucratic structure for decision making, as well as a developed division of labor, criteria for membership, and rules for governing subunits (Staggenborg, 2016; p. 38). Kallman acknowledges there are some benefits to SMOs; they provide employment, access to resources, and offer potential for sustainability. However, she is simultaneously “skeptical of a society in which the incentives of jobs and professional advancement are indistinguishable from the goals of a social movement”. She further states that “professional social change organizations are not as well suited as grassroots community groups – formal or not – to responding in dramatic, and if need be, confrontational ways to pressing issues.” Kallman looks to the #BlackLivesMatter (#BLM) as an example of a contemporary movement which she considers successful because it was formed and coordinated outside the

boundaries of organizational affiliations. While it began as a hashtag, BLM has grown into a forceful coalition, representing (but not governed by) a spectrum of organizations – a quality that has enabled it to be responsive, confrontational, and effective. The author contends that this would not have been possible within the confines of a professional movement setting.

At the level of the international, Loha (2018) argues for the effectiveness of a community-led model to bring about desired social and economic change in developing countries. He is critical of top-down approaches to impacting change,

Table 3. Social movement leadership

Leadership in Social Change Movements		
Authors	Key Leadership Roles and Practices	SC Model of Leadership
Dixon et al. (2018)		The Social Change Model of Leadership is employed widely in higher education leadership development programs.
Ganz (2008)	As SMs are often decentralized and rely heavily on the work of volunteers, Ganz offers an example from the Sierra Club that illustrates leadership management with a focus on team design, deliberative practice, and accountability mechanisms. He also emphasizes building relationships, storytelling, and “creative strategizing” as well as “action” and resource mobilization (the most important leadership action is gaining commitments).	
Ganz (2011)	Mobilizing others “challenges the hands, head, and heart” (p. 273). Public narrative is how SM leaders meet the challenges of the heart. Storytelling transforms values into action, and leaders must connect their personal values with others and evoke a need for present action.	
Goodwin & Jasper (2015)	Individuals play crucial roles in SMs, despite a dearth of SM leadership research. Some leaders serve in “symbolic” roles as they embody the values of the movement.	
Higher Education Research Institute (1996)		The Social Change Model of Leadership, purports that “anyone can be a leader,” and leadership is collective action. Values are at the heart of leadership for social change. Eight values make up the model: consciousness of self, congruence, commitment, collaboration, common purpose, controversy with civility, citizenship, and the value “hub” of change.
Morris & Staggenborg (2004)	Social movement leaders are crucial to mobilization and decision-making. They play critical roles at different stages of a SM's lifecycle, and there are four tiers of leadership, ideally. Leadership teams are more successful if they practice shared governance and are comprised of leaders from both inside and outside the community.	

noting the historical failure of governments and international institutions to alleviate poverty, for example, despite pumping significant amounts of foreign aid into countries. “The inefficiencies of these programs may be because they are donor-driven, leaving a discrepancy between what they assumed as the needs of the poor and the actual need on the ground”(p. 5). Further, he notes the ways that state interventions, development assistance programs, and neoclassical approaches are rooted in Western paradigms that intersect with exploitative/extractive histories and practices (e.g. colonial). As such, “the top-down approach of the past several decades has mostly overlooked the indigenous knowledge and contribution of local communities” (ibid). He offers an analysis of the “movement for Community-led Development” (CLD), which grew out of the Hunger Project’s (THP) collaboration with 60 organizations to form a movement for alternative development approaches. CLD is a “collaborative process of creating unique, locally-owned visions and building upon community strengths to tackle local programs. Further, CLD focuses on ‘place-based’ grassroots involvement, putting communities at the center to lead their own development” (Loha, p. 10).

Going further, social change that is pursued through profit models - or social entrepreneurship - may also be distinguished from community-led social change. In the case of social entrepreneurship, profit models align with the social change mission of a program or organization (Alter, 2006). Sometimes, social entrepreneurship is articulated through private-nonprofit partnerships. Economic development organizations and social welfare organizations are examples of social enterprises where profit-generating activities and institutional missions are highly compatible. In the case of the former, program activities revolve around work and wealth creation. In the instance of the latter, programs focus on employment development or welfare-to-work transition programs, which mesh well with social enterprise methodology. However, this alignment is less relevant for some organizations, where social enterprise is an activity that augments an organization’s mission while generating income, but is not necessarily integral to its purpose/work. While social enterprises can bring innovation, creativity and diversified funding to social change agendas (Nicholls & Cho, 2006), Alter concedes that sometimes social enterprise is merely incorporated as an auxiliary activity without concern for social benefit. For some organizations, “social enterprises are often unrelated to the mission and are employed solely as a funding strategy” (Alter, p. 207).

A brief comparison between community-led change movements, SMOs, and social entrepreneurship suggests that the formalization or institutionalization of activism and performance-based funding potentially affects the extent and quality of social change pursued within communities. This may be the case especially when funders/funding come from outside the community in which change is being sought. In this instance, it is more likely that local knowledge and expertise will be overlooked in the creation of change-making strategies and solutions. It is worth noting Obregon & Tufte’s (2017) query in their own review of literature on the relationship between new communication technologies and social change movements. The authors ask if the characteristics between institutionally-driven and grassroots social movements are significantly different given that formal institutions, such as NGOs and UN

agencies, are now able to leverage digital media platforms to lead “movements from above” in similar ways that grassroots movements seek “change from below” (p. 639). While they do not answer this question, they leave space to ponder the ever-evolving nature of social movements as they are mediated by advancing communication technologies.

Table 4. Community-led change vs. professional social movements and entrepreneurship

Authors	Community Change vs. Other Forms
Alter (2006)	Social enterprises occur when profit models align with social change missions of a program/organization; however, they are sometimes used purely as a way to generate funds.
Kallman (2015)	SMOs and non-profits connected to funders have increased since the 1970s and neoliberal market principles have increasingly influenced how social change occurs. Grassroots community groups are more agile than SMOs and are better able to act confrontationally. #BLM is an example of a successful contemporary movement as it began organically as a hashtag and grew into a coalition represented by (but not governed by) a spectrum of organizations.
Loha (2018)	Critical of top-down approaches to ameliorating social problems in developing countries. The authors cite the post/colonial contexts and historical failure of development funding by governments and international organizations. Pushes for community-led development (CLD), which is a community strengths-based, cooperative approach grounded in place.
Nicholls & Cho (2006)	Social enterprises can bring innovation, creativity and diversified funding to social change agendas.
Obregon & Tuft (2017)	The authors ask if the characteristics between institutionally-driven and grassroots social movements are significantly different given that formal institutions, such as NGOs and UN agencies, are now able to leverage digital media platforms to lead top-down movements in similar ways that grassroots movements seek “change from below” (p. 639).
Staggenborg (2016)	SMOs vary in the extent of their formalization, but generally exhibit some form of centralization with a bureaucratic structure for decision making, as well as a developed division of labor, criteria for membership, and rules for governing subunits.

Historical Examples of Social Change Movements

This literature review now turns to examine movement examples and case studies in an effort to illustrate characteristics and evolutionary milestones in the lifecycle of social change movements. Recent or contemporary movements that have emerged within Indigenous and racial/ethnic minority communities within Hawai‘i, the United States, Canada, Australia, and Latin America will receive the bulk of attention for the purposes of this review. Social change movements within and for these communities highlight struggles for political and cultural sovereignty, racial justice, land and water rights, gender equality, health and food security, and the right to practice Indigenous language in education. It should be noted that these issue areas are not exhaustive, discrete, or even time bound (i.e. new movements can rearticulate past struggles), but do represent a broad accounting of movement stakes covered in this review, and aid understanding of how contemporary struggles emerge, behave, and evolve within

particular political and cultural spaces, and with the assistance of resources and technology.

Common Characteristics and Evolutionary Milestones

Lifecycle of Social Movements

Social movements experience lifecycles, and according to (Christiansen, 2009 cited in Jones-Eversely et al., 2017) unfold in a series of four stages: (1) Movements first emerge in response to a catalyst, and then (2) coalesce to develop a sense of coherence in membership, goals, and values. They then (3) “bureaucratize” or establish rules and procedures for how to operate. It is at this point that social movements can take a myriad of paths that lead to some measure of success or failure, cooptation, repression (e.g. by government), or integration into the mainstream. Eventually, (4) movements decline. This does not necessarily mean that a movement ceases to exist, however, as movement goals sometimes change and lead to a new lifecycle.

An example of how the social movement lifecycle plays out can be seen in Sydney Iaukea’s analysis of the Honolua Bay campaign (in Isaki & Collins eds., 2019). Iaukea chronicles the efforts of a diverse community of residents, local and international surfers, and ocean enthusiasts, led by the Save Honolua Coalition (SHC), to block Maui Land and Pineapple Company’s plans to develop Līpoa Point – the catalyzing event. If realized, the development would have altered terrain and blocked community access to the shoreline for surfing and fishing. According to Iaukea, saving Honolua Bay and Līpoa Point from luxury home ML&P development plans was truly a grassroots effort and a “nonnegotiable for the people that live, work, and surf in the area” (p. 111). In other words, the interests of local residents and non-local stakeholders converged and coalesced around the desire to preserve the bay for quality of life, livelihood, and recreation.

Iaukea recounts the trajectory of activism beginning in 2007, led by SHC, which began at council and community planning meetings and continued in local venues (e.g. Wayne Nishiki’s Farmer’s Market Natural Foods store in Honokōwai, Lahaina Civic Center). SHC also organized anti-development public hearings, in which 16,000 people attended and gave testimony. Additionally, SHC launched a website, hosted meetings, recruited speakers, circulated petitions, and lobbied the Maui County Council to acquire the coastal property at Līpoa Point (p. 125). Ultimately, years of rallying culminated in the State of Hawai‘i’s passing Acts 214 and 215 in 2013. This legislation allowed the state to purchase land from ML&P to be held for preservation purposes. In this regard, the movement achieved its goal and completed its lifecycle. However, as of the writing of this book chapter, the overall management plan and funding for conservation had not yet been established. The unsettled status of the Honolua Bay in this regard may lead to new or altered movement articulations in the future.

Le‘a Mālia Kanehe (in Goodyear-Ka‘ōpua et al eds., 2014) illustrates what can occur when a movement does not achieve its primary goal, but gains ground whether technically or symbolically. She recounts the story of the Hawai‘i GMO Justice

Coalition, which lobbied the state legislature to pass GMO labeling bills to protect consumer rights in 2012. For example, until 2004, papaya farmers had been unaware that over half of their “organic and wild seeds” had in fact been genetically modified, and it was mass uncoverings like these prompted by local activism that spurred conversations about the adverse relationship between biotechnology and public safety. The Hawai‘i GMO Justice Coalition did not get its bill. As Walter Ritte notes, “Our government really believes that the future of the state is based on the success of these GMO companies...so they were not willing to threaten these GMO companies in any way, shape, or form (p. 341). However, their actions fueled local efforts at the county level on Hawai‘i Island and Kaua‘i to pass legislation banning the “open air cultivation, propagation, development, or testing of genetically engineered crops or plants” (p. 341).

Shared Movement Goals

Staggenborg (2016) asserts that shared grievances and interests are what spur movements to mobilization. “Collective behavior, political process, and new social movements theorists have all pointed to the importance of large-scale social changes in stimulating social movements” (p. 33). For Native, Indigenous and Aboriginal communities, social change movements are invariably tethered to historical and ongoing struggles for decolonization and the reclamation of sovereignty in its myriad forms. “Instead of seeking inclusion within, or accommodation by, the broader society, Indigenous Peoples often demand rights to political self-determination and cultural autonomy” (Cantzler, 2013; p. 75). Steinmen (2019), who writes on the Native resistance to the Dakota Access Pipeline at Standing Rock, argues that settler colonialism, “provides the foundation for bringing into clear view the ongoing modes of domination that contemporary Indigenous peoples are resisting; for understanding a variety of American Indian actions as decolonizing in nature; and for understanding similarities and differences between these dynamics and other groups’ experiences” (p. 1071). Barker () also situates the emergence of Idle No More within the context of contemporary Canadian settler colonialism and ongoing Indigenous resurgence (p. 2). The movement was triggered by parliamentary actions in 2012 that violated Indigenous treaty rights (the removal of protections for forests and waterways), after which First Nations, Metis and Inuit peoples participated in a series of political actions that garnered global attention and contribution. Likewise, Mapuche Indian activism in Chile was prompted by similar state violations to Indigenous land and environmental rights, in which the government pursued hydroelectric development, timber production, and land confiscation against existing protection policies adopted during the country’s democratic restoration of the 1990s (Carruthers & Rodriguez, 2009).

In Hawai‘i, Goodyear-Ka‘ōpua (2018) notes the resurgence of independence discourse and articulations of Hawaiian national identity among activists, artists and other grassroots Kānaka Maoli. This convergence or consolidation might be considered an outcome of the strength of movement visioning over several decades, since the Hawaiian Renaissance movement of the 1970s. Goodyear-Ka‘ōpua et al. (2014) contend that the arc of the Hawaiian sovereignty movement has operated from a consensus among its leaders that, irrespective of their philosophical or methodological differences, there is “the need to build a broad, popular movement of

educated Kānaka who could exercise their right to informed self-determination” (p. 16). The success of such a broad unity is gleaned in Kūhiō Vogler’s (in Goodyear-Ka’ōpua et al. eds., 2014)) examination of a series of court cases, political documents, and the movements of prominent Hawaiian activists and scholars, in which he traces how the Hawaiian sovereignty movement has given rise to a new deoccupation discourse upon which public consciousness, memory, and historical knowledge of Hawai‘i has pivoted. “By the beginning of the new century, most Hawaiian activists, scholars, and organizations remained committed to...the assertion of Native Hawaiian rights to self-determination, either through Akaka Bill (a U.S. domestic law for Native Hawaiians), or internationally through the rights of Indigenous people and the UN decolonization process” (p. 261).

The Hawaiian language revitalization movement demonstrates the ways in which the arc of the broader sovereignty movement has worked through different sub-groups and campaign goals. Katrina-Ann Kapā‘anaokalāokeola Nākoa Oliveira and Kekailoa Perry (in Goodyear- Ka’ōpua et al. eds., 2014)) discuss the ways in which the Hawaiian language revitalization movement mobilized the linkage between the political and cultural to make significant gains over a period of several decades. What emerged from the efforts of university faculty and students to revitalize ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i multiplied into a prolonged approach among Hawaiian language activists to build comprehensive education systems supported by policy, churches, burgeoning nonprofits, family networks, and importantly, a coalition of cultural educators (e.g. hālau hula) who became politicized in tandem with language revitalization efforts. The eventual adoption of Hawaiian language in public school curricula and establishment immersion charter schools are interarticulated with the political battles fought by cultural educators against the state’s efforts to regulate Hawaiian customary and traditional expression.

Finally, it should be noted that movements are sometimes pivotal in nature. Rather than coming to a complete close, they morph and shift ground. In examining the sovereignty movement in Hawai‘i, Lasky (in Goodyear- Ka’ōpua et al. eds., 2014) makes the case for how a class-based movement transformed into a cultural one. She discusses how an anti-eviction movement waged by a multi-ethnic coalition of tenant farmers and residents in Waiāhole-Waikāne against a wealthy landowner transformed into an effort among kalo farmers to restore and revitalize the water resources necessary to sustainably feed local lo‘i. This instance went on to inform other movements on other islands that challenged the sugar industry’s use of natural waterways, ultimately leading to larger scale Indigenous cultural resurgence.

Intersectionality and Coalitions

All social movements form coalitions, or organizational collaborations, which bring opportunities to combine resources and influence (Steinman, 2018; Van Dyke & Amos, 2017). Coalitions are driven by shared and intersecting interests, where combined efforts may increase the chances that the connected groups will achieve their goals. As Einwohner and Rochford (2017) and Fisher et al. (2017) observe, for example, the Women’s March of 2017 is not limited to women’s causes, but also espouses concern for issues of race, immigrant’s rights, the environment, and reproductive rights. The Women’s Movement itself grew out of the mobilization of

diverse groups in the wake of the 2016 presidential election. Crystallized in the slogan “Trump, Trump, Go Away, Racist, Sexist, Anti-Gay!”, Van Dyke and Amos (2017) observe the broad coalition of students and student organizations that congealed the day after the election, including the Lambda Alliance (LGBT+ group), Black Student Union, Movimiento Estudiantil Chican@ de Aztlán (MEChA), and Students Advocating Law and Education (an undocumented students’ group). These groups were unified by the “fear that they, their friends and family would face harassment or deportation under the new administration” (p. 1).

For Steinman (2018), coalitions form when three factors are shared between groups that outweigh the challenges of sharing power: threats, ideologies, and social ties. Threats push groups together to work beyond their own movements. Broad, inclusive and flexible ideologies facilitate coalitions because they allow diverse participants to set/align their movement frames more easily. The existence and degree of social ties are likewise critical for coalitions to form. Not only do social ties highlight the necessity of brokers and bridge builders embedded within/across movement networks, they throw into relief the importance of “social and cultural distance between groups, ignorance and prejudice, and the existence of positive interactions between group members” (p. 1073). Speaking through the example of successful coalition building at Standing Rock to protest the Dakota Pipeline, Steinman is careful to explain that this last point of social and cultural ties is particularly pertinent for Indigenous groups, who often collaborate on the shared goals of self-determination and decolonization.

Steinman goes on to explain some of the practical reasons for coalition building, which is pertinent for Indigenous groups, and American Indian groups in particular. Again, working through the example of Standing Rock, he explains that American Indians and their organizations are relatively small in size and have been socially as well as geographically distanced from mainstream society. As such, collaborating with external partners has been fairly critical. In particular, the coalition at Standing Rock capitalized on existing ties between American Indian SMOs and the environmentalist movement. “Overlapping interests in environmental protection and the existence of a number of local, regional, national, and international Indigenous environmentally oriented groups has generated significant inter-movement ties, as well as intra-Indigenous ties between individuals and organizations from different Tribal Nations and different parts of the United States” (p. 1077). Of note, the theme of coalition building around shared environmental interest repeats itself in the case of the Mapuche Indian movement in Chile. Their land struggles helped them to form natural alliances with environmental groups that offered both symbolic and literal partnerships to raise awareness and support (Carruthers & Rodriguez, 2009) locally and globally.

In further turning to examples of coalitions within Indigenous/Native movements, Hawai‘i is again discussed. The dynamics of the broader Hawaiian sovereignty movement correspond to many of the characteristics which Steinman notes as critical to successful coalition building. For example, Stobaugh and Huss (2018) note that the continued threat of government policy action over the past several decades has kept different factions of the movement (with disparate strategies on the

question of sovereignty) moving in a unified front, rooted in a shared problem. “The external threat from the government helped to foster a climate of fear which caused those in the movement to stop wondering if their group was going to lead the sovereignty movement and begin to question if there was going to still be a sovereignty movement” (p. 6).

An historic campaign within the sovereignty movement to bring Hawai‘i’s fresh waterways under public trust also demonstrates the power of strong social and cultural ties between community actors to bring about unity and synchronized action. Sproat (in Goodyear- Ka’ōpua et al., 2014) writes on the dedicated coalitions of Kānaka Maoli, small family farmers, and environmentalists who understood the cultural, scientific, legal, and economic basis for restoring stream flow. “We knew that to perservere over the long term, we had to build a movement by tapping into the thirst for pono. We worked to educate our lāhui so that folks realized that this was about more than restoring any one stream. This was about Hawai‘i ‘s future and whether Maoli communities would have the resources to continue to live in these islands and perpetuate our culture ā mau loa”(p. 208).

The Hawaiian language movement also offers the long view of how community-based coalitions can work to effect significant social change. Beyer (2018) recalls a series of critical gains in the Hawaiian language movement made possible by a collaborative and proliferative network of community-based actors, including university and public school educators, parents, community members, and community-based organizations (e.g. ‘Aha Pūnana Leo, OHA), who operated as counter-hegemonic agents against existing legal and state institutional structures. Hermes (2012) offers a similar analysis on the role of collaboration in the revitalization of Indigenous languages. They cite Hawaiian immersion schools and Māori language nests as illustrative of the successes a movement can have when collaboration between homes, communities, and educational institutions occur. Other modes of collaboration are also mentioned, including master-apprentice programs and home-based intergenerational learning where children are mainly first-language learners and adults are second-language learners. In this case, it would appear that the spread and saturation of activism within Hawaiian communities and language practice explain, at least in part, both the movement’s duration and success.

Coalition building also underscores the role that surrogacy can play in grassroots movements. The “Honokahua Burial Site Controversy” on Maui, instantiated within the broader Hawaiian movement for Native self-determination, also exemplifies how relationships with third parties can be brought to bear on social change campaigns. Tomone Hanada (in Isaki & Collins eds., 2019) tells the story of how Kānaka Maoli activism deterred the Maui Land Pineapple Company’s (MLP) efforts to build hotel in Honokahua, Maui in the 1980s – the site of an ancient Hawaiian burial ground. A small, Native organization, Hui Alanui O Mākena, engaged the MLP in a protracted series of legal negotiations with the assistance of third parties, who acted as surrogates or extensions of the hui. They recruited the Office of Hawaiian Affairs (OHA) to represent them in these negotiations, and the media attention they eventually garnered was enough to petition the Governor of Hawai‘i at the time, who

in turn involved the Mayor of Maui, to assist with the negotiations and remove bureaucratic hurdles to reach a resolution. Haneda observes: “The procedural power and control over state and county resources these third parties brought to the negotiations was key to the quality of the negotiated outcome, since the Native Hawaiian activist groups did not have the knowledge or power to suggest and implement solutions which added value to the negotiations” (p. 200). The result was the MLP stopped construction of the hotel, even though they had met all the legal requirements to build.

Strategies for Social Change

Non-institutional Tactics

In her comparison of Indigenous movements in the U.S. and Canada, Wilkes (2006) notes the use of tactics as “an efficient means of getting attention without having large population resources that might be necessary for other tactics” (p. 515). Non-institutional tactics include such activities as fish-ins, occupations, road blockades, sit-ins, boycotts, and marches/demonstrations. The effectiveness of these tactics, as peaceful protest actions, are observable throughout many grassroots campaigns, from the Civil Rights Movement (Morris in Goodwin & Jasper, 2015) to the resistance at Standing Rock (Steinman, 2018). In August 2019, for example, 300 Indigenous women occupied a building of Brazil’s health ministry in Brasilia (the capital) for ten hours. This protest was a part of a larger movement in Brazil - the First March of Indigenous Women - characterized by a series of marches, sit-ins, and singing and dancing by thousands. These women have been protesting Bolsonaro’s far-right policies which propose to effectively strip Indigenous communities of healthcare access (by transferring cost and responsibility from the federal government to ill-resourced/prepared towns and cities), and open their lands to mining, agriculture, and other development activities (BBC, 2019; Amazon Frontlines).

Another contemporary example of the use of noninstitutional tactics can be found in the current organizing along the base of the access road to Mauna Kea on Hawai‘i Island. It is there that a coalition of community groups and individuals are currently resisting an international project to build a Thirty Meter Telescope (TMT) on the sacred mountain (Van Dyke, 2019). The movement has relied heavily on human road blockades, which has required a continuous occupation of the road space to stall construction efforts. The media attention that these tactics have drawn, assisted by the support from celebrities, appear to have curbed the arrests that were taking place in earlier 2019 (e.g. arrest of Hawaiian elders) (Lovell, 2019). A network of tents and temporary structures has been erected to support the occupation on site, providing a variety of assistances (e.g. food, healthcare) to sustain the movement. The movement and the TMT project (supported by Hawai‘i’s governor) currently stand opposed in a stalemate. The latest news of the movement’s effectiveness has been Japan’s suspension of its yearly funding for the TMT (Hiraishi, 2020) with India’s commitment to the site also waning (Lovell, 2020).

Cantzler (2013) also notices the ways in which Indigenous/Aboriginal groups use a variety of extra-institutional strategies that, in addition to being “tactically

innovative” are also “consistent with Indigenous traditional laws and customs and that adhere to the needs of Indigenous communities as they define them” (p. 70). In Australia, Aboriginal movements to restore fishing and hunting rights have pursued change through a variety of governmental programs, such as the National Heritage Trust, which have been established to restore and conserve the country’s natural resources and environment. Aboriginal groups have leveraged the mandates and structures of these agencies, which afford significant latitude to implement best practices, including the incorporation of traditional knowledge into resource management protocols. “Through these programs, Indigenous groups are able to direct the management of culturally significant resources in ways that accommodate the revitalization of local communities and the development of pan-Indigenous networks across Australia” (Cantzler, 2013; p. 80).

Leveraging Legal Systems and Bureaucracies

Some of the literature reviewed suggest that social change movements that operate through the legal system, as well as other public bureaucratic structures, can yield tangible gains. These gains are hard fought, as exemplified by the two-decade long campaign to expel the U.S. Navy from the island of Kaho‘olawe. Movements that seek significant policy changes, like the one for Kaho‘olawe, often experience significant setbacks, go through multiple rounds of appeals, and result in compromises. Some lessons do emerge from Hawai‘i-based case studies on how legal challenges waged by social movements can result in relative wins.

The case for formalization

Hawai‘i-based case studies offer some lessons for pursuing social change through the courts. In their recollection of multiple social change campaigns, contributing authors to *Native Hawaiian Law: A treatise* (MacKenzie, Serrano, & Sproat eds., 2015) note the ways in which grassroots groups formalized as nonprofit entities to pursue legal action against private industry, public departments and bureaucracies, and challenge existing laws/policy at county, state, and federal levels (e.g. State Constitutional Convention). While this move is reflective of the bureaucratization phase of social change movements in general, lessons from social movements, such as Black Lives Matter, demonstrate that this move is not always incumbent to advance social campaigns. In the instance of Hawai‘i-based movements, it would appear that nonprofits have galvanized and/or shared leadership within coalitions to challenge and overturn legal precedent.

In returning to the example of the movement to repatriate and restore Kaho‘olawe from U.S. Navy war simulations, the efforts of the non-profit Protect Kaho‘olawe ‘Ohana (PKO) were central to the sustained activity of the movement (Kaulukukui in Mackenzie et al. 2015). The non-profit formed at a critical moment when small scale protests were emerging and proceeded to escalate them, including multiple attempted and successful occupations of the island (the longest lasting 35 days). PKO members continued to work with the legislature and judicial system to stop the bombings, filing suit in federal court seeking compliance with environmental protection, historic site, and religious freedom laws. After a series of lawsuits, rulings, and appeals (stemming from *Aluli v. Brown*), which increasingly required the Navy to

make concessions, the Bush Administration issued a memorandum in 1990 to “discontinue use of Kaho‘olawe as a weapons range.” This memorandum kickstarted a series of congressional actions that resulted in the repatriation of the island back to the State of Hawai‘i, the issuance of a clean-up budget, and the determination that the military be responsible for cleanup and restoration. While the clean-up funds ended up proving wholly inadequate and the island was not fully restored even as of 2004, the Kaho‘olawe Island Reserve Commission (KIRC) and PKO were able to begin pursuing restoration projects on parts of the island, which have continued to present day.

The successful role of nonprofits is also discernable in the efforts of Maui-based community groups to challenge the state-managed watershed system, which has continued to divert streams from kalo farmers, subsistence gatherers, and fishermen toward industry; this is accomplished through a permitting system. In East Maui in 2001, kalo farmers formed the nonprofit, Nā Moku Aupuni O Ko‘olau Hui, Inc. (Nā Moku) to launch a series of legal challenges against the Board of Land and Natural Resources (BLNR) and the Water Commission, which challenged the annual permit renewals and sought to amend the Instream Flow Standards (IFSs) for twenty-seven (27) diverted streams. In Central Maui, kalo farmers in Nā Wai ‘Ehā organized under Hui o Nā Wai ‘Ehā and Maui Tomorrow Foundation, Inc. (collectively, the Community Groups) and allied with OHA, also petitioned the Water Commission in 2004 to restore the flow of its streams by amending the IFSs. Sproat traces the protracted legal battles of both groups over approximately 10 years, which resulted in quasi-favorable Hawai‘i Supreme Court rulings that restored significant stream flows (Sproat in MacKenzie et al., 2015).

Ikaika Hussey’s analysis of the organized efforts of concerned residents, environmentalists, researchers and lawyers to strengthen wastewater management practices in West Maui also animates the connection between formalization, coalition building, and working through legal and administrative structures/processes to achieve movement goals (Hussey in Eds. Isaki & Collins, 2019). Hussey tracks several critical moments in local activism between 1991 and 2015 that culminated in the federal district court imposing sanctions on the County for their dangerous use of injection wells and stricter regulations for the treatment and disposal of wastewater. Key to the efforts appeared to be: (1) commissioning research and scientific studies that provided irrefutable evidence of ecological and infrastructural damage; (2) leaning on public domain documents as well as the legal and scientific expertise of public and private allies (e.g. State of Hawai‘i Department of Health, U.S. Soil Conservation Service, Hawai‘i Wildlife Fund, Water Quality Consulting, Surfrider Foundation, the Sierra Maui Club, and others; (3) founding local alliances and coalitions (e.g. West Maui Preservation Association; Don’t Inject, Redirect Coalition) to more effectively challenge developers and special interests; and (4) organizing in such a way that evidence-based research was presented at critical moments of political decision making that brought further official scrutiny. For instance, in 2008 West Maui citizens attended permit proceedings to challenge the repermitting of the injection wells (slated for 2010), which prompted the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) to attach conditions to the County’s renewal application.

Cultural rights and revitalization

In returning to the aforementioned Hawai'i-based campaigns, we also see the ways in which legal challenges have been brought through claims for restorative justice, cultural rights, and environmental conservation. Both Nā Moku, and especially the Community Groups, made the case that it was the Water Commission's "constitutional, statutory, and moral obligations to rebuild indigenous culture and practices, restore ecological balance, and improve social welfare conditions – all set within the broader context of the state's commitment to reconciliation with, and restorative justice for, Kānaka Maoli". The claim to "cultural rights" in legal challenges is also apparent in the landmark court case *Tapuga v. Odo* (1994) recalled by Souza and Walk (in MacKenzie et al., 2015), which established a precedent for speaking 'Ōlelo Hawai'i in state court proceedings. What was significant about this battle was that it "marked the shift from viewing an indigenous language right as an individual right, embedded in notions of justice and fairness for the individual, to a cultural right with preservation as its main objective".

The relationship between law and social movements

Finally, it may be worth noting the ways in which legal gains emerge under unanticipated or unprecedented circumstances. For Craven (2019), these gains often emerge organically. She indexes the interrelated and complex nature of social movements and law, pushing for the application of Complex Adaptive Systems (CAS) theory to understand how legal systems and social movements behave and interact in interdependent, non-linear, adaptable, emergent, self-organized, not centrally controlled, and co-evolutionary (p. 39) ways. Connections and relationships are integral and paramount in these systems (p. 40). Craven uses the example of how a third type of protection order was created in Nebraska, which "trickled up through lobbying and testifying to a variety of organizations and ultimately to the Nebraska State Legislature" (p. 42) to meet the needs of assault victims who were unable to employ other available options. Craven discusses how this juridical outcome was made possible by the groundwork of the #MeTooMovement, which she traces back to as early as 2006 – of the story-telling and social networking that had occurred around the experiences of sexual assault and harassment in preceding years (pp. 40-41).

In another example, D. Kapua'ala Sproat (in Goodyear- Ka'ōpua et al., 2014) discusses how movements in Hawai'i to restore previously diverted fresh waterways for private industry found some measure of success working within and through structures of the state – primarily the court system – as exemplified by the 2000 Waiāhole decision. The relative successes of the prolonged legal battles were, among other things, the outcome of a confluence of circumstances and efforts, including: the decline of the sugar industry; the ascendance of local judges to Hawai'i's courts following statehood (vs. appointment judges from Washington DC); and legal spaces opened by previous landmark decisions that deemed water a public resource (i.e. amendments to the 1978 Hawai'i State Constitutional Convention and the enactment of the Water Code). It was the convergence of these coeval circumstances that helped to facilitate such changes in public policy.

Communication and the Media

Theoretical Frameworks and Limits from the Field

Understanding the function, strategies, and effects of media and communication practices within social change movements is a broad, complex and ever-changing field of research, and not without significant theoretical and empirical gaps. In their review of over 80 publications specifically collected to understand the latest research within this broad field, Obregon & Tufte (2017) find: (a) a lack of interdisciplinary approaches; (b) a low application of research to understand how communication processes shape the formation and evolution of social movements; and, (c) limited research on how traditional actors/institutions embrace the role of communication in a new era of social movements (Obregon & Tufte, 2017; p. 637).

Mattoni and Treré (2014) also take issue with the state of research on the relationship media/communication and social movements. Most notably, they point to patterns of fragmentation and bias within the literature. Fragmentation refers to the limited ways in which multiple fields have characterized the role and function of the media within social movements, (e.g. sociology, anthropology, political science, psychology, history). The biases to which the authors refer index the tendency of scholars to narrow their investigations to the effects of a single communication medium on social movements, as well as fetishize new technological trends while disregarding the prior historical media/movement relationship. For example, researchers may only look at social media sites or tweets while ignoring other mediums that a group regularly uses. According to Mattoni and Treré, this has occurred in research on the Zapatista movement, wherein scholars investigated the use of internet technology while ignoring the success of the traditional forms of media used by the group.

In response to these perceived shortcomings, Mattoni and Treré offer a more comprehensive research framework that accounts for the interplay between social movements and media through a variety of variables across time, actors, and processes. Specifically, they unpack three movement-related concepts and three media-focused concepts to flesh out this framework. The ‘movement’ concepts include temporality, actors, and actions. The authors regard movements as a makeup of continuously evolving events, moments, and cycles that occur in the short-, medium-, and long-term. Actors within movements are accounted for at three levels also: the micro (individual activists not associated with an organization), the meso (“collective formations in which some individuals come together and interact” with “loose organizational routines” p. 256), and the macro (the categorizing of social movement actors “according to their political culture able to shape mobilizations and...the relationship between activists and media” p. 258). Actions are made up of “participation, organization, protest, and symbolic activities” (p. 259).

Table 5. Common characteristics and milestones of social change movements

Common Characteristics/Milestones			
Authors	Lifecycle	Shared Movement Goals	Intersectionality & Coalitions
Barker (2014)		Situates Idle No More in context of Canadian Settler colonialism and Indigenous resurgence.	
Beyer (2018)			Collaborations between educators, parents, community members and organizations worked against counter-hegemonic agents/structures to make gains in the Hawaiian language movement.
Cantzler (2013)		"Instead of seeking inclusion within, or accommodation by, the broader society, Indigenous Peoples often demand rights to political self-determination and cultural autonomy" (p. 75).	
Carruthers & Rodriguez (2009)		Mapuche Indian activism in Chile was a reaction against Indigenous land and environmental right's violations (i.e. extraction and land development).	Shared interests led to natural alliances with the Mapuche and environmental groups.
Christiansen in Jones-Eversely et al., (2017)	SMs develop over four stages: emergence (in response to a catalyst), coalescence around a frame, bureaucratization, decline or pivot to new lifecycle.		
Einwohner & Rochford (2017)			The Women's March of 2017 was not focused solely on women's issues, but intersects with immigrant's rights, the environment, racial issues, etc.
Fisher et al. (2017)			The driving reasons that resulted in individual's participation in the Women's March of 2017 "represented an intersectional set of issues and how coalitions of issues emerge" (p. 1) .
Goodyear-Ka'ōpua (2014)	SMs can fail to meet their primary goal, but gain other ground whether technically or symbolically: The Hawai'i GMO Justice Coalition did not get the GMO label bill they sought, but helped fuel other GMO-related legislation.	The Hawaiian sovereignty movement has operated from a consensus among its leaders that, irrespective of their differences, there is a commitment to Native Hawaiian self-determination. There are examples of how sub-groups can help achieve larger goals (the Hawaiian language movement) and how goals can pivot, as was the case with Waiāhole-Waikāne residents.	Dedicated coalitions of Kānaka Maoli, small family farmers, and environmentalists helped bring Hawai'i's fresh waterways under public trust. Their work demonstrates the power of strong social and cultural ties between community actors to bring about unity and synchronized action.

Common Characteristics/Milestones			
Authors	Lifecycle	Shared Movement Goals	Intersectionality & Coalitions
Goodyear-Ka'ōpua (2018)		Notes the resurgence of independence discourse and articulations of Hawaiian national identity among activists, artists and other grassroots Kānaka Maoli.	
Hermes (2012)			Describes collaboration as key to success in Indigenous language revitalization. Hawaiian immersion schools and Māori language nests are illustrative of the successes a movement can have when focused coordination between homes, communities, and educational institutions occurs.
Iaukea in Isaki & Collins (2019)	Trace the lifecycle of the Save Honolua Bay Coalition from planning/organizing to the passing of Acts 214 and 215. The lifecycle of the movement was completed; however, due to the unsettled status of Honolua Bay, there may be further activism.		Provides an example of how a Native Hawaiian organization, Hui Alanui O Mākena garnered support and advocacy from third parties (OHA, Governor, etc.) to assist in negotiations with Maui Land Pineapple Company to successfully prevent the building of a hotel in Honokahua.
Staggenborg (2016)		Shared grievances spur SMs. “Collective behavior, political process, and new social movements theorists have all pointed to the importance of large-scale social changes in stimulating social movements” (p. 33).	
Steinman (2018)			Coalitions form when three factors are shared that outweigh the challenges of sharing power: threats, ideologies, and social ties. Emphasizes the importance of coalitions for Indigenous SMOs in particular due to size, and geographic/social distancing. Example: ties at Standing Rock between American Indian and environmental groups.
Stobaugh & Huss (2018)			Continued threats of government policy action have helped unify fractured fronts of the Hawaiian sovereignty movement.
Van Dyke & Amos (2017)			A broad coalition of students and student organizations united the day after the 2016 election, motivated by common fears regarding their own discrimination and detrimental policies of the new administration.

The three communication components at work in Mattoni and Treré's framework include: media practices, mediation processes, and mediatization. Media practices encapsulate how individual activists utilize various media forms to produce (or appropriate) messages, as well as how they interact with media subjects (e.g. journalists, public relations managers, and activist media practitioners) (p. 259). They go on to define mediation processes as the social processes "in which media supports the flow of discourses, meanings, and interpretations in societies" (p. 260). Lastly, mediatization is the long-term process by which the interaction between the media, resulting in a change for "social and cultural institutions and modes of interaction" (p. 261).

They apply this framework to Italian student movements of the 1990s and again in 2008 to demonstrate the possibility as well as importance of analyzing social movements in historical context, through the wide range of media practices they employ, by noting the combinations and flows of communication technologies (e.g. mainstream vs. alternative), and by taking into account the cultural shifts in society (e.g. politics, institutions) that impact how social movements and media engage each other. They see their work as relevant for researchers and activists alike, "to not only foster self-reflection on how media are used during mobilizations, but also as a starting material to envisage participatory action research with activists, with the ultimate aim of elaborating more effective strategies and tactics to deal with media technologies and outlets" (p. 266).

Challenges and Practices On the Ground

Navigating media structures and practices are complex endeavors for social movements. As Staggenborg (2016) notes, social movements are challenged to disseminate their messages via the mass media because of the fundamental asymmetry between them. Media organizations are more powerful, resourced, and operate according to their own interests and routines. Often, movement activities are not reported at all, and when they are, movement messages are frequently distorted by media frames (pp. 49-50). The anti-TMT movement at the base of Mauna Kea provides examples of the everyday negotiations community activists make with the mass media to frame their purpose and goals. In a series of interviews conducted by Peryear (2019) for the *Columbia Journalism Review*, members of the movement mainly articulate the challenges they have experienced in their messaging campaigns. Native, local, and external protestors (e.g. from universities on the U.S. continent) most expressed their frustration that media outlets have so far failed to investigate or cover how the protests at Mauna Kea are instantiated within the historical context of the long-standing sovereignty movement and the broader struggle for Native self-determination. They also claim that media outlets have largely ignored how the protests have been organized to illustrate Native capacity for self-governance: "We are building our nation here and now. There is free housing, food, health care, transportation, and education for everyone, even those that are not Kānaka Maoli." Moreover, while they claim that the in-house media team has provided an accurate portrayal, they see the mainstream media as "homogenizing the struggle into neat binaries or racist tropes", noting the familiar ways in which media outlets trivialize the complexity of minority politics (e.g. racial injustice, women's rights). One activist mentioned a bright spot, which may be emblematic of the small gains disciplined

messaging can make. They noticed subtle shifts in how their efforts are represented - mainly that Mauna Kea activists have gone from being described as “protestors” to “protectors” (kia‘i). They also pointed out the relatively better job local or embedded journalists were doing at covering the protests, as opposed to the larger outlets who were sourcing their information primarily from state/government representatives. This last point perhaps highlights the ways in which news organizations source information from the most centralized and easily accessed sources to save on time, expense, and communication (Staggenborg, p. 50; Ryan, Carragee & Schwerner, 1998). Staggenborg goes on to note that social movements that are large, centralized, and well-resourced can fair better in the media, especially when they are willing to “package their organizational identity and adapt its issue frames” in ways that are attractive to outlets (Staggenborg, p. 51). Movements often resort to dramatic tactics to attract media coverage, although this comes with the risk that standards for coverage can escalate. She points to Greenpeace as one such social movement organization that has received such exposure in the media. Nude protest is another type of dramatic action that successfully attracts media attention. As Sutton (2007) observes at the 2003 World Social Forum in Brazil, “because prevailing norms in most contemporary societies prescribe the use of clothing in public spaces, naked bodies can be used in quite sensational ways to call the public’s attention to a social problem, particularly in the information age, when media resonance is a crucial political strategy” (p. 144).

Digital Communication and Social Media

Online media tools pose as more viable and democratic alternatives for contemporary social movements to disseminate their ideas and information. In their analysis of #Black Lives Matter (#BLM), Mundt, Ross, and Burnett (2018) explore how social media may help social movements expand or strengthen, a process the authors refer to as “scaling up”. Their findings indicate that social media is critical for (1) generating internal support networks (connections with other BLM leaders were highlighted); (2) gaining/maintaining followers and sharing information/organizing events, sometimes on short notice; (3) raising funds and locating other valuable resources/services; (4) building coalitions with other groups/chapters (sometimes as an extension of face-to-face interactions that are easily maintained online) and across populations; and (5) creating and “controlling” their own narratives and counter-narratives. Duarte (2017) also highlights some of these advantages in his analysis of Idle No More, in which he claims that social media spurred unification across varying sites of Indigenous activism. “Indigenous activists and allies in many different places and social positions orchestrated assemblages of SNS, devices, various web platforms, and independent media channels to organise quickly and effectively, circulating messages, memes and actions that destabilised colonial efforts across First Nations lands” (p. 6). He drives home the added benefit of raising awareness through digital media.

In his own review of literature, Haunss (2015) also offers perspectives from the field on the largely positive role digital platforms and social media can play in social movements. Much of his findings focused on organizational, relational, and transactional benefits: (1) the internet solves the problem of transaction costs, which makes it quicker and less expensive to share information, although these elements

are not critical to the success of movements; (2) the “internet solves the (rational choice) problem of collective action” by offering what researchers call “connective action” whereas “digital media [serves] as organizing agents that supplements and possibly substitutes the logic of collective action” (p. 19); (3) the internet reduces hierarchical collaborations because it’s “reticulate structure...corresponds to the organizational networks of movement[s] and also structure the activists’ ideals of cooperation and social coordination” (p. 21); and (4) The internet enables new forms of protest/organizing and “would enable leaderless movements” with either strong or weak connections (p. 22).

Petray (2013) suggests that social media platforms can be used by activist to not only disseminate information, but also create their own image. The author explains the complexities of this ‘self-writing’ and how even in their “non-political” social media posts, activists are still putting forward images of Indigenous people that break with stereotypes. Rising from a comment made by Federal Opposition Leader Tony Abbott in November 2012, that an Aboriginal MP was not authentically Aboriginal (because of his appearance and urban residence), Aboriginal activists took to social media to counter these Aboriginal stereotypes, some using comedy in their messages by employing the “itriedtobeauthenticbut” hashtag. The author also discusses specific tweets and posts as examples of how activists have brought direct attention to the racism they endured and their own complicated identities. The author goes on to assert that a majority of social media activists do not directly address stereotypes through social media, but instead oppose essentialism. As such, self-authorship occurs in many everyday posts. A post by Aboriginal activist Blayke Tatafu about public transportation is offered as an example of such self-authorship: “I was getting annoyed at these LOUD Tongans that got on the train then I realized they were my cousins. Still annoyed. #tired.” Activists also engage in self-authorship through their profiles where they not only describe themselves as Aboriginal, but also display their interests, hobbies, and activities. As with other groups, the mainstream media have not always characterized Aboriginal people in Australia accurately or fairly, and social media, according to the author, “is an important tool for continually forming and negotiating identities, whether individual or collective” (p. 13). Questions for movements to take into account are then offered by the author, focusing on audience awareness and the connection between disseminating information and actual social change.

Engaging youth

The use of social media technology in social change movements may be particularly advantageous for engaging youth and fostering youth leadership. In their study of high school and university students, Maher and Earl (2019) found that “that digital media was deeply embedded in the pathways that led youth to activism” (p. 872). The utilization of digital media is entrenched in the lives of youth and how they communicate, and, likewise, central to their pathways to activism. For participants, invitations to participate in activism often came directly from the traditional networks of family and friends through digital means, or through finding online opportunities that matched their interests. However, those same people/networks sometimes functioned as barriers to some students’ activism; in some cases these students were merely unsupported while others were actively discouraged from

participating in online activist exchanges. Despite these barriers, some participants were able to “‘route around’ unsupportive networks” (p. 875) by engaging in online groups and causes. This circumvention was sometimes facilitated by “built-in recommendations systems or sponsored content on social media sites” (p. 877), making digital pathways a method to tap into activism opportunities about which youth would otherwise be unaware.

Bonilla and Rosa (2015) add to the discussion on the benefits of social media, and Twitter in particular, in countering dominant or mainstream narratives. The context for their analysis are the Twitter campaigns that surfaced after the 2014 murder of Michael Brown in Ferguson. They note the ways in which several hashtag campaigns and memes, such as #NoAngel and #HandsUpDontShoot, were deployed to counter mainstream media messaging about Michael Brown. They write that while in person “racialized young people...might not be able to contest the meanings ascribed to their bodies (or impede the deadly violence exerted on them by the police), through their creative reinterpretations on social media, they are able to rematerialize their bodies in alternative ways” (p. 9).

Elliott & Earle (2018) also instruct on the ways in which youth are particularly inclined to activism when they are engaged simultaneously on digital platforms by social movement organizations (SMOs). In their examination of the relationship between social movement organizations (SMOs) and youth behavior in multiple studies, they found that the majority of youth political participation occurs outside formal organizations. This indicates an overall failure of SMOs to capture youth activism. The reasons for this perceived failure have to do with the ways in which SMOs do not adequately reach out to youth in face-to-face forums, fail to feature youth-generated content in online forums, and overly structure digital movements. The authors provide empirical data to support the recommendation that SMOs increase their outreach to youth, citing socially active and interested young people who become even more engaged when involved in an SMO. They also support the finding that SMOs should involve youth in the creation of content and extend leadership roles to youth to enable them to connect to other young people.

Drawbacks to social media

At the same time, Mundt, Ross, and Burnett (2018) note some obstacles to social media use that emerged from the research they conducted. These include (1) the continued need to pair online interaction with face-to-face actions and to avoid “slacktivism”; (2) an inability to completely manage “who is, or is not, part of the movement, or how its primary framing symbol...is utilized” (p. 10); (3) the openness of social media that allows for disruption and “trolling” and a need to constantly monitor their pages; and (4) security risks associated with living publicly and accessibly on social media. Bonilla and Rosa (2015) further warn against the hazards of social media use in activism, in its capacity to inadvertently link unrelated or vaguely related information, thus providing highly filtered views of a places and events. Likewise, in the same literature review conducted by Haunss (2015) cited earlier, some of the scholars covered caution that the informal structures that digital/social media enable within social change movements are not new. Moreover,

informal structures may lead to weak network ties, which are not as powerful as face-to-face activism.

As such, a balanced use of activism is recommended from the field, noting the ways in which digital and face-to-face activism can work in tandem to complement and bolster each other, building community and spurring subsequent actions. In their analysis of Black Lives Matter, Bonilla and Rosa (2015) note “the ways these activists shift seamlessly across spaces and modes of engagement underscore the slippery boundary between analog and digital forms of activism. Indeed, it is unclear if #HandsUpDontShoot and #JusticeForMichaelBrown represent the use of political slogans as hashtags or if they represent the use of hashtags as slogans” (p. 11). The authors go on to suggest that this interrelated nature of digital and analog social movements calls for “internet related ethnography”, in which anthropologists explore activists in both their “online and offline communities” (p. 11).

In his comparative analysis of Indigenous movements, Duarte (2017) reaches the conclusion that Idle No More in Canada, Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional (EZLN) in Mexico, and the Rio Yaqui water rights campaign (also Mexico) demonstrate both the added benefit of raising awareness through digital media as well as the limits of online activism. Ultimately, he cites the enduring necessity of direct action. Duarte explains that the use of digital media platforms/social media in Indigenous movements should be considered within the context of the literal challenges faced by Indigenous communities, the geopolitical context of specific Indigenous communities, and how social media use is embedded in Indigenous epistemologies: “...if as social theorists we seek to understand Indigenous online spheres, we have to be Indigenous, able to meaningfully engage, decipher, and catch on to the coded language, turns-of-phrase, significance of political connections, and deeper philosophical meanings embedded in Indigenous uses of social media” (p. 9-10).

Leveraging the Arts

The arts – visual, digital, linguistic, performance, etc. – also function as mediums of communication within and for social change movements. Hawaiian elders Puhipau and Nani Rogers (in Goodyear-Ka’ōpua, et al., 2014) discuss the ways in which they turned to the creative and public arts – film and radio – in their work to change political consciousness in Hawai‘i. They did so as an alternative and counter-measure to working with the state, as they had failed in their earlier efforts to, in the case of the former, prevent the evictions that took place on Sand Island in the 1980s, and in the case of the latter, prevent the desecration of ancestral burial sites by land developers.

Goodyear- Ka’ōpua (2018) discusses the contemporary resurgence of independence discourse and articulations of Hawaiian national identity among activists, artists and other grassroots groups in official testimonies and music produced by Hawaiians. She presents examples from Kānaka hip hop musical lyrics, which position the artists as ideologically in line with the independence activist as they push for “a ‘return of the maka ‘a‘inana’ – together, creating space for imagining more horizontal and rhizomatic ways to practice Hawaiian independent governance” (p. 461). Goodyear-

Ka'opua uses lyrics from the artists Homework Simpson, Mr. Kapu, and Hano-hano & Maile Naehu, "aka the Paniolo Prince and his Queen Maile" to demonstrate how these artists connect to their culture and history, particularly with the 'a'ina, as well as demonstrate the power of the Hawaiian people over their oppressors. The excerpts of testimonials and song lyrics poignantly illustrate the ways in which current day Kānaka Maoli are expressing their desires for sovereignty through the modern independence movement.

Similarly in Australia, the transformation of Aboriginal music can be taken as an indicator of the advancement of social movements, and the emergence and expression of Indigenous consciousness (Merlan, 2005). "The rise of a wave of settlement bands and the expression of more assertive indigenous consciousness in drama, film, and other forms of art must all be considered forms of aspects of movement that accompanied the intensification of indigenous activism..." (p. 484). Indigenous musical groups also emerged in the wake of Idle No More whose lyrics pushed for self-determination. One group in particular, "A Tribe Called Red" went on to win a prestigious Canadian music award (Barker, 2015).

Finally, Hiraishi (2019) adds to the discussion on the arts in social change movements in Hawai'i, by offering the perspective that music mediates the messaging of movements. This function of music allow activists to deliver their message to a wider audience in a seemingly less confrontational way: "It can function like an iron fist in a velvet glove, you know?" says Donaghy, a music professor at the Institute for Hawaiian Music at UH Maui College. The message is kind of in the background, but eventually, it's going to percolate to the surface." This brief news piece from Hawai'i Public Radio describes the ways in which "songs have inspired activism and activism has inspired songs" from the time of the overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawai'i to the current TMT protests at Mauna Kea.

Discursive strategies: Framing indigeneity and race

Finally, some scholars track strategies for navigating racial tensions brought to light by social movements as well as ways of communicating with potential movement sympathizers. Hoffman et al. (2016) argues the potential benefits of "narrative and storytelling" for social change movements as a part of a broader "terror management" strategy. They propose that such practices may be a productive means of reducing majority/white prejudices and increasing understanding of Black people and other marginalized groups. They cautiously suggest that this approach could have the effect of shifting dialogue from debate to hearing one another's stories (p. 605).

Hermes (2012) instructs on the uses of "positive framing" as a strategy for countering dominant/majority narratives that obstruct social movement goals. For Hermes, positive framing offers a counter-perspective on the paradigm and discourse of Indigenous language "death", which capitulates Indigenous stereotypes. The author proposes abandoning "sickness" discourse, and its colonial undertones, in favor of alternative narrations that view Indigenous languages as complex living and changing systems. "Framing language revitalization and documentation as

Table 6. Communication and Media

Digital Communication & Social Media					
Authors	<i>Theoretical Frameworks</i>	<i>Advantages</i>	<i>Drawbacks/Warnings</i>	<i>Engaging Youth</i>	<i>Creative & Discursive Strategies</i>
Barker (2014)					Creative anti-colonial expressions contribute to SMs. (e.g. A Tribe Called Red).
Bonilla & Rosa (2015)	There is a blurry boundary between digital and analog activism, and movements must be studied within both contexts.			Social media, Twitter in particular, can help youth of color counter mainstream media (#NoAngel, #HandsUpDontShoot).	
Duarte (2017)		Social media helped efficiently unify diverse groups of Indigenous activists across a large geographic area for the Idle No More protests.	Warns digital media platforms/social media in Indigenous movements should be considered within the geopolitical context of communities and how they are embedded in Indigenous epistemologies.		
Elliott & Earl (2019)				SMOs have failed to encourage youth engagement, despite youth interest. Online forums are missing youth-focused content, and digital movements are overly structured. Youth should be engaged in online content creation and leadership roles.	
Goodyear-Ka'ōpua (2018)					Kānaka music (e.g. hip hop), which is ideologically aligned to independence movement, can help the push for “a ‘return of the maka’āinana’ – creating space for imagining more horizontal and rhizomatic

Digital Communication & Social Media					
Authors	<i>Theoretical Frameworks</i>	<i>Advantages</i>	<i>Drawbacks/Warnings</i>	<i>Engaging Youth</i>	<i>Creative & Discursive Strategies</i>
					ways to practice Hawaiian independent governance" (p. 461).
Haunss (2015)		Benefits of digital/social media: 1) less expensive (low transaction costs); 2) replaces collective action with "connective action"; 3) more democratic/less hierarchical; 4) provides new/more options for organizing.	Cautions that informal structures are not new and could lead to weak network ties.		
Hermes (2012)					Positive framing offers a counter-perspective on the paradigm and discourse of Indigenous language "death", which capitulates Indigenous stereotypes.
Hiraishi (2019)					Music helps mediate the messaging of movements. "Songs have inspired activism and activism has inspired songs" from the time of the to the current TMT protests at Mauna Kea.
Hoffman et al. (2016)					Argues the potential benefits of "narrative and storytelling" for social change movements as a part of a broader "terror management" strategy. They propose that such practices may be a productive for reducing majority/white prejudices and increasing understanding of Black people and other marginalized groups.

Digital Communication & Social Media					
Authors	<i>Theoretical Frameworks</i>	<i>Advantages</i>	<i>Drawbacks/Warnings</i>	<i>Engaging Youth</i>	<i>Creative & Discursive Strategies</i>
Kanehe in Goodyear-Ka'ōpua (2014)					In challenging biotechnology projects conducted at University of Hawai'i, Kānaka Maoli-led groups published statements in the media that tied such experimentation to Hawaiian cultural genocide.
Maher & Earl (2019)				Social media can be viewed as a key mechanism to engage youth in activism. Youth receive digital invitations directly through traditional networks (family/friends), but these same networks are sometimes seen as barriers to activism. Regardless, social media allowed students to circumvent barriers through online engagement, and invitations sometimes came through automated recommendation systems.	
Mattoni and Treré (2014)	Address gaps in the research with a more comprehensive framework of how media interacts with SMs. They acknowledge SMs as sustained and ever-changing with events occurring in the short, medium, and long-terms. Movement actors are accounted for at three levels				

Digital Communication & Social Media					
Authors	<i>Theoretical Frameworks</i>	<i>Advantages</i>	<i>Drawbacks/Warnings</i>	<i>Engaging Youth</i>	<i>Creative & Discursive Strategies</i>
	(micro, meso, and macro). They incorporate movement actions as well as three aspects of communication—media, mediation processes, and mediatization into their model.				
Merlan (2005)					In Australia, the transformation of Aboriginal music can be taken as an indicator of the advancement of social movements, and the emergence and expression of Indigenous consciousness.
Mundt et al. (2018)		Social media helps leaders to scale up movements. For #BLM, social media assisted in forming support networks, gaining/maintaining followers, fundraising, building coalitions and controlling narratives.	Leaders must counter "slacktivism" by pairing social media use with face-to-face activism. Obstacles occur for controlling who can engage in discourse in an open forum, managing the framing of the movement, and security concerns with online, public profiles/event calendars.		

Digital Communication & Social Media					
Authors	<i>Theoretical Frameworks</i>	<i>Advantages</i>	<i>Drawbacks/Warnings</i>	<i>Engaging Youth</i>	<i>Creative & Discursive Strategies</i>
Obregon & Tuft (2017)	Point to holes in the SM communication research, which include a lack of interdisciplinary work, low application of research on the role of communication in the lifecycle of a SM, as well as a dearth of research on how SM actors/institutions utilize communication currently.				
Peryear (2019)			Activists face obstacles framing their movements, as evidenced by those interviewed about the media's role in the anti-TMT movement. The historical context of the Hawaiian sovereignty movement and the capacity for self-governance have been largely overlooked by the media. In this case, local news media are doing a relatively better job covering the protests accurately.		
Petray (2013)		Aboriginal activists in Australia "self-write" through social media posts and profiles. This self-writing helps demonstrate complexities of the activists' identities, assist in breaking down stereotypes, and counter mainstream narratives.			

Digital Communication & Social Media					
Authors	<i>Theoretical Frameworks</i>	<i>Advantages</i>	<i>Drawbacks/Warnings</i>	<i>Engaging Youth</i>	<i>Creative & Discursive Strategies</i>
Puhipau and Rogers in Goodyear-Ka'ōpua (2014)					Creative and public arts have been a part of changing political consciousness in Hawai'i when efforts to work with the state to change policies (e.g. land and housing) had failed.
Staggenborg (2016)			Media organizations are more powerful, resourced, and operate according to their own interests. Often, media does not report movement activities or distort messages using media frames. Large, centralized SMs fair better in the media, especially when they present their organizational frames in ways that are attractive to outlets.		
Sutton (2007)		Example of dramatic acts to attract public attention through the media (the use of nakedness as a political tool at the 2003 World Social Forum in Brazil) is especially poignant "when media resonance is a crucial political strategy" (p. 144).			
Tilly et al. (2020)	"The invention of new communication systems and media does not single-handedly change the character of social movements" (p. 174).				

community collaboration could replace the initial paradigm of life/death with the image of revitalization and language as a multilayered process of change” (p. 133). Language revitalization on changed terms is also important to Indigenous activism, as practicing native languages has been positioned within some movements as a means to self-determination. Other narration techniques mobilized by Indigenous social movements reveal the direct use of cultural knowledge and values to assert claims about themselves and their opposition. In challenging biotechnology projects conducted at University of Hawai‘i, Kānaka Maoli-led groups published statements in the media that tied such experimentation to Hawaiian cultural genocide. In 2005, Kānaka Maoli organizations lobbied the state legislature to regulate a bioprospecting project (e.g. joint venture between Diversa biotech firm and UH) on the grounds that genetic theft was a violation of their sovereignty. In 2006, when it came to light that UH held three patents on genetically modified kalo, Hawaiian activists labeled this transgression the second Māhele, or Mana Māhele, this time implying the theft of the spiritual and sacred. They asserted that the patenting of kalo was tantamount to ownership of their ancestor Hāloa, the first kalo and elder sibling of the Hawaiian people (Kanehe in Goodyear-Ka’ōpua et al., 2014).

Leadership

As emphasized in the previous subsection on leadership in social movements, individuals play crucial roles in movements despite the perceived lack of research on the subject (Jasper & Goodwin, 2015; Morris & Staggenborg, 2004). In fact, Jasper and Goodwin (2015) argue that “some social movement ‘organizations’ are actually the work of a single person, even though she may be able to mobilize others for specific events” (p. 102). Leaders bring people together and mobilize them, help form networks/coalitions, and make key strategic decisions that affect that outcomes of movements (Morris & Staggenborg, 2004). Other leaders, such as Martin Luther King, Jr. and Nelson Mandela for example, also serve in “symbolic” roles as they “embody the aspirations, indignation, and other ideals of a movement in a way that can inspire members—or arouse opponents” (Jasper & Goodwin, 2015, p. 102). This section will focus on specific examples of how leaders have shaped the evolution of social change movements. These examples, while not exhaustive, help illustrate a range of leaders within various movements including the roles played by youth.

Community Agents and Grassroots Activism

Morris and Staggenborg (2004) offer explanations for how social movement leaders emerge. While many rise through pre-existing, formal channels, others are propelled to the forefront because of injustices that emerge and/or events that cause a need for urgent action. This subsection describes two leaders who both helped accomplish various outcomes of their respective movements, irrespective of their divergent paths to leadership.

Chief Theresa Spence emerged as Idle No More’s leader because of the position she already held as Chief of the Attawapiskat First Nation, “an isolated reserve community in northern Ontario, which has been sparring with the Canadian government for years” (Barker, 2014, p. 6). Ongoing issues with housing, potable water, environmental concerns due to mining, and the economy have dominated the

community's dissatisfaction with the government. As the Idle No More campaign got underway, Chief Spence staged a hunger strike, which drew media attention to the movement. Her demands included a meeting with both Prime Minister Harper and Governor General Johnston. While her hunger strike did not fall directly under the umbrella of Idle No More, Chief Spence's actions helped to propel the movement, as it was broadcasted to the community on a day of Idle No More activist events. In January 2013, when Prime Minister Harper made it known that he would meet with the Assembly of First Nations representatives, Chief Spence agreed to attend (though she would not end her strike). However, when she learned that Governor General Johnston would not be at the meeting, she rescinded her invitation, and "the day of the meeting between Harper and the AFN under Grand Chief Shawn A-in-chut Atleo (Nuu-chah-nulth), on 11 January, marked the single most concentrated day of protest and involvement in Idle No More" (Barker, 2014, p. 7). Despite this momentum, the movement began to break apart soon after, and Chief Spence decided to end her hunger strike without her demands being met.

While this outcome may seem a failure for the movement in that C-45 passed, Barker (2014) points to how Chief Spence accomplished the goal of asserting First Nation sovereignty, which links Idle No More to a larger, continuing struggle against colonialism: "Chief Spence's demand inherently asserted that Canadian sovereignty could only be functionally practiced through a partnership between Chief and Crown, and that such a partnership would take precedence over the federal or provincial authorities in this territory. Canadian sovereignty was tacitly and subtly positioned a posteriori to a relationship between equals at the intergovernmental level" (p. 10). Furthermore, "as the movement progressed beyond a narrow focus on Bill C-45, this was articulated more and more in terms of Indigenous autonomy than political critique". As such, Chief Spence's hunger strike was widely viewed as illustrative of "a selfless act of bravery and sacrifice for our nations and our children" (Simpson, 2012 as cited in Barker, 2014, p. 15) as opposed to action against the Prime Minister's administration, making her also a "symbolic" leader as described by Goodwin and Jasper (2015).

Another example of a movement leader is the grassroots activism of Ester Quintana who helped organize the Ojo con tu ojo movement in Spain. In their qualitative study, Valls et al. (2017) use a dialogic framework to analyze Quintana's leadership. Their case study highlights the importance of Ester's "prior experiences in participatory and dialogic movements" (p. 148) as she was able to bring that knowledge to her work in the movement to help realize its goals. Unlike Chief Spence, Ester Quintana's rise to leadership occurred as a result of a personal injury. She was the victim of a rubber bullet shooting by a police officer while protesting in Barcelona as a part of the Catalan Separatist Movement; she lost her left eye. Organizing began soon after Ester was injured when she and a group of friends used her experience to represent a "story of us" (Ganz, 2011). Her personal story became "a collective struggle that was shared by many people who were in favor of banning the use of rubber bullets by the police" (Valls et al., 2017, p. 171). While she did not become the leader of the movement through formal channels, her past was invaluable. From the time she graduated high school, Quintana had participated in grassroots movements grounded in dialogic action and learning. In her work, she read books and was

empowered through “participation in egalitarian terms in academic discussions...that allowed her to be aware of the transformative potential of the interactions that occur in particular social and cultural settings as tools to promote social change” (p. 161). Building on her prior knowledge and experiences, Ojo con tu ojo employed collective leadership and shared decision-making throughout. In organizing Ojo con tu ojo, the authors find that three aspects of Quintana’s previous experiences informed her leadership: “(1) egalitarian dialogue, (2) solidarity for social transformation and (3) embracing diversity” (p. 162). These elements assisted Ester “construct a narrative that empowered and mobilized many people to join her movement” (p. 171). While other movements had been working for years to ban rubber bullet usage, Ojo con tu ojo, under Ester’s leadership, accomplished the legal ban in only one year.

Youth leadership in activism

Historically, youth have participated in important leadership roles in social movements. As described previously, there are four tiers of leaders that exist within formal movements, and youth often fill the roles in the less formal tiers (Morris & Staggenborg, 2004). For example, the Civil Rights Movement, in particular, saw college students take the lead in the Nashville sit-in movement and the freedom rides (Isaac, 2008). Taking a cue from their own Civil Rights Movement mentor, college students like Bernard Lafayette, John Lewis, Diane Nash, and Marion Berry (among others) served as “junior mentors”, leading workshops and assisting in the mobilization of youth. These students played a key role in mobilization as they started “their own spin-off workshops or teaching sessions in the dorms, streets, and other arenas as the drew new recruits” (Isaac, 2008, p. 42). They also took on leadership roles in the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee. Isaac posits that these ““children,”” as Diane Nash self-labeled them, helped the Civil Rights Movement advance through their participation in major protests across the South and the spreading of movement culture.

Youth continue to demonstrate interest and enthusiasm in social movement participation and leadership roles. However, SMOs do not always tap their potential. Elliot and Earl (2018) hypothesize that the SMOs failure to connect with youth face-to-face translates to the digital world, and their findings support this hypothesis. Less than half of the SMOs met their criteria for youth engagement online. Those SMOs that do attempt to engage youth online are unlikely to contain youth-produced content. Contrary to the arguments of SMO defenders, who claim youth are uninterested in activism, the authors uncover “...that such pessimism about youth is incorrect: using national survey data, we show that youth are actually quite active in protests online, despite a lack of, rather than because of, substantial outreach and that when youth are involved with SMOs, they are more active than other youth” (p. 2). Their data reveal that “nearly three quarters of youth engaged in some sort of political activity” (p. 10). However, “only 10% of youth claimed membership in an organization, suggesting that for the majority of youth, political participation is happening outside formal organizations” (p. 10).

This enthusiasm and interest is evident in the ways youth are currently mobilizing and even taking on leadership roles in Hawai’i. While these youth are not necessarily filling leadership roles at the top tiers, they are frequently engaging in leadership

activities and helping to mobilize others. Ramones (2017) highlights the work of young activists in Hawai'i in the wake of the initial TMT protests in 2014. This activism is playing out in various ways beyond traditional protest—through farming, engagement in the political process, song, and even fashion. In the article, Professor Noelani Goodyear-Ka'ōpua notes that for her parents' generation “there was no access to anything, and they were made to feel shame about it.” For the post-Hawaiian Renaissance generation, however, “there was a sense of pride in being Hawaiian, but an understanding that a lot was lost.” The current generation are graduates of immersion programs and have been brought up understanding Hawaiian culture in a way that gives them confidence. Jamaica Osorio, a well-known spoken-word poet, Ph.D. student, teacher, (and daughter of musician and scholar Jonathan Osorio) illustrates it this way: “Now we get to stand on their shoulders; we don't have to fight the same battles and we can take things to the next level.” Highlighting the way in which social media can impact youth activism (Maher & Earl, 2019), Chase Nomura, a Kamehameha School Maui graduate and UH-Manoa student activist, was spurred to join the movement at Mauna Kea after seeing online footage of the arrests. He later became one of the eight people arrested on Haleakalā.

Not all young activists are openly joining protests, however. Instead, they are demonstrating their care for 'āina through “revitalizing lo'i on Hawai'i Island, rebuilding fishponds on Lāna'i, restoring traditional crop fields and ecosystems for the community on Kaua'i and more.” Another recent article underscores the role that youth are playing in the TMT protests in particular. Van Dyke (2019) interviews a leader of the protest and spokesperson for Mauna Kea Anaina Hou, Kealoha Pisciotta, who at one point offers hopeful insight related to the involvement of young people in the current movement (they have, unlike some of the older generation, grown up learning about Hawaiian culture and speaking the Hawaiian language): “Hawaiian youth who are camping out are helping to organize donations, teaching some of the courses at the community-led school, and spreading the word on social media.”

Obstacles and Opposition

Some of the authors covered in the literature discuss the social, political, and organizational barriers Indigenous social change movements may encounter. They take stock of the discursive strategies currently deployed by political majorities to roll back the rights, restitution, and representations of Indigenous and minority communities in the age of late capital. They also note some of the institutional mechanisms, such as present day education systems, that continue to limit our understanding of race relations and social movements. Finally, they note how sometimes dynamics internal to social movements themselves can slow or thwart progress. These phenomena and dynamics can challenge the effectiveness and sustainability of social change movements. As such, they may be helpful for understanding majority tactics and the ways in which dominant oppositional forces work at cultural and institutional levels.

Table 7. The role of leadership

Leadership		
Authors	Community Agents and Grassroots Leadership	Youth Leadership
Barker (2014)	Chief Spence's hunger strike helped draw attention to Idle No More and asserted First Nation sovereignty. She also served as a symbol of bravery and sacrifice.	
Isaac (2008)		College students played a critical role in the Civil Rights movement as they helped spread movement culture. They served as "junior mentors" who led workshops on their campuses and took the lead in the Nashville sit-in movement and the freedom rides.
Morris & Staggenborg	Leaders are crucial to SMs as they bring people together and mobilize them, help form networks/coalitions, and make key strategic decisions that affect outcomes. While some leaders emerge through formal channels, others rise from the community as a response to an immediate event or injustice.	
Ramones (2017)		Highlights how the work of young activists in Hawai'i is playing out in the wake of the initial TMT protests in 2014 through both traditional and non-traditional forms of activism such as farming, engagement in the political process, song, and even fashion.
Valls et al. (2017)	Analysis of the grassroots leadership of Ester Quintana who helped organize the Ojo con tu ojo movement in Spain. Her previous "dialogic and participatory" (p. 148) experiences and education were keys to her success as a leader who practiced shared governance in achieving the goals of the movement. Her personal narrative was able to inspire and motivate others to act.	
Van Dyke (2019)		Cites the involvement of young people in the current TMT movement as fundraisers and teachers as well as spreading word through social media (they have, unlike some of the older generation, grown up learning about Hawaiian culture and speaking the Hawaiian language).

Backlash Discourse and Remnant Colonialisms

Dahre (2008) analyzes the growing opposition to the Hawaiian sovereignty movement since the late 1990s and contextualizes this opposition within global trends that are becoming increasingly hostile towards Indigenous rights. This opposition is seen as a reversal of the pro-Indigenous changes that swept Western democracies in the 1980s and early 1990s. In particular, Dahre examines the kinds of political discourse and rhetoric that have been deployed by courts and private interest groups (landowners, tourism developers) to attack and roll back Indigenous claims and concessions. According to Dahre, the arguments waged by challengers to Indigenous movements rely on the fundamental assumptions and concepts through which liberal democracies and international human rights charters operate. Opponents, such as Harold Rice (landowner, represented by *The Campaign for a Colorblind America*) and Thurston Twigg-Smith (author of *Hawaiian Sovereignty. Do*

the Facts Matter?), have argued that concessions to Native Hawaiians are: (a) undemocratic, on the basis that favoring one group of citizens over another is illegal (defying “equality of all before the law”); (b) cultural relativism run amuck, abandoning universal standards of equality in favor of rights for minority groups on the basis of race; (c) reverse-discrimination, harming the welfare and interests of dominant groups (i.e. “if it was wrong to discriminate against Native Hawaiians, is it not equally wrong to discriminate against the majority population?”); and (d) conflict provoking, accusing Indigenous peoples of sparking outrage and “ethnic conflicts” with their claims to special collective rights (p. 148). These arguments rely upon a rejection of or disregard for history, which provides context for the purpose and meaning of Indigenous rights in the first place. As such, opposition arguments have had the effect of turning restitution for historical crimes and illegal dispossession into a campaign for majority-rights that uphold their already begotten power and privilege. These arguments have not only been deployed in Hawai‘i, but are present and gaining momentum in places with significant Indigenous populations such as Canada, Norway, Australia, and New Zealand (Dahre, 2008; Merlan, 2005).

Whereas Dahre frames the growing opposition to Indigenous claims in Hawai‘i as a backlash rooted in neoliberal politics, Salter (2013) examines current day anti-Indigenous sentiment, language, and actions (e.g. white terrorism) within the broader construct of “remnant colonialisms”. Remnant colonialisms are the “assumptions and interpretations, rooted in colonial legacies that continue to shape the ways in which western societies view and construct *other* cultures” (p. 2). Through an analysis of community campaigns at Sandon Point (Australia) and Red Hill Creek (Canada), he points to the ways in which whiteness manifests to undermine First Peoples struggles, intentionally as well as unintentionally, even among those who are supportive of Indigenous rights.

Educating on Social Change

Social movements also face the long-term effects of “miseducation” propagated by institutions in the everyday. Dixon (2018) writes on the failings of multicultural education (MCE) in the U.S. to properly teach on the topic of current youth-led movements – that multicultural education does not provide appropriate historical context to movements, and does not teach critical analysis skills. She mobilizes critical race theory (CRT) in an analysis #BLM to demonstrate the poverty of such education programs. In particular, Dixon highlights how multicultural education is mired in, and indeed a product of, neoliberal education policies that fail to address inequitable educational outcomes for students of color, while simultaneously reducing curriculum that should be about social and political inequities to “simplistic rendering[s] of cultural groups, their histories, perspectives and customs” (p. 235). She offers examples from her own time as a university professor to illustrate the obstacles in teacher preparation programs (mired in an MCE perspective) which perpetuated a “narrow and distorted perspective on history and the history of activism our students receive in school” (p. 239). It may not be surprising then that racial profiling and racial killings, such as those protested by #BLM, continue to be framed in a delegitimizing manner within the news media and that such movements continue to face popular opposition. In their analysis of BLM, Hoffman, Granger, Vallejos & Moats (2016) note the language and behaviors that seek to delegitimize the movement through baseless/manufactured claims (e.g. BLM is violent) and which manifest through

fear-based and defensive behavior, such as bigotry, bullying, vengefulness, and arrogance.

Issac (2008) takes a more specific look at the problematic ways in which the Civil Rights Movement has been framed in U.S. education, chiefly that it was a Southern movement only, that the movement focused solely on race, and was led by a few charismatic men (and one woman, Rosa Parks). The leaders of the movement have been essentialized as well, with the dominant memory that Dr. King was much less radical than he actually was. One particular study cited by Isaac was poignant, which showed that surveyed Black Americans believed that the Emmet Till lynching was the event that most mobilized the Civil Rights Movement.

Internal Movement Struggles

Sometimes, movements encounter obstacles from within. In his analysis of the interactions between the Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional (EZLN) and Rio Yaqui Water Justice Indigenous movements in Mexico, Duarte (2017) warns against the assumption of a unified Indigenous agenda. He points to how the EZLN movement was delimited by cultural dynamics within the Yaqui. While the EZLN sought solidarity with Indigenous peoples around the world in opposition to neocolonial and neoliberal policies, Yaqui youth were cautioned by their elders in joining pan-Indigenous causes, teaching that “Yaquis are only Yaqui when speaking Yaqui and living in connection with the Yaqui sacred homeland.” (p. 8).

Similar tensions have been noted within other Indigenous communities in Latin America, such as the Machigeunga of Peru, which was a factor that complicated the work of COMARU – an Indigenous people’s organization/movement operating in the Urubamba region of the Peruvian Amazon. The goal of COMARU was to represent the needs of its member communities in the face of multinational energy companies seeking to extract natural gas from their territory in the early 2000s, while simultaneously negotiating the support from conservation agencies and international NGOs (Earle & Pratt, 2009). In addition to their wariness and distrust of external actors, the historic lack of community level associations and the prevailing culture of “conflict avoidance” amongst the Machigeunga themselves challenged COMARU’s efforts to represent their interests as a collective group. The Machigeunga are more likely to identify as members of their *comunidad nativa* rather than a broader ethnic group (p. 62).

Additionally, Hoffman, Granger, Vallejos and Moats (2016) warn social movements against becoming too rigid in their ideologies and morphing into extremism. They advise that social movements conduct regular self-evaluation on this issue if they are to be sustainable. Others in the field warn against focusing on individuals or figureheads in social change movements. In the case of Idle No More, Barker (2015) expresses concern over the support for the campaign by non-Indigenous groups, who placed Prime Minister Harper at the center of the debate. The concern was that making one person the symbol of broad issues can lead to a loss of focus on the actual problems addressed by a movement. Dixon (2018) echoes a similar criticism

Table 8. Obstacles and Oppositions

Obstacles & Opposition			
Authors	Backlash Discourse & Remnant Colonialism	Educating on Social Change	Internal Movement Struggles
Barker (2014)			For <i>Idle No More</i> , non-Indigenous groups tended to put Prime Minister Harper at the center, detracting from the purpose and focus of the movement.
Dahre (2008)	Claims that gains made during pro-Indigenous period (1980s-90s) are being challenged and reversed by majoritarian forces, which use arguments based in liberalism and democratic ideology as well as distorted anti-racism. These arguments whitewash the historical/contextual struggle and dispossession of Indigenous peoples. The purpose of this opposition is to uphold maintain majority power and privilege.		
Dixson (2018)		Multi-cultural education (MCE) in the US has failed to provide context to SMs and teach critical analysis skills. MCE is rooted in neoliberal principles/assumptions and oversimplifies complex racial issues/history.	Cautions against overemphasizing the founders of #BLM--they are important, but can't replace the movement's "actual work."
Duarte (2017)			Warns against assuming there is a unified Indigenous agenda. The EZLN movement sought global unification with other Indigenous people; however, Yaqui elders deterred youth involvement, citing the need for their allegiance to culture/sacred homeland.
Earl & Pratt (2009)			Collective efforts by COMARU were challenged by a lack of community-level associations amongst the Machingeunga of Peru, coupled with a culture of "conflict avoidance."

Obstacles & Opposition			
Hoffman et al. (2016)		Describe opposition to #BLM that delegitimizes the movement through manufactured claims, prompting fear-based and defensive behavior, such as bigotry, bullying, vengefulness, and arrogance.	Warn social movements against becoming too rigid in their ideologies and morphing into extremism. SMs should conduct regular self-evaluation on this to be sustainable.
Isaac (2008)		Civil Rights Movement and its leaders have been narrowly framed in U.S. multicultural education - that is was a Southern movement only, focused solely on race, and was led by a few charismatic men.	
Salter (2013)	Examines current-day anti-Indigenous sentiment, language, and actions within the broader construct of “remnant colonialisms.” Analyzes examples of how whiteness manifests to undermine the struggles of Indigenous communities in AU and CA.		

about some of the strategies shaping the Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement. They claimed that #BLM overemphasizes its three founding members, who are queer black women: “recognizing Black Queer women for their labor in liberation efforts is important and significant, but the recognition cannot trump the actual work (and outcomes)” (p. 242).

Frameworks and Tools for Evaluating Social Change Movements

Evaluating Social Change: Progress and Challenges from the Field

Suh (2012) brings to light the complicated nature of systematically measuring a social movement’s impact on social change. He declares a dearth of research on social movement outcomes, despite the pervasive belief that social movements bring about social transformation. The study of social movement outcomes presents several obstacles. First, outcomes of social movements encompass a very broad range and can be explored at various levels (micro-, meso-, and macro-) and require complex categorization. Furthermore, “multiple movement outcomes are not always consistent with each other” (p. 3); a movement can have success in one arena, but failure in another. There are also issues with assigning causality and a need to sometimes use “conflictive evaluation criteria” in measuring the disparate outcomes of a movement (p. 4). This conclusion is reinforced by Goodwin and Jasper (2015) who write that social movement “success in the short and the long term may not coincide. In some cases, these even conflict with each other....” (p. 380). Given these issues, Suh offers alternatives to outcome research and asserts that both internal and external factors (and their interactions) are critical to measuring outcomes. The author posits that in order to more rigorously study the impact of social movements on social change, researchers should include “multiple factors and their combined effects should be identified to verify causal mechanisms” (p. 8).

Beyond the complex nature of measuring social movement impact is the sometimes complicated relationship between organizations and their benefactors. Ebrahim (2019) observes that today’s competitive funding world has pushed social change organizations to focus a disproportionate amount of time and energy on upward accountability. Funders often require organizations to respond to multiple and competing stakeholder priorities, to parse what funds contributed to what outcomes within complex and uncontrollable social environments, and to focus on the measurement of long-term social impacts. He observes that the ability to understand and act on short-term results may be more important to the work of social change organizations than measuring long-term impacts, especially when it comes to making mid-course corrections and attending to “downward accountability”, which give clients and beneficiaries voice and influence (pp. 4-5). Ebrahim suggests a “contingency approach” to evaluating social change, in which the practical conditions experienced by a particular organization determine what gets measured. This approach mainly tackles the constraints of “*uncertainty* about cause-effect knowledge for addressing a social problem and limited *control* over the activities and conditions necessary for producing long-term outcomes” (p. 3).

Likewise, in their summary report of several discussions between U.S. funders and social change groups in Latin America and the Caribbean, Araujo et al. (n.d.) noted that there was a divergence between the funders' and organizations' perspectives on evaluation, their evaluation needs, and evaluation approaches. However, they did agree that the contextual nature of qualitative data would be helpful to both sides: "Relevant qualitative information would be useful both to the organizations and to funders, as it would provide evidence of change that is produced in specific, complex situations" (p. 4). They also describe the difficulty of using evaluation results to advance activities/programs, the unequal balance of power between funders and groups, and cultural/language differences between the two. They state that a more balanced relationship seeks to answer as a focal question: "What is the relevance of what we do?" (p. 5).

In line with Araujo et al.'s, stated preference for the use of qualitative methods in evaluating social change, Jasper (2010) advocates for a move away from traditional surveys and network analysis, and towards a greater reliance on "interpretive techniques" in the exploration of cultural approaches (p. 97). For Jasper, semi-structured interviews are more useful than surveys in that they unearth context. Even more benefit comes from the use of focus groups because they "allow deeper probing in a group setting in which new points of view might emerge that researchers had not initially recognized" (p. 97). Discourse and content analysis can be useful in demonstrating "how people *do things* with words" (p. 97). Jasper concludes that ethnographic, in-depth interviews, and participatory research are the most useful in making meaning from participants' experiences (and understanding "feelings"). He also describes the usefulness of introspection, especially with regard to looking into "emotions and strategic choice" (p. 98). Given the difficulty of interpreting emotions and the reasons behind decisions as an outsider, introspection offers the perspective only a participant can obtain.

Examples of Social Change Evaluations

Frameworks, tools, and examples for evaluating social change are reviewed in this section. In line with the observations of Suh (2012), Ebrahim (2019), Jasper (2010), and Araujo et al. (n.d.), the following authors draw from and promote interpretive and participatory approaches to evaluation. This section reviews five academic articles (Maton, 2008; Christens & Dolan, 2011; Dunkley & Franklin, 2017; Inamara & Thomas, 2017; Melo, 2019) and one unpublished master's thesis (Alaca et al., 2015). While not all of the works document evaluations of social movements or social movement organizations as strictly defined in Section I of this review, they are all engaged in promoting social change, and, in most cases, could be regarded as players within larger social movements (environmental sustainability and climate change, poverty and violence reduction, etc.).

These studies examine measurement within an array of fields, including community development, community psychology, education, evaluation, and social work. Beyond a summary of findings/impact for each program evaluated, when available, information is provided on the research questions/scope of the studies, paradigms/theoretical perspectives, methods used, as well as example tools and measures. The frameworks and theoretical perspectives employed by the

researchers vary some by academic field. Interpretivist, participatory research frameworks are employed in two of the studies. Social change theories and Indigenous research approaches are also applied in two of the studies. All six of the evaluations employ qualitative methods, describing the use of semi-structured interviews, focus groups, open-ended survey questions, document analysis, theory-building/application, observations, and creative media. Two of the studies also use quantitative survey questions to bolster their qualitative findings/methods. While four of the studies are direct evaluations of programs, two of the articles use case study and document analysis to apply and/or expand theory as well as explain how the organizations in question promote social change.

Table 9. Progress and challenges of evaluating social change

Authors	Progress & Challenges of Evaluating Social Change
Araujo et al. (n.d.)	Note a divergence between funders' and organizations' perspectives on evaluation, their evaluation needs, and evaluation approaches. Assert that the contextual nature of qualitative methods is useful in meeting the divergent needs of funders and social change orgs.
Ebrahim (2019)	Energy in evaluation often must be focused on upward accountability and long-term social impacts (that are difficult to control and measure). Short-term results may be more useful. Suggests a <i>contingency approach</i> : practical conditions considered in what is actually measured.
Goodwin & Jasper (2015)	SM "success in the short and the long term may not coincide. In some cases, these even conflict with each other..." (p. 380). Researchers have focused mainly on policy change when looking at SM impact on society, which has resulted in "relatively few effects of social movements on their societies" (p. 380). Looking at activist identity and broader cultural impact can be helpful.
Jasper (2010)	Ethnographic, in-depth interviews, and participatory research are the most useful in making meaning from SM participants' experiences as well as understanding "feelings." Given the difficulty of interpreting emotions and the reasons behind decisions as an outsider, introspection offers the perspective only a participant can obtain.
Suh (2012)	Highlights the complicated nature of systematically measuring a SMs impact on social change due to the broad range of movements and the levels which they can be explored as well as problems with causality and inconsistent movement outcomes. In order to more rigorously study the impact of SMs on social change, researchers should include "multiple factors and their combined effects should be identified to verify causal mechanisms" (p. 8).

Community Development

Christens & Dolan (2011). This study centers on Inland Congregations United for Change's (ICUC) youth organizing program. ICUC "is a 20-year old organization that engages people in community change through faith-based institutions in San Bernardino and Riverside Counties in California" (p. 531). Beyond archival document and media coverage analysis, the project employed semi-structured interviews with key stakeholders who were mainly young leaders. The study explored two research questions that queried both individual- and community-level impacts: (1) what are the individual and community-level impacts of effective youth organizing?; and, (2) what are the features of the ICUC organizing process that have allowed it to achieve these impacts? The youth organizing wing of ICUC emerged after the drive-by shooting of a 16-year-old girl in 2005. They subsequently planned a vigil and rally, which was followed by large-scale research on violence.

The authors identified three community-level outcomes instantiated within the youth organizing initiatives: program implementation, policy change, and institution building. They claim the group's establishment as a legitimate institution as perhaps the most critical outcome. Changes in relationships between the participants and their peers/adults also emerged as a finding of the study. Youth described how they felt empowered and taken more seriously after organizing. Youth participants in the study also expressed a desire to work with peers of diverse cultural backgrounds and ethnicities. Concomitant with community-level outcomes, the authors found that for individual youth, the outcomes of psychological empowerment, leadership development, and sociopolitical development emerged from the data.

The authors put forth a model of effective youth organizing efforts based on their research of ICUC's program. This model includes: (1) youth leadership development, (2) community development, and (3) social change (p. 541). They describe these three areas as not necessarily distinct, but rather "threads that are woven through a single cyclical model for youth organizing" (p.). As this study is a look into the impact of youth organization efforts, it directly relates to research/practice regarding the creation and evaluation of social change movements (within youth-led, faith-based organizations in particular). This study does not explore Indigenous youth in particular; however, 90% of the study's participants were Latino/a.

Inamara & Thomas (2017). This case study reviews a visual participatory action research project implemented on Andra Island, Manus Province, Papua New Guinea (a small island that has been especially susceptible to climate change). Participants employed photography and story-telling to create a dialogue around community based adaptation (CBA) strategies for climate change grounded in Indigenous knowledge. The researchers held a creative media workshop with the 13 participants, and the study culminated in a community photo exhibition: "The research participants thereby assumed a powerful position where they could see, feel, hear and think through the camera" (p. 127). The study itself was grounded in an Indigenous research framework that was participatory and democratic in nature. Findings were rooted in problems of food security. Furthermore, climate change was viewed as a contributory factor to Andra cultural changes: "To them, stresses caused by climate change such as seasonal variability, sea level rise and loss of fish, had changed the way they value and use their limited resources" (p. 125).

A bulk of the report is comprised of selected participant photographs and narratives. These photographs document community members participating in traditional Andra cultural practices such as fishing, clamshell farming, sago preservation, and barter trade among others. The authors note that after the photo exhibition, "the islanders were keen to continue to develop the concept of photographic essay production as they felt it had great potential in reviving useful cultural practices to help address negative climate change impacts" (p. 125). This study demonstrates how community-based adaptation strategies may be applied in Indigenous communities as well as the impact and appropriateness of visual participatory action research for evaluation purposes within Pacific Islander communities.

Community Psychology

Maton (2008). This article argues that community settings can empower people, groups, and society using a community psychology lens. The author provides the following definition of empowerment: “A group-based, participatory, developmental process through which marginalized or oppressed individuals and groups gain greater control over their lives and environment, acquire valued resources and basic rights, and achieve important life goals and reduced societal marginalization” (p. 5). While the author examines community settings across the four categories of adult well-being, positive youth development, locality development, and social change, only the latter will be expounded upon in this review, with a particular attention given to the Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan (RAWA). RAWA is “an underground organization, providing humanitarian assistance in the form of literacy classes for women, schools for girls, and income generating projects for women” (p. 7).

For all types of community settings, the author finds six characteristics critical to empowerment: group-based belief systems, core activities, relational environment, opportunity role structure, leadership, and mechanisms for setting maintenance and change. For RAWA, group-based beliefs are rooted in “basic human rights for women” (p. 10), and their core activities stem from that belief system to include empowering women through literacy and other skills. The relational environment for RAWA members is grounded in their shared values and the unity that comes from a common goal, while opportunity role structure is apparent in the meaningful responsibilities that a member can take on to push the organization toward meeting their shared goals. She briefly discusses a reliance on strategic leaders before elaborating on the mechanisms for setting maintenance and change characteristics. She cites the actions and strategies of Civil Rights Movement leaders, noting they “learned from early mistakes to develop more effective strategies over time and the critical role of strategic mechanisms such as deployment of key staff and national leaders to help bridge multiple constituencies and diffuse tactical dissension or conflict within local movement centers” (p. 13).

Maton also focuses on how empowering community settings can impact communities and enact positive social change. Three pathways to external impact emerge from the research: (1) increased numbers of empowered citizens; (2) empowered member radiating influence; and (3) external organizational activities” (p. 14). For RAWA these three pathways are demonstrated through: “evidence [of] enhanced psycho-social empowerment among women members, along with gains in critical competencies such as achievement of literacy” (p. 14); observed changes in perspectives of family members with regard to women’s rights; and, through members offering services and advocacy for women in the community. This article offers up both theoretical and practical examples of how community settings empower not only individuals, but also groups and society. For those working within community settings, this article could serve as a useful guide for improving/enhancing how their organizations make an impact, as well as possibly provide a framework for evaluating that impact.

Education

Melo (2019). This article builds on the author's dissertation, which is a qualitative, longitudinal study of an NGO, Agência de Redes Para Juventud (the Agency). The author applies Freire's emancipatory education framework to the organization's youth program. The case study's data collection methods consisted of document analysis, semi-structured interviews, focus groups, informal observations/conversations, and later, a survey that helped triangulate the qualitative data. The Agency offers a program that assists youth ages 14-29 in creating social change projects for their communities. The author provides background information on obstacles and injustices faced by youth living in Rio de Janeiro's favelas where residents, and black youth in particular, face violence at much higher rates than other groups. The program is comprised of eight pedagogical stages through which students formulate and plan a social program to help improve their communities. Later, youth are invited to share their ideas at an annual event where some projects are given funding to be implemented. Some of these projects even go on to become NGOs or small businesses.

The author makes connections between aspects of the emancipatory action framework to the Agency's youth program goals and activities. In particular, linkages between negotiated curriculum, problem-posing education, dialogical learning, and praxis are discussed. The Agency employs a negotiated curriculum in which youth critically evaluate their lives and how they may enact positive change for not only themselves, but their communities. Secondly, the Agency uses problem-posing education to avoid what Freire labels the "banking approach" to education. The program pushes students to think critically and validates them as creators of knowledge. The author relates the program to dialogical learning through the discussions/collaborations in which youth engage during different phases of their project creation. Lastly, connections to praxis are central to the Agency's program and their impact: "In all, the extent to which these strategies have reached residents from different favelas (hundreds of people impacted by these projects), the diverse populations that have benefited (children, adult learners, job seekers, local artists, businesses, and so on), and the various institutions and organizations that have served as venues for these actions (from public schools and community centers to improvised auditoriums and residents' own homes), taken together, illustrate the potential of young people's ideas and actions, when focused on local challenges and opportunities, to help build stronger communities" (p. 10). This study may be relevant for organizations wishing to employ critical pedagogy to assist students living in poverty in enacting social change, and for identifying "sites" of measurement within the curricular frameworks developed for this pedagogy.

Evaluation

Dunkley & Franklin (2017). This article focuses on the evaluation process of a community-led environmental initiative in the United Kingdom. The authors employ observations and in-depth, semi-structured interviews with six program facilitators who also served as participatory action researchers. They argue few evaluations prove the impact of community-led environmental programs on social behaviors, and in response offers a conceptual framework that builds on the use of qualitative

methods, and participatory action research in particular. Additionally, the authors suggest applying the lens of stochastic art to community-led climate programs with the justification that this framework “adopts a constructivist approach to argue that professions that involve ‘fixing’ and ‘tending’, rather than creating, are stochastic arts” (p. 114). As a stochastic art, community action climate change initiatives could use evaluation as a tool to focus on positives while learning from their mistakes.

The six facilitators/participant-researchers were trained by consultants and given a traditional logic model and outcomes to evaluate their initiatives. Each facilitator needed to demonstrate “evidence of how the project drove behavior change amongst its target community” and “that the project led to a measurable reduction in carbon emissions” (p. 114). Dunkley and Franklin found that the logic model approach was difficult to employ with the groups and concluded that constructivist, participatory action models are more appropriate. They also found that the facilitators/groups had difficulty meeting predetermined outcomes (i.e. they did not always align to participant’s actual motivations) concluding “as with other stochastic artistic endeavors, such as mechanics, the matters that facilitators work with, in this case community groups, are not comprehensively knowable at program outset, nor would they ever be” (p. 118). On a related note, they observed that the reflexive nature of learning from mistakes “would enhance program outcomes for both community groups and program funders” (p. 116). While mistakes do not have to be publicly advertised, learning from them can benefit all stakeholders in improving their initiatives. The authors conclude that developmental and ethnographic approaches to evaluation are appropriate, especially for environmental sustainability programs.

Social Work

Alaca et al. (2015). This report is the final project of three Master of Social Work students from Carleton University in Ottawa, which evaluated three equity campaigns of the First Nations Child and Family Caring Society of Canada (the Caring Society): Shannen’s Dream, Jordan’s Principle, and I am a Witness. Their evaluation addressed three research questions: (1) “What are the experiences and knowledge gained by those who are involved with the Shannen’s Dream, Jordan’s Principle, and I am a Witness campaigns?”, (2) “What are the reach and impacts of the campaigns?”, and, (3) “Are the campaigns in line with the Caring Society’s strategic directions?” The evaluation was framed by a structural social work perspective and employed OCAP principles in their research, which emphasize Aboriginal access and ownership of the research and data. This study fills a gap in the literature by focusing on participants’ perspectives of whether they are enacting social change. They employed a survey (with quantitative and qualitative questions) and a youth focus group in their methodology. Youth focus group participants explained their perspectives both verbally and through drawings. Overall findings of participant and community impact were positive. The authors included recommendations and pieces of qualitative data that expressed the voice of participants as well as scans of their drawings alongside the statistical data.

Table 10. Examples of evaluations of social change movements and campaigns

Authors	Movement/ Campaign(s) & Geographical Context	Sample Questions and/or Scope	Sample Frameworks/ Paradigms	Sample Methods	Sample Tools/Measures
Alaca et al. (2015)/Social Work	Three equity campaigns of the First Nations Child and Family Caring Society of Canada (the Caring Society): <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Shannen's Dream • Jordan's Principle • I am a Witness 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What are the experiences and knowledge gained by those who are involved with the Shannen's Dream, Jordan's Principle, and I am a Witness campaigns? • What are the reach and impacts of the campaigns? • Are the campaigns in line with the Caring Society's strategic directions? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Structural Social Work Perspective • OCAP Principles (emphasis on Aboriginal ownership of the research/data). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Quantitative <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Online Survey • Qualitative <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Youth Focus Group ○ Youth also expressed their answers through drawings ○ Online Survey (open-ended questions) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Appendix B: Online Survey <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Participants' self-reported participation levels ○ Participants' self-reported improvement on several measures (e.g. critical thinking, awareness, creative expression) ○ Participants' opinions of campaign success ○ Several open-ended questions • Appendix C: Focus Group Protocol <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Motivations for joining ○ Impact on themselves and community ○ Improvements • Samples of youth drawings are provided throughout
Christens & Dolan (2011)/Community Development (Youth)	Congregations United for Change's youth organizing program, which serves San Bernadino and Riverside Communities in CA. Faith-based institutions promoting engagement in community change.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What are the individual and community-level impacts of effective youth organizing? • What are the features of the ICUC process that allowed it to achieve its impacts? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interdisciplinary (individual and community-level outcomes) • Youth Organizing (collective action) • Social Change • Community Development 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Case Study • Qualitative <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Document Analysis ○ Media Coverage Analysis • Semi-structured Interviews 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No tools are available in the article, but they do include a model of Process and community-level outcomes of ICUC youth organizing (Christens & Dolan, Figure 1) and Youth leadership and outcomes of youth organizing (Christens & Dolan, Figure 2).
Dunkley & Franklin (2017)/Evaluation	Government-funded, community-action climate change initiative	An exploration of the experiences of six professional facilitators regarding	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interpretivist • Participatory Action Research • Stochastic Arts 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Qualitative <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Participatory Action Research ○ Observations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • N/A; however, they conclude that developmental, ethnographic approaches to evaluation are best for environmental/sustainability programs

Authors	Movement/ Campaign(s) & Geographical Context	Sample Questions and/or Scope	Sample Frameworks/ Paradigms	Sample Methods	Sample Tools/Measures
	(funded under “One Wales, One Planet”)	supporting the groups and the evaluation process.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ In-depth, Semi-structured interviews ○ Document analysis of meeting minutes 	
Inamara & Thomas (2017)/ Community Development	Academic and community collaboration/capacity building with the people of Andra Island, Manus Province, Papua New Guinea engaged in photography/dialogue regarding climate change (through an Indigenous lens)	Explores how community members can employ photograph and narrative as tools to incorporate their Indigenous traditions and beliefs into community based adaptation strategies to fight climate change.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Visual Participatory Action Research • Community Based Adaptations (CBA) • Indigenous Research Approach 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Qualitative <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Creative media workshops ○ Community photo exhibit combining photography and narrative 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Examples of the photos and narratives are provided throughout the article
Maton (2008)/ Community Psychology	Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan (RAWA) (Note: The author looks at several programs, but for the purpose of the scope of this review, her analysis of RAWA is most relevant.)	An examination of ways in which empowering community settings impact their members, their communities and society.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Empowering Community Settings <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ In four arenas: adult well-being, positive youth development, locality development, and social change (includes social action and social movement organizations) • Social Change 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Qualitative <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Literature Review/Theory Building & Application ○ Case Study ○ Document Analysis 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Includes a table and model of organizational characteristics of empowering community settings (Table 1 and Fig. 2) which encompasses the following categories: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Group-based belief system ○ Core activities ○ Relational environment ○ Opportunity role structure ○ Leadership (& staff) ○ Setting maintenance & change
Melo (2019)/ Education	NGO in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil: Agência de Redes	An examination of connections between the	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Freire’s Emancipatory Education 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Case Study-current article 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Melo (2018 (the author’s dissertation that this article pulls

Authors	Movement/ Campaign(s) & Geographical Context	Sample Questions and/or Scope	Sample Frameworks/ Paradigms	Sample Methods	Sample Tools/Measures
	Para Juventud (the Agency)	Agency's objectives and practices and the theoretical underpinnings of emancipatory education. The results focus on the stages of the program and "reveal how young people are empowered to challenge prevailing environments of exclusion and advance practices of positive community social regeneration" (p. 1).	Framework (Critical Pedagogy)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Previous study- Qualitative <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Five-year, longitudinal ○ Semi-structured Interviews ○ Focus groups ○ Survey ○ Document analysis ○ Observations • Previous Study- Quantitative <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Survey 	<p>from) contains the interview protocol in Appendix 3.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The survey used was implemented through a partnership with Stanford University's Program on Poverty and Governance and the Agency (includes demographic questions, education, self-reported skills gained, etc.).

Sample Tools for Monitoring and Evaluating Social Change

Five additional works from the body of literature reviewed provide sample tools for monitoring and/or evaluating social change (Kegler et al., 2000; Nakae et al., 2009; Weaver et al., 2010; Mattoni & Treré, 2014; Tremblay et al., 2017). Particular attention is paid to practical evaluation information provided in each piece, including the tools, measurements, indicators, models, and frameworks that can be adapted and adopted for use in measuring social change. The works reviewed in this section span the fields of reproductive justice (Nakae et al., 2009), communication/media (Mattoni & Treré, 2014), community change (Weaver et al., 2010; Tremblay, 2017), and public health (Kegler et al., 2000). Each example is unique in its scope and focus. Nakae et al. (2009) offers a tool that can be adapted for use in planning and evaluation, whereas Weaver et al. (2010) submits a vast list and description of approximately thirty different measurements that explore different areas of community change. Mattoni and Treré (2014) provide a conceptual framework to study the relationship between social movements and the media, and Tremblay et al. (2017) offers a framework that combines social movement theory with community-based participatory research (for use in community development settings). Finally, Kegler et al. (2000) features a framework for evaluation that recommends an alternative, more holistic way to measure the impacts of a community health program that does not include individual health outcomes.

Reproductive Justice

Nakae et al. (2009). This article discusses a tool developed by a task force of reproductive justice leaders which can be used to plan and evaluate their initiatives. While developed for and within the field of reproductive justice, the authors encourage the adaptation of the tool by other social justice groups. The indicators were developed over eight months and feedback was collected from 13 partner organizations to ensure the tool was practical. The tool explores four areas of “movement building”: policy change, leadership development, communications, and relationship building, and is employed by “asking critical questions around overarching shifts” (p. 2) within the four areas. These questions cover both processes and outcomes. According to the authors, users of the tool understand that it should be adapted to best fit their needs, goals, and where they are in their movement’s lifecycle. The tool offers a road map for initiative planning and evaluation in the four areas of movement building. Taking from the example of ‘leadership development’, the tool first contextualizes its importance and then lays out the areas in which leadership should be expected to make an impact:

- (1) Building grassroots leadership;
- (2) Reflecting the breadth and diversity of our communities;
- (3) Providing skills and support to address wedge issues and build critical thinking skills;
- (4) Supporting leaders over the long haul. (pp. 4-6).

The authors then offer organizational considerations to contextualize leadership development for whomever is employing the tool. These considerations include: the

community one serves/context, problem areas that need to be addressed and how leadership development can assist in eliminating issues successfully, and the different types of leaders within one's own organization (from volunteers to paid staff and executives). A practical chart is then provided, which can be used to assess aspects of an organization's leadership development. Sample indicators for each area of assessment are included in the table. Some sample indicators aligned to the area of leadership development include building leadership development curriculum, the number of new partnerships created with other groups who have provided training, and increased opportunities for leadership development activities (p. 9).

The authors also provide a useful glossary at the end of the tool listing all movement building criteria, associated research questions, and sample indicators.

Communication/Media

Mattoni & Treré (2014). This article, which was described in depth in the previous section of this review, offers a conceptual framework to study the interplay between social movements and the media. The authors position the model as helpful to activists in considering their activity planning and implementation as well as a jumping-off point for participatory action research with social movement members "with the ultimate aim of elaborating more effective strategies and tactics to deal with media technologies and outlets" (p. 266). Beyond the in-depth description of their model and an example application, they also offer a visual representation of their conceptual framework (see Mattoni & Treré, 2014, "Figure 1"). As Tilly et al. (2020) posited that "the invention of new communication systems and media does not single-handedly change the character of social movements" (p. 174), the model provided by Mattoni & Treré offers a more holistic approach to evaluating the impact of media use on social movement goals and actions. This model is especially relevant given the speed of media access and content delivery today, coupled with the framing/messaging obstacles SMOs often face.

Community Change

Tremblay et al. (2017). Grounded in framework synthesis, the goal of this study is to put forth a framework for community-based participatory action research (CBPR) rooted in social movement theory. The authors explain the ways in which social movements and CBPR are similar and divergent in their goals and reach. For example, both are grounded in a need to solve a community-based problem and seek social change. However, social movements are generally a reaction to and require action against a status quo and institutions, whereas CBPR can be a tool of evaluation supported by government patrons and are based in research. Their analysis resulted in the conclusion that the lifecycle of CBPR is "comparable to those of social movements" (p. 347) and consists of four stages that include the formation of partnerships, development of strategies and goals, implementation of strategy, and sustainment of work. Through the method of framework synthesis and building upon social movement theories, they proposed a refined conceptual framework that "highlights similarities between CBPR and social movement processes" (p. 348) and specifically includes the following aspects: (1) context, (2) partnership, (3) cause, (4)

framing processes, (5) opportunities, (6) resources, and (7) system and community changes. The four stages highlighted above are also included in the final framework, giving it a “temporal perspective” (p. 348). However, the authors do clarify that the stages are not offered “in a prescriptive sense” (p. 348).

In a table, the authors describe examples for each of the seven movement processes. For example, under “Resources,” they list “intangible resources” such as “expert, technical, professional skills, and knowledge” and “tangible resources” like financial support (p. 342). They also offer another table (table 4, p. 349) with specific guideposts for each stage of CBPR practice, which could be viewed as a tool for evaluating community change. For example, in Stage 1 (formation of partnerships), questions that address an existing community problem, the context of the problem, and appropriate collaborators are suggested. As this framework is created for community change processes, the authors suggest it “is better suited to examining processes, rather than evaluating impact” (p. 348). They further warn it may adapt to all CBPR projects. Despite possible limitations, Tremblay et al. conclude that the framework “provides valuable practical guideposts for CBPR practice and evaluation by clarifying and detailing how mobilization processes and consequent system changes emerge and develop from CBPR” (p. 350).

Weaver et al. (2010). This consolidated research paper was developed by Tamarack - An Institute for Community Engagement and Vibrant Communities Canada. The report was developed as a reference to assist those leading community change efforts. It breaks down the discussion of outcome measures in five sections: (1) Approaches to Measuring Less Poverty in Communities; (2) Approaches to Measuring More Vibrant Communities; (3) Approaches to Measuring More Community Engagement; (4) Approaches to Measuring More Collaboration in Communities; and, (5) Approaches to Measuring Community Change (p. 5). To develop these sections, Tamarack conducted key informant interviews with participants within the institute, followed-up with research to find supporting documents on each area.

The combined use of qualitative and quantitative data collection methods are advised for the majority of the evaluation approaches. Further, the evaluation strategies suggested in this report are mostly grounded in Theory of Change and Developmental Evaluation models. Theory of Change “involves ‘backwards mapping’ from the goals or desired outcomes of the program to identify what is needed in the program design to accomplish these goals” (p. 6). Developmental evaluation is distinguished from formative and summative evaluation in that it is “intended to help people and organizations create and continually adapt interventions. Unlike traditional situations where the emphasis is on ‘think, plan, implement and monitor’, the process of thinking, planning, implementing and evaluation is continuous and simultaneous” (p. 6). This perspective is not unlike the employment of the stochastic arts theory in Dunkley and Franklin (2017) as it focuses on learning from mistakes and highlighting successes.

Approximately thirty measurement examples are provided in this research paper. For the purposes of this review, “Section III: Approaches to Measuring More Vibrant

Communities,” Measuring First Nations Wellbeing—Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, will be highlighted. First, Weaver et al. offer a summary of the project and how community measurement features within it: “The [project] assesses wellbeing in First Nations communities relative to other Canadian communities and tracks these results over time. The Measuring First Nations Wellbeing Project Community Wellbeing Index (CWI) is composed of four primary indicators: education, labour force activity, income, and housing conditions” (p. 50). The Index was adapted from the UN’s Human Development Index, which explores quality of life in 170 nations. Education is measured through literacy standards and high school graduation. Labor force activity is a measurement of labor force participation and employment. Income is calculated through an average total income, and housing conditions are accounted for through both housing quantity and quality.

As another example, “Section III, Sustainable Community Indicators Program (SCIP) - Environment Canada” describes “a holistic approach to measuring well-being which considers the long-term health of the community. This approach recognizes that a one-size-fits-all method will not ensure sustainability when identifying indicators and therefore requires the individual community to identify their own community-

Table 11. Approaches for measuring community change indicators (Weaver et al., 2010)

Approaches to Measuring Less Poverty in Communities	Approaches to Measuring More Vibrant Communities
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Vibrant Communities Canada • National Performance Indicators • Community Scales • Neighbourhood Vitality Index • Sustainable Livelihoods Framework • Family Economic Success-Annie E. Casey Foundation • Canadian Index of Wellbeing • Government of Ontario-Poverty Reduction Strategy • UK Poverty Reduction Strategy • Social Determinants of Health 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Vibrant Communities Canada • Healthy Communities/Healthy Cities • Community Indicators Victoria Australia • Social Determinants of Health, World Health Organization • Quality of Life Reporting System, Federation of Canadian Municipalities • Vital Signs, Community Foundations of Canada • Measuring First Nations Wellbeing—Indian and Northern Affairs Canada • Sustainable Community Indicators Program (SCIP) Environment Canada • Neighbourhood Vitality Index • Canadian Index of Wellbeing
Approaches to Measuring More Community Engagement	Approaches to Measuring More Collaboration in Communities
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Waterloo Region Crime Prevention Council • Smart Growth BC • Community Indicators Victoria • Communities Scotland • Living in Niagara 2008 • Auditing Community Participation • Vibrant Communities Canada • Robert D. Putnam and the Saguaro Seminar • Youth Engagement—Laidlaw Foundation • Community Scales • Neighbourhood Vitality Index • Canadian Index of Wellbeing 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Vibrant Communities Canada • The Community Collaboration Project • Partnership Self-Assessment Tool • Evaluating Collaborative • Evaluating Community Collaboratives • Collaboration Factors Inventory • Collaborative Learning and Innovation

relevant indicators” (p. 52.). SCIP was created to address requests from various groups to “provide guidelines to help communities develop and use sustainable development indicators” (p. 52). Through SCIP, communities are able to collaboratively develop their own indicators. The authors provide a table with a list of indicators developed for the Winnipeg First Nations community. For example, under the category of “Environment” they list “Security” as a domain with an example indicator of “Number of First Nations police officers” (p. 53).

In the final section, “Conclusions, Reflections, and Final Thoughts” the authors note the complexity of measuring collaborative efforts for change and offer a substantial list of questions for consideration within each measurement area. While the measures included in this report are not exhaustive, the tools, links, suggested reading lists, and descriptions in every section may serve as a practical resource for organizations seeking to measure the impact of social change in the arenas covered. Furthermore, the developmental evaluation model described in the introduction could offer promise for those looking for an iterative framework that accommodates the constant evolution and improvement of programs.

Public Health

Kegler et al. (2000). This article presents a detailed evaluation framework that includes evaluation questions and measures employed by the California Healthy Cities Project. The Healthy Cities Project was established in 1988, and since then over 40 cities have participated. It is a community-based program that allows cities to work toward solving problems that manifest beyond the scope of typical health initiatives: “These issues include quality-of-life indices, food security, youth development, literacy, mentoring, crime reduction, youth violence prevention, intergenerational assistance, and neighborhood beautification” (p. 761). The authors describe the obstacles faced by evaluators of health outcomes for community programs (especially those like Healthy Cities with a multitude of diverse sites) and posit that evaluating community change is more appropriate and feasible for their program rather than relying on traditional indicators of individual health. City representatives and evaluation consultants worked together to develop an initial framework, which included conceptualizations from three areas - social ecology, community capacity/competence, and urban planning.

The framework that resulted includes the following five domains for measuring change: individual, civic participation, organizational, inter-organizational, and community. For individuals, skill attainment is measured for the organization’s steering committee members. Civic participation focuses on “the creation of opportunities for public engagement in government, in addition to relationships among individuals” (p. 769). Organizational-level change encompasses policy and practice developments as well as the creation, extension, and “institutionalization of programs and services” (p. 770). Inter-organizational change is focused on collaborative efforts, and this sector of the framework looks at “new partnerships, more mature collaborations, bridging of community sectors, and new linkages with organizations outside the community” (p. 771). Lastly, community-level change

examines changes in physical and social environments as well as policy change. The authors provide tables complete with framework concepts, levels, and descriptions.

The authors also describe the ways in which cities report their data every six months. Individual data is self-reported, whereas resident involvement is documented to measure civic participation (numbers of participants). Organizational-level data is documented through the emergence of new programs, policies, practices, and successful “institutionalizing” of initiatives (yes/no questions are asked). Inter-organizational measures are reported through descriptions of partnerships (new, changing, etc.), a steering committee assessment, and by documenting the level at which community sectors are involved (on a provided scale). Finally, community-level changes are measured with the same questions as the organizational-level outcomes. Kegler et al. argue that their Healthy Cities framework builds on the most empirically-based evidence available which supports the positive relationship between organizational-level factors (a civic participation concept) and health outcomes.

Table 12. Sample Frameworks and Measures

Sample Frameworks and Measures		
Authors	Frameworks & Paradigms	Indicators, Measures & Methods
Alaca et al. (2015)	OCAP Principles (emphasis on Aboriginal ownership of the research/data).	Sought participant perspectives of change. Methods: Online survey and focus groups (including youth drawings).
Christens & Dolan (2011)	Social Change, Community Development, Youth Organizing (including collective action).	Included both community and individual-level indicators of change. Case study: Document analysis, media coverage analysis, and semi-structured interviews.
Dunkley & Franklin (2017)	Stochastic Arts, Participatory Action Research, Interpretivist frameworks. Viewing environmental and sustainability programs as a stochastic art means failures are learning experiences. Logic models were not feasible to implement successfully.	Participatory action research (PAR), observations, in-depth/semi-structured interviews.
Inamara & Franklin (2017)	Visual Participatory Action Research and Community Based Adaptation (CBA). Participants employed photography and story-telling to create a dialogue around community based adaptation (CBA) strategies for climate change grounded in Indigenous knowledge.	PAR--Creative media workshops; community photo exhibit combining photography and narrative.
Kegler et al. (2000)		The authors explore alternative community health indicators in five domains: individual, civic participation, organizational, inter-organizational, and community. Data is collected and reported through a variety of data (e.g. emergence of new programs and partnerships, self-reported individual data, resident involvement)

Sample Frameworks and Measures		
Authors	Frameworks & Paradigms	Indicators, Measures & Methods
Maton (2008)	Community Development/Social Change through Empowering Community Settings.	Examines change at individual, community, and society levels that results from an empowering community settings framework. Uses case studies, document analysis, theory building and application.
Mattoni and Treré (2014)	Offer a model for evaluating the impact of the media on social movement goals and actions. This is a more holistic approach, which takes into account temporality, actors, and actions at various levels.	
Melo (2019)	Freire's Emancipatory Education Framework (Critical Pedagogy). Argues the program's broad reach and its impact demonstrate "the potential of young people's ideas and actions, when focused on local challenges and opportunities, to help build stronger communities" (p. 10).	Case study built on a 5-year longitudinal study: semi-structured interviews, focus groups, and a survey.
Nakae et al. (2009)	The tool they offer includes process and outcome indicators and explores four areas of "movement building": policy change, leadership development, communications, and relationship building, and is employed by "asking critical questions around overarching shifts" (p. 2) within those areas.	Sample indicators are quantitative and qualitative in nature.
Tremblay et al. (2017)	CBPR grounded in Social Movement Theory. Their proposed framework includes: (1) context, (2) partnership, (3) cause, (4) framing processes, (5) opportunities, (6) resources, and (7) system and community changes. The framework is also temporal, following the lifecycle of a SM: partnership formation, development of strategies and goals, strategy implementation, and sustainment of work.	
Weaver et al. (2010)	Theory of Change and Developmental Evaluation models. Developmental evaluation is distinguished from formative and summative evaluation in that focuses on "the process of thinking, planning, implementing and evaluation is continuous and simultaneous" (p. 6).	The combined use of qualitative and quantitative data collection methods are advised for the majority of the multitude of evaluation approaches included in the report.

Key Lessons Learned

Three key lessons emerge from the review of literature on evaluating social change: (1) employ developmental, flexible approaches to evaluation design; (2) utilize participatory, empowering methods/frameworks; and, (3) consider alternative indicators and methods in measuring social change.

These will now be discussed in greater detail, supported by the literature. Additionally, each lesson will also be embedded in recommendations from Charles Tilly (2020) and Goodwin and Jasper (2015) on social movement research.

Lesson 1. Employ developmental, flexible approaches to evaluation design

Charles Tilly cautions against several pitfalls in researching social movements, some of which may also prove relevant for those evaluating social change and exploring the impact of their own social movement organizations. The first of these is: “Do not overemphasize a theoretical perspective to the detriment of historical events and empirical data” (p. 174). Tilly suggests, instead, “to let the data gathering and analysis surprise you and show patterns and dynamics that you did not anticipate and that had not been previously discussed” (p. 174). While this literature review does offer some specific example tools, frameworks, measures, and indicators from the field, nonprescriptive research methods and flexible tools may be considered superior to a one-size fits all framework. Furthermore, adapting tools to meet an organization’s goals is encouraged (Nakae et al., 2009). Developmental and dynamic evaluation designs are supported by Dunkley & Franklin (2017); Tremblay et al. (2017); and Weaver et al. (2010).

A second piece of advice from Tilly also reinforcing the use of developmental evaluation design is to think about length and scope. “A social movement is not the same as a political or PR campaign, a fad, slacktivism, or a hashtag alone. A march, no matter how large, does not a social movement make. A social movement lasts more than a few months” (p. 174). Social change is an ongoing process, and measuring it can require flexible and developmental planning and evaluation. This is illustrated by Dunkley and Franklin (2017), who find that rather than traditional logic models, “...a reflexive, interpretive evaluation approach can enhance learning opportunities and provides funders with more trustworthy representations of community-led initiatives” (p. 112). Likewise, Tremblay et al. (2017) includes temporal stages in their CBPR framework rooted in social movement theory, but additionally warn against using it in a prescriptive manner.

Lesson 2. Utilize participatory, empowering methods/frameworks

Tilly provides an additional recommendation (Tilly et al., 2020): “A social movement does not require a Social Movement Organization (SMO) to be called so. Having an institutionalized organization may help continue advocating for a specific population, but it is not a requirement nor a sole cause for success” (p. 175). Reflecting on the evaluation literature discussed, this quote illuminates the push for utilizing participatory, and even empowering methods and frameworks. This was apparent in the use of Freire’s Emancipatory Education Framework in Melo (2019) and the participatory approaches employed by Inamara and Thomas (2017). Furthermore, Maton (2008) offers a look at how empowering community settings impact not only individuals, but also communities and broader society. Additionally, this interpretivist approach is confirmed for community-based environmental groups in Dunkley and Franklin (2017). Lastly, Indigenous research approaches like those used in Inamara and Thomas (2017) and Alaca et al. (2015) support the employment of Indigenous epistemology and community control over the research process. As stated at the beginning of this section, Jasper (2010) recommends ethnographic, in-depth interviews, and participatory research as the most useful in making meaning from participants’ experiences.

Lesson 3. Consider alternative indicators and methods in measuring social change

An additional recommendation from Tilly is instructive on how to think about evaluating social change: “Social movements are not necessarily about making visible, direct changes in policy or electing political leaders. Sometimes the end-goal is more about awareness or slowly shifting cultural practices or stereotypes about a marginalized group” (p. 174). Tilly’s warning is echoed by Goodwin and Jasper (2015) as well as they conclude that “researchers have managed to demonstrate relatively few effects of social movements on their societies. In part this is due to their concentration on direct policy effects or benefits for constituencies” (p. 380). The same advice can be applied to social justice or other community organizations seeking to evaluate social change as they should look beyond traditional indicators of social change. Alaca et al. (2015), for example, employed methods that measured program success through participants’ self-reported improvements and impacts on themselves and their communities. Goodwin and Jasper (2015) echo that “activist identity is itself an important effect of social movements, just one of many cultural effects of movements” (p. 380). Christens and Dolan (2011) do use policy changes as an indicator, but they also include individual outcomes for the youth organizing program they studied. Youth in their study were empowered through their activism and shared that they received more respect from the adults in their lives. Maton (2008) used the empowering community settings framework to explain how positive social change emerges through the empowerment of people, their influence on others, and group activities that expand the circle of influence to those outside of the organization. Other evaluations illustrated how creative media can spur dialogue and assist community members in creating community-based adaptation strategies (Inamara & Thomas, 2017), or how an educational program can lead to youth-created NGOs that help the wellbeing of those living in poverty (Melo, 2019). Kegler et al. (2000) demonstrates how an organization can measure the impact of a community health project using indicators grounded in organizational, leadership and civic participation outcomes (vs. traditional, individual health outcomes). Very few of these results registered as policy changes; however, each one is significant for the communities involved. Goodwin and Jasper (2015) offer another useful conclusion as they write: “There may be even broader cultural effects of social movements. On the one hand, they give people a moral voice, helping them to articulate values and intuitions that they do not have time to think about in their daily lives” (p. 381).

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