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Transformative Youth Organizing: A Decolonizing Social Movement Framework

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A Decolonizing Social Movement Framework

by

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A Decolonizing Social Movement Framework

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This dissertation written by Emily Bautista, under the direction of the Dissertation Committee, is approved and accepted by all committee members, in partial fulfillment of requirements for the degree of Doctor of Education.

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DEDICATION

For my ancestors that have come before me and those to follow.

May we actualize the radical dreams of liberation that birth one another.

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The compounding experiences of colonial miseducation of youth of color, neoliberal policies and logics in urban communities, colonial logics that render the role of spirituality in social movements as invisible, and adultism in legal and social institutions constrain the transformative possibilities of youth agency in social movements. This study explored (a) how educators working in youth movements can build a decolonizing paradigm and practice for transformative organizing and (b) new paradigmatic interventions and theoretical directions that can help inform a transformative youth organizing approach. The research was conducted through a decolonizing interpretive research methodology (Darder, 2015a) and utilized the interrelated lenses of critical pedagogy and decolonizing pedagogy, in order to gain a historicity of scholarly discussions about the logics of coloniality, social movement theories, and youth-organizing frameworks across various texts. By utilizing the decolonizing interpretive methodology and decolonizing and critical pedagogy theoretical frameworks, this study found that a decolonizing social movement framework for transformative youth organizing calls for (a) creating

counterhegemonic havens that create solidarity spaces between youth and adults; (b) building authentic revolution through communion between youth and adults, community-building, and communion with indigenous peoples and the Earth; (c) cultivating a sense of love that sustains community bonds to facilitate healing; (d) promoting healing through engaging in dialectics and dialogue; and (e) creating opportunities for agency and creation to implement the praxis of transformative youth organizing. The findings support the need for adults seeking to authentically be in solidarity with youth to engage in transformative justice practices that help communities collectively heal from colonial violence and engage in a counterhegemonic praxis of creating new transformative and liberatory possibilities in communities.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

> I think that communities of resistance should be places where people can return to themselves more easily, where the conditions are such that they can heal themselves and recover their wholeness.
>
> Thich Nhat Hanh
>
> *The Raft is Not the Shore*

I was introduced to the principles of direct action community organizing the summer of 2007, when I was elected into the leadership board of the Samahang Pilipino organization at UCLA. The first component of community organizing I learned was the practice of social investigation, a process where community organizers develop relationships with various community members in order to learn about community concerns and build a campaign accordingly. When critically examining the underlying values of this approach, there is a clear distinction between trained community organizers and community members. In this framework, community organizers are trained professionals who come into communities and organize the people (Sen, 2003). Ella Baker was critical of this approach to organizing and believed in a more decentralized approach, whereby ordinary people can lead (Oakes, Rogers, & Lipton, 2006). Baker's decentralized approach was akin to what Paulo Freire (1970) called an "authentic revolution," where

> leaders must *incarnate* [emphasis in original] it, through communion with the people. In this communion both groups grow together, and the leaders, instead of being simply self-appointed, are installed or authenticated in their praxis with the praxis of the people. (p. 130)

Upon reflecting on this critique of one of the fundamental steps of direct action community organizing, I believe the structure of traditional community organizing promotes hierarchy, a dominant value that perpetuates inequitable power relations and an unjust society.

In my initial community organizing training, I was taught the central importance of the strategy chart, a tool that reflects the traditional direct action organizing approach: issue-based campaigns in which vast resources are used to support mass mobilizations of people who demonstrate their power in numbers and apply pressure toward a specific decision-maker in order to achieve progress for their specific campaign. For the remainder of my college years (as I was in Samahang Pilipino leadership for the second half of my undergraduate college career), much of my energy was devoted to developing careful power analyses, strategies, mobilizing students, and enacting various tactics toward achieving various campaign goals. By doing this work in coalition with fellow students of color, I believed our collective, strategic efforts would pressure the university administration to enact various policies to better serve our recruitment and retention needs while on a journey toward the self-determination of our communities.

In the process, I came to realize that the culture of student organizing was very unhealthy and promoted burnout. Because of my leadership status as Samahang Pilipino President during my senior year, my schedule was dominated by 40 hours of meetings per week. Given my strong conviction that these campaigns were of utmost importance to shifting school climate and making progress for the community of students of color on campus, at the time, I believed that successful organizing was more important than my own health, well-being, relationships, and academics. I distinctly remember a time when the work was so emotionally taxing, I broke down because I wasn't getting enough sleep, and I was not able to perform at my usual academic level. However, I felt the pressure to engage in ways where I completely overextended myself in order

to be a successful leader in this framework. After reflecting on the 40 hours per week I spent on student organizing, I realized it was much like holding a full-time job in addition to being a full-time student.

The culture of direct action student organizing celebrated being critical of power systems and a confrontational dynamic in our approach to the work. My peers validated my efforts to cultivate this culture and oftentimes referred to me as being "critical" and "fierce" in college. I embraced questioning the purpose of different activities and spaces and being critical of the oppressive nature of the various structures in the world around me. And, true to the militaristic nature of direct action organizing, I applied confrontational approaches toward organizing efforts with a certain pride. Even after I graduated from UCLA as an undergraduate, I maintained an attitude and perspective of being critical, and challenging what I perceived to be unjust power structures when I became a first-year teacher. When I employed this same approach with colleagues, I struggled to create the type of school culture I envisioned because, oftentimes, I was combative with my work colleagues instead of collaborative. Upon reflecting on my leadership as a first-year teacher, I began to reevaluate if militaristic and tactical direct-action organizing approaches were truly the most effective means to enacting social change.

Because student organizing had provided me with an avenue to exercise my own sense of empowerment and influence over school systems in college, as a teacher, I wanted to help share that experience with my students. While engaging in ethnic studies courses and student-led programming facilitated my learning about the sense of injustice and "fired me up" to act in college, many of the students I was working with in South Central Los Angeles were skeptical of any efforts to create change in the community. In the process of growing as an educator, I became more reflective of my various privileges that could help account for our differences in

engaging with similar information. When I had the direct-action organizing tools that helped me organize in college, I also had the support of various alumni and mentors who had successfully used these tools to achieve various goals in the UCLA campus community.

However, in my classroom context, simply providing these tools and historical context to my students was not enough. After my first couple years of teaching, I realized that my efforts were centered on attempting to organize my students. Through reflecting on why my students did not share the same sense of empowerment I experienced when being exposed to direct-action community organizing tools, I learned that there were limitations in this more pragmatic approach to organizing, especially in environments that are not as insular as university campus contexts. Through engaging the concept of critical hope (Duncan-Andrade, 2009) in my following years of teaching, I learned that creating a sense of hope through community healing (Ginwright, 2016) is a critical first step when working *with* young people in urban schools toward social change.

My experience as a mentor to a teenager also shifted my approach to organizing with young people. In the classroom context, my teacher role positioned me hierarchically as an authority figure. Thus, when I tried to do organizing work with students, there was always a clear asymmetrical power dynamic defined and sanctioned by the state that shaped my interactions with students and how they understood my expectations for them. However, in the one-on-one mentorship setting, my mentee and I were voluntarily participating in a more grassroots setting. The institutional culture of the state did not require us to be together, and there were no officially mandated goals and objectives to control the process. Being a mentor taught me that a critical step to developing humanizing relationships with young people required giving myself permission to be my most authentic self and to be a fellow human being and co-creator with

youth. My mentorship experience helped me understand the value of both my experiences as a mentor and my mentee's life experiences to inform our mutual growth in relationship with one another or, as Freire would say, being "in communion" with one another. When I began to bring this understanding to my teaching, my classroom became more conducive to relationship-building between all members in my classroom, which also led us toward healing and community action.

When I helped cofound a grassroots teacher organization with other educators of color who shared a decolonizing pedagogical and ethnic studies approach toward their teaching, I began to reevaluate, once again, traditional direct action organizing approaches. Through our collective critical assessment of our labor in other organizing settings, I came to see these approaches as not only unsustainable, but that they, wittingly or unwittingly, perpetuated a system of unequal and toxic power relations—asymmetrical relations of power that polarized people and resulted in on-going struggles for power through confrontation. When we began to develop our vision, mission, and long-term goals, our individual and collective experiences with different toxic organizing environments were instrumental in informing the types of practices we wanted to create, in order to ensure our organization functioned in integrity with the transformative and decolonizing perspectives we shared. Accordingly, our space, known as the People's Education Movement, became committed to cultivating healing spaces that would help sustain critical, decolonial educators of color working with young people in urban schools—educators who might otherwise become isolated and burned-out in what we considered to be neocolonial schooling environments.

As the People's Education Movement grew over time, we began to articulate a goal of creating a Community School, a school that we felt would reflect all that we tried to achieve in

our respective schooling environments, but in our own autonomous space. This signaled to us a need for a radical community space, much like the Black Panther Party's Oakland Community School (Huggins & Le-Blanc-Ernest, 2009). To begin the process of creating the type of learning environment we hoped to establish for a future long-standing Community School, we began to run summer Freedom Schools. In our efforts to work toward this goal, however, a few theoretical tensions arose. In the process, we struggled to strike a balance between creating teacher-led and student-led spaces in our summer Freedom Schools, making the dialectical tension that Freire (1998) asserted between authority and freedom palpable.

For example, in an effort to avoid being teacher-run, we tried to give students an opportunity to help shape the Freedom School agendas. While we wanted student voice to guide the curriculum, we also understood that we were not neutral and, thus, held clear political analyses that should also be valued in the process of curriculum development. The struggle to balance student interest and student leadership with goals that were grounded in our political analyses became evident when we observed the teacher-run nature of the Freedom School space and our unsuccessful attempts to fully engage the young people as equitable leaders. In an effort to be vigilant of potential settler-colonial dynamics (Tuck & Yang, 2013), I challenged our organization to think about what the process of creating a community school *with* the community and not *for* the community should be. Given that our organization has more transformative goals to create new autonomous schools, this experience began to beg the questions: How do we organize with youth to create liberatory educational possibilities? What does it mean to organize with youth by way of more transformative organizing practices?

My journey as a youth organizer and educator organizing with youth compelled me to pursue this dissertation project, a concerted effort to more deeply understand the intersections of

colonialism, social movements, and youth organizing. Through this work, I hope to articulate a new understanding of youth organizing in contemporary movements to affirm young people's dignity and community efforts to resist the legacy of colonialism. I hope that this work can help inform fellow educators who seek to work in solidarity with young people and their communities to achieve an education for liberation through transformative organizing approaches.

Statement of the Problem

The histories of youth of color in Los Angeles and across the nation have been shaped within the imperialist and colonizing context of the US political economy and its impact within subaltern communities, both within the United States and abroad. The imperialist internationalization of capitalism led to expansionism, colonization, and neocolonial policies, which resulted in the dispossession, exploitation, and forced displacement of many indigenous peoples within and across the socially constructed borders of the United States. While the current neocolonial effects of these historic conditions have impacted different indigenous communities in specific ways and the decolonization process cannot be essentialized (Tuck & Yang, 2013), formerly colonized peoples, nevertheless, do share many neocolonial conditions. In the neocolonial context, various reinforcing social, cultural, economic, and political structures perpetuate a hierarchical relationship that consistently sustains the power of the privileged members of the dominant society over those of the oppressed. These neocolonial structures are apparent at internal, interpersonal, and institutional levels, as evidenced by behaviors that perpetuate dominant ideologies that serve the interests of the privileged, ruling class of society (Buttaro, 2010).

Miseducation has been a fundamental tool of the colonial educational project to sustain imperialist interests to dispossess, repress, oppress, and exploit indigenous people and the land

(Grande, 2008). In the Philippines, the United States sent college-educated students and teachers, referred to as "Thomasites," to build a schooling structure shaped after the American model (Pido, 1986). The American education system in the Philippines helped create many educated Filipinos whose knowledge helped serve American political and economic interests (Constantino, 2002). In the United States, many colleges were created for the purpose of colonizing indigenous people's minds as a way to gain access to land and resources (Grande, 2008). For the African American community, Carter G. Woodson (1933) argued that schooling was designed to promote and sustain acculturation into Western ideologies through socializing students to accept social inequities. The deleterious impact of the colonial American schooling project in communities of color continues to be evident today. For example, American Indian students continue to be disproportionately impacted by poverty, experience low educational attainment, and enjoy limited access to educational opportunities; as such, they are among the most categorized for remediation, and limited by low teacher expectations (Grande, 2008).

The concrete impact of historical miseducation continues to be evident today, in the persistent difficulties that youth of color experience within schools and the larger society. According to the American Council on Education (ACE) (http://www.acenet.edu/higher-education/topics/Pages/RacialEthnic-Minority-Students.aspx), "disparities persist in the quality of education…for ethnic and racial minorities." ACE (2002) reports showed that Black, Latino, and Native American youth display the highest dropout rates, the lowest academic performance rates, and the lowest college admission and retention rates in the United States. Critical analyses of the connection between colonial realities and educational outcomes of many youth of color has helped give rise to critical pedagogy and decolonizing pedagogy—efforts to resist the epistemological attacks on the various indigenous communities of students of color in America.

Contemporary neoliberal attacks on impoverished communities of color perpetuate the legacy of colonial dispossession, dislocation, and violence. Neoliberal policies dispossess communities by facilitating the privatization of public goods and services as well as dislocate communities through urban redevelopment projects that aid the forces of gentrification (Lipman, 2011). Here, neoliberal gentrification projects entail processes not only of dislocating communities from their homes, but also of destroying public school institutions that have historically served as community centers (Lipman, 2011). Neoliberal high-stakes testing education policies vested in accountability rhetoric prevent young people from participating in meaningful education, which serve to disengage them in the current education climate (Gordon, 2010).

Neoliberal policies are often espoused with conservative rhetoric that blame youth of color or their families instead of acknowledging the role of structural racism that created the violence and economic instability in their communities (Ginwright & Cammarota, 2006; Torre & Fine, 2006). Thus, neoliberal education policies and privatization efforts (such as the prison industrial complex) help create the school-to-prison pipeline (Conner & Rosen, 2016), which continues the cycle of violence and economic instability in impoverished communities of color. When compounded with dehumanizing school-to-prison pipelines, neoliberal economic policies and political rhetoric create violent conditions that seem insurmountable to young people, which aim to destroy disenfranchised young people's sense of hope (Duncan-Andrade, 2009).

As young people enact the courage to combat these colonial realities, they are not only confronted by the adultism that is present in the larger society and societal institutions like schools, they must also combat the paternalistic adultism they experience in their own homes and communities (Gordon, 2010). The pervasive influence of psychologists' theories of youth

development is evident in the dominant perceptions of youthfulness as marked by energy, idealism, instability, and irrationality—biological traits that must be effectively transitioned into healthy adulthood with the guidance and supervision of adults (Scott, 2016). These dominant understandings of youth and adolescence serve to justify efforts to supervise and control youth-led efforts as well as defer any meaningful youth agency to the future when they are in adulthood—the only age group with the privilege and power to make decisions in an adultist framework (Gordon, 2010). Thus, many young people of color impacted by the forces of colonialism encounter myriad barriers to their sense of cultural, educational, economic, social, and political empowerment and agency.

Limits of Traditional Organizing

The direct-action community organizing framework arose during the specific historical moment where large masses of laborers, women, and people of color were beginning to actualize their sense of collective power to resist capitalist, patriarchal, and White supremacist structures that were blatantly swelling the coffers of a limited few. The rich history of labor organizing grounded in the direct action organizing tradition helped laborers, women, and people of color achieve concrete wins that would, over time, help create the various policies and laws that would protect some of the labor, housing, health, political, and educational rights that many people have the privilege to benefit from today. Since the widespread use of these organizing strategies at the turn of the twentieth century, many communities and organizations continue to employ these tactics in their social justice efforts today.

When closely examined, the underlying values of traditional community organizing methods reinforce patriarchy (Stall & Stoecker, 1998), sustaining unequal power relations (Oakes et al., 2006; Sen, 2003), banking education (Freire, 1970; Martinson & Su, 2012), the

professionalization of community organizing leadership roles (Sen, 2003), and pragmatic apolitical methodologies (Darder, 2015a; Sen, 2003)—values that are oftentimes not in integrity with intersectional, decolonial, and transformative change efforts. Additionally, because of the purported apolitical nature of these traditional organizing strategies that are in actuality laden with the colonial logics described above, oftentimes social movements erode and devalue the power of spirituality and the indigenous values and epistemologies that are embedded within spiritual practices. By rendering the role of spirituality in social movements invisible through an abyssal divide (Santos, 2014) between dominant understandings of social movement activism, traditional organizing theories and practices constitute a part of the dehumanizing tendencies at work in youth movements. However, due to the proliferation of the dominant organizing framework and its historic success, it is oftentimes the unexamined go-to method for many communities who seek to enact their collective power and achieve justice. For educators who advocate for the students and communities they serve, oftentimes these traditional organizing approaches are applied in their union-organized rallies and strikes.

For educators who organize within the context of their classroom, critical pedagogy and participatory action research are powerful tools for working with students to develop an analysis of the historic conditions they live in and are often connected with various community organizing strategies and tactics to help students act on their critical awareness and challenge unjust systems. However, oftentimes the study of critical pedagogy (McLaren, 2003) occurs at a more theoretical level during undergraduate study and is not a central aspect of methods courses in most teacher preparation programs. Nonetheless, the growth of implementing critical pedagogy with youth in scholar-activist work has helped build critical youth studies frameworks. Tenets of critical youth studies, according to Cammarota and Fine (2008) include: (a) youth

learning critical inquiry skills in "formal youth development, research collectives, and/or educational settings" (p. 2); (b) youth incorporating their critical inquiries in formal spaces in order to contest systemic oppression that occurs in normalized practices; and (c) youth collectively designing research intended to "contest and transform systems and institutions to produce greater justice" (p. 2).

Most educators who have had the opportunity engage in critical youth praxis, the application of critical pedagogy and critical participatory action research (Torre, Fine, Stoudt, & Fox, 2012) with youth, have somehow been connected to or were in fact full-time scholar-activists whose critical pedagogy research was closely connected to their own praxis. While critical youth praxis efforts such as critical participatory action research (Torres et al., 2012) and youth participatory action research (Mirra, Garcia, & Morrell, 2016) promote methodologies that support decentralized participatory democracy (Crass, 2013) between young people and adults, these practices are mostly limited to educators engaged in formal academic spaces.

Educators engaged in community organizing with young people, therefore, can benefit from an organizing framework that incorporates the principles of critical youth praxis (the application of the tenets of critical youth studies discussed above), while implementing transformative justice practices that help facilitate the self- and collective healing and transformation necessary to be in integrity with the intersectional, decolonial, and transformative change sought within oppressed communities. Thus, educators in youth movements need a paradigm and practice for transformative organizing in order to more effectively address the injustices and dehumanizing conditions experienced in their everyday lives.

The Need for Transformative Organizing

The underlying assumption that informs this study is the need for a transformative organizing approach to our work with youth, which can engage and counter some of the concerns with traditional organizing mentioned above; and, thus, help us to contend more effectively with the historical legacies of miseducation in the lives of youth of color. A transformative framework can challenge people to critically examine how "current values, beliefs, and behaviors are harmful to both themselves and society in general" (Ginwright, 2016, p. 30). Here, transformative organizing approaches align with decolonizing pedagogies grounded in a clear analysis of how current, dominant ideologies are harmful to working class youth of color and their communities and how these ideologies are reinforced to normalize oppressive societal values and practices. As youth educators begin to develop a more critical awareness of the ubiquitous nature of dominant ideologies, transformative organizing approaches can encourage both organizers and youth to shift their thinking in order to participate together in forms of individual and collective healing that can mobilize social transformation (Ginwright, 2016).

Here, transformative organizers not only have the potential to engage in envisioning a new world, but to also develop and sustain healthy personal and collective relationships, values, and practices through their community labor with youth (Ginwright, 2016). By strengthening relationships in solidarity with one another, people can challenge what it means to be a human and build a sense of interdependence (Gaztambide-Fernández, 2012), a vital part of the decolonizing process that helps facilitate the inward healing toward outward change (Ginwright, 2016; Iseke-Barnes, 2008; Shahjahan, Wagner, & Wane, 2009). By living in accordance with the values we seek to establish in the world we envision, transformative organizers intend to not only

reimagine, but also "restructure our economic, political, and judicial systems in ways that create justice, democracy, and equality" (Ginwright, 2016, p. 29).

Transformative organizing frameworks, therefore, can nourish and cultivate approaches for people to also enter into caring relationships with one another—in that caring relationships are key to the process of community empowerment. While people may participate in organizing spaces as a way to work toward justice, oftentimes they still carry their traumas within themselves in ways that impact their organizing relationships and activities (Ginwright, 2016) and thus, may engage in disabling behaviors against their own interests, which reinforce harmful dominant ideologies (Chen, Dulani, Piepzna-Samarasinha, & Smith, 2011). This dynamic echoes the "oppressor-oppressed contradiction" that Freire (1970) described in his work, a space where people who are oppressed behave in accordance with the dominant ideologies that perpetuate their oppression. When people recognize the oppressor's characteristics in fellow oppressed people, they may act in ways that are harmful to one another. Thus, while working toward transformative organizing, it is also critical to engage in transformative justice practices—practices that actively recognize the humanity of all participants and aim to operate with accountability that aligns with transformative organizing visions, values, and relationships (Chen et al., 2011).

By collectively engaging in transformative justice, oppressed communities can begin the process of healing, which might be thought of as a type of *spiritual activism* (Keating, 2008) that supports people in simultaneously working on inner self-change, while working towards outward societal transformation (Ginwright, 2016). It is useful to note at this juncture that the underlying critical principle here is that individuals exist within an interdependent and dialectical relationship with the world—never apart (Darder 2015b, 2016). Hence, transformative

organizing must also be understood as a decolonizing process for the evolution of consciousness and the transformation of material conditions (Darder, 2015b) that negatively impact the lives of the oppressed. This study sought to advance, with greater specificity and theoretical clarity, an understanding of transformative organizing and to consider its implications for our work with youth of color within subaltern communities.

Research Questions

This decolonizing interpretive study was guided by two overarching research questions:

1) How can educators working in youth movements build a decolonizing paradigm and practice for transformative organizing?
2) What new paradigmatic interventions or theoretical directions can help to inform a transformative youth organizing approach?

Purpose

The underlying values of traditional community organizing approaches need to be critically examined more frequently, particularly within organizing spaces with youth of color. Without a critical examination of the values and practices that underpin organizing relationships with youth, community organizers may inadvertently reinforce the dominant ideologies responsible for the oppression organizers seek to resist, while also alienating the youth with whom they seek to work with in the journey toward social transformation. While critical youth praxis pedagogies (which will be discussed in Chapter 4) can promote more democratic organizing relationships between young people and adults, these practices also tend to primarily take place in conjunction within more formal academic spaces and through more traditional research approaches and thus, are not fully accessible to educators engaged in more grassroots community organizing spaces with youth.

Therefore, the purpose of this study is to contribute to the further creation of a paradigm and practice for educators engaged in community organizing with young people of color that: (a) incorporates the principles of critical youth praxis, (b) implements transformative justice practices that facilitate the self and collective healing and transformation, and (b) supports the intersectional, decolonial, and transformative change they seek.

The Conceptual Lens

The conceptual lens that informed this study was implemented through two interrelated theoretical frameworks: critical pedagogy and decolonizing pedagogy (see Figure 1). These two frameworks are interrelated, in that both emerge from radical educational perspectives that incisively challenge hegemonic constructions of mainstream education in the United States. More importantly, both scholarly traditions support the decolonizing interpretive methodology that drives the research design for this study.

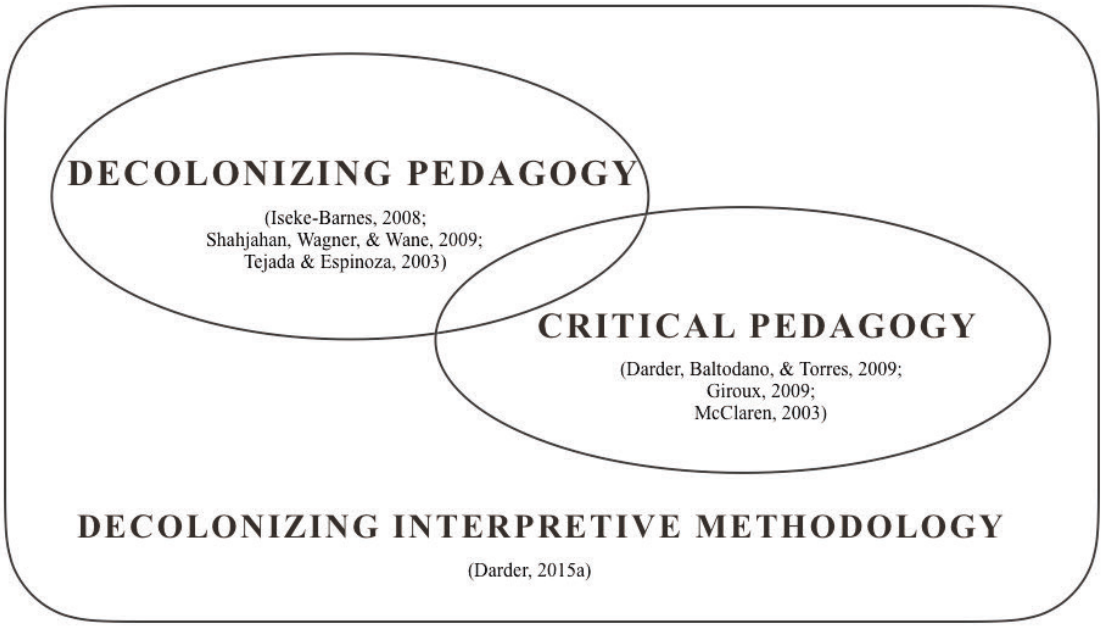

Figure 1. The conceptual lens.

Critical Pedagogy

When employed in a learning space, critical pedagogy uncovers oppressive ideologies in social structures (Darder, Baltodano, & Torres, 2009; Giroux, 2009; McLaren, 2003). By promoting critical praxis through reflective action (Freire, 1970), critical pedagogy seeks to guide learners toward liberation (McLaren, 2003). Critical pedagogical practices are informed by a set of key principles. While the study of critical pedagogy is made up of heterogeneous ideas, the key principles include cultural politics, political economy, historicity of knowledge, dialectical theory, ideology and critique, hegemony, resistance and counter-hegemony, praxis, and dialogue and conscientization (Darder et al., 2009).

Cultural politics. Because schools oftentimes paint knowledge as neutral, various dominant values, beliefs, and ideologies are maintained. Thus, schools are sites that harbor the ongoing cultural struggle of what is considered legitimate knowledge (Darder et al., 2009). Additionally, students' perspectives, experiences, and constructions of truth are shaped by their lived socioeconomic realities and histories (Darder et al., 2009). In an effort to challenge classroom structures and practices that uphold oppressive and disempowering conditions for culturally marginalized and economically disenfranchised students, critical pedagogy engages cultural politics by legitimizing and challenging students' perspectives through a critical analysis of dominant ideologies and practices that attempt to hinder a more humanizing culture of democratic participation in the classroom and in their daily lives (Darder et al., 2009).

Political economy. Critical pedagogy also seeks to challenge the myth that schools are the "great equalizer," where all students have equal opportunities to learn and attain social advancement. Instead, from the standpoint of a capitalist political economy, critical pedagogues posit that schools reproduce asymmetrical power relations and dominant cultural values and

privileges (Darder et al., 2009). Additionally, critical pedagogy seeks to expose how schools perpetuate racialized inequalities and, thus, the inextricable link between culture and class (Darder et al., 2009).

Historicity of knowledge. Critical pedagogy also promotes the idea that all knowledge is created within a historical moment, context, and conditions that are not only produced by humans, but also has the possibility to be transformed by humans (Darder et al., 2009). Thus, history is not static; critical pedagogy provides a medium to analyze various types of tensions in history and provides a hopeful possibility for humans to exert agency, self-determination, and collective societal change (Darder et al., 2009).

Dialectical Theory. Critical pedagogy also supports the notion that knowledge is dialectal, a view that engages how ideas interact with one another instead of existing as polar dichotomies (Darder et al., 2009). Here, dialectal theory promotes a more fluid idea of humans and nature that is relational and where theory and practice is interconnected (Darder et al., 2009). Building on the principle of the historicity of knowledge, a dialectical perspective recognizes the power of human activity and human knowledge as both products and forces that shape the world we live in (Darder et al., 2009).

Ideology and critique. Ideology can be interpreted as the "embedded psychological structures of the personality" and is manifested in the "inner histories and experiences that give rise to questions of subjectivity… constructed by individual needs, drives, and passions, as well as the changing material conditions and class formations within society" (Darder et al., 2009, p. 11). Thus, critical pedagogy interrogates the ideologies and the fundamental ethics that drive the production of school curricula, tests, and practices (Darder et al., 2009). Critical pedagogy facilitates educators' reflections of the ideological foundations of their commonsense

assumptions, knowledge, values, and views of human nature and society that shape their classroom practices and school structures (Darder et al., 2009). Thus, critical pedagogy helps educators become reflective of how dominant ideologies are embedded and reproduced in their schooling environments (Darder et al., 2009).

Hegemony, resistance and counter-hegemony. Antonio Gramsci (1971) argued that the dominant sociocultural class maintains social control over subordinated groups through its moral and intellectual leadership, a process referred to as hegemony (Darder et al., 2009). Through the notion of hegemony, critical pedagogues bridge the connections between politics, economics, culture, and pedagogy (Darder et al., 2009). When teachers recognize how schools promote hegemony, critical pedagogy challenges them to acknowledge their responsibility to resist the reproduction of asymmetrical power relations, the privileged status quo (Darder et al., 2009).

The notion of resistance in critical pedagogy is centered on the emancipatory interests of subordinated groups (Darder et al., 2009). Thus, resistant behavior of students should be examined according to their struggle against dehumanization. In critical pedagogy, counter-hegemony refers to "intellectual and social spaces where relations of power are reconstructed in ways that center the voices and experiences" (Darder et al., 2009, p. 12) of people who have been historically oppressed, repressed, and dispossessed.

Spaces marked by counter-hegemony are created in moments of resistance where alternative structures and practices transform relationships toward democracy and liberation (Darder et al., 2009). Freire also argued that in order to successfully cultivate counterhegemonic spaces, students must have a strong command of the dominant understandings of knowledge in order to critique it and create alternatives (Darder et al., 2009).

Praxis. Building from the notion of dialectical knowledge, the critical pedagogy principle of praxis posits that human activity represents the "on-going interaction of reflection, dialogue, and action" (Darder et al., 2009, p. 13), the interaction between theory and practice. Thus, because the historicity of knowledge reflects the historical interaction between humans and their world, all theories and claims to truth are subject to critique (Darder et al., 2009). Together, theory and practice, praxis, has the power to transform relations of power and the ever-changing lived realities of people (Darder et al., 2009).

Dialogue and conscientization. Dialogue is a pedagogical tool and process that facilitates analysis through reflection and action (Darder et al., 2009). When there is a problem-posing approach to education, student and teacher relationships are dialogical, a relationship in which both students and teachers have important perspectives, lived realities, and abilities to contribute and receive while examining current realities and creating new possibilities. Dialogue also helps cultivate *conscientização*, or conscientization, a process where students develop (a) a deep awareness of the social, political, and historical realities that shape their lives and (b) their ability to recreate these current realities through praxis, the ongoing process of action and reflection.

Decolonizing Pedagogy

Decolonizing pedagogy is aligned with critical pedagogy in the following ways: it promotes critical consciousness of a neocolonial condition, it provides theories and frameworks that can be used to analyze current conditions, and it shares the notion that learning is not a neutral process (Tejeda, Espinoza, & Gutierrez, 2003). Decolonizing pedagogy builds upon critical pedagogical principles by promoting the following: fostering an ability to transform the current neocolonial condition; a context-specific approach; transforming relationships between

school participants and communities; the collective potential of teachers and students; and the belief that historically colonized people can create new relations and systems toward justice (Tejeda et al., 2003).

Decolonizing pedagogy also facilitates the process of spiritual healing by exploring issues of oppression (Shahjahan et al., 2009) and unlearning dominant ideologies (Iseke-Barnes, 2008) that are oftentimes reflected in internal neocolonialism (Buttaro, 2010). In examining how knowledge is created in the Academy, Shahjahan and collaborators (2009) argued that the preoccupation with objectivist, rational thinking is an obstacle to spiritual ontology, a knowing that (a) acknowledges limits and possibilities, (b) calls for humility and uncertainty, and ultimately (c) influences the way people understand and interact with their world. Related to the critical principle of praxis, decolonizing pedagogy represents the interconnection between people's inward spiritual healing from internalized oppression and outward expressions of unity and solidarity that advocates for the disruption of neocolonial control over indigenous peoples' epistemologies, histories, and connections to the land (Buttaro, 2010; Gaztambide-Fernández, 2012; Iseke-Barnes, 2008; Shahjahan et al., 2009).

Methodology

The decolonizing interpretive methodology (Darder, 2015a) is grounded in a critical tradition that seeks both to counter acritical positivism and to cultivate counterhegemonic spaces for subaltern dissident scholars. Thus, the critical pedagogical principles discussed by Darder and colleagues (2009) are fundamental components of the decolonizing interpretive methodology. Here, Darder (forthcoming) argues,

> A decolonizing interpretive research approach 1) centers the subaltern perspective; 2) demythologizes commonsensical beliefs; 3) names the politics of coloniality; 4) disrupts

> Eurocentric epistemologies; 5) provides an emancipatory rereading of social phenomenon; and 6) infuses the interpretive research praxis with an ethics of liberation to guide new possibilities for understanding the struggles of subaltern communities and decolonizing strategies of engagement, in an effort to alter the current hegemonic discourses that perpetuate inequalities within education and the larger society.

Given that this study was interpreted using the interrelated conceptual lenses of critical pedagogy and decolonizing pedagogy, the decolonizing interpretative research method, as developed by Darder (2015a), was invaluable to the process of creating a decolonizing paradigm and practice for educators participating in youth movements through transformative organizing.

Decolonizing interpretive research, moreover, is intimately connected to the subaltern researcher who struggles to reinvent social and material relations (Darder, 2015a). In my case, as a researcher who once identified as a youth organizer and who continues to struggle through different organizing realities, I sought to reinvent social and material relations in youth movement settings by engaging more systematically with the notion of transformative organizing and considering its decolonizing potential for community organizing work with youth (see Figure 2). Thus, the decolonizing interpretive methodology was best suited for engaging in a process of deeply tracing the historicity of knowledge about colonialism, social movements, and youth organizing by engaging with various texts, events, and experiences.

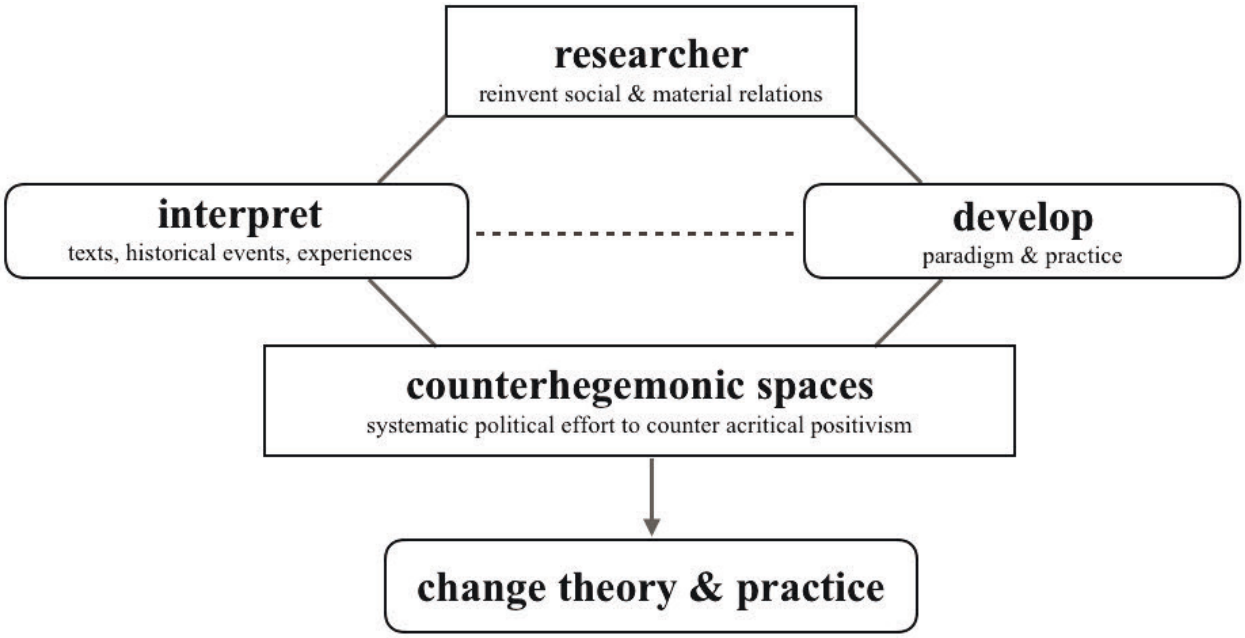

Figure 2. The decolonizing interpretive research methodology (Darder, 2015a).

For this study, I also utilized a decolonizing lens in interpreting texts, historical events, and past experiences with transformative lenses and interrogations of traditional organizing in youth movements (see Figure 2). This inquiry approach helped me in: (a) critiquing and unveiling the historical and philosophical constructions of the texts I examined and (b) moving toward a new paradigm and practice (Darder, 2015a). By implementing a decolonizing interpretive method, I sought to contribute to systematic political efforts focused on creating counter-hegemonic spaces to counteract acritical positivist approaches to research, in the hopes that this would lead to changes in both theory and practice for engaging in critical youth praxis and transformative organizing approaches with youth, community members, and adult allies.

Positionality of Researcher

I am the daughter of first-generation, college-educated Ilokano-Filipino American immigrants. I was raised in the ethnically diverse city of Carson in Southern California, where a large Filipino enclave resides due to its proximity to the Port of Los Angeles. Growing up amid

various cultures afforded me an ability to develop a worldview and exposure to different cultural practices and beliefs as well as the realities of different tensions between ethnic groups in America. Although I attended LAUSD schools during my entire K–12 schooling experience, my privileges of a middle-class socioeconomic background facilitated my access to various extracurricular learning experiences that supported my intellectual and academic growth in ways that enabled my admission into historically segregated programs like Gifted and Talented Education (GATE), honors, and Advanced Placement courses. My success in these programs facilitated my continued access to educational opportunities and qualified my matriculation into UCLA for both my undergraduate and graduate studies.

Upon matriculation into UCLA, I quickly learned about the disproportionate schooling experiences that existed between my peers and me and, thus, I began to question why people who looked like my hometown peers were not represented in the student body like my K–12 schooling experience. Ethnic studies courses helped me name the colonial experiences many communities of color experience and the internalized self-hate I harbored, develop a stronger sense of self both culturally and politically, and begin my healing and decolonizing journey. Student organizing efforts helped me strengthen my leadership skills (that were initially developed in the high school youth ministry at St. Philomena church) and work toward social justice visions of self-determination for my community, in solidarity with other communities of color. The School of Education at UCLA helped me develop a critical race theory analysis of my schooling experiences and, collectively, these experiences at UCLA helped me develop my life purpose: to become an educator with a political purpose of decolonizing urban schooling by bringing back the precious knowledge of ethnic studies to communities of color while organizing

with young people toward a more just society. I continue to strive to achieve this purpose in my work as a school leader and educator organizer.

This study is inextricably linked to my continued decolonizing, healing, and transformative journey within myself and with the community members who are part of the different aspects of my life. The anger, pain, and hope I continually experience as a marginalized, young Pinay (Filipino woman) American of color fuels my drive to struggle for equity, justice, and the self-determination of communities that continue to experience the harmful and violent legacy of imperialism and colonization. Because my experiences in the St. Philomena Youth Ministry and Samahang Pilipino at UCLA provided the conditions for me to begin my self-actualization and empowerment at a young age, my accomplishments as a young school leader are a testament to the power of young people.

As a young adult moving into more mature stages of adulthood, I am currently living in the borderlands of youth and adulthood and find myself straddling both worlds of recognizing the wisdom and perspective my age gives me while simultaneously having faith in the power of young people to lead change in youth movement settings. Thus, research that features the interconnections between critical pedagogy, decolonizing pedagogy, intergenerational wisdom (Grande, 2008), youth movements, community organizing, transformative justice, and healing are central to this study and to my evolution as a decolonizing educator and theorist.

Limitations of the Study

Because this study is so closely tied to my own personal experiences with decolonizing my mind, engaging in solidarity through coalition work, community organizing, and being an educator in urban communities in Los Angeles, the findings are limited to the interpretations that are inextricably linked to my positionality and lived realities. Not all people are positioned in the

same ways and, thus, cannot possibly experience the process of decolonizing, healing, and transformation in the same way—a sentiment best expressed by the idea that decolonization is not a metaphor (Tuck & Yang, 2012). While I have drawn from many indigenous scholars to inform my work, I recognize that I am a settler who, while working through my own decolonizing process, is complicit with the colonial project in the United States through my own residence on this land. Thus, my particular position and experience heavily impact the generalizability of its findings. Nevertheless, it is my hope that this study will assist others in their own decolonizing and healing practice for transformative organizing.

Summary of Dissertation Chapters

This interpretive dissertation is organized along five interconnected chapters that provide a nonlinear analysis (see Figure 3) that substantiates and forms the basis for the paradigm and practice of transformative youth organizing.

Chapter 1 provided the background and context for why a transformative organizing paradigm and practice is needed for educators who are engaged in youth movements.

Chapter 2 establishes the epistemological foundation for the paradigm and practice of transformative youth organizing. This chapter examines the logic of coloniality, the impact of coloniality on colonized lands and people, and the various ways postcolonial, decolonial, anticolonial, and indigenous scholars have contended with the logics and impacts of coloniality.

Chapter 3 establishes the historical foundation for the paradigm and practice of transformative youth organizing. This chapter discusses the historical and philosophical roots of social movements.

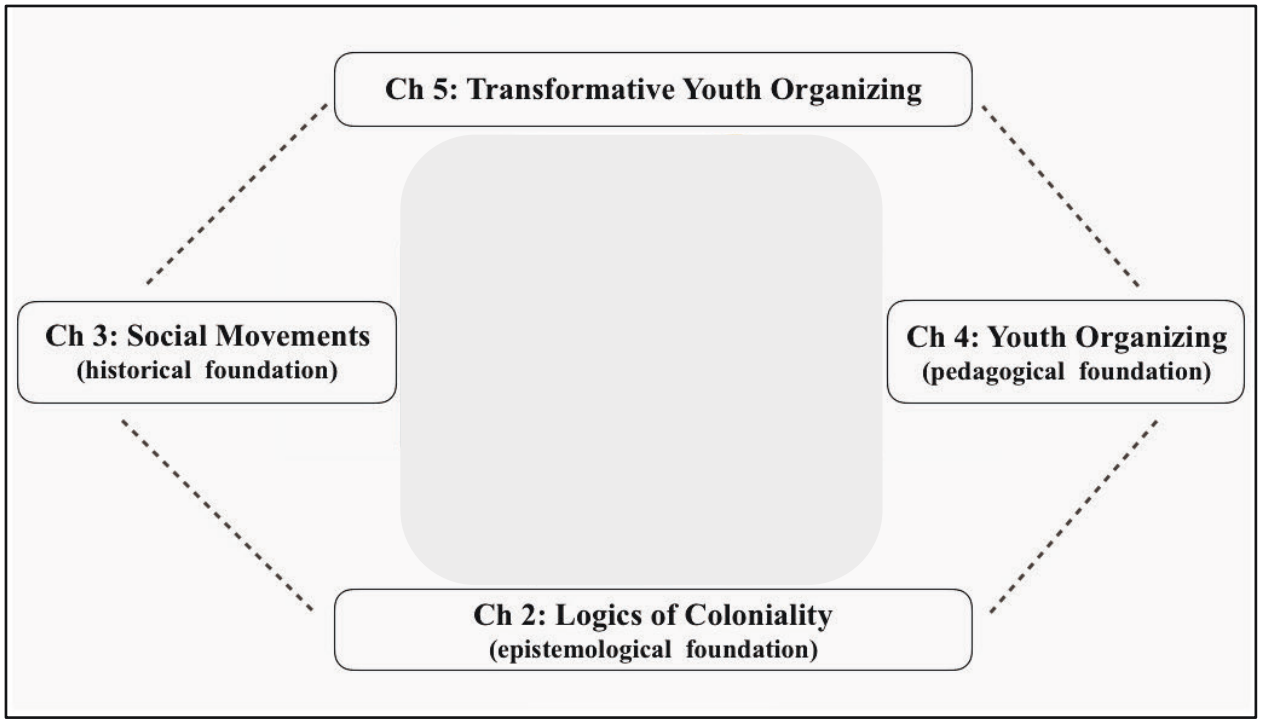

Figure 3. Summary of dissertation chapters.

Chapter 4 establishes the pedagogical foundation for the paradigm and practice of transformative youth organizing. This chapter engages the absences and concerns that exist in the literature on youth-organizing approaches. Additionally, this chapter identifies critical and decolonizing pedagogical principles to present a decolonizing transformative paradigm for youth organizing.

And, lastly, Chapter 5 discusses the paradigm and practice of transformative youth organizing. This chapter concludes with policy and practice implications, along with recommendations for implementing decolonizing transformative organizing in youth movements.

CHAPTER 2

LOGICS OF COLONIALITY

> Colonialism is not satisfied with snaring the people in its net or of draining the colonized brain of any form or substance. With a kind of perverted logic, it turns its attention to the past of the colonized people and distorts it, disfigures it, and destroys it. This effort to demean history prior to colonization today takes on a dialectical significance.
>
> Frantz Fanon
>
> *Wretched of the Earth*

To frame the decolonizing approach to this study for an intergenerational transformative organizing theory and practice, it is critical to understand the historical roots and legacy of colonization and what Walter Mignolo (2007) termed the *logic of coloniality* and its impact on oppressed communities. Because various communities have had unique historical, social, cultural, political, economic, and geographical experiences within the context of imperialism and colonization, this literature review in no way can provide a comprehensive discussion of colonization in the world. Instead, this review engages the various colonial logics that have been applied during the process of colonization in order to better grasp the social, emotional, physical, spiritual, political, and economic impact of this phenomenon on oppressed communities and its implications for people's resistance efforts.

The Politics of Imperialism

In Linda Tuhiwai Smith's (1999) seminal work *Decolonizing Methodologies*, which serves as a counter to Western approaches to knowledge production, she explored various explanations for imperialism: economic expansion, subjugation of others, as an idea, and as a field of knowledge. Historian J. A. Hobson (as cited in Smith, 1999) argued that imperialism

played a critical role in the expansion of Europe's economic prowess. Because Europeans were no longer able to purchase the products being produced, European industrialists shifted their capital to more secure, new markets (Smith, 1999). Lenin (as cited in Smith, 1999) built on this analysis by arguing that exporting capital to new markets was an attempt to save capitalism when workers could no longer afford what was being produced. J. A. Hobson (as cited in Smith, 1999) also contended that in order to secure new markets and capital investments, imperialism served as a system of control, and colonialism ensured European control by securing and subjugating indigenous populations (Smith, 1999). These economic explanations helped account for why various countries were invested in funding expeditions to different lands in search of new resources (Smith, 1999).

The subjugation of the "other" as an explanation for imperialism helps account for the "devastating impact on indigenous peoples whose lands were invaded" (Smith, 1999, p. 21). Because different European nations had unique experiences with different indigenous peoples, different "sophisticated 'rules of practice'" were developed in order to subjugate the people, and also produced various subtle nuances and stories of imperialism (Smith, 1999, p. 22). For example, while all Maori tribes in New Zealand lost a majority of their lands, the lands of some tribes were confiscated while others were invaded militarily; in response, some tribes rebelled, others signed treaties, and other communities never agreed to treaties (Smith, 1999). Thus, the specific context of imperialism shapes the different ways indigenous peoples struggle to "recover histories, lands, languages, and basic human dignity" (Smith, 1999, p. 22).

The idea or ideology of imperialism is inextricably linked to the spirit of European conquest around the globe (Smith, 1999). As a complex ideology, imperialism is expressed in cultural, intellectual, and technical ways (Smith, 1999). The Enlightenment period in Europe set

the stage for a spirit to transform economic, political, and cultural life (Smith, 1999). With this Enlightenment context, imperialism facilitated the development of the modern state, science, and ideas of the "modern" human person (Smith, 1999). Because imperialism also provided a medium for economic expansion, it was an opportunity to build and harness new ideas and discoveries and a "sense of Europeanness" (Smith, 1999, p. 22). By promoting science, economic expansions, and political practice, the "imperial imagination enabled European nations to imagine the possibility that new worlds, new wealth and new possessions existed that could be discovered and controlled" (Smith, 1999, p. 22).

Colonialism played various functions to serve the European imperial project. In the interest of economic expansion, colonies served as "a means to secure ports, access to raw materials and efficient transfer of commodities from point of origin to the imperial centre" (Smith, 1999, p. 23). In the interest of promoting subjugation, colonialism sought to control both indigenous populations and Europeans in order to sustain the imperial enterprise (Smith, 1999). In the interest of promoting the ideology of imperialism and Western culture, colonies served as cultural sites that attempted to represent an image of Western notions of civilization. Although the heterogeneity of European settlers created identity struggles in the colonies, the imperial imagination provided a common desire to reimagine future nations that could actualize Enlightenment ideals (Smith, 1999). Smith further argued that in the development of the imperial imagination, the image of imperialism concurrently stimulated "images of the Other, stark contrasts and subtle nuances, of the ways in which the indigenous communities were perceived and dealt with" (p. 23), images that are, again, unique to the local contexts of imperialism in specific communities.

Colonialism as a System of Control

Establishing control through subjugation was a critical component of ensuring the sustainability of the European imperial project. With this in mind, this section critically explores the different forms of social and material control enacted in the colonies to establish, reproduce, and maintain a system of imperialism.

Control of Land

Land plays a critical role in the story of European imperialism. Mignolo (2007) built on Smith's explanation of imperialist economic expansion by noting the impact of "the discovery and conquest of the America" (p. 481). Mignolo discussed that, within decades, "a massive extension of land and the possibility of massive exploitation of labor to produce commodities for an already globalizing market were offered to the Europeans of the Atlantic coast, Spain, Portugal, Holland, France, and England" (p. 481). Because capital was necessary for organizing labor, production, and distribution, "the appropriation of land *enormously increased the size and power of capital* [emphasis in original]*"* (Mignolo, 2007, p. 481). In this analysis, land played a critical role in the development of a mercantile capitalist economy.

Massive appropriation of land created the conditions for European settlers to come to the lands, the destruction of existing indigenous civilizations, the genocide of Indigenous people, and the transport of enslaved people from Africa to replace the Indigenous labor force (Mignolo, 2007). Ultimately, this process of colonial expansion paved the way for the creation of new societies, which emerged out of the destruction of Indigenous culture, the massive deaths of Indigenous people, exploitation of enslaved Africans, and the plunder of the land deeply connected to Indigenous life. Here, Mignolo argued that the "logic of coloniality is, indeed, the

implementation of capitalist appropriation of land, exploitation of labor and accumulation of wealth in fewer and fewer hands" (p. 477).

Native American scholars have also highlighted the central importance of land in the discourse around colonialism in Indian Studies and other postcolonial studies. Elizabeth Cook-Lynn (2007) asserted that, without a notion of land ownership, there would be no tribal nations and, thus, no relationships between indigenous people and colonial settlers. The "1877 theft of 7.7 million acres of treaty-protected lands in what was then called the Dakota Territories" (Lynn, 2007, p. 201) is a critical moment between the United States and the First Nations, an event that demonstrates the colonial disregard and violation of indigenous sovereignty. The history of land theft had critical implications for the following: the loss of resources pushed subsequent tribal generations into poverty, colonial Christian-driven justifications for land dispossession such as Manifest Destiny rhetoric, and the failure to examine state-sanctioned genocide directed toward all North American tribal nations (Cook-Lynn, 2007). Additionally, because land was intrinsically connected to religion and spirituality, the dispossession of land worked to sever indigenous people's connections to their source of power, the spiritual strength that is the root of revolution (Alfred, 2015).

Control through Force and Conquest

Colonial control over land was oftentimes enacted by force. Fanon (1963) argued that, in the colonies, "the foreigner imposed himself using his cannons and machines" (p. 5). In the colonial context, Fanon (1963) described the initial interaction between the colonizer and the colonized, as marked by "violence and their cohabitation—or rather the exploitation of the colonized by the colonizer—continued at the point of bayonet and under cannon fire" (p. 2). Here, Fanon noted the role European settlers played in facilitating the imperial project in

colonies through force. Anibal Quijano (2007) built on Fanon's discussion and illustrated the different ways the colonized were exploited: "colonizers were expropriating from the colonized their knowledge, specially [sic] in mining, agriculture, as well as their products and work" (p. 169), all of which would ultimately serve European imperialist interests in the pursuit of economic expansion. Additionally, Fanon (1963) argued that the continued exploitation of the colonized was maintained through violence, violence that was carried out by soldiers or police officers that served as legitimate representatives of the colonial regime. By keeping close scrutiny over the colonized and containing them through "rifle butts and napalm," these official agents of the state maintained the visibility of the colonizers' domination and played the role of law enforcers who brought "violence into the homes and minds of the colonized subject" (Fanon, 1963, p. 4). In Latin America, this violence was reflected in the genocide of natives, their exploitation as an expendable labor force, the spread of European diseases, and the violence of conquest (Quijano, 2007).

Paulo Freire (1970), in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, built on his analysis through a discussion of what he termed the first characteristic of antidialogical action: the necessity for *conquest*. Similar to Quijano (2007) and Fanon's (1963) description of the colonizers' exploitation of the colonized, Freire (1970) argued that the relationship between an antidialogical individual and "the other" is marked by the oppressor's antidialogical goal to increasingly conquer others by every means possible. Freire continued to describe that acts of conquest imply there is a conqueror and someone or something that is being conquered. Here, the conqueror "imposes his objectives on the vanquished, and makes of them his possession" (p. 138). In this process, "the vanquished are dispossessed of their word, their expressiveness, their culture. Further, once a situation of oppression has been initiated, antidialogue becomes indispensable to

its preservation" (p. 138). This antidialogue is reproduced and perpetuated through structures of subjugation, in order to keep the conquered in a state of passivity and dependence (Freire, 1970).

Sustaining Control through Ideology and Epistemicides

Force and conquest in the colonies were also accompanied by the repression of indigenous epistemologies. Quijano (2007) argued that colonialism was part of a larger system of repression of "specific beliefs, ideas, images, symbols or knowledge that were not useful to global colonial domination" all of which are aspects of "modes of knowing, producing knowledge, of producing perspectives, images and systems of images, symbols, modes of signification, over the resources, patterns, and instruments of formalized and objectivized expression, intellectual or visual" (p. 169). This form of repression was exacerbated by the genocidal extermination of many indigenous populations. In the region between "the Aztec-Maya-Caribbean and the Tawantinsuyana (or Inca) areas, about 65 million inhabitants were exterminated in a period of less than 50 years" (p. 170).

Quijano (2007) argued that this extermination was not only a demographic catastrophe but also the destruction of both societies and cultures. The adverse consequences were marked by turning what were once high cultures in America into "illiterate, peasant subcultures condemned to orality" due to the survivors being "deprived of their own patterns of formalized, objectivized, intellectual, and plastic or visual expression" (p. 170). This left many survivors with "no other modes of intellectual and plastic or visual formalized and objectivized expressions, but through the cultural patterns of the rulers, even if subverting them in certain cases to transmit other needs of expression" (p. 170). Quijano furthermore contended that inherent to this colonizing process was the invasive imposition of the colonizer's patterns of expression, beliefs, and images.

Freire (1970) built on this analysis through his discussion of another characteristic of antidialogical action: *manipulation*. Freire argued that manipulation is a means that dominant elites use to "try to conform the masses to their objectives" (p. 147). According to Freire, manipulation is an essential means to the preservation and perpetuation of domination. As discussed in the previous section, with respect to the role of repression and force in colonization, only complete suppression exists prior to manipulation (Freire, 1970). As the historical process of colonization created new conditions and realities, the settlers who were part of the dominant colonial project used manipulation to move the oppressed and revolutionary leaders into what Freire called an "unauthentic type of 'organization'" (p. 148).

By doing so, the process of manipulation prevents the development of a true organization, a true union directed toward liberation between the revolutionary leaders and emerging people, the oppressed who are raising their consciousness, which is a threat to the dominant oppressor interests (Freire, 1970, p. 148). Freire further argued that manipulation serves conquest goals and attempts to "anesthetize the people so they will not think" (p. 149). Because critical thinking about the historical process (for example, colonization) facilitates within the oppressed an "emergence," a consciousness, which can awaken within them a desire to engage in a counter-process toward revolution, all means, such as manipulation and physical violence are critical for dominant elites to prevent the oppressed from thinking and thus, to maintain control (Freire, 1970).

Epistemicide. Epistemicide is considered the "murder of knowledge" (Santos, 2014, p. 92). Building on the Quijano's (2007) analysis, in extreme cases like European expansion efforts, epistemicide takes place in tandem with genocide. Boaventura de Sousa Santos (2014) asserted that when unequal exchanges occur between different cultures, there is an implied death of the

subordinated culture's knowledge and the social groups that possessed that knowledge. When epistemologies are destroyed, the process of epistemicide serves to disqualify the social agents who operate according to their modes of living in accordance with these epistemologies. By disqualifying, invisibilizing, and ultimately destroying different ways of knowing, those who commit epistemicide are able to assert the dominance of their epistemological canon and create a sense of power and privilege (Santos, 2014).

Epistemicide and Western epistemic privilege can also be conceptualized through the frameworks of abyssal thinking, lazy reason, and the logics of nonexistence (Santos, 2014). Santos posited that abyssal thinking is a system of invisible and visible distinctions, a relationship marked by an impossibility to correspond with one another. On one side of the abyssal line lies the invisible distinctions, distinctions that are regarded as nonexistent, irrelevant, and incommensurable because they are considered a falsehood. On the other hand, the visible distinctions become so due to the invisibility of other knowledges that did not fit into the visibilized ways of knowing. Santos referred to the visible, Western reasoning that emerges from abyssal thinking as "lazy reason," a term borrowed from Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz.

Santos (2014) further asserted that lazy reason is comprised of: *impotent reason*, as reflected in determinism and realism, where one does not exert oneself due to the belief that nothing can be done against an external necessity; *arrogant reason*, as reflected in free will and constructivism, where one is unconditionally free and is thus free from the need to prove one's own freedom; *metonymic reason*, as reflected in dualism, where there is only one form of rationality, and there is thus no need to learn other kinds of rationality and; *proleptic reason*, as reflected in evolutionism and progress, where one does not think of the future but believes that

the future is linear, automatic, and infinite. Each of these different forms of reasoning underlies Western hegemonic knowledge.

By denying the existence of a diversity and plurality of knowledges, metonymic reason begets what Santos (2014) referred to as the five logics or modes of nonexistence: *the monoculture of knowledge and the rigor of knowledge*, where anything outside of modern science and high culture is considered ignorant or lacking culture; *monoculture of linear time*, where history is perceived to be unique and has a well-known meaning and trajectory such that anything considered asymmetrical or outside of the trajectory is considered backward; *monoculture of the naturalization of differences*, where populations are distributed among categories that are later organized according to a hierarchy such that domination is perceived to be a responsibility to uphold the hierarchy; *monoculture of logic of the dominant scale*, where a primordial scale such as universalism and determinism determines the irrelevance of other scales such as the particular or local and; *monoculture of the capitalist logic of productivity*, where capitalist economic growth is considered to be an unquestionable rational objective which necessitates an unquestionable need for productivity and thus, anything that operates outside of productivity is considered nonexistent.

Ramón Grosfoguel (2013) argued that the four genocides/epistemicides of the 16th century provided the conditions for the rise of Western epistemic privilege. The first epistemicide took place in the late 15th century during the Catholic monarchy's colonial conquest of the Andalusian territory, which housed the sultanate of Granada—"the last Muslim political authority in the Iberian Peninsula" (Grosfoguel, 2013, p. 78). Here, Muslims and Jews were forcibly expulsed from their land, which was followed by the settler colonialism of Christians in the territory. The Muslims and Jews who survived the genocide and chose to stay in

the territory were forced to convert to Christianity, a process that led to the epistemicide of Islamic and Judaic spirituality and knowledge. Additionally, the "purity of blood" discourse of the times was used to surveil the remaining Muslims and Jews to sustain conversion efforts for following generations and to prevent the continued worship of the "wrong gods" (Grosfoguel, 2013).

The second epistemicide, according to Grosfoguel (2013), took place toward indigenous peoples in the Americas and later in Asia after the Castilian monarchy secured its colonial endeavors to rule as "one state, one identity, one religion" in the Iberian Peninsula in 1492 (Grosfoguel, 2013, p. 79). Once Christopher Columbus was granted royal authorization to conquer lands outside the Iberian Peninsula, he referred to the Americas as the West Indies because he mistakenly believed he had arrived to India. The genocide, spiritualicide, and epistemicide in the Americas closely mirrored the process in the Andalusian territory and was also marked by the mass burning of books, libraries, and codices, the written practice Amerindians used to archive knowledge. Columbus's assertion that the "Indians" were "people without religion" sparked a racialized, theological debate in Spain. Gines Sepulveda (as cited in Grosfoguel, 2013) argued that Indians lacked religion, thus lacked souls, and consequently, were not human, a perspective that would justify enslavement. Bartolomé de las Casas argued Indians did in fact have souls and thus, it would be a sin to enslave them. Bartolomé de las Casas asserted that Indians were in a barbarian stage in need of Christianization, a perspective that was a catalyst for the creation of the encomienda system. Bartolomé de las Casas's perspective created a legacy of anthropological cultural racist discourse that colonized peoples were considered primitives who needed to be civilized and biological racist discourse that purported that colonized peoples lacked human biology (Grosfoguel, 2013).

The third epistemicide took place against African people through the slave trade and during their enslavement in the Americas (Grosfoguel, 2013). During 16th-century Spain, Africans were racialized in similar ways as Muslims and were considered people without souls, which justified the following 300 years of the slave trade, a process whereby religious racism was slowly replaced by color racism. Here, the "anti-indigenous religious racism that questioned the humanity of 'Indians' was extrapolated" (Grosfoguel, 2013, p. 84) to Muslims, Jews, and Africans; praying to the "wrong God" was equivalent to not having a soul and thus, being considered inferior (Grosfoguel, 2013). This emerging racism transmuted previous "purity of blood" surveillance into questioning the very humanity of people of Jewish and Muslim descent. The genocide of millions of Africans during the slave trade was complemented with epistemicide whereby "Africans in the Americas were forbidden from thinking, praying or practicing their cosmologies, knowledges and world views" (Grosfoguel, 2013, p. 84). Epistemic racism and inferiority arguments facilitated claims of the purported biological social inferiority of African people.

The fourth epistemicide and genocide took place against women who practiced and transmitted indigenous Indo-European knowledge from ancient times throughout generations (Grosfoguel, 2013). These women possessed knowledge around topics such as astronomy, medicine, biology, and ethics, and also played key leadership roles in "communities organized around commune-like forms of economic and political organization" (Grosfoguel, 2013, p. 85). These women were persecuted beginning in the late Medieval era—brutalities that intensified during the long 16th century due to the rise of colonial capitalist, Christian-centric, and patriarchal power structures. The genocide of millions of these women took place by burning them alive and accusing them of being witches, another form of epistemicide because the

knowledge they transmitted through oral tradition could only be burned through burning their bodies (Grosfoguel, 2013).

Together, the four periods of epistemicides, Grosfoguel (2013) argued, created the conditions for the epistemic privilege of racial/patriarchal power structures that were entrenched in colonial global capitalist accumulation. By propagating discourse around the inferiority of colonized people and women and their knowledges, epistemic privilege and authority was afforded to Western men. The impacts of these epistemicides in colonial, postcolonial, neocolonial, and anticolonial contexts will be discussed below.

Scientific knowledge. In the historic process of colonization wherein knowledge systems of indigenous peoples were suppressed, settler colonists inscribed the epistemological systems that were reflective of the ego-logical shifts in Europe (Mignolo, 2007). During the ego-logical shifts in Europe, the Enlightenment period cultivated the development of empiricism, the theory that knowledge is derived from sense-experiences (Santos, 2014). As European scholars began to build on empiricist notions of how to produce knowledge, the scientific paradigm of positivism was created (Santos, 2014). People who ascribe to positivist ideas believe that just as the natural world could be examined and understood, so too could the social world of humans and human societies (Smith, 1999). According to a positivist perspective, it is possible to reduce and measure the world in order to develop knowledge and understanding about it. Here, with a positivist perspective, it is possible to have an objective reality where one truth exists, and this truth can be elucidated through the use of a scientific method (Hunter, 2002). These ideologies have created the foundation for contemporary understandings of what is deemed scientific knowledge and who has the authority to wield scientific knowledge.

Individualism. In his discussion of the foundations of Western epistemic privilege, Grosfoguel (2013) discussed how Rene Descartes's famous phrase "I think, therefore I am" formed the basis for a Cartesian philosophy in which the "I," the individual, becomes a new source of knowledge, thus challenging Christian notions of God as the source of knowledge. Here, the "I" has the ability to create objective knowledge (Grosfoguel, 2013). From an ontological dualism perspective, the mind is a sort of transcendent substance with the ability to hold universal truths that are not limited to the body, which is made of a different substance. From an epistemological standpoint, Cartesian philosophy maintains that the individual is able to hold internal monologues to arrive at knowledge that need not be situated in historical or social contexts (Grosfoguel, 2013). By articulating the ability of an individual to create knowledge independent of time and space, Cartesian ontology and epistemology promotes individualism (Grande, 2004).

Because capitalism creates conditions in which only a small minority of people can attain wealth, through the labor of a vast majority, it also promotes an ideology of individualism. Fanon (1963) supported this notion by claiming that one of the first Western values instilled in the colonized was individualism. He argued that the "colonized intellectual learned from his masters that the individual must assert himself" (Fanon, 1963, p. 11). Fanon further stated that the "colonialist bourgeoisie hammered into the colonized mind the notion of a society of individuals where each is loved in his subjectivity, where wealth lies in thought" (p. 11). Here, Fanon supported the idea that individualist thinking promotes capitalist values centered on attaining wealth.

Individualism also promotes a local focus where there is limited analysis of what is happening in the wider societal context. Freire (1970) discussed this paradigm in the context of

of *divide and conquer*. As a dominant minority ascends to power and begins to subordinate and dominate the majority, the majority must be divided and kept divided in order to maintain the minority power status (Freire, 1970). The unity, organization, and shared struggle of the majority are a threat and considered dangerous to the ruling class because they understand that these ideas promote liberation (Freire, 1970). Thus, the concept of divide and conquer is enacted when the oppressed are isolated or even experience rifts between one another through repressive government bureaucracy and cultural action, where the oppressed are manipulated and given the impression that they are being helped.

Freire (1970) argued that one of the characteristics of oppressive cultural action is an "emphasis on a *focalized* view of problems rather than on seeing them as dimensions of a *totality* [emphasis in original]" (p. 141). In the example of community development projects, he asserted that breaking down regions into small local communities without studying these communities "as totalities in themselves and as parts of another totality… which in its turn is part of a still larger totality" (Freire, 1970, p. 141) promotes growing alienation. As such, when people are alienated, it is easier to keep them divided. Furthermore, Freire argued that these "focalized forms of action … hamper the oppressed from perceiving reality critically and keep them isolated from the problems of oppressed women and men in other areas" (Freire, 1970, p. 141).

Thus, these alienating focalized forms of action promote more individualized perspectives on the lived realities of the majority, the people who experience oppression. When atomistic analyses are applied as explanations for the challenging conditions that people are experiencing, the focus of the problem and solution is directed toward the individual. When the analysis is directed toward the individual, it masks the responsibility and the role the dominant minority has played in creating the wider oppressive conditions that the vast majority experience.

Limiting the masses from developing critical consciousness about the role of the ruling class helps prevent their unity (Freire, 1970). In an effort to preserve the status quo, the dominant minority enacts divide and conquer tactics such as: interfering with unions, favoring or elevating the position of individual "representatives" of the oppressed classes who actually reflect the interests of the dominant class, promoting individuals with leadership abilities that are a threat to maintaining the division of the oppressed, differentially distributing benefits and penalties to individuals of the oppressed class, threatening the loss of jobs, putting people's names on a "black list," and other forms labor enslavement (Freire, 1970). Thus, by threatening the lives and livelihoods of oppressed individuals, hegemonic notions of individualism become deeply intertwined with divide and conquer tactics.

Religion. Messianic, proselytizing interests also accompanied the imperial agenda and facilitated the antidialogical action of manipulation that Freire discussed. Prior to the rise of imperialism, in Europe, there was heterogeneity in theology and thus, power struggles for the "control of knowledge and subjectivity" (Mignolo, 2007, p. 460). However, when the Enlightenment period facilitated a historical process of questioning theology, there was a shift from theological politics to "Ego-logical politics of knowledge and understanding" (Mignolo, 2007, p. 460). Enrique Dussel (as cited in Grosfoguel, 2013) argued that the concept of "I conquer, therefore I am" preceded Rene Descartes's assertion that "I think, therefore I am." Dussel (as cited in Grosfoguel, 2013) posited that the Cartesian philosophy is rooted in attitudes of conquest whereby people who have conquered the world place themselves at the center of the world, a process in which European conquerors believed they were able to acquire Christian "God-like" attributes. This shift, Mignolo (2007) argued, supported a secularization of Christianity, which converged with the rise of capitalism, imperialism, and the "hegemony of the

Western world" (p. 460). Thus, during the rise of imperialism, the "Western politics of knowledge began to be imposed in Asia and Africa, in the nineteenth century" (p. 460). Additionally, "*control of knowledge in the Western Christendom belonged to Western Christian men, which meant the world would be conceived only from the perspective of Western Christian Men* [emphasis in original]" (Mignolo, 2007, p. 478).

Fanon (1963) was critical of the role of Christianity and supported the notion that the Church in the colonies supported the goals of manipulation that Freire described. Fanon (1963) argued that because colonists viewed indigenous people as evil, there was a fear that all values would become "poisoned and infected" once they "came into contact with the colonized" (p. 7). Thus, Fanon argued that Christianity was an important weapon to resist what the settlers deemed "evil" in the colonies. Furthermore, Fanon (1963) argued that the "Church in the colonies is a white man's Church" that "does not call the colonized to the ways of God, but to the ways of the white man, to the ways of the master, the ways of the oppressor" (p. 7). Here, religion was also a critical component of the colonial project and the coloniality of power to not only garner economic control but also obtain epistemological control over the native people of the colonies.

Viera Pawliková-Vilhanová (2007) described the historic role Christian churches played in acculturating African societies to Western notions of civilization beginning at the end of the 18th century. Pawliková-Vilhanová argued that Christians perceived that commerce with Africa was legitimate due to the belief that trade replaced the slave trade. Through so-called "legitimate" trade relationships, it opened up a potential role for Christianity to achieve its goal of civilizing African societies through missionary activities that would expand moral and religious instruction as well as converting native "pagans" to the "true religion" (Pawliková-Vilhanová, 2007, p. 253). Together, commerce and Christian activities helped facilitate what

most abolitionists, humanitarians, philanthropists, and missionaries considered was a prescription for the civilization and colonization of African societies. Anglican Protestant churches were driven to Christianize various parts of the world due to the belief that they were "deprived" of the message of the Gospel. Recognizing the existence of Catholic churches in Africa in the first centuries of the Christian era and in reaction to Protestant activity, Catholics were roused to bring about a reprise of missionary work in the 19th century. The expansion of the Christian missionary movement in Africa can be attributed to Christians' belief that they had a responsibility to regenerate the African peoples and an antislavery and humanitarianism conscience (Pawliková-Vilhanová, 2007).

The Catholic Church, according to Pawliková-Vilhanová (2007), had significant impact on African societies' acculturation to Western European values. Although initial missionary success was limited to missionaries' struggles to survive and competition with Islam, many Catholics were driven to prove their religion was superior and to achieve their primary objective: the salvation of souls. Early Catholic success was supported through the acculturation process that was taking place in coastal areas where mulatto and freed slaves populations had experienced contact with European cultures. Catholic Cardinal Lavigerie charged all missionaries with the goal to transform "Africa by the Africans" whereby missionaries were expected to accept, adapt to, and adopt the cultural diversity of and have effective communication with the African people they sought to convert to Christianity. By effectively communicating with African people, Cardinal Lavigerie hoped to sustain the missionary movement through Africans who were converted to the Catholic faith (Pawliková-Vilhanová, 2007).

Thus, early Catholic missionaries were expected to learn the African languages they came into contact with, which ushered in a movement that documented African languages in a written form; provided educational systems that would teach Africans to read their own languages through dictionaries, textbooks, and manuals; and developed a literary tradition where African languages were written in texts like the Bible in order to propagate the Christian agenda (Pawliková-Vilhanová, 2007). While Cardinal Lavigerie insisted on accepting cultural diversity due to the primacy of saving souls, successive missionary generations inexorably inscribed the Western cultural values they were products of into the practices, expectations, and culture of mission stations and schools. With the belief of the superiority of their Western culture, conversion was conflated with civilization efforts where Christian Western notions of morality imposed banning and abandoning some African customs such as polygamy, dancing, singing, and ancestor-worship. Distant boarding schools served this function by segregating and alienating converts from their families and societies while bringing them into closer proximity with Western culture as the emerging African elite that has embraced Western religion and cultural values (Pawliková-Vilhanová, 2007).

Heteropatriarchy. The intersections of faith and knowledge over power and privilege also took place in terms of gender and sexuality. In his discussion of the role that Western Christianity played in knowledge construction, Mignolo (2007) discussed how there were numerous and prominent nuns who were intellectuals that were interested in the principles of knowledge. However, Sor Juana was "a good example of a woman who was chastised for entering the house of knowledge that 'belonged' to Men (the direct guardians of earth of God's knowledge)" (Mignolo, 2007, p. 479). Here, the Church promoted patriarchal notions of which gender was allowed to do work on behalf of God and justified extricating women from

intellectual endeavors. In this theological notion of gender roles, women were relegated into more subservient roles.

The demonization of indigenous women and the shifting of gender roles also took place at the hands of missionary settlers in the colonies. In the Philippines, Atkinson and Errington (as cited in Menez, 1996) argued, "The separate, contrastive, and unequal spheres for Filipino men and women … contradicts the well-observed complementarity and balance in the indigenous gender systems of insular Southeast Asia" (p. 87). Through an analysis of the "asuang complex," Menez explored how indigenous symbols like the "asuang" were transformed in colonial encounters between the most powerful native women and Spanish priests to serve colonial interests. Through a critical reading of primary Spanish chronicles and secondary sources of Spanish friars in the Philippines, Menez (1996) argued that Spanish friars viewed female shamans as religious rivals due to the powerful position they held in indigenous communities for healing knowledge that could determine life and death. The Spanish transformation of the indigenous symbol of an "asuang" from a shapeshifter to a beautiful, self-segmenting viscera-sucker woman who eats fetuses of pregnant women attacked the role of indigenous shamans as healers and midwives. Additionally, the shapeshifter "asuang" turned-viscera-sucker rescinded indigenous values of family because one must cannibalize one's own family members to become initiated into a new life as a marginal, secretive, and lonely asuang.

Menez (1996) contended that Spanish friars believed that female shamans' sexual powers and freedom to attract many sexual partners "needed to be subjugated under male authority" (p. 88). Because Spanish priests were culture-shocked to witness the sexual freedom women enjoyed (as evidenced by frequent divorces, adultery, and the lack of concern for virginity), one of the major goals for missionaries in the Philippines was to promote strict heteropatriarchal

standards of "premarital chastity and marital fidelity" (Menez, 1996, p. 93). Additionally, "Spanish friars taught religion to young boys and adult males so that they could have better control of their women" (p. 93), which helped facilitate the shift of power whereby men were placed in privileged positions in households, akin to European values. These gender roles were also cultivated in the development of colonial administrations, in which men were drawn into colonial government bodies.

Language. European imperial expansion also ushered in the development of linguistic and social inequalities. The imperial and colonial enterprise was embedded Western European social systems and social ideologies that served to inscribe, legitimize, and naturalize a sense of European superiority (Migge & Léglise, 2007). The social and linguistic practices of colonial societies promoted: the creation of a language hierarchy in which the colonizer's language is established as the superior, prestigious language that was used in governing administrative bodies and in economic activities; the demise of colonized peoples' languages through language displacement, language degeneration, language death, linguistic genocide, and linguicide; the creation of new languages; shifting the relationships between different local languages; and conditions where European and local languages had differing influences upon one another (Migge & Léglise, 2007). These language practices respectively created conditions in which: policies relegated local languages to fewer domains and elevated European languages to essential decision-making domains; attaining colonial language became critical to social mobility, which also pushed many colonized people to raise children in the colonial language; new languages were created, such as Creole and pidgin, in colonial contexts but were considered aberrations or corrupted versions of the colonial language; colonial decisions to conveniently designate one local language as the lingua franca promoted divide and conquer tactics; and the transformation

of local languages by importing lexical material from the colonial language (Migge & Léglise, 2007).

East African scholar Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1986) attested to the experience of colonial control over knowledge through language and religion. When discussing the power of storytelling, Thiong'o discussed how words and language have meaning beyond lexical meaning, given that language provides symbols and images that reflect a unique worldview. Here, language is a medium of communication, culture, and collective memory. However, in missionary-run schools, and when the English colonial regime took control of schools in Kenya, English became the formal language of instruction in education. As in Freire's (1970) discussion of manipulation accompanied by physical violence and any other means to ensure dominant control, Thiong'o described how students caught speaking their native language would receive corporal punishment, other forms of public humiliation, or even fined. Thiong'o asserted that the aim of capitalism is to control people's wealth, a process that is initiated through military conquest and followed by political dictatorship. However, Thiong'o argued, this form of economic and political control is not complete or effective without mental control, a type of control that subordinates people's culture and has an impact on how they relate to one another.

Freire (1970) referred to this form of control as another characteristic of antidialogical action: *cultural invasion*. He argued that cultural invasion is marked by the imposition of "the cultural context of another group" (Freire, 1970, p. 152), without regard or respect for the potentialities of those who have been invaded. In cultural invasion, invaders impose their worldviews and "inhibit the creativity of the invaded by curbing their expression" (Freire, 1970, p. 152). Freire also argued, "whether urbane or harsh, cultural invasion is … always an act of violence against the persons of the invaded culture, who lose their originality or face the threat of

losing it" (Freire, 1970, p. 152). In this process, Freire noted, the people who invade are the actors who mold, whereas the people who are invaded are the objects that are being molded. As the actors, the invaders choose, whereas those who are invaded either follow or are expected to follow, the choices of the invaders. In the interest of more fully securing dominance, invaders seek to learn how those they have invaded make sense of reality. By having those who have been invaded begin to view reality through the perspective of the invaders, cultural invasion facilitates the "cultural inauthenticity of those who are invaded" (Freire, 1970, p. 154). As the culture of those who are invaded becomes inauthentic, cultural invasion imposes the perspective that those who are invaded are inferior; in other words, the invaders are viewed as superior. Freire argued that as those who are invaded become more alienated from who they are, the more they want to be like those who invaded them.

Racism. In his discussion of the secularization of Western Christianity, Mignolo (2007) argued that the "Western Christian men in control of knowledge were also White" and that thus, "in the sixteenth century a concept of *race* [emphasis in original] emerged at the intersection of faith, knowledge and skin color" (p. 479). Mignolo (2007) and Grosfoguel (2013) discussed that in Spain, religious racism justified expelling the Muslim Moors and Jews. In the New World, the "Indians" had "created a crisis in Christian knowledge as to what kind of 'being' the 'Indians' would have" (Mignolo, 2007, p. 479) in the Christian hierarchy of beings. Supporting Fanon's analysis that indigenous peoples of colonized lands were deemed evil, Mignolo (2007) argued that because the settlers believed they had the authority to determine where people belonged in the Christian hierarchy of beings, "Indians did not fit the standard model set by White Christian Men" and lacked "the legitimacy to classify people around the world" (p. 479), and thus declared the indigenous people inferior. White Christian men justified these claims by purporting that

"Indians did not have 'religions' and whatever they believed was considered to be the work of the Devil" (Mignolo, 2007, p. 479). Because standards of humanity needed to fit within Christian religious and moral standards, whatever did not fit in terms of faith and physique was cast in a Christian hierarchy of being, and was eventually translated in terms of race in the 15th century.

The construct of race ultimately served imperial and colonial interests. As discussed above, the concept of race helped dehumanize enslaved and colonized groups, in order to justify Christians' participation in the slave trade (Grosfoguel, 2013). By legitimizing enslavement due to the colonized groups perceived lack of humanity, racism helped justify access to indigenous lands (Grande, 2004) and labor exploitation (Ross, 1982). In the New World, racism served as an epistemic operation that institutionalized the inferiority of the Indians and, subsequently, justified genocidal violence and the exploitation of their labor (Mignolo, 2007). Because genocide led to the death of millions of Indigenous people, it created the need for a new labor force that promoted "the massive slave trade of Black African, many of them Moors, but darker skinned in comparison with the Indians and the North African Muslims that were expelled from Spain" (Mignolo, 2007, p. 479).

Mignolo (2007) posited that notions of race were also closely intertwined with "theo-politics of knowledge" (p. 480). As with the secularization shift of Christianity, the notions of race in the 18th and 19th century became translated and intertwined with the "secular ego-politics of knowledge as the final horizon of knowledge" (Mignolo, 2007, p. 480). Thus, as the use of "'Superficial' or phenotypical traits became the visible markers or significations of inferiority, the most apparent of which was skin color that contrasted with the pale skin of most Spaniards, mostly missionaries and red haired soldiers as Hernan Cortes" (Mignolo, 2007, p. 479), race also became structured according to hierarchies in the emerging field of what Memmi

(2000) referred to as raciology. Notions of race became a source of scientific study in which race was attributable to inherited genes and fixed physical characteristics (Go, 2004; Memmi, 2000; Ross, 1982). Because race was understood as biologically unalterable, this ideology along, with the rise of Social Darwinism, supported Western ideations of their superiority in the purported racial hierarchy (Go, 2004) and the subsequent referral of otherized races as barbarians (Cesaire, 1972).

In late 19th-century America, race was conceptualized not only through biological factors in the field of eugenics but also as in relation to environmental factors (Go, 2004). Lamarck's theory of the inheritance of acquired factors, according to Go, states that organisms' traits are also developed through interaction with the environment, which are passed down to offspring. When race was conceptualized according to Lamarckian schemes in the United States Pacific empire in the Philippines, Guam, and Samoa, it created not only intra-imperial conflict, but also differences in colonial governance and policies. While many American soldiers and Americans geographically situated in the United States subscribed to biological conceptions of race, most American officials in the Philippines, Guam, and Samoa held Lamarckian schemes of race. This oftentimes created conflict within the United States empire, because while many soldiers, American settlers, and Americans in the United States believed Filipinos, Chamorros in Guam, and Samoans were inferior, colonial officials in the islands defended the idea that the colonized subjects in the Pacific were only temporarily inferior due to historical and environmental factors and were grounded in the faith that social interventions could help uplift people they believed were "backward."

Lamarckian American colonial administrators in the Pacific created governing policies according the specific ways they understood how history and environment influenced their

colonial subjects' development according to a developmental racial hierarchy (Go, 2004). In Guam and Samoa, Lamarckian American colonial administrators believed Chamorros and Samoans were on a lower level of the developmental hierarchy due to limited contact with European powers. Additionally, the romanticizing of Chamorros and Samoans as "docile," "happy," "easy to rule," and "contented" due to historically benefitting from their lush environments, pushed colonial officials to pursue preservation and protectionist policies to maintain the status quo. Thus, in Samoa and Guam, colonial governments had limited spending in education to preserve status quo notions of contentment and instead focused on enacting policies that would maintain stability and peace to protect the naval military bases that were instituted in Samoa and Guam (Go, 2004).

Because Lamarckian American colonial administrators believed Filipinos were politically inferior due to corrupt Spanish rule, they enacted governmental policies where local Filipinos could elect fellow Filipinos in local governments and national legislature (Go, 2004). Here, American officials maintained positions with ultimate decision-making and power due to the belief that they were enacting "benevolent assimilation" through a "school of politics" with their superior guidance. Additionally, colonial administrators created systems where substantial amounts of resources were devoted to creating an extensive public education system to teach Filipinos the skills and content necessary for participating in American democratic civics. These policies mirrored policies the United States implemented when preparing to transition states for statehood. Thus, these colonial policies in the Philippines served to facilitate the transformation of Filipinos according to American values and interests (Go, 2004).

Colonial education. Because colonial control cannot be sustained through conquest and brute force alone, establishing mental control through colonial education was critical (Fanon,

1963; Mart, 2011; Thiong'o, 1986). As discussed above, the expansion of Christianity accompanied imperialist expansion, and many missionaries who created schools in colonized lands upheld Western ideations of civilizing the natives (Pawliková-Vilhanová, 2007) toward modernization (Mart, 2011), Western notions of racial inferiority (Cesaire, 1972; Fanon, 1963; Memmi, 2000; Saïd, 1979), and natives' assimilation into Western cultural values, practices, and sociopolitical structures (Grande, 2004; Mart, 2011; Nwanosike & Onyije, 2011).

The assimilation function of colonial education involved promoting the eradication of indigenous identities, languages, values, and customs through curricular epistemicides that privileged Western values (Grande, 2004; Mart, 2011; Nwanosike & Onyije, 2011; Paraskeva, 2016). Because Indians in the New World did not have alphabetic writing, White Christian men considered them people without history (Mignolo, 2007). This created the position that Fanon (1963) described as one in which the colonist made history and acted in ways that extended the ideologies of the places from whence they came. Thus, the "history he writes is not the history of the country he is despoiling, but the history of his own nation's looting, raping, and starving to death" (Fanon, 1963, p. 15). For example, in British colonial schools, curricula oftentimes included English literature, the history of British empire and European wars, European geography, and the evolution of the British constitution (Nwanosike & Onyije, 2011; Willinsky, 1998). In colonial schools, students were oftentimes forbidden, punished, and shamed for speaking their native languages (Grande, 2004; Mart, 2011) and were sometimes even given new Western names (Willinsky, 1998). At times, Christian missionaries and colonial administrations created residential or boarding schools that aimed to alienate youth from their communities and cultural customs (Grande, 2004; Mart, 2011; Pawliková-Vilhanová, 2007; Willinsky, 1998).

Upon return to their communities, community members witnessed a loss of relationships and spirituality and a new sense of intolerance, competition, and arrogance (Mart, 2011).

Colonial educational systems facilitated the assimilation of indigenous youth who learned to subscribe to Western epistemologies through hidden curricula (Grande, 2004). Participation in Western colonial education contexts oftentimes promoted Western values of independence, achievement, and competition, humanism that embraces objectivity, detachment from local and personal sources of knowledges, and detachment from nature (Grande, 2004). Empiricist, positivist, objectivist, and rational forms of knowledge—a belief system that colonists claimed reflected the one truth and history to which colonized people must subscribe—can be likened to Freire's (1970) notion of *banking education*. In the banking educational model, the relationship between teacher and student is marked by the actions of teachers (as subjects) who must fill the passive minds of students (as objects) whose minds can be filled like a bank. In the banking education model, teachers fill students with information that is detached from wider experience, similar to oppressive cultural actions of divide and conquer tactics that attempt to mask the larger societal conditions that could spark unity if people had a critical consciousness about their conditions. Thus, banking education attempts to prevent the people, and their children, from developing a critical consciousness. Ultimately, banking education serves oppressive, colonial interests to repress communities that would otherwise revolt and pursue liberation.

The creation of colonial education systems signaled a shift from "imperial adventure to colonial consolidation" (Willinsky, 1998, p. 89), a symbol of colonial staying power. In the examples of the Philippines (Go, 2004) and India (Willinsky, 1998), colonial education ultimately served the purpose of maintaining colonial relationships that benefitted colonial power by working to transform natives into colonial intermediaries. Additionally, many colonial

education systems sought to teach colonial subjects the skills necessary to providing skilled labor for economic development (Mart, 2011). Colonial education was oftentimes marked by paternalism and restricted opportunities. Here, colonized subjects received only limited education opportunities that would create a glass ceiling in their economic advancement and, thus, would not pose a threat to White advancement (Nwanosike & Onyije, 2011; Willinsky, 1998). As such, colonial education systems served to perpetuate the underdevelopment of colonized lands and a relationship of dependency between the colonial power and the colonized land.

Control over Political Economy

Imperialism, according to Chilcote (2000), can be conceptualized between old imperialism and new imperialism. Old imperialism is characterized by the dominance of Spain and Portugal between 1500 and 1800, during the early mercantilism period. Old imperialism gave way to new imperialism as Spain and Portugal lost control over maritime traffic and the Dutch, English, and French began to expand their influence with the movement of slave labor from Africa to the Americas, "sugar from the Americas to Europe, and manufactured goods from Europe to Africa" (Chilcote, 2000, p. 3). New imperialism reflected a shift from the dominance over trade to the rise of the industrial revolution and the according manufacturing. Additionally, new imperialism was marked by rivalry between advanced European nations as evidenced by the scramble for Africa and the Berlin Conference of 1886.

Colonial powers sought to enjoy maximum economic benefits in the most cost-efficient way (Settles, 1996). When Europe began to participate in the African Slave Trade, the demand for labor not only stimulated the development of African systems of credit and exchange but also set the stage for subordinating the African economy according to European interests. Because

some African states worked to build control over the international commerce that took place in their territories, they were able to demand high prices for goods. With the onset of the creation of European colonies in Africa, Europeans sought to exercise control over goods and drive the prices down (Settles, 1996). Thus, colonialism served to ensure direct political control in order to protect economic interests (Nwanosike & Onyije, 2011). By becoming a source for raw materials for Europe, initially for labor during the African Slave Trade and for cash crops during the period of "legitimate trade," and by becoming a consumer of goods due to colonial trade controls, Africa experienced the arrested development of technology and reduced freedom of choice in marketing goods (Settles, 1996).

Because colonies were expected to build the wealth of colonizing powers, economic endeavors in the colonies were centered on sustaining their own internal development and administration (Settles, 1996). Revenue for colonial administrations was raised through taxing foreign trade and maintaining a central focus on building the export component of the economy. These colonial economic policies in Africa led to: the selective cultivation of crops for European interests and oftentimes the inadequacy of food reserves, chronic malnutrition, and famine in Africa; the rise of a large class of landless laborers; changes in patterns of work and gender roles such that women and children were instrumental in the production system; and the disruption of traditional social structures (Settles, 1996). This created a legacy of Africa lacking parity as a "partner" in an international trade complex in which Africa is a net exporter of its own wealth.

As discussed above, the aim of capitalism is to control people's wealth, a process initiated through military conquest and followed by political dictatorship (Thiong'o, 1986). As evidenced by the numerous countries around the globe that have experienced European colonization, another level of colonial control was exerted through political, colonial

administration (Fanon, 1963). With the effective physical and cultural repression of indigenous populations through conquest, dispossession of land, military force, genocide, manipulation, and cultural invasion, Western settlers were able to maintain economic and ideological control through political decision-making in colonial administrative bodies. These political bodies enabled colonial governments to maintain control over labor and the land's resources in ways that would ultimately serve imperial interests (Smith, 1999). Additionally, colonial administrative control over indigenous peoples was systematically maintained through acts of cultural invasion linked to the colonizing educational systems (Freire, 1970; Pido, 1986; Thiong'o, 1986).

The Legacy of Colonization: Coloniality

Even though colonialism as an explicit political order has been overturned in many countries, Quijano (2007) argued that coloniality "is still the most general form of domination in the world today" (p. 170). Thus, while the formal political structures could be dismantled, the legacy of ideologies instilled during colonial times remains intact and continue to impact the countries and people who have experienced colonial rule. In this section, I will explore the various ways coloniality operates in contemporary contexts.

Colonial Matrix of Power

In exploring the historical and theoretical roots of coloniality, Quijano (2007) argued that coloniality operates through four interconnected domains, which Mignolo (2007) has referred to as the "colonial matrix of power." When exploring the roots of coloniality and how it continues to operate, Tlostanova and Mignolo (2009) has contended that the colonial matrix of power can be understood in the following way:

1) The struggle for the economic control (i.e. the appropriation of land, natural resources and exploitation of labor);
2) The struggle for the control of authority (setting up political organization, different forms of governmental, financial and legal systems, or the installation of military bases, as it happens today);
3) The control of the public sphere – among other ways, through the nuclear family (Christian or bourgeois), and the enforcing of normative sexuality and the naturalization of gender roles in relation to the system of authority and principles regulating economic practices. It is based on sexual normativity and dual "natural" gender relations;
4) The control of knowledge and subjectivity through education and colonizing the existing knowledges, which is the key and fundamental sphere of control that makes domination possible. (p. 135)

The colonial matrix of power draws direct connections to the above analysis of colonialism as a system of control over land, through force and conquest, control over knowledge through language and religion, and control over government and economics. The colonial matrix of power also connects to the current impacts of coloniality, to be discussed below: class privilege, individualism, racism, heteropatriarchy, knowledge production, and dissemination through education.

Impact of Colonial Political Economy

Although the narrative of the rise of the United States is oftentimes attributed to industrialization and inventors, the exploitation of the labor of African Americans through the institution of slavery was instrumental to the United States's rise as the world's largest economy

in the 19th century (Baptist, 2014). Compounded by dehumanizing racist ideologies and structures, Edward Baptist argued, slavery not only increased the United States's economy, but was also responsible for the systematic genocide, pillage, and epistemicide of African people, social relations, cultures, and spiritualties. Because African American slaves were dehumanized and viewed as property, White slave-owner decisions were driven by money and lacked regard for family structures. Thus, many African Americans not only experienced exploitation for their labor, but were also forced to endure the anguish of separation from their families. Moreover, given that enslaved African American labor was critical to the growth of U.S. capitalism, African Americans were denied citizenship and voting rights that could significantly alter the systems benefiting wealthy White men, in incorrigible inequity in the context of a democratic America (Baptist, 2014). However, Baptist (2014) has been critical of how debates solely centered on the political rights of African Americans oftentimes occlude economic implications for generations of African Americans impacted by slavery. Thus, it is important to examine not only the economic, political, social, and cultural impacts of slavery on institutions but also the interpersonal, internal, and ideological ramifications of slavery as an economic system in the United States.

By the end of World War II, there was a rise in transnational and multinational corporations (Chilcote, 2000). Although many countries have won independence from former colonial powers, Michael Brown (2000) noted that rising trading and landowning elites and families in former colonies helped perpetuate colonial trading relationships by ensuring the supply of raw materials needed for industries in former colonial powers. Third World intellectual Paul Baran (as cited in Chilcote, 2000) pushed back on Eurocentric perspectives on imperialism and centered his discussion of imperialism on the conditions of inequality, exploitation, and

underdevelopment. Baran further articulated the notion of "morphology of backwardness," whereby imperialism is marked by dependency and underdevelopment. Here, Baran argued that dependent countries lacked the access to sources of primary accumulation of capital that advanced capitalist countries enjoyed.

Thus, in the era of monopoly capitalism and imperialism, contemporary development faces varied obstacles (Chilcote, 2000). Andre Frank (as cited in Chilcote, 2000) built on Baran's (as cited in Chilcote, 2000) work by positing that the expropriation of economic surplus in capitalism promotes the development of metropolitan centers, former colonial powers, and the underdevelopment in peripheral satellites, former colonies. Pablo Casanova (as cited in Chilcote, 2000) argued that internal colonialism also takes place when ruling, dominant groups within a society dominate capital in ways that lead to the underdevelopment of marginal satellites and the subsequent exploitation of marginal groups.

Ronald Chilcote (2000) noted that world systems, internationalization of capital, postimperialism, and globalization theories focus on international implications of capitalism. He argued that globalization theories serve to direct attention away from imperialism and create the impression that the capitalist world is rapidly advancing in a unified and harmonious way. Samir Amin (2000) argued that globalization is "an ideological discourse used to legitimize the strategies of imperialist capital" (p. 157) and promotes the expansion of a polarizing capitalism that perpetuates inequality. Amin posited that these conditions promote a neoliberalism that benefits the wealthy, divests the state from public interests, and undermines the work of regional organizations and unity. However, Amin also contended with the belief that globalization will also provoke popular protest and struggle against monopolies and imperialism.

Class privilege. When looking back to the discussion of the creation of colonies, Smith (1999) argued that one of the explanations for the rise of imperialism was economic expansion. As the economic situation compelled European expansion of its markets due to the workers' inability to purchase the products being produced, moves toward imperialism also facilitated the growth of capitalism. Because imperial and colonial pursuits had the potential of increasing wealth, settler interests were driven by wealth and class status, which also dominated colonies' politics. The politics driven by wealth and class status were evident in the structures that were created in the colonies. Fanon (1963) argued that class division, labor exploitation, and social hierarchies of status represented different practices of power. Thus, as settlers sought opportunities for power and economic self-advancement, these different practices of power were essential to helping them attain and maintain power and class privilege in the colonies. Ultimately, in this budding capitalist context, a small minority of people would be able to reap a surge in personal wealth and increased social status and, thus, benefit from exploiting the labor from a vast majority.

In Darder's (2003) analysis of Freire's (1970) work, she noted that Freire was grounded in Marxist-Socialist thought, whereby his references to the ruling class or oppressors were "referring to historical class distinctions and class conflict within the structure of capitalist society," an analysis that ultimately posits that "capitalism was the root of domination" (p. 501). Darder further argued that Freire's "theoretical analysis was fundamentally rooted in notions of class formation, particularly with respect to how the national political economy relegated the greater majority of its workers to an exploited and marginalized class" (p. 501).Thus, the historical process of class formation created the current conditions, in which a vast majority of workers are exploited and marginalized in order to serve the interest of the dominant, ruling

class. This complex is evident today in how the maturation of capitalism into neoliberalism has created an even wider divide between the ruling class and the oppressed. That is why Darder (2003) claimed that Freire "insisted that the struggle against oppression was a human struggle in which we had to build solidarity across our differences, if we were to change a world engulfed by capitalism (p. 501). Thus, the impact of capitalist conditions of class privilege continues to permeates our society.

Impact of Colonial Racism

The historic construction of race in the New World grew such that by the end of the 20th century, the entire globe has responded to Western classifications of race (Mignolo, 2007). After Spain and Portugal's demise during old imperialism, they created the legacy of religious racism (Grosfoguel, 2013) that was adopted by the emerging Dutch, English, and French Western European powers during the age of new imperialism (Chilcote, 2000). Racism created a key role in not only justifying pursuing imperial interests but also maintaining asymmetrical power relations between the former colonizers and the colonized.

Due to their experiences navigating colonial Algeria and South Africa, Fanon and Mahatma Gandhi respectively maintained the impossibility of assimilation, arguing that race was a cultural construct meant to serve colonial interests (Singh, 2007). While many scholars have theorized ideas of racism, Memmi (2000) argued that the content of racism does not matter as much as the structure and the according social relations that it creates. He further posited that the underlying ideologies of "raciology," or eugenics, exist to rationalize "heterophobia," the fear of any form of real or imaginary difference between groups. Thus, racism is a structure that supports notions of difference, applying negative personal prejudice toward those who are considered different, according interpersonal mistreatment of those considered different, and

enlisting negative perceptions to justify institutional hostility and aggression. The structure of racism thus promotes the construction of a positive identity for those not considered different (Memmi, 2000).

The structure of racism is also institutionalized in government policies and legal structures that impact people on an individual level (Go, 2004; Memmi, 2000). The Southern White backlash to American Reconstruction–era advancements for African Americans produced Jim Crow–era laws that served to disenfranchise, criminalize, and thus re-enslave African Americans (Alexander, 2010). Also, the structure of racism impacted education policies and the curriculum children received in schools (Paraskeva, 2016). For example, in the literature children read, White children learn to associate Black with evil, fear, and depravity while Black children learn to identify White figures as heroes who are pure, virtuous, and intelligent (Butts, 1979). Robert Ross (1982) argued that the ideology and structure of racism created conditions whereby colonized groups have come to internalize racism. However, Aime Cesaire (1972) argued that Black people who resist the fallacy of racial inferiority can adopt "negritude," a concrete consciousness of a proud Black identity grounded in Black history and culture of great value and beauty, an identity worthy of dignity and respect.

In his analysis, Mignolo (2007) posited that in the colonies and prior to the industrial revolution, race was what class became after the industrial revolution in Europe. In Fanon's (1963) discussion of the superstructure in the colonies, he also argued that race and class are inextricably linked. He argued that divisions are determined by the race to which people are considered belonging. When looking at the economic infrastructure in the colonies, Fanon further argued that it is also a superstructure such that "you are rich because you are white, you are white because you are rich" (Fanon, 1963, p. 5). Thus, Freire's perspectives become

important to consider in current-day resistance efforts. Darder (2003) argued that many critical educators of color in the United States viewed "racism as the major culprit of our oppression" (p. 501). However, when Freire was engaged in discussions on race, he cautioned critical educators of color against losing sight of the ways class is hidden in sexual and racial discrimination (Darder, 2003). Thus, while independent explorations of class and race can help explain coloniality in current contexts, it is also important to view the ways in which they intersect.

Impact of Colonial Heteropatriarchy

Heteropatriarchal beliefs continue to impact communities today. Patriarchy is based on a gender binary system in which one gender dominates the other (Smith, 2016). Heteropatriarchy refers to social systems in which "heterosexuality and patriarchy are perceived as normal and natural, and in which other configurations are perceived as abnormal, aberrant, and abhorrent" (Arvin, Tuck, & Morrill, 2013). The biological dimorphism assumed by heteropatriarchy impacts people who do not identify within systematized gender and sexual binaries. When Western epistemology privileges scientific and biological notions of gender and sexuality and applies these logics to government bodies, laws fail to serve intersexed individuals (Lugones, 2008).

In current times, the secularization of Christian values is evident in continued forms of patriarchy and heterosexism laden in government policies, wherein heteropatriarchy operates as "the building block of the nation-state form of governance" (Smith, 2016, p. 270). Christian Right activist Charles Colson (as cited in Smith, 2016) used heterosexist rhetoric when he referred to marriage as "the traditional building block of human society," wherein "There is a natural moral order for the family… led by a married mother and father" (p. 270). Also, by stating that "Marriage is not a private institution… If we fail to enact a Federal Marriage Amendment, we can expect not just more family breakdown, but also more criminals behind

bars" (Charles Colson [as cited in Smith, 2016] p. 270), Colson claimed that the health of the United States is intertwined with heteropatriarchal notions of family. Ann Burlein (as cited in Smith, 2016) argued that Christian Right politics in the United States work to create a "Christian America" by centering the private family. By centering the private family, the Christian Right shifts focus away from public disinvestments. The Christian Right interprets the resulting social decay as deviance from heteropatriarchal ideologies instead of political and economic forces. Thus, heteropatriarchy serves as a building block for imperialism by imposing heteropatriarchal relations between the nation-state/empire and citizens/colonized peoples akin to patriarchs and families (Smith, 2016).

Impact of Colonial Education

The colonial education system has created a legacy of public education school systems that continue to serve imperial interests of economic superiority and White supremacy. For example, the education reserved for Chicanos in segregated regions of the United States Southwest were marked by tracking systems that promoted vocational educational tracks for Latinos, a pedagogical and curricular decision purported to meet the needs of "inferior" Latinos who could supply the labor needs of prospective employers (Gonzalez, 1990). In the current era of neoliberal economics, Paraskeva (2016) argued that the education system and its curricula are implicated in the Eurocentrism and the colonial matrix of power (Mignolo, 2007) and thus perpetuate epistemicide (Grosfoguel, 2013). He further argued that curricula that serve to legitimate and privilege Eurocentric ideas, values, and histories as official forms of knowledge is a form of curriculum epistemicide, a process that secures ideological control and is a capital crime against humanity.

In the positivist tradition, researchers attempt to produce information they claim to be neutral (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994; Lindlof & Taylor, 2011) and free of bias (Briggs, 1986). In the academy, the objectivist paradigm and over-emphasis on rationality (Shahjahan et al., 2009) perpetuates the repression of indigenous epistemologies and spiritual beliefs. Modern science is rooted in empiricism, positivism, objectivism, and rationality and is afforded with Western epistemological privilege (Santos, 2014). By claiming epistemological dominance, modern science serves to destroy and repress alternative knowledges that could question its privilege, yet another form of epistemicide (Santos, 2014). The persistent epistemic privilege of the West is reflected in Grosfoguel's (2013) observation that

> the canon of thought in all the disciplines of the Social Sciences and Humanities in the *Westernized University* [emphasis in original] is based on knowledge produced by a few men in five countries in Western Europe (Italy, France, England, Germany and the USA). (p. 74)

As early as the 1930s, African American scholar Carter G. Woodson (1933) argued that the education system served the interests of the privileged class and perpetuated the oppressed acceptance of social inequities linked to their "miseducation." Similarly, abroad, American educational policies in former colonies, such as the Philippines, aimed to assimilate the colonized populace to serve American economic interests (Constantino, 2002). In the current educational context, divestment from communities of color, poverty, lack of social supports, limited early learning opportunities, unequal access to qualified teachers, lack of access to high-quality curriculum, and dysfunctional learning environments contribute to the continued inequality that communities of color experience in the United States (Darling-Hammond, 2010).

Together, these inequitable *neocolonial*—a term that refers to the continued impact of former colonial experiences (Altbach, 1994)—educational experiences dehumanize youth of color by denying them the opportunity to engage in praxis—the ability to simultaneously act and reflect on their world (Freire, 1970); creating impersonal learning environments (Darling-Hammond, 2010); promoting conditions that limit access to resources to address symptoms of Complex Posttraumatic Stress Disorder[1] associated with living in poverty (Duncan-Andrade, 2014), and reinforcing White supremacist values that shame students of color (hooks, 2003).

Responses to Coloniality

Postcolonial Perspectives

The postcolonial intellectual movement emerged as it developed around the ideas of Edward W. Saïd, Homi K. Bhabha, and Gayatri C. Spivak (Bhambra, 2014). Postcolonial studies mostly address material issues, socioeconomic issues, and cultural issues. Geographically, postcolonialism emerged from scholars from the Middle East and South Asia and mostly refers back to these regions and their imperial relationships with (and subjugation by) Europe and the West (Bhambra, 2014). Additionally, postcolonialism mainly refers to the 19th- and 20th-century colonialism.

Edward W. Saïd. In *Orientalism,* Said (1979) was critical of Orientalism and the role it has played in perpetuating hegemonic power relations between the imperial West and the socially constructed "Orient": the East. Said (1979) argued that the "Orient" was a European invention by way of orientalism, a construction that ultimately differentiates between Europe and

[1] Jeff Duncan-Andrade builds on medical research on Complex Posttraumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD), a more complex form of long-term PTSD, and argues that young people residing in inner cities experience Complex PTSD due to recurring exposure to trauma, unlike veterans who have left the region(s) where trauma was experienced.

the "Other." As an academic construction, Orientalist studies are conducted by anthropologists, sociologists, and historians who act as authorities on issues that focus on the "Orient." When examining Orientalism as a style of thought, there are ontological and epistemological distinctions between "the Orient" and "the Occident": the West. Through an analysis of various texts that discuss topics such as the people and customs of the Orient, Said (1979) argued that many writers appear to accept of the binary distinctions between the East and the West.

As a corporate institution, Orientalism is a "Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient" (Saïd, 1979, p. 3). Saïd contended that it is critical to examine Orientalism as a discourse in order to unveil the systematic ways European culture has manages and produces the Orient politically, militarily, ideologically, scientifically, and imaginatively post-Enlightenment. By creating the notion of an inferior Orient, Western Europe was able to develop its own culture, identity, and strength. Saïd also noted the personal dimension of his work, *Orientalism*, as he identified as a person positioned as an Oriental subject. He contended that he can develop a deeper understanding of himself as a product of a historical process through a critical examination of Orientalism.

Homi K. Bhabha. In *The Location of Culture*, Bhabha (1994) was critical of framing culture according to binaries, reductionist comparisons of essentialist notions of fixed ethnic traits, and "originary" identities or traditions. Instead, Bhabha argued for the innovative potential of identity, collaboration, contestation, and defining the idea of a new society through engaging hybridity and the third space of interstitial borderlands between theories and histories. While exploring subject formation, Bhabha noted that, oftentimes, while some communities may have shared histories of discrimination, these same communities may have conflicting, antagonistic, and incommensurable values, meanings, and priorities. Because of this, cultural hybridity

emerges from complex moments of historical transformation. This notion of hybridity, he argued, enters the "beyond" of time, social differences, and culture. Bhabha's (1994) analysis of the "beyond" also called for looking beyond the nation-state and to explore culture as both transnational in histories of displacement and translational due to displacement histories making "the question of what is signified by culture, a rather complex issue" (p. 247).

Bhabha (1994) further argued that postcolonial analyses were no longer marked by influential separatist, anti-imperialist traditions, and were instead disrupting Western modernity discourses through subaltern, critical-theoretical perspectives. Because marginalized communities oftentimes experience culture as strategies for survival and resistance, their perspectives have been important voices in postcolonial analyses. By creating new discourses about historical and theoretical developments, postcolonialism can inspire the creation of new ways of thinking about the past, present, and future.

Gayatri C. Spivak. In "Can the Subaltern Speak?" Spivak (1988) was critical of the epistemic violence of Western European intellectuals. Building on Saïd's (1979) analysis of Orientalism, Spivak (1988) argued that Western intellectuals are complicit in the imperial project and reinscribe neocolonial political-economic ideologies by framing colonial subjects as the "Other" and facilitating epistemicidal violence by ignoring questions of ideology while disqualifying the knowledge of subjugated peoples. When exploring the example of historical epistemic violence in India and shifting the discussion to considering people who exist at the margins, Indian people who find the work of intellectuals (indigenous elite included) inaccessible, Spivak (1988) posed the question, "Can the subaltern speak?"

Spivak also contended that the idea of the subaltern subject is heterogeneous and is, therefore, critical of how the Foucault-Deleuze conversation conflated with an essentialist

agenda, the politics of representation and notions of subaltern consciousness. Also, when examining the intersections of patriarchy and imperialism, and subject-constitution and object-formation, Spivak (1988) argued that women are made invisible and displaced, and that subaltern females' voice-consciousness is repressed. Ultimately, by making a case that Western intellectuals maintain an authoritative voice over the subaltern condition as opposed to allowing the subaltern to speak on their own accord and promote essentialist notions of solidarity through notions of a shared cultural identity and oppression, Spivak concluded that the subaltern cannot speak.

Other postcolonial scholars: Other notable postcolonial scholars include W. E. B. Du Bois (1903), Albert Memmi (1957), Toni Morrison (1987), Aijaz Ahmad (1995), Gloria Anzaldúa (1999), Leela Gandhi (1998), and Chela Sandoval (2000). Topics discussed in the postcolonial field include: universality and difference, postmodernism and postcolonialism, nationalism, hybridity, ethnicity and indigeneity, feminism and postcolonialism, language, body and performance, history, place, education, and production and consumption (Ashcroft, Griffiths, & Tiffin, 1995). While postcolonial studies are grounded in historical analyses of colonialism, the field has increased its impact and significance to areas such as globalization, environmentalism, transnationalism, the sacred, and economics with the spread of neoliberalism (Ashcroft, Griffiths, & Tiffin, 2000). Postcolonial analyses of imperial power also address problems surrounding globalization (Ashcroft et al., 2000). In the 1990s, postcolonial discourse began to provide a new language to articulate the neoliberalism that postcolonized societies in a "glocal age" experience, the problems of global culture and "the relationships between local cultures and global forces" (Ashcroft et al., 2000, p. vii). Thus, postcolonial scholars continue to contribute to the dialogue and efforts toward decolonization and liberation from colonialism.

Decolonial Perspectives

The decolonial intellectual movement, or the modernity/coloniality school, emerged and developed around the work of sociologists Anibal Quijano and Maria Lugones, and the work of philosopher and semiotician, Walter D. Mignolo. This school of thought is connected to world-systems theory, development and underdevelopment theory, and the Frankfurt School of critical social theory (Bhambra, 2014). Geographically, decoloniality emerged from scholars from South America and mostly refers back to these regions and imperial relationships, which are primarily with Europe. Additionally, decoloniality mainly refers to earlier European expeditions to the areas referred to as the Americas in the 15th century, onward (Bhambra, 2014).

Anibal Quijano. Coloniality is inextricably linked with the notion of modernity (Quijano, 2007). Quijano argued that Western notions of modernity are rooted in the development of the concept of totality. In totality discourse, beings and groups can be conceptualized as parts of a larger whole. Through totality discourse, the capitalist organization of labor is justified by referring to management as the "brain," whereas workers represent the hands or feet. Enlightenment ideas of humanity and society were not extended to non-Western people, which explains how colonized people came to be referred as the "'white mans' burden' (Kipling)" (Quijano, 2007, p. 176). Through a totality lens, society is organized as closed structures and according to a hierarchy in which there are relations between the functioning parts. When this idea is coupled with the development of science and positivism, society can be perceived as "a macro-historical subject, endowed with a historical rationality, with a lawfulness that permits predictions of the behavior of the whole and of all its part, as well as the direction and finality of its development in time (Quijano, 2007, p. 176). Thus, "history was conceived as a linear evolutionary continuum from the primitive to the civilized; from the traditional to the

modern; from the savage to the rational; from pro-capitalism to capitalism, etc." (Quijano, 2007, p. 176), a model that facilitated Europe's belief that it was "the advanced form of the history" (Quijano, 2007, p. 176) of the human species and justified its colonial acts of imposing European ideas on colonized peoples.

Walter Mignolo. Mignolo (2007) built on Quijano's analysis of modernity/coloniality, and argued for a delinking from colonial logics and from the "colonial matrix of power." Mignolo noted how indigenous knowledge has been used to create "modern" pharmaceutical drugs, which represents how modernity/coloniality perspectives justify the appropriation of indigenous land, labor, and knowledge. Mignolo argued that there is a geo-politics of knowledge, the understanding that knowledge has emerged from different historical locations in the world and has endured through the effects of Western imperial and economic expansion. As such, a geo-politics of knowledge disrupts the illusion that knowledge originates in the imperial West. Thus, Mignolo argued that decolonization of knowledge needs to be understood as both "unveiling the geo-political location of theology, secular philosophy and scientific reason" (p. 463) and affirming indigenous modes and principles of knowledge that have been repressed during Christianization, civilization, progress, development, and market democracy.

Maria Lugones. In "Coloniality of Gender," Lugones (2008) examined the intersections of race, class, gender, and sexuality, and how exploited men have been complicit and collaborate with "the modern/colonial gender system" (p. 1) that violently dominates women of color. Lugones developed the modern/colonial gender system by engaging Third World and Women of Color feminists' and critical race theorists' work on gender, race, and colonization as well as Quijano's work on the coloniality of power. Quijano (2000) argued that the coloniality of power permeates all aspects of social life. When examining Quijano's discussion of the intersections of

race and gender in his coloniality of power framework, Lugones argued that his lenses assume Eurocentric, patriarchal, heterosexual, and capitalist understandings "over control of sex, its resources, and products" (p. 2).

Lugones (2008) also called for understanding how the modern/colonial gender system is made up of biological dimorphisms and the ways patriarchy and heterosexism organizes relations, features that facilitate an understanding of "the differential gender arrangements along 'racial' lines" and "the hegemonic meaning of gender" (p. 2). She asserted that an understanding of gender in precolonial societies exposes the ways colonialism and European capitalism gradually changed social structures in ways that "violently inferiorized colonized women" (Lugones, 2008, p. 12). Also, through an intersectional analysis of race and gender, Lugones explored the different ways women of color have been positioned against White women, which she argues continues to serve the European colonial project.

Ramón Grosfoguel. Grosfoguel (2011) was critical of the epistemic locations of postmodern, postcolonial, and decolonial scholars who seek to create radical or alternative knowledge, and noted how, oftentimes, Western knowledge is privileged over subaltern perspectives even by people who are socially situated in oppressed classes. While European analyses of imperialism are centered on economic world-system perspectives, Grosfoguel argued that when analyzing from a different epistemic location, imperialism also promoted the following: global class formation where diverse forms of labor co-exist and are organized as a source of surplus value; international divisions of labor where labor is located in the periphery and authority located at the core; European males control political-military organizations and institutionalize these in colonial administrations; racial hierarchy privileging Europeans over non-Europeans; gender hierarchy privileging males over females and patriarchy over other

gender relations; sexual hierarchy privileging heterosexuals over other sexual identities; spiritual hierarchy privileging Christians over non-Western spiritualties; epistemic hierarchy privileging Western knowledge; linguistic hierarchy privileging European languages; aesthetic hierarchy of "high art" over non-Western produced art; privileging Western forms of pedagogy; Western control over media production and information technology; age hierarchy privileging ages with reproductive abilities; ecological hierarchy that privileges Western destruction of life; and spatial hierarchy that privileges urban areas over rural areas.

Grosfoguel (2011) further argued that coloniality and modernity are like two sides of the same coin, in that he believed that referring to the present world-system as capitalist is limiting because the world-system is deeply entrenched in the colonial matrix of power where the multiple hierarchies previously referred to are also at play. Thus, Grosfoguel posited that antisystemic decolonization and liberation efforts must engage all the hierarchical intersections in the colonial matrix of power.

Boaventura de Sousa Santos. While Santos (2014) was critical of abyssal thinking and lazy reason discussed above, he called for moving beyond abyssal thinking and considering subaltern cosmopolitan reason marked by the "sociology of absences" and the "sociology of emergences." In response to the critique of Western metonymic reasoning, Santos posited that the "sociology of absences" helps identify the scope of subtraction that takes place in the logics/modes of nonexistence in order to liberate the experiences that encountered waste. The ecologies against waste of experience include: *ecology of knowledges*, which identifies other types of knowledges and criteria for rigor and validity; *ecology of temporalities*, which honors other conceptions of time beyond linear understandings and acknowledges that different cultures have different temporal communities and rules; *ecology of recognition*, which confronts

coloniality and calls for a new articulation of equality and difference; *ecology of trans-scale*, which calls for deglobalizing the local and exploring counterhegemonic globalization that is reflected in alternative local/global arrangements like cooperatives and; *ecology of productivities*, which works to reclaim alternative systems of production (Santos, 2014). In response to the critique of Western proleptic reasoning, Santos posited that the "sociology of emergences" works to resist proleptic contractions of the future by replacing empty notions of the future with plural and concrete possibilities to inspire inquiry toward alternatives.

In discussing the *ecology of recognition*, Santos (2014) recognized the existence of multidimensional forms of domination and oppression, which creates different conditions for varied forms of resistance, struggle, mobilized actors, vocabularies, and resources. Thus, Santos noted the need for *intercultural translation*, a collective intellectual, political, and emotional effort that calls for being open to engage in the difficult work of learning others' knowledges and practices in order to build "collaborative actions of mutual advantage" (Santos, 2014, p. 227). Santos argued that the ecology of knowledges and intercultural translation are central features of postabyssal thinking that, together, work to create "copresence across the abyssal lines" in subaltern cosmopolitan, or decolonial, contact zones (Santos, 2014, p. 227). Santos posited that these decolonial zones emerge from social movements and organizations that engage in intermovement politics in the context of struggle against capitalism, colonialism, and patriarchy.

Decolonial studies. There is a growing research collective situated around the modernity/coloniality/decolonial field with members from South America and the United States (Mignolo, 2010). Decolonial studies explores epistemic violence in colonized societies in addition to communities within Europe, while working toward a future marked by intercultural communication and "an-other rationality" where lives are primary and institutions are placed in

service of people's lives (Mignolo, 2010). Key decolonial discussions include Nelson Maldonado-Torres's (2010) "coloniality of being"; Freya Schiwy's (2010) exploration of coloniality and subjectivity in cultural studies and gender issues; Javier Sanjines's (2010), Agustin Lao-Montes's (2010), and Jose David Saldivar's (2010) exploration of tension and conflicts among ethnicity, nation-state, and racism; Manuela Boatca's (2010), Zilkia Janer's (2010), and Madina Tlostanova's (2010) exploration of the coloniality of power: the interconnections between peripheries and geopolitical and body-political locations of border thinking; Santiago Castro-Gomez's (2010), Mignolo's (2007), and Lugones's (2008) exploration of the decolonization of knowledge.

Ultimately, Mignolo (2007) affirmed that the decolonial field aims to delink from Western constructions of discipline, where decolonial energy can be imagined as a force that permeates traditional disciplines and can guide struggles toward a world that is not ruled by the colonial matrix of power. The interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary decolonial field is committed to understanding modernity from a critical perspective of coloniality, where decolonizing knowledge is a process of restoring indigenous epistemologies with political and ethical implications.

Anticolonial Perspectives

Notable anticolonial scholars include, but are not limited to, Frantz Fanon (1952; 1963), Mohandas Gandhi (1910; 1967), Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1986), and many who have been critical of the term postcolonial. When exploring the meaning of postcolonialism, Ward Churchill (2012) questioned if colonialism has in fact ended and when the postcolonial era has begun. Churchill argued that it is inaccurate to describe that the end of European overseas colonization marked the shift from a colonial period to a postcolonial period. Churchill described neocolonialism as a

form of exploitation, where economically dominant countries, which were former colonizers, prey upon the vulnerabilities of "underdeveloped" countries, most of which were former colonies, in order to systematically obtain excessive rates of profit from the "underdeveloped" partners. When examining economic relationships between former colonizers and colonized countries that continue to exist, Churchill argued that neocolonialism is a more appropriate term than postcolonialism. Thus, in an effort to be more terminologically accurate, he challenged using the referent postcolonialism, a dispute that postcolonial scholars have acknowledged is a source of controversy in their field (Ashcroft et al., 1995).

George Dei (2006) asserted that colonialism did not end with overturning colonial political administrations and that both colonialism and recolonizing projects continue to be manifested in various ways today. The anticolonial approach to theorizing examines the relationships between "colonial and re-colonial" and the implications imperial structures have for "knowledge production and validation, the understanding of indigeneity, and the pursuit of agency, resistance and subjective politics" (Dei, 2006, p. 2). Anticolonial perspectives theorize around social domination and the ways power and relations of power promote dominant and subordinate relationships, deconstruct dominant discourses and epistemologies, and interrogate their own anticolonial practice while exploring alternatives to colonial relations (Dei, 2006). Anticolonial perspectives also acknowledge that knowledge can be situated from the unique social contexts it emerges from and be politically contested and thus, engage "epistemologies about, and of, marginalized, colonized subjects" (Dei, 2006, p. 3). Anticolonial scholars also call for accountability and responsibility of knowledge where the politics of anti-colonial thought "call for a radical transformation of the analytical and conceptual frames of reference, used both in the academy and mainstream public discourse so that the minoritized, subjugated voice,

experience and history can be powerfully evoked, acknowledged and responded to (Dei, 2006, p. 4).

Anticolonial perspectives challenge the postcolonial emphasis on the subjects and respond to Spivak's (1998) critique that postcolonial scholars oftentimes shape how the subaltern speak (Dei, 2006). While postcolonial perspectives overemphasize "the subject," anticolonial scholars call for examining how the world outside of the subject creates concrete, material problems, and that broader macro-political forces have tangible effects (Dei, 2006). Thus, anticolonial scholars highlight the importance of considering both the subject and the material world such that analyses of structural material forces have implications on subjects' agency and resistance efforts. Anticolonial perspectives assert that local subjects make their own history, hold discursive power, and "their intellectual agency can be traced through history, not modernity" (Dei, 2006, p. 16) while recognizing how class, ethnicity, culture, and gender, and difference impact when, why, and how the subaltern speak.

Anticolonialism centers on confronting colonialism, resisting binaries imposed by the colonizer, and redressing the oppression that indigenous peoples have experienced with regard to the repression of their self-determination and self-governance over their lives and lands (Hart, Straka, & Rowe, 2016). Hart and collaborators defined anticolonialism "as the proactive, political struggle of colonized peoples against the ideology and practice of colonialism" (p. 2). In the anticolonial discursive framework, indigenous knowledge is an important standpoint when theorizing around issues from colonial and colonized relations. Anticolonialism is critical of how power is embedded "in ideas, cultures, and histories of knowledge production, validation, and use. It also examines our understanding of indigeneity, pursuit of agency, resistance, and subjective politics" (Dei & Asgharzadeh, 2001, p. 300).

Hart and Rowe (as cited in Hart et al., 2016) emphasized the presence of a relational nature in colonialism, such that anticolonialism can involve all parties in the colonial relationship. Ashcroft and collaborators (as cited in Hart et al., 2016) posited that anticolonial members, both from the colonized and colonizer groups, challenge the power of colonialism in political, economic, and cultural systems. Hart (as cited in Hart et al., 2016) argued that these members challenge the power of colonialism in social systems. Together, these groups "question institutional power and privilege and the rationale for dominance by one group of people over another" (Hart et al., 2016, p. 3). Thus, this creates an opportunity for people from the colonizer group to support and act in ways that promote anticolonialism.

Here, settlers can act in anticolonial ways by educating their peers, challenging colonial oppression, and supporting Indigenous peoples' efforts toward self-determination. Anticolonial settlers must vigilantly ensure their actions do not reinforce colonial oppression and must always support Indigenous peoples' efforts toward self-determination (Hart et al., 2016). Thus, people who are working in anticolonial, decolonizing projects must be wary of the tendency to engage in a "Settler move to innocence" (Tuck & Yang, 2012, p. 10), actions that attempt to evade the pain and guilt of being complicit in colonialism (Hart et al., 2016). Therefore, it is additionally critical that colonized groups have an acuity for the dynamics of colonialism, the implications of these dynamics, how these may be replicated in the power dynamics in relationships, and how their power can be used to resist oppression.

Indigenous and Decolonizing Perspectives

The field of indigenous research centers indigenous concerns, knowledge, practices, and participation as those who research and who are being researched (Smith, 1999). In Smith's seminal work, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, Smith called for

disrupting colonial modes of knowledge production in social science research through indigenous methodologies. Indigenous social movements have helped create themes that set the agenda for indigenous research, an agenda that connects local, regional, and global efforts toward a self-determining indigenous world (Smith, 1999). Self-determination can be understood as a social justice goal with psychological, social, cultural, and economic spheres achieved through processes, approaches, and methodologies of transformation, decolonization, healing, and mobilizing as peoples (Smith, 1999).

Many indigenous scholars are critical of how postcolonial, anticolonial, decolonizing, and Indigenous studies have been treated as synonyms that are "engaged as a subset of subfield of critical, antioppressive, ethnic, and multicultural education" (Daza & Tuck, 2014, p. 309). As discussed earlier, many indigenous scholars are unsatisfied with the language of postcolonial as the prefix "post" implies "after." Many indigenous scholars have argued that "there is nothing *post* [emphasis in original] ... about the omnipresence of coloniality in Indigenous life" (Daza & Tuck, 2014, p. 310). Daza and Tuck maintained that because "postcolonial studies have not always deftly demonstrated *answerability* [emphasis in original] to Indigenous peoples and Indigenous lands, especially within settler colonial contexts" (p. 310), postcolonial studies have "investments in settler colonialism and the dispossession of Indigenous land and life, its own anti-blackness, its own ghettoisation of urban land and life" (Daza & Tuck, 2014, p. 310).

In their acclaimed work, *Decolonization is Not a Metaphor*, Eve Tuck and Wayne Yang (2012) clarified that decolonization is centered on "the repatriation of Indigenous land and life; it is not a metaphor for other things we want to do to improve our societies and schools. The easy adaptation of decolonizing discourse … turns decolonization into a metaphor" (p. 1).Tuck and Yang (2012) argued that "social justice, critical methodologies, or approaches that decenter

settler perspectives have objectives that may be incommensurable with decolonization" (p. 1). Here, when decolonization is used as a metaphor, it facilitates "settler moves to innocence" that serves to "reconcile settler guilt and complicity, and rescue settler futurity" (Tuck & Yang, 2012, p. 1). Here, it is critical to understand that when decolonization is used as an empty signifier, a mere metaphor in different social justice contexts, it occludes settler moves to innocence. Tuck and Yang were also critical of when "decolonizing the mind" becomes a central focus in "decolonizing" movements. Tuck and Yang asserted, "Until stolen land is relinquished, critical consciousness does not translate into action that disrupts settler colonialism" (p. 19).

Fanon (as cited in Tuck & Yang, 2012) asserted that decolonization requires a change in the world order, not one marked by an exchange of power positions between the colonizer and the colonized; instead, the settler-colonial, settler-native-slave triad should be broken. The break in the settler-colonial triad would mean "repatriating land to sovereign Native tribes and nations, abolition of slavery in its contemporary forms, and the dismantling of the imperial metropole" (Tuck & Yang, 2012, p. 31). It is also important to note, "Decolonization 'here' is intimately connected to anti-imperialism elsewhere. However, decolonial struggles here/there are not parallel, not shared equally, nor do they bring neat closure to the concerns of all involved – particularly not for settlers" (Tuck & Yang, 2012, p. 31).

Summary

This chapter provided a discussion of how the logics of coloniality have been driven by Western European interests for economic, political, and epistemological hegemony. Colonialism derived from the desire to directly control and, thus, to preserve imperial interests abroad in colonized regions. Colonialism took place by pillaging land, achieving physical domination through force and conquest, and establishing mental control through epistemicides, propagating

Western notions of scientific knowledge, instilling individualism, Christian religious values, heteropatriarchy, privileging Western languages, notions of inferiority through racism, and sustaining ideological control through colonial education systems (see Figure 4).

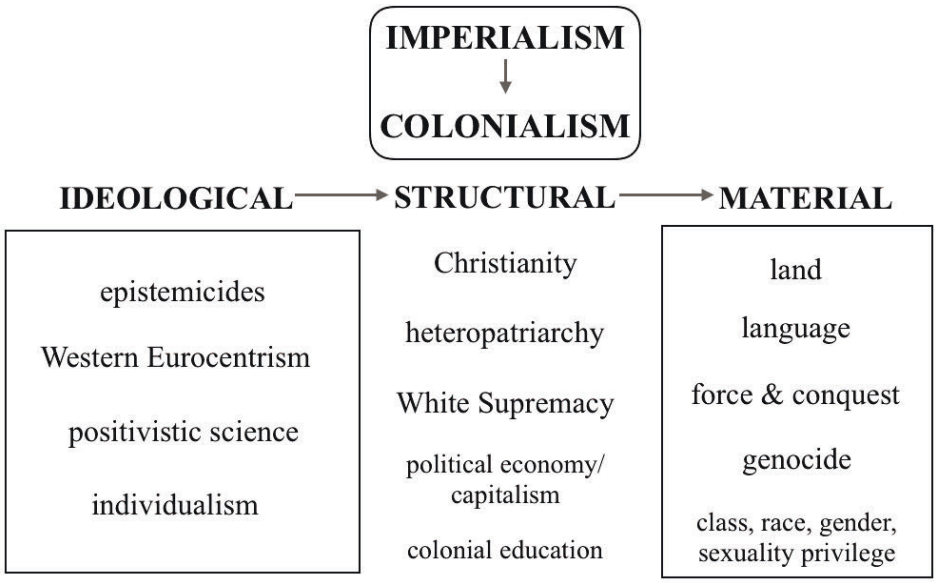

Figure 4. Visual summary of logics of coloniality.

This chapter also highlights how scholars from postcolonial, decolonial, anticolonial, indigenous, and decolonizing backgrounds contest different ways to engage coloniality (see Figure 5). The purpose here was not to essentialize any of the perspectives discussed; instead, it represents an effort to acknowledge how scholars from different contexts have sought to understand and theorize the ontological and epistemological impact of coloniality on contemporary life. Additionally, the discussion in this chapter affirms the historical roots of social movements, wherein people have struggled to contend with the contemporary impact of colonization on the lives of oppressed populations.

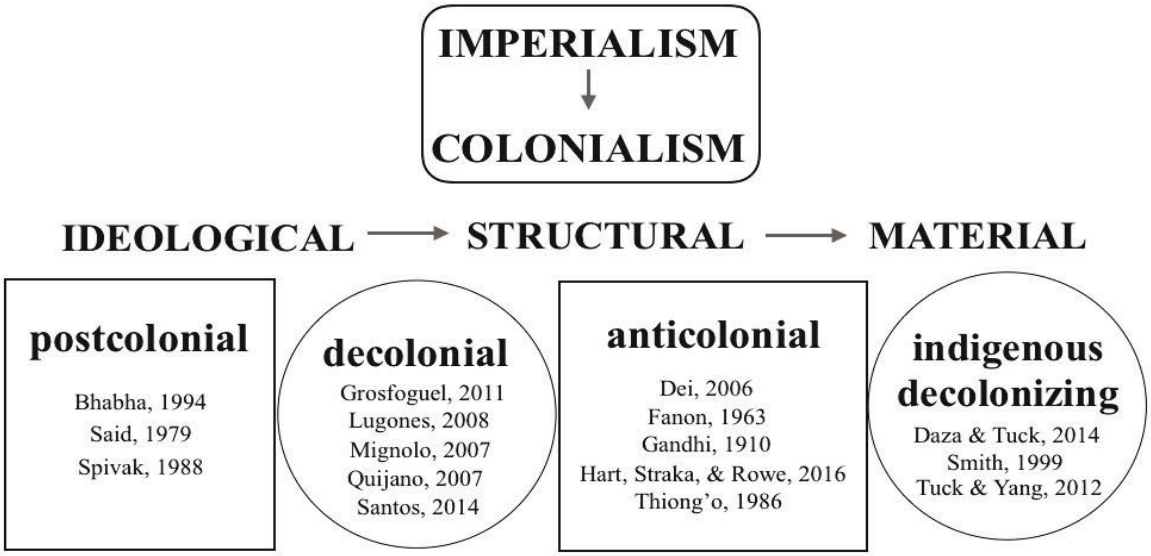

Figure 5. Visual summary of scholarly responses to coloniality.

CHAPTER 3

THEORIES OF SOCIAL MOVEMENT

> I don't think we can rely on government, regardless of who is in power, to do the work that only mass movements can do. I think what is most important is that they are having the effect of refusing to allow these issues to die.
>
> Angela Davis

Movements around the globe and throughout history have demonstrated the power of united groups of people to reform, transform, and overthrow oppressive and dominant social, cultural, economic, and political practices, policies, and governments. In order to advance an understanding of transformative organizing and implications for working with youth of color, this chapter explores the various ways scholars have theorized the foundations and organization of social movements and how these have developed organizing repertoires that are associated with the popularized and professionalized community-organizing tradition led by Saul Alinsky. Moreover, the discussion demonstrates not only how the study of social movements is contested, but also how various critiques and identified gaps can inform our theoretical understanding for transformative organizing.

Social Movement Foundational Theories

Some of the earliest theorists to engage the question of collective action included Karl Marx, Emile Durkheim, John Stuart Mill, Max Weber (Tilly, 1978), Antonio Gramsci and Vladimir Lenin (Tarrow, 2011). Tarrow noted that Marx is recognized as a classic structuralist who theorized that collective action is rooted in the social structure. Based on his economic political ideas on class conflict, Marx posited that when people recognize the contradictions between their social class and that of their antagonists, they will enact collective action. When

the course of history failed to support this theory, Marx advanced his thesis of "false consciousness" to explain that workers may fail to act in their own interest, due to political ignorance conditioned by the dominant class.

Emile Durkheim (1951) argued that collective action is a response to processes of social disintegration, noting that during routine forms of collective action, societal institutions maintain stability through a shared consciousness that promotes solidarity (Staggenborg, 2011; Tilly, 1978). However, Durkheim posited that when different societal pressures create differentiation in society, like the disintegration of the division of labor, nonroutine forms of collective action emerge where people become discontent and pursue their individual interests. Durkheim referred to this gap between the level of individual differentiation and the degree of institutional regulation of social relations as "anomie" (Tilly, 1978), which, when combined with social disorganization, promotes social movements (Tarrow, 2011). Building the foundation for a rationalist approach to collective action theory, John Stuart Mill theorized that collective action is the result of aggregated individual actions rooted in individual interests (Tilly, 1978).

Vladimir Illyish Lenin and Max Weber theorized about the role of leadership in collective action. Lenin theorized that a "vanguard," a professional elite of revolutionaries would represent the workers, and organization was necessary to collective action, especially when repressive political conditions inhibit the development of what Marx termed class consciousness (Tarrow, 2011). Weber theorized that collective action is a result of commitment to a set of collective beliefs that impacts the creation of group goals, standards of behavior, and the power of leading authorities (Tilly, 1978). According to Weber, leaders can obtain power through a combination of charisma, rational-legal, and traditional authority processes (Mauss, 1975), which impact the organization and collective actions of groups (Tilly, 1978).

Antonio Gramsci (1971) built on Marx's thesis of false consciousness and Lenin's notion of the vanguard by articulating his theory of cultural hegemony. Gramsci argued that Lenin's notion of vanguard forms of organization is not sufficient to incite a revolution (Tarrow, 2011). Holding a strong belief in the power of culture and building on the theory of Marx's class consciousness, Gramsci argued that the bourgeoisie hold a cultural hegemony that must be countered by workers who are developed as "organic intellectuals" and complement traditional intellectuals in party leadership, in order to pursue autonomous initiatives. Thus, Gramsci provided an important link between materialist Marxism and the constructivist approach in the future study of social movements (Tarrow, 2011).

As various scholars have built on the work of seminal collective action theorists, an offshoot of collective action developed a more specific study of contentious politics. While there are varying definitions for contentious politics (Staggenborg, 2011), Tarrow (2011) argued that contentious politics takes place when a collective group of actors join together to confront elites, authorities, and other opponents around the claims they represent. Contentious politics encompasses various public and collective political struggles, including strikes, wars, revolutions, and social movements (McAdam, Tarrow, & Tilly, 2001). This chapter delimits the study of contentious politics to social movements, in order to develop a clearer understanding of the evolution of social movements and its implications for community-organizing efforts that resist the vestiges of colonialism. Furthermore, it explores how the definition and study of social movements constitutes a highly contested terrain.

Social Movement Theories

Understanding the manner in which social theorists have attempted to make sense of social movements and the dynamics that inform their evolution is significant to the focus of this

study. Moreover, the study of social movements has commonly been theorized through a variety of paradigms, including collective behavior, resource mobilization, political process, and social constructivism. The following discussion centers on these differences.

Collective Behavior Theory

The collective behavior theoretical tradition, which primarily asserts that movements occur outside of normal political processes, arose in the United States during the 1950s and early 1960s, and builds on Marx's structural approach without sharing his fixation on social class (Tarrow, 2011). Collective behavior theory explores the study of crowds, mobs, riots, fads, cults, revolutions, and social movements and is considered the classic model of social movements, often referred to as "strain" or "breakdown" theory (Staggenborg, 2011). Key assumptions of collective behavior theories are that collective behavior: occurs outside of institutionalized structures, arises from some sort of structural or cultural breakdown or strain in society where grievances are deeply felt, and that people's shared beliefs and analyses of why collective behavior arises plays a key role in promoting social movements (Staggenborg, 2011).

In response to 19th-century urban revolts, Gustave Le Bon explained the crowd behavior of 1895 in the collective behavior fashion with a psychological lens, positing that crowds are irrational and abnormal, and thereby characterize social movement participants as irrational and pathological (Staggenborg, 2011). Over time, collective behavior theorists began to reject the perspective that collective behavior is irrational and began to focus their analysis on participants' psychological states and on spontaneous dynamics of collective actions that took place outside of established structures (Staggenborg, 2011). Functionalism, the Chicago School approach, strain theory, mass society theory, and relative deprivation theory all contributed to building the collective behavior tradition of social movements studies.

Functionalism. The functionalist perspective created the negative associations between social movements and abnormal, deviant behavior, dating back to Durkheim. Similar to the notion of an ecosystem, Mauss (1975) explained, functionalism assumes that various societal elements and institutions are connected in a structure of interdependent parts such that what happens in one area impacts the other areas. The concept of deviant behavior is considered to be functional because it helps to define the boundaries of normality in a society, justify punishments that clarify the limits of tolerable behavior, promote needed social change, provide outlets for occasionally releasing pressure in demanding institutions, and promote solidarity when people resist what they perceive as deviant behavior. Mauss (1975) further noted that deviant behavior can be considered dysfunctional when widespread deviant behavior reduces public commitment to normal structures, the pursuit and punishment of deviant people tax societal resources, and public space is disrupted. Thus, in the functionalist perspective, deviance can: intentionally or unintentionally serve or disrupt a social order, be tied to specific customs and institutions within a society, and contribute to change to different structural arrangements.

Chicago School approach. The Chicago School approach to collective behavior began in the 1920s through the work of Robert Park and Ernest Burgess and was further developed by sociologists associated with symbolic interactionism, such as Herbert Blumer (1951), Ralph Turner and Lewis Killian (1957), and Kurt and Gladys Lang (1961). Symbolic interactionism is a social psychological theory centered on how participants construct meanings through their social interaction (Staggenborg, 2011). Here, collective behavior develops when there is a breakdown in established systems, meanings, and sources of information, and participants are forced to create new meanings to guide their behavior.

Supporting the argument that social problems were due to intersubjective processes of constructing meanings and various social relationships, Blumer was a proponent of approaching the study of social movements through public opinion, instead of the notion of an objective reality (Mauss, 1975). Blumer (1951) argued that collectives responded to their societal dissatisfactions through stages of recognized social unrest, popular excitement, formalization, and institutionalization; and these stages arose based on the effectiveness of agitation, the intensity of "esprit de corps," a pervasive sense of morale, and, or the development of an ideology and an appropriate use of tactics. Additionally, Blumer (1951) posited that there are "general movements" that grow from "cultural drifts," gradual changes in a collective's values; "specific movements" marked by defined goals such as reform movements and revolutionary movements; and "expressive movements" that are not directed toward changing the external social order but are directed toward more moral and internal beliefs such as religious movements and fashion movements.

Ralph Turner and Lewis Killian (1957) were symbolic interactionists who helped shift the perspective that collective behavior is a normal process, not a pathological or irrational one (Jasper, 1997). Turner and Killian argued that when members of a crowd are uncertain about reality due to changing events, ideology plays a key role in promoting an "emergent norm" in social movements that prompt people to interact in ways that develop new cognitive, normative, and emotional understandings about their experiences. James Jasper critiqued Turner and Killian's work of grounding social action in momentary contexts, which he believed minimized the role of broader political structures and cultural traditions.

Strain and Breakdown Theory. Neil Smelser (1962) posited that social movement forms of collective behavior emerge through a value-added model in which each additional

factor and interactions between factors promote collective action. The factors in Smelser's (1962) value-added model include: (a) structural conduciveness that promotes certain types of collective behavior; (b) structural strain that creates deprivation such as a perceived threat of economic deprivation; (c) the growth and spread of a generalized belief, potentially formulated by leaders, that creates meaningful situations for participants who could potentially participate in collective behavior; (d) precipitating factors like a dramatic event that give generalized beliefs a concrete target for collective action; (e) mobilization for action, whereby leadership plays an important role; and (f) social control that could prevent or limit the scope of collective behavior by minimizing strains. Thus, strains represent when society is functioning inadequately compared to normative cultural and individual standards (Mauss, 1975). Critics of strain and other breakdown theories argue that these perspectives rely too heavily on structural strains, strains that lack clear defining criteria, to explain the rise of social movements. Further, they contend that these theories assume that societies are stable, whereas strains and social movements are unusual (Staggenborg, 2011).

Mass Society Theory. The effort to understand the rise of totalitarianism, nondemocratic movements in Western industrialized societies, and widespread compliance in those movements sparked the development of Mass Society Theory (Gusfield, 1994; Jasper, 1997). William Kornhauser (1959) theorized that social changes, such as rapid industrialization and urbanization, uproot people from their normal relationships, isolating them from participation in social and political institutions. Resulting feelings of alienation make people susceptible to recruitment into movements like National Socialism (Nazism). Thus, mass society theory purports that collective behavior occurs as a type of extreme response to social isolation and

builds on Durkheim's theoretical tradition, wherein social institutions sustain and transmit common values that promote social stability (Staggenborg, 2011).

Critics of the mass society theory have argued that it is not isolated people who are likely to be recruited into social movements but people who are tied to social networks and participate in organizations that are most likely, thereby minimizing the role of preexisting organizations in social movement recruitment (Staggenborg, 2011). Joseph Gusfield (1994) revisited the mass society theory and argued that it can help explain how "parasocial" interactions through the media can help promote distant human interactions—interactions that are not mediated by socially organized institutions and groups. Gusfield further contended that the concept of the "mass" in mass society theory could be more useful when understood not as a collectivity, but as an area of action; thus, concepts of class, status, and ethnicity could help explain more standardized and homogenized mass audiences.

Relative Deprivation Theory. Popular in the 1960s and 1970s, the relative deprivation theory is based on observations by Alexis de Tocqueville and other theorists who asserted that people often rebel when things are improving. According to relative deprivation theory, Staggenborg (2011) explained, people feel deprived and dissatisfied when the rate of improvement in their social conditions does not match rising expectations. These feelings of deprivation are relative not only to people's notion of unmet expectations but also to what they perceive should be attained when compared to other groups. Staggenborg noted that studies supporting the relative deprivation theory inferred psychological states based on objective indicators like unemployment rates. Further, she asserted, relative deprivation critics pointed to organizational capacities and governmental sanctions as factors that more reliably predict collective action, arguing that there is little evidence that objective measures of relative

deprivation like unemployment were good predictors. Thus, critics argue that while feelings of relative deprivation may exist, collective action may not occur without other factors like resources and organization.

Resource Mobilization

The resource mobilization theoretical tradition asserts that social movements are part of the normal political process, employing protest strategies outside the routine political system. This tradition emerged in the United States during the late 1960s and 1970s from critiques of the collective behavior tradition (Tarrow, 2011). While the collective behavior tradition has heavily theorized the role of grievances and internal psychological states in inciting people into collective action with negative connotations of collective action, resource mobilization approaches have highlighted the role of external factors like resources, organization, politics, and structures on successful collective action (Buechler, 2004; Staggenborg, 2011; Tarrow, 2011).

Resource mobilization theorists argue that resources include both tangible and intangible assets, moral resources, cultural resources, social-organizational resources, human resources, and material resources (Staggenborg, 2011). Resource mobilization theorists have built on Mill's utilitarian and rationalist explanations of people's participation in social movements due to self-interest (Tarrow, 2011; Tilly, 1978) and Lenin's emphasis on the role of leadership and organization (Tarrow, 2011). Mancour Olson (1965), John McCarthy and Mayer Zald (1973, 1977), Bob Edwards and John McCarthy (2004), Anthony Oberschall (1973), and William Gamson (1975) are all among key theorists who helped build the resource mobilization tradition.

Rationalist perspectives. Instead of drawing from psychological assumptions, Mancour Olson (1965) drew from microeconomics and contended with the belief that humans are rational beings who estimate costs and benefits of participation before engaging in collective action

(Jasper, 1997). Olson purported that a "free rider" problem occurs when people choose not to participate in movements due to the conclusion that they will receive the goal of collective action (a collective good from which they will benefit) due to other people's labor regardless of whether they help to achieve that collective good (e.g., clean air or water). Thus, rational people will only voluntarily participate in collective action when they receive selective incentives, which are exclusive benefits for participants, and when they are in a small group situation, where the individual cost of contributing may make a significant difference in obtaining a collective good.

Jasper (1997) argued that the rise of bureaucratized trade unions inspired the creation of these rational-choice models where rationality, resources, and interests are assumed to be objective givens instead of being culturally constructed. Additionally, he pointed to other critics who have noted how empirical findings show that humans and organizations tend to "satisfice," which is to informally estimate the potential benefits, instead of carefully calculating for maximum benefits, thereby making rationalist models less precise. While Jasper acknowledged the insights of the logic of strategic interaction, which draws from the rationalist branch of game theory, to help explore how players can find themselves in undesirable situations such as prolonged conflicts, polarized positions, and protracted stalemates, he argued that rationalist contributions can be strengthened with an analysis of cultural and biographical meanings.

John McCarthy and Mayer Zald. John McCarthy and Mayer Zald (1973, 1977) have built on Lenin's emphasis on the role of leadership and organization in social movements. McCarthy and Zald (1977) defined social movements as preference structures (a set of opinions, beliefs, or goals) for societal change. These preference structures may be transformed into movements that are organized through leaders and different types of organizations. Instead of

depending on unorganized groups' grievances, collective action may rely more on social movement leaders, whom McCarthy and Zald (1973) referred to as movement entrepreneurs, who not only mobilize participants but also help shape preferences. Movement entrepreneurs help shape preference structures by drawing on public sentiments, cultivating a collective identity, and increasing demands for change in organization contexts (McCarthy & Zald, 1973, 1977). Additionally, countermovements could emerge in opposition to social movements.

Formal, social movement organizations (SMOs) were a focal unit of analysis in John McCarthy and Mayer Zald's (1977) work. A social movement organization, they explained, can exist as a complex or formal organization that attempts to implement identified goals that are in alignment with social movement or countermovement preferences. In addition to assembling and deploying resources for campaigns, McCarthy and Zald argued that SMOs were critical to achieving movement objectives. While some scholars disagreed with this assertion and even argued formal organization suppresses mobilization (Snow et al., 2004), McCarthy and Zald argued that SMOs were essential resources that also provided resources to support mobilization and movement success. They further posited that movements can be professionalized when they include fairly stable organizations led by paid leaders and that consist of members who provide financial contributions instead of activism. When movement entrepreneurs help recruit these types of "conscience constituents," who contribute to movements but may not necessarily personally benefit from movement achievements, they help gather and leverage important resources that impact movement effectiveness (McCarthy & Zald, 1973, 1977).

Bob Edwards and John McCarthy. Bob Edwards and John McCarthy (2004) developed a comprehensive framework on the role of resources in the mobilization process. Key resource mobilization processes include the mobilization of: money, labor, organizations or

movement structures, and collective action whereby participants contribute and generate resources (Edwards & McCarthy, 2004). Furthermore, they have contended that access to the four mobilization processes listed above enhance the likelihood of effective collective action. When examining advanced industrial democracies and highlighting the impact of unequal distributions of resources, they found that predominant social movements resonate with relatively privileged group concerns while the mobilization of poor social groups was rare. Thus, from a resource mobilization perspective, social and economic inequalities can be reproduced in social movements.

Anthony Oberschall. Anthony Oberschall (1973) focused his theorizing on the rationales people employ when deciding to join movements, the role of leadership, and forms of organization when mobilizing people and resources for social movements. Similar to rationalist perspectives, Oberschall posited that people calculate the risks and rewards that impact their various types of interests (i.e., economic, psychological, moral, political, etc.), interests that may be shaped by their social positions, while assessing whether they should join a movement (Mauss, 1975; Tilly, 1978). In this process of calculating risks and rewards, Oberschall argued that people assess what they may gain by participating within a movement against what they may lose in their lives, the wider social context they experience that exists outside of a social movement.

When theorizing the role of leadership as resources in social movements, Oberschall (1973) argued that leaders tend to possess characteristics and skillsets that are necessary to meet the demands of mobilizing and keeping people engaged in a movement. Additionally, Oberschall observed that movement leaders are predominantly from the middle- and upper-middle class, more privileged sectors of society and especially come from "free professions" such as lawyers,

teachers, writers, and other intellectuals, who tend to be freer to create and advocate for new ideas and policies.

Oberschall (1973) argued that "resource management" is a central problem for mobilization to social movements, especially in conditions where a hostile "host society" of a movement opposes and represses their efforts while attempting to deny a movement access to necessary resources like leadership and participants. Oberschall (as cited in Tilly, 1978), who opposed mass society theories that draw from the theoretical influence of Durkheim and contended that populations with weak internal structures hardly act at all, also asserted that (a) prior group coherence is important for mobilization, and (b) organizing costs are actually reduced when efforts build on existing group structures. Oberschall's model of different types of mobilization and collective action are based upon links between different types of internal societal organization (i.e., communal organization, associational organization, or little organization of any kind) and the external ties between the population and other groups (i.e., being integrated or segregated from other groups). Based on this hypothesis of mobilization and collective action, Oberschall (as cited in Tilly, 1978) argued that events such as peasant revolts tend to draw in coherent, aggrieved groups who are attached to one another and their social positions.

William Gamson. William Gamson (1975) studied 53 "challenging groups" in the United States from 1800 to 1945 and examined if challenging groups were accepted by at least one of their antagonists as a legitimate representative of a constituency and if groups were able to acquire new advantages or types of success toward achieving goals for their constituents. Gamson found a link between acceptance and acquisition of new advantages, such that 80% of groups that gained some acceptance also gained new advantages. Additionally, he found groups

that gained acceptance differed in strategy such that they did not insist on displacing other groups, but rather organized around one issue, were relatively large, provided selective incentives to participating members, and were more likely to use violence and other force tactics. Gamson's work counters Durkheimian theory of collective action by finding that (a) while actors work toward objectives through strategies and tactics, their strategies are not always the most effective nor are their objectives consistent and attainable, and (b) examining challenging groups alone was not sufficient to explain actions and outcomes. Gamson that found action outcomes were due to interactions between challengers and other groups (Tilly, 1978). Here, Gamson's work furthered resource mobilization theories by exploring the role of interests, organizations, mobilization, repression, power, opportunities, and threats.

Erica Chenoweth and Maria Stephan (2011) critiqued Gamson's findings that groups that employ force and violence are more successful than groups that refrain from violent tactics. Chenoweth and Stephan claimed that Gamson conflated force with violence and argued that force can also occur in nonviolent ways. Additionally, while his findings are important for certain types of groups in the context of the American political system, Chenoweth and Stephan argued that Gamon's findings are not generalizable to all other countries during all time periods. In their study of 323 antiregime resistance campaigns, campaigns with territorial objectives, and a few cases of major resistance (like anti-apartheid campaigns) that do not fit in those categories that took place between 1900 to 2006 through statistical evidence and from four case studies, Chenoweth and Stephan countered Gamson's work by finding that nonviolent campaign and tactics were strategically superior to campaigns with violent insurgencies when it came to achieving political objectives.

Impacts and critiques of resource mobilization. While the classical collective behavior tradition helped bring the importance of shared beliefs and identities into the analysis of collective action, the connotations of irrationality of participants and ignorance of the cultural aspects of social movements in its analysis promoted the creation of the resource mobilization paradigm (McAdam, 1994). According to the resource mobilization paradigm, movement structures help facilitate a process of acquiring and generating resources for collective action (Edwards & McCarthy, 2004). The resource mobilization paradigm is marked by a strong rationalist and structural bias (McAdam, 1994), where rationality, organizations, and individual interests are assumed to be objective (Jasper, 1997). By creating a picture of social movements as organized, rational, and goal-oriented, resource mobilization scholars helped shift the collective behavior notion of collective action as contagion to collective action as diffused through connections between organizations and individuals (Soule, 2004). Thus, in an effort to understand the methods of protest, resource mobilization perspectives help to create a means for assessing the numbers, types, effectiveness, and consequences of social movement mobilization (Amenta & Caren, 2004; Taylor & Dyke, 2004).

Because the resource mobilization paradigm shifted social movement analyses to the role of other key external factors and created a rational and structural bias, there was a limited emphasis on the role of ideas, ideology, and identity in social movements (McAdam, 1994). Jasper (1997) argued that mobilization not only includes strategies, but also involves a process of cultural meaning-making and, thus, can also be viewed as a "strategic process of cultural persuasion" (p. 31). These perspectives have contributed to the argument for cultural approaches to social movement analyses, which will be discussed below.

Political Process

The political process approach was inspired by politics of the Civil Rights Movement (Jasper, 1997; Tarrow, 2011) and arose in the 1970s in the United States with a focus on the structure of political opportunities and constraints in contentious politics (Tarrow, 2011). In response to resource mobilization perspectives, Tilly (1999) argued that instead of understanding social movements as groups or organizations, it would be best to conceptualize social movements as contentious interactive performances and protest events. In addition to the resource mobilization perspective focus on the role of organizational structures and resources, the political process paradigm was attentive to the role of political opportunities and mobilizing structures that impact the maintenance and achievement of movement outcomes (Staggenborg, 2011). Building on the resource mobilization paradigm, political process approaches theorize that social movements emerge when there is an expansion in political opportunities, which facilitates SMOs and movement leaders' success in resource mobilization (McAdam, 1994).

Because the political process approach builds on resource mobilization perspectives with an additional emphasis on politics, the state, and strategy, some of the same key theorists emerge in both paradigms (Jasper, 1997). Collectively, the work of Tilly (1978, 1999, 2004), Gamson (1975), and Oberschall (1973) promoted more of a focus on (a) the state, strategies, and political mobilization, which has created space for the discussion of the role of grievances, ideologies, and elite responses; and (b) how the political power and environment that social movements face create opportunities for connecting protestors to other strategic activities, which again highlight the importance of resources and strategy (Jasper, 1997).

Charles Tilly. Charles Tilly (1978) was a leading theorist in the resource mobilization and political process paradigms. As his analysis shifted toward the importance of state structure

and state strategic imperatives, he argued that state imperatives included war making, state building, and extraction, imperatives that involved "white-hot bargaining" between state leaders and citizens (as cited in Tarrow, 2011). Tilly (1978) posited that a static "polity model" reproduces relationships between the government and its polity members, insider challengers, outside actors that exist outside the limits of government jurisdiction, and coalitions. He further argued that social movements are challengers that exist outside the established power structure, challenge the power structure in state institutions, and express demands toward established polity members. By theorizing the necessary conditions for mobilization, which included the opportunities and threats challengers faced and the facilitation and repression exercised by authorities, Tilly helped formulate the notion of *political opportunity structure*, wherein movements are understood as connected with politics and the conditions that shape political life.

Tilly (2004) argued that social movements are one form of contentious politics in that, if social movements' collective claims were realized, they would conflict with other interests; additionally, government bodies are involved in claims of social movements, making as claimants, objects, allies, or monitors of claims. When exploring social movements developed in the West after 1750, Charles Tilly and Lesley Wood (2013) argued that social movements are comprised of people with common interests and shared identities and goals, and endure as campaigns, a series of collective actions instead of one incident. As the rise of nation-states and corporations expanded wage labor, workers gained more independence from former masters and were able to engage in more proactive and larger political collective actions. When engaging in collective action, protestors can draw from "social movement repertoires," protest tactics that were developed in the 19th century and can change as political conditions change. When utilizing the repertoire of tactics available, social movement actors must publicly display their

worth, unity, numbers, and commitment during their "contentious performances," which can also evolve over time. Additionally, campaigns may impact the conditions for future campaigns by shifting political opportunities, creating new networks, and providing models for other contentious performances.

Sidney Tarrow. Sidney Tarrow (1998) also theorized about political opportunity structures and implications for social movement organizing. He argued that political opportunity structures are comprised of the polity's openness, shifts in political alignments, divisions in the elites, availability of influential allies, and state repression or facilitation. Tarrow differentiated between the organization of collective action, social movements as formal organizations, and social movements as networks or connective structures. When political opportunities expand and contract, there can be a rise and fall of many different types of movements that mobilize in what he referred to as "protest cycles" or "cycles of contention." Thus, movements are not only influenced by political opportunities but can also create opportunities for their own and other movements. Additionally, repertoire tactics can be considered modular such that tactics originating in one locale can be utilized in other locales, situations, and issues. For example, within Tarrow's analysis, the Civil Rights Movement is often referred to as an "early riser" in a cycle of contention whose efforts paved the way for subsequent movements in the 1960s.

Tarrow (1998) also theorized about the processes of decline in protest cycles. In the first process of decline, activists become exhausted and dropped out at different rates. In this process, moderates begin to scale back their participation, which creates a more polarized environment between participants who are willing to compromise with authorities and those who refuse to compromise. In the second process of decline, there are two tendencies when there are splits between moderates and radicals: radicals may become more violent and moderates may turn to

more institutionalized methods. In the third process of decline, the authorities selectively repress some movement actions while facilitating others, which can shrink the movement by pushing radicals toward further extremes and moderates toward sanctioned institutionalized actions.

Doug McAdam and collaborators. Doug McAdam (1982), in collaboration with others, also built a theory to advance the political process approach. McAdam argued that subjective elements mediated opportunity and action, and critiqued collective behavior and resource mobilization perspectives for ignoring the subjective meanings people attach to their situations. When theorizing around participants' decisions to join movements, McAdam and Debra Freidman (1992) argued that a sense of a collective identity was a type of selective incentive that motivated their participation. While McAdam, McCarthy, and Zald (1988) posited various structures that increase the likelihood of activism, they advanced that the first structural factor of likely activism is prior contact with a movement member. Here, individuals are arguably more likely to get involved and adopt movement beliefs due to their social networks and interactions with members that expose them to a group. The second structural factor of likely activism is membership in organizations that facilitates access to information and promotes recruitment in other organizations. The third structural factor of likely activism is a history of prior activism, which increases the likelihood of participation in other movements. The fourth structural factor of likely activism is biographical availability, which makes some individuals more likely to be recruited due to their proximity to movement activism.

When building on theories of how protest cycles diffuse, McAdam (1995) contended that influential "initiator movements" can induce protest cycles and the development of "spin-off movements" inspired by initiator movements. While expanded political opportunities can explain the rise of initiator movements, later movements can be at a disadvantage when governments are

preoccupied with earlier initiator movement demands. Additionally, spinoff movements may emerge during periods of declining political opportunity when participants mobilize in the face of threats or repression. Also, initiator movements may help create organizational, ideological, and cultural frames that inspire future spinoff movements. Finally, initiator movements can help create networks that spinoff movements can use as mobilizing structures.

Critiques of political process approach. McAdam et al. (2001) argued that their political process model was too static and was limited in capturing the dynamic interactions that take place in contentious politics. They contended that while political process theory works when analyzing unified movements in democratic contexts, a more dynamic approach to contentious politics needs to develop a deeper understanding of the mechanisms and processes for change and can be developed when comparing different contentious politics (like movements, revolutions, strikes, etc.). Recognizing that opportunities and threats are subject to the individual perceptions of participants, mobilizing structures are not simply organizing sites but can also be structures that collective actors can appropriate. Additionally, framing, which is discussed in the social constructivist section below, is not just a movement strategy, but also an interactive process of constructing disputes between challengers, opponents, the state, third parties, and the media (McAdam et al., 2001). While supporting this effort to develop a more dynamic approach to contentious politics, Aldon Morris and Suzanne Staggenborg (2004) were critical of how McAdam et al. failed to analyze leadership as a mechanism with explicit implications for the development and outcomes of contentious politics.

It is argued that the political process approach has become a hegemonic paradigm in social movement analysis and has been subject to varying definitions that limit its theoretical value (Jasper, 1997; Kriesi, 2004). For example, the term *political opportunity structure* has been

overextended in that almost every dimension of protest has been conceptualized as a political opportunity (Jasper, 1997), which reduces its theoretical value (Kriesi, 2004). Additionally, with its rationalist and state-centered approach to understanding social movements, the political process approach does not fully appreciate the subjective and cultural elements of social movement organization or lend itself to examination of movements that may have had cultural outcomes instead of political targets (Snow, 2004a). Also, theorists who are critical of how resource mobilization and political process assumptions are consistent with neoliberal ideas of humans as rational consumers have developed resource mobilization perspectives from more radical political economy frameworks (Mayo, 2005).

Social Constructionist

Social constructionist perspectives of social movements build on the European "new social movements" framework from the 1970s and developed in the United States during the 1970s and 1980s out of a growing critique that movements are not only created through resource mobilization and political process assumptions of rational and strategic actions, but also developed from cultural and moral dimensions (Oliver, Cadena-Roa, & Strawn, 2003). While constructionist theorists are generally critical of structuralist accounts of social movements, Oliver et al. (2003) argued that there has been an effort to integrate structural political theories with constructivist theories of social movements. They noted that social constructionist theories are critical of how structural situations are defined and experienced and the way meanings are attached to actions; however, they are considered limited in theorizing how material conditions impact meaning-making processes.

These developments in social movement theories can be linked back to Antonio Gramsci's work on cultural hegemony, a concept that helped provide a link between Marxist

notions of materialism and the turn toward constructivism (Tarrow, 2011). Social constructionist perspectives of social movements build the key concepts of framing, identity, culture, and emotions (Oliver et al., 2003). Framing, identity (which draws from the European "new social movements" tradition), culture, and emotion theorists draw from both social psychology, where people make meaning in social settings, and cultural frameworks, where meaning-making is studied at the societal level (Oliver et al., 2003).

Framing. Social movement scholars with social psychology training drew attention to cognitive and ideational dimensions (i.e., interpretation, symbolization, and meaning) in the 1980s (Oliver et al., 2003). These perspectives date back to collective behavior theory assumptions of the role of grievances in mobilizing social movement participants (Staggenborg, 2011; Tarrow, 2011). David Snow and Robert Benford (1988, 2000) helped advance the theory that mobilization into social movements is not only due to structural strain, rational calculations of costs and benefits, resource availability, or political opportunities, but also based on the way grievances are framed in ways that resonate with and shape the interpretations of potential participants, and thus move them into action. According to the framing perspective, movement leaders help create cultural meanings in movements by framing issues (Snow & Benford, 2000). Movement leaders frame issues through the ways they identify injustices and sources of blame, propose solutions, and mobilize people to action (Staggenborg, 2011), a process that is especially important in a societal context where meanings are highly contested (Snow, 2004b).

In the framing analysis, Snow and Benford (2000) developed the concept of "collective action frames," an approach to capturing the meanings, ideas, and interpretations of ideas and events that inspire and justify collective action. These collective action frames are not simply cognitive structures that exist inside people's minds but also exist within organizations and

collectives (Snow, 2004b). Specific movement collective action frames can draw from "master frames," generic types of frames that, when innovative enough, can initiate a protest cycle (Snow & Benford, 2000). For example, Staggenborg (2011) explained, the master frame of "rights" was employed by the civil rights movement, which capitalized on the global human rights movement during the Cold War era in order to advance advocacy efforts for Black Americans. The "rights" master frame helped inform the collective action frames of subsequent movements such as the women's rights movement and the gay rights movement. The concept of master frames is important in the context of coalitions and globalization where multiple movements collaborate on campaigns that address multiple concerns (Snow, 2004b; Staggenborg, 2011). Additionally, strong, unified collective action frames can facilitate the growth of movements and, conversely, promote movement decline when frames are weak due to internal or inter-organizational frame disputes (Snow & Benford, 2000).

When developing a more synthetic approach between the collective behavior and resource mobilization paradigms, resource mobilization and political process theorists integrated the framing approach in their analyses as a way to highlight the role of ideas and cultural elements in their social movement theories (Oliver et al., 2003; Staggenborg, 2011). However, as discussed above, political process and resource mobilization theories largely contextualized framing processes as resources, opportunities, and strategies (McAdam et al., 2001). Additionally, the utilization of framing in ways that are conflated with related concepts of "ideology" and "discourse" have created concerns about limiting its theoretical value (Oliver et al., 2003). Snow (2004b) suggested that studies of ideology, collective action frames, master frames, discursive fields, and opportunity structures are interconnected and may all be useful

depending on the specific aspects and dimensions of symbolic, ideational, and intersubjective factors of movement mobilization and social movement dynamics examined.

Identity and New Social Movement Approaches. New Social Movement (NSM) approaches emerged in the 1970s in Europe after a large wave of global social protest ended in 1968 (Hunt & Benford, 2004). Scholars observed that the social movements that emerged in this era (i.e., antiwar, peace, environmental, nuclear energy, gay and lesbian, student, minority nationalism, animal rights, and women's movements) took place in postindustrial, or advanced capitalist, societies and had agendas that were centered around identities, not class (Hunt & Benford, 2004; Laraña, Johnston, & Gusfield, 1994; Polletta & Jasper, 2001). When "modernization" shifted social structures, this created new types of social issues, and facilitated the expansion of individual autonomy, given simultaneous social pressures for normative conformity (Laraña et al., 1994; Meluci, 1996). These conditions facilitated an environment where social movement participants sought to resist dominant norms and cultures by demanding recognition for new identities (Meluci, 1996). Thus, when participation in new social movements was not class-based, did not work toward political or economic concessions, and instead demanded the recognition of identities, while working toward political and cultural goals, identity became an important construct to deepen social movement understandings (Polletta & Jasper, 2011).

These developments illuminated the limitations of resource mobilization and political process theories that were centered on analyses of "how" structures and resources enabled movement participants to collectively act on their shared grievances, instead of theorizing around reasons for "why" (Polletta & Jasper, 2001). Because the NSM approach is not a theory that has been empirically verified, it is best understood as an approach attempting to identify common

characteristics of more contemporary movements (Laraña et al., 1994). NSM characteristics include: participant identities that are not aligned with structural social movement explanations; more overarching ideological characteristics and pragmatic orientations that promote institutional democratization of decision-making impacting civic society; private and public identities; blurred senses of individual and collective action; involving intimate aspects of daily human life; new mobilizing patterns such as nonviolent and civil disobedience; alternative participation and decision-making that challenge the credibility of conventional participation channels; and more decentralized movements (Laraña et al., 1994).

Critical of the NSM approach, Tilly and Wood (2013) argued that social movements continue to employ the same social movement repertoires of the nineteenth century. Dieter Rucht (as cited in Staggenborg, 2011) challenged the NSM approach and contended that contemporary social movements employ a mixture of bureaucratic and grassroots organizing approaches. Additionally, Craig Calhoun (as cited in Staggenborg, 2011) demonstrated how some 19th-century movements, like the labor movement, also engaged identity strategically when mobilizing people from different ethnic and regional backgrounds.

While the construct of identity has been subject to overextension and overutilization in social movements studies, examining identity has led to important insights on the role of identity when issues emerge in movements: people are motivated to act and sustain participation in movements, strategic choices are a reflection of values consistent with identities, and the outcomes of movements are not policy-related but rather focused on the transformation of cultural representations (Oliver et al., 2003; Polletta & Jasper, 2001). Enrique Laraña et al.(1994) helped differentiate between the varying levels of identity: individual identities are internalized personal traits, collective identities are collectively agreed-upon definitions of membership and

where actions take place, and public identities are developed by public discourse that shapes how groups are viewed. Despite this effort to clarify different levels of identity, the widely used term *collective identity* has been employed in ways that reference all three discussed above to examine the dimensions of movement emergence, recruitment and retention, and outcomes (Oliver et al., 2003).

Collective identity is broadly understood as shared cognitive, emotional, and moral values and experiences that give participants a sense of promoting change through collective action (Hunt & Benford, 2004; Staggenborg, 2011). Meluci (1996) contended that new collective identities develop in smaller, everyday "submerged networks," a critical space for movement emergence. As cognitive frameworks, social relationships, and collective identities are formed and maintained, activists develop new cultural innovations that promote social movements and social change (Staggenborg, 2011). Collective identities create not only a sense of a shared identity, but also create boundaries of allies, oppositional forces, and other real or imagined audiences; as well as cultural contexts that influence planning, implementing, and assessing individual and collective action (Hunt & Benford, 2004).

The concept of collective identity has been used in exploring various dimensions of social movements. Collective identity is oftentimes associated with constructs of commitment (which focus on individuals' sustained participation) and solidarity (which explores the cohesion within and between groups) such that "collective identity" explores individuals' commitment, collectives' solidarity, and larger macro-level structures and dynamics (Hunt & Benford, 2004). Hunt and Benford proposed that, collectively, commitment, solidarity, and collective identity could form a theory that synthesizes perspectives from psychology, social-psychology, and macrosociology. Hunt et al. (1994) posited that framing and identity formation are

interconnected, emergent processes that condition mobilization activities. Because SMO participants interpret history, social structures, and cultural arrangements, their intersubjectivities impact their perceptions; thus the framing of issues and appropriate lines of collective action align with their collective identities. Thus, social movements can be formed by capitalizing on shared emotions; mobilizing and sustaining participation from people who are in solidarity with a collective identity; and through collective action frames in campaigns (Tarrow, 2011).

Culture. A cultural approach to social movement analysis developed out of critiques that claimed materialist analyses ignored the role of culture. Williams (2004) posited that movements are not only the product of political opportunities and organizational structures but also the product of culture (McAdam, 1994). As such, framing as used by resource mobilization theorists, was deemed insufficient for a broader approach of culture and ideology (Staggenborg, 2011). During the cultural turn in social movement analysis, culture processes were examined through: discourse analysis, which examines how participants construct frames and discursive strategies; discursive opportunity structures, the factors (e.g., cultural context, media norms, etc.) that influence movement discourse; and cultural opportunity structures and the cultural environments that facilitate and impede collective action (Staggenborg, 2011).

McAdam (1994) contended that framing is form of cultural appropriation and that social movement leaders often galvanize potential participants by creating frames that have cultural resonance. To exemplify this, McAdam referred to Dr. Martin Luther King's approach of framing civil rights activity in a way that resonated with both the oppressed and the dominant, privileged groups. When challenging the political process perspective, McAdam argued, political opportunities are only considered opportunities when they are interpreted as meaningful opportunities for action and, thus, can also be reconceptualized as cultural opportunities. He

posited that the following types of events or processes can expand cultural opportunities: when there is a contradiction between resonant cultural values and social practices; when suddenly imposed grievances arise from highly publicized and unexpected events that raise public awareness and opposition to social practices; and when movement leaders take advantage of opportunities to mobilize participants when framing systems as vulnerable and in crisis.

In response to the structural bias that privileges SMOs as mobilizing structures, McAdam (1994) contended that organizations are forms of cultural resources. Organizations exist in subcultures that sustain ideational traditions and cultural repertoires that future organizers can draw from. Similar to Tilly and Wood's (2013) analysis, McAdam's (1994) perspective challenged the notion that NSMs represent a break from old movement practices. To exemplify the ideas of organizations as cultural resources, he referred to Aldon Morris's acknowledgement of the role of the Highlander Folk School as a space that helped sustain the development of organizers during a time of decreased political activity.

McAdam (1994) argued that movements originate from broader social, historical, geographic, and cultural contexts, and have important societal impacts. Successful movements are also heterogeneous in subgroups, and oftentimes the cultural packages of the most dominant subgroups are the ones that come to be privileged in movements. As participants engage in movements, movement culture and activities shift over time as represented by ideational and material cultural shifts. Because of the highly contested political and economic grounds for social movement goals, oftentimes, the biggest impact of movements is cultural. Thus, movements can have cultural impacts that promote the existence of transformative ideologies, master frames, new collective identities, innovation in strategic actions, and the integration of new cultural practices in mainstream institutions like the availability of ethnic studies in schools.

Important cultural consequences of movements in society, according to McAdam (1994), include a wide breadth of goals that are more likely to shift culture (as opposed to more narrow reforms that have little societal cultural consequences), have the ability to achieve political goals, can increase contact between previously segregated groups, and may expand ties to established cultural elites.

Jasper (1997) argued that culture is a dimension of protest, in addition to resources, strategies, and biography. He was also critical of the structural bias in social movement studies and argued that structure is a metaphor for what can be uncovered as resources, rules, and cultural schemas. When discussing the cultural dimension of protest, Jasper argued that culture is both structured and constraining, and thus shapes how resources and available strategies are used in social movements. He supported this by examining how culture is both implicit and explicit, individualized and collective, creating models and schemas that limit how individuals act in ways that are culturally acceptable.

Emotion. The tendency to reduce the study of emotions to biology, the body, and the brain has contributed to an inadequate study of emotions in social movements (Goodwin, Jasper, & Polletta, 2004). For example, the concept of emotion could be understood in terms of immediate reflexes, long-term commitments, moods, and moral and cognitive bases. Additionally, both crowd theorists and theorists with rationalist perspectives ultimately uphold the association of emotions with irrational behavior in social movements. With a more cultural approach, Goodwin and collaborators argued that in addition to the physiological understandings of emotions, most emotions are mediated by cultural norms and understandings. They posited that continued study of emotions can not only provide more rich descriptions of social

movements, but also help develop deeper understandings of the microfoundations of social movements.

Emotions are employed strategically and can play important roles in different levels of social movement protest (Goodwin et al., 2004). At the microlevel, emotions can discourage or encourage people's decisions to become active participants in social movements (Goodwin et al., 2004; Jasper, 1997). Social movement leaders can also draw from emotional repertoires to build support for their cause (Goodwin et al., 2004). Counter to rationalist perspectives, emotion can provide a strong motivation to participate in social movements despite lacking resources or any evidence for movement success (Jasper, 1997). At the organizational level, mechanisms can help mediate particular emotions; while at the macrostructural level, shifts can make certain emotions a legitimate motivation for collective action (Goodwin et al., 2004). Feminists are critical of how dominant Western ideology privileges and associates rationality, independence, and self-interested action with men, while discrediting action characterized by emotion, collective efforts, and altruistic goals associated with women (Oliver et al., 2003). Consequently, the Western, rationalist bias present in social movements impacts analyses of emotions and collective action decision-making. Additionally, emotions can be a strategic goal of movements whereby movement leaders aim to shift the emotional state in wider political contexts (Goodwin et al., 2004).

Summary of Social Movement Theories

The earliest foundations of social movement studies can be traced back to the collective behavior tradition that builds on structural analyses of protest where collective action is motivated by shared grievances and depicted as irrational and extrainstitutional (see Figure 6).

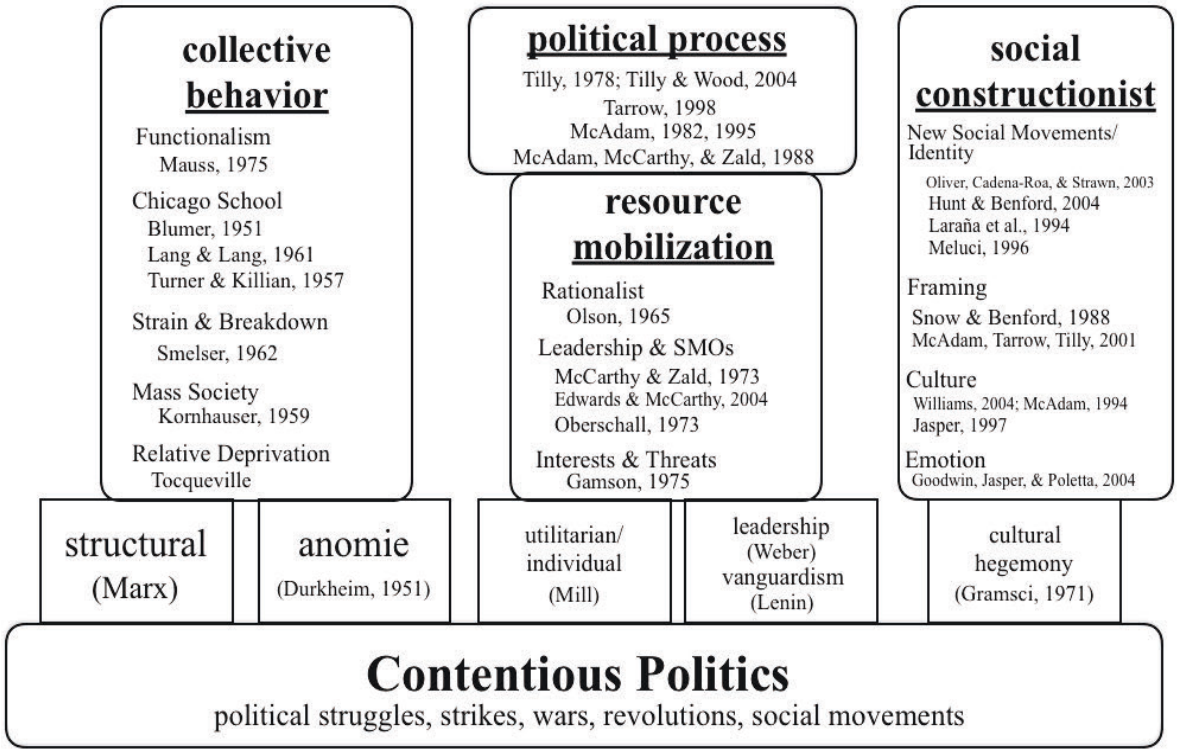

Figure 6. Visual summary of Contentious Politics and Social Movement Theories.

In an effort to counter the depiction of social movement participants as irrational, resource mobilization theorists asserted that social movements are a normal aspect of the political process, comprised of participants who make rational choices, and is marked by collective action that takes place outside of conventional political systems. Resource mobilization theorists highlight the importance of social movement leaders and organizations that capitalize on available resources to advance collective action goals. Political process theorists share the analysis of rational social movement participants, who engage in a normal political process, while promoting an emphasis on the role of structures and political opportunities with state-centered goals.

While resource mobilization theorists and political process theorists have recognized the importance of ideas and culture by integrating framing analyses, frames were still conceptualized as resources, opportunities, and strategies (McAdam et al., 2001). Social constructionist

perspectives contest the idea of rational, objective givens and highlight the role of framing, identity, culture, and emotions in the various dimensions of social movement protest (see Figure 6). Social constructionist perspectives also contend that: (a) resource mobilization and political process theorists' fixation on organizations and structures oftentimes overlook the role of individuals (Jasper, 1997); and (b) social movements do not always have political targets or goals yet oftentimes have widespread cultural impacts on society. The various theories discussed above demonstrate the extent to which social movement studies are highly contested.

Dimensions of Social Movement Protest

The above discussion traced the theoretical traditions that informed social movement theory. In this section, key issues in social movement protest will be discussed and will highlight how different theorists, with different perspectives, have engaged the various dimensions of social movement protest. Contemporary collective actors continue to encounter these key issues and dimensions of social movement protest, and the perspectives discussed below can inform their efforts.

Mobilization

Tilly (1978) defined mobilization as the process whereby a group with shared grievances or interests gain control over resources. As discussed above, collective behavior theorists highlight the importance of shared grievances; resource mobilization theorists highlight the importance of resources; political process theorists highlight the importance of political opportunities, threats, and structures; and social constructionists highlight the importance of shared meanings, identities, cultures, and emotions in the mobilization process. Thus, mobilization processes are largely influenced by large-scale social, political, and historical changes, as well as social movement leaders who can draw from the social climate to engage

people in movements (Staggenborg, 2011). As such, a discussion of the various issues that take place within the broader, ongoing process of mobilization is pertinent to this study.

Recruitment. The ongoing process of recruiting individuals involves gaining movement participants' commitment to contributing resources like time, money, and skills to a collective action effort (Staggenborg, 2011). As discussed above, rational choice theorists argue that potential movement participants engage in a process of weighing costs and benefits to determine if they will join a movement that serves their interests (Olson, 1965). From a rational choice perspective, individuals decide to volunteer when they receive material incentives, or more intangible selective incentives like the benefit of being in solidarity with an associated group, or even the sense of satisfaction from contributing to achieving a collective action goal (Olson, 1965). Rational choice critics argue that individuals are not isolated when making decisions, and instead, decide in the context of the groups they are in contact with (Staggenborg, 2011). As discussed above, McAdam and collaborators (1988) posited four structural factors that increase the likelihood of recruitment into activism: contact with a movement member, membership in organizations, history of prior activism, and biographical availability. Other structural perspectives advanced by Bruce Fireman and William Gamson (as cited in Staggenborg, 2011) contend that structural factors oftentimes create the conditions for certain individuals to be aggrieved and grouped together on the basis of their social position (i.e., visible racial or gender minorities) and are likely to be recruited into movement actions.

Participation and retention. Tarrow (2011) contended that social movements exist in the face of sustained collective action, where participants have a shared collective identity. Social constructionists Snow and Benford (2000) developed the concept of "collective action frames" to explain how shared meanings, ideas, and interpretations of ideas and events not only

recruit members to participate in movement actions but also help retain their sustained participation in movements through shared collective identities. As discussed above, the interrelated concepts of commitment, solidarity, and collective identity are crucial to promoting individual participation in movements and with further examination can help build a deeper understanding of how and why participation in movements occur (Hunt & Benford, 2004). Bert Klandermans (2004) drew from a social-psychological perspective and asserted that taxonomies of participation related to time and effort are important to consider. For example, participation can take place during one-time events that involve either low or high risks; occur throughout an indefinite period that demands little effort; or exist in situations that require extended time and effort. According to Klandermans, social movement participation is driven by internal motivations to participate, organizational efforts that draw people in, and mobilization campaigns.

Leadership. Participatory democracy in social movements enables individuals to actively engage in movements, build their political skills, create solidarity and new tactics, and deepen their investment in social movement efforts (Staggenborg, 2011). Jean Anyon (2005) contended that leaders emerge from participation in the struggle, citizenship schools like Freedom Schools, and confrontational protest. As discussed above, these leaders play an important role in mobilizing people into action by drawing on public sentiments, cultivating a collective identity, and increasing demands for change (McCarthy & Zald, 1973, 1977). Additionally, leaders mobilize participants, as discussed earlier, through framing, a process of cultural appropriation (McAdam, 1994) that creates shared cultural meanings and interpretations of injustice, sources of blame, and potential solutions (Snow & Benford, 2000). Leaders also mobilize using emotional repertoires that help expand support for their causes (Goodwin et al., 2004). Also, due to the

demands of mobilization and retention efforts and avoiding internal conflict, leaders tend to possess a shared set of characteristics and skillsets (Oberschall, 1973).

Mobilizing Structures

Mobilizing structures like organizations, coalitions, and networks can play a critical role in helping sustain collective action efforts by maintaining stable spaces for movement participation. This section will discuss the different issues that occur in these mobilization structures.

Organizations. As discussed above, resource mobilization theorists argue that organizations, or social movement organizations (SMOs) not only help gather and utilize resources but are also critical to achieving movement goals (McCarthy & Zald, 1977). Resource mobilization, political process, and social constructionist theorists argue that collective action frames exist within organizations, which draw from master frames that may be culturally resonant with, and thus mobilize, collective action participants (McAdam, 1994; Snow, 2004b; Snow & Benford, 2000). Counter to the structural bias that asserts organizations are a type of mobilization structure, McAdam (1994) argued, organizations are forms of cultural resources that sustain ideational traditions and cultural repertoires that future organizers can draw from.

SMOs can exist on a spectrum of formalization or bureaucratization, centralization to decentralization, and independent or located within other organizations or structures, which create different challenges and opportunities in social movements (McCarthy & Zald, 1977; Staggenborg, 2011). Formalized organizations have a bureaucratized structure as marked by clearly identified decision-making procedures, division of labor, membership criteria, and policies for organization subunits, whereas less formalized organizations have less of these components (Staggenborg, 2011). Some theorists argue that while formalized organizations

promote stability, the focus on organizational maintenance can be at the expense of protest efforts that promote widespread insurgency (Staggenborg, 2011).

Piven and Cloward (1977) argued that organization-building efforts may not be as effective in pressuring elites to concede to movement demands during historical moments with extraordinary conditions than more short-lived and widespread disruptive tactics. With regard to the spectrum of centralized and decentralized organizations, centralized organizations marked by one center of power can keep participants engaged during movement decline and ready for more institutionalized forms of action when necessary, while decentralized organizations marked by diffused power and informal structures can promote innovation in tactics (Staggenborg, 2011).

Staggenborg (2011) noted that movement organizations also encounter challenges with developing effective strategies and minimizing internal conflict when decision-making authority and genuine participation is unclear. For example, an extreme form of decentralized and informal organization structures can create exclusivity and a culture of leadership that is not accountable. Thus, it is important for movement organizations to have structures that promote the development of accountable and diverse leaders and innovative and effective strategies (Staggenborg, 2011). Marshall Ganz (as cited in Staggenborg, 2011) posited that organizational structures that expand "strategic capacity" include those with regular, open forums that enable leaders to make authoritative deliberations and decisions; enact flexibility with multiple sources of resources; demonstrate leadership accountability to constituents; include leaders diverse in backgrounds and tactical repertoires; and promote more expansive organizational knowledge on mobilizing resources and strategies to support increased strategic capacity.

Coalitions. Coalitions among multiple movement organization actors are triggered during cycles of contention and depend on shared culturally resonant understandings and

connective structures (Tarrow, 2011). The existence of master frames can help mobilize multiple organizations into coalitions and expand the scale of protest (Snow, 2004b). Tarrow (as cited in Kriesi, 2004) argued that coalitions help diverse and dispersed collective actors have a shared position in order to take advantage of political opportunities for movement goals. More successful coalitions have been found to connect various organizations with a broader reach over constituents and range of issues (Anyon, 2005; Marullo & Meyer, 2004). While coalitions have many opportunities for advancing movement goals, coalitions are difficult to form and maintain when coalitions are undermined by government opponents (Marullo & Meyer, 2004) and membership organizations have differing structures and preferences for strategy (Staggenborg, 2011).

Other forms of formal collective connections among organizations can transcend the concept of coalition. Anyon (2005) highlighted the importance of "movement centers"—centers that are comprised of other civil rights organizations but do not exist as coalitions. While civil rights "movement centers" were formally organized, they also enjoyed regional and local autonomy. Regional "movement centers" enabled local organizations to receive and distribute resources, be engaged with wider state and national issues, and help create a national movement (Anyon, 2005).

Networks. Various social movement scholars have theorized the nature of networks. Porta and Diana (as cited in Snow, Soule, & Kriesi, 2004) argued that different circumstances promote social movements that are comprised of networks, networks wherein different actors interact and may include formal organizations. Tarrow (1998) contended that social movements can exist as formal organizations, the actual organization of collective action, and as connective structures or networks. Rucht (2004) argued that social movements have shifting boundaries and

are often comprised of networks of, or relatively stable links between, allied organizations and collectives. Meluci (1996) described social movements as fluid networks that can periodically engage in collective action. When social movements are made up of networks and cultural frames that can lower the cost of individual participation, social movement participants can have confidence in the potential of collective action and the larger meaning of their efforts (Tarrow, 2011).

Many scholars also engaged the role of shared meanings in social movement network settings. As discussed above, Meluci (1996) highlighted the role of collective identity in constructing social movements, such that submerged networks host the spaces where collectives are built around a shared identity and develop new cultural models while engaging symbolic challenges. Laraña (1994) posited that the strength of the social construction of these groups, or "consensus mobilization," is associated with their collective identity based on shared symbols and language. The potential of consensus mobilization increases through social networks that incubate the shared meanings, symbols, and collective beliefs developed through movement participation. McAdam (1994) argued that social movement networks are embedded in enduring activist subcultures that sustain necessary ideational traditions for future generations of activists, especially during periods of movement decline.

Scholars have also explored how networks facilitate social movement expansion processes. Sarah Soule (2004) built on diffusion theories of social movements and posited that the diffusion of social movements among SMOs occurs between direct channels and indirect channels of diffusion. Through direct channels of diffusion, a concept similar to network analysts' cohesion models, social movement ideas diffuse at a rate according to how often people directly and frequently interact with one another through network ties (Soule, 2004). Mario Diani

(2004) contended that when people are members in multiple groups, they create links between these groups. Diani's perspective underscores how movement activities occur in relational settings.

Studies exploring the role of networks in social movement participation have found that: network effectiveness depends on the extent to which mobilizing messages and cultural orientations counter dominant societal orientations; different networks have a range of functions from socialization to creating involvement opportunities and influencing potential participants' decisions; networks are not only sources of opportunities but are also reflections of individual, organizational, and event connections; studies have been limited to data collection for a single point of time and should also explore how networks evolve over time; and network studies should explore the impact of virtual links in network participation given the increase of digital communication.

Critics of structural analyses of social movements have contended that structural perspectives neglect the agency of individual activists and cultural elements of movements (Staggenborg, 2011). With structural analyses, networks are viewed as mobilizing structures and explorations around the role of ideas, and emotions transmitted through networks are limited. Jasper (1997) contended that a social network is a type of operational definition for mobilizing structure. Thus, it is important to deconstruct the network metaphor to uncover the "resources, rules, cultural schemas, and patterns of affect [that] lie behind it" (Jasper, 1997, p. 61). Jasper (1997) asserted that people associate with colleagues due to formal organizations that shape their lives, and these organizations facilitate the political work credited to networks. Additionally, people make conscious political decisions to build relationships with people with shared visions

for justice, which helps create networks. Here, he further argued, networks can be reduced to other basic dimensions (resources, strategies, culture, biography, which will be discussed below).

Jasper (1997) moreover contended that networks suffer from a methodological bias such that when the concept is identified, all types of evidence are found to support it. Also, because networks are closely related to other dimensions, it may be more useful to use the concept as a methodology to measure closely related dimensions. Thus, social movement networks are not formed simply due to a diffusion of ideas and resources but also due to the shared and reciprocated emotions involved.

Movement Strategies

In the study of social movements, strategy can be understood as the long-term plan that impacts effective mobilization efforts and achieving movement goals (Mauss, 1975). Resource mobilization and political process theorists contend that social movements are part of the normal political process and marked by extrainstitutional strategies (Staggenborg, 2011). Political process theorists underscore the importance of political opportunities created by the interaction of movement actors and opponent institutions, which impact how participants make decisions about movement strategies and outcomes (Tilly, 1978). Thus, effective strategies are a critical component of social movements. Theorists of the new social movement approach emphasize how newer movements create new cultural modes, identities, ideas, and strategies in response to the sociohistorical changes that shape contemporary societal structures (Staggenborg, 2011). With this in mind, the following explores the different components of and issues within social movement strategy.

Action repertoires and tactics. Social movement repertoire refers to different forms of political action and performances (such as marches, protests, petitions, statements, boycotts) in

social movement settings (Tilly & Wood, 2013). Since social movements often share repertoire with other political settings like unions or electoral campaigns, Tilly and Wood distinguished social movements that developed in the West after 1750 as having the following characteristic: a campaign; social movement repertoire; and worthiness, unity, numbers, and commitment (WUNC) displays. When exploring the history of Western social movements, they argued that social movement repertoires developed as innovations from conventional forms of institutional political activity and transformed over time. As these repertoires of contention became more routinized practices, they became learned conventions of contention and part of a society's culture (Tarrow, 2011). When enduring social movement subcultures are sustained over time, leaders can draw from enduring cultural repertoires (McAdam, 1994) and utilize, adapt, and create social movement repertoires to mobilize participants into social movements (Tarrow, 2011).

While movement participants can draw from various social movement repertoires in response to concerns for collective action, a *tactic* is a specific means of achieving social movement goals (Mauss, 1975). Because social movement participants often lack access to conventional political processes, they employ social movement tactics that are innovative, dramatic, and unorthodox to demonstrate their power. Tactics can be so powerful that in many cases, social movements are remembered for their tactics more than their goals (Taylor & Dyke, 2004). Drawing from cultural rules on expressing emotions, activists often use emotions to communicate who they are to one another and to outsiders (Goodwin et al., 2004), which can inform the tactics they employ. Other factors that influence choice of tactics and innovations of repertoires include macrohistorical factors, internal movement processes, and movement outcome types such as political or cultural (Taylor & Dyke, 2004). When examining tactical

repertoires, Taylor and Dyke (2004) contended that all tactical repertoires have features of contestation, intentionality, and collective identity.

The use of different tactics also impacts social movement growth and decline. Tarrow (2011) argued that social movement tactics are modular such that tactics used in one place can travel to other places. Soule (2004) supported this claim by arguing that social movement activity does not occur in a vacuum and that attentive SMO participants often borrow tactics, frames, and even slogans from other movement actors. Tilly and Wood (2013) contended that tactics do not simply travel to different places but are applied in ways that are consistent with their respective community, cultural, social, historical, and political backgrounds. Also, internal disputes about which types of tactics to use can weaken movements and facilitate their decline (Fantasia & Stepan-Norris, 2004; Staggenborg, 2011).

Campaigns. As social movements developed over the 18th century, they evolved from singular performances to campaigns made up multiple interactions between temporarily connected groups of social movement claimants, their constituents, allies, rivals, and other public participants while working toward achieving social movement goals (Tilly & Wood, 2013). Staggenborg's (2011) work, in particular, spoke to the nature of campaigns. She contended that oftentimes, enduring social movements are comprised of multiple campaigns that can shift the political climate by changing opportunities and building networks and coalitions. Tactics can also help enliven campaigns, which can build support for the larger movement.

Leaders also mobilize participants into movement activities through SMOs and coalitions that help formally organize campaigns and other collective action. Campaigns not only help provide opportunities for participation but also promote leadership development and expanding collective identities when more people are engaged. Campaigns can also respond to critical

events that occur, while also having the effect of creating a critical event in the public consciousness. Additionally, Staggenborg (2011) posited, campaigns can utilize everyday cultural activities, rituals, and venues to help spread movement ideologies that support achieving movement goals.

Jasper's (1997) Synthesis: Resources, Strategies, Culture, and Biography

As discussed above, Jasper (1997) was critical of the limitations of resource mobilization and political process paradigms and argued that these structural analyses do not sufficiently engage the role of culture and individual agency. He supported a social constructionist perspective that highlights the interpretive and artful work social movement participants develop in pursuit of social movement goals. Moreover, he contended that, unlike the conventions of social movements discussed above, protest can be understood in four basic dimensions: culture, resources, strategies, and biographies.

Resources and strategies. Jasper (1997) contended that resources are tools humans use to change the physical world whereas strategies are efforts to transform the world. He argued that resources are not objective givens but are subjectively viewed as resources. Cultural considerations (such as social perceptions) and strategic considerations (such how media or opponents may respond) are deliberated when movement activists decide what can be resources for their purposes, and biographical factors (such as personality traits) can often influence the final decision. Social movement participants employ strategies to acquire more resources that are perceived as significant because they can contribute to a broader strategy and goal. In a social movement context, power is based on resources and, often, social movement participants have strategic, cultural, and biographical motives that drive protest efforts to attain power from those with more resources.

Culture. Jasper (1997) asserted that culture exists in an interpersonal social world and is made up of actions and understandings people direct toward one another, in order to understand the world. While strategies are actions that treat people as objects that can be manipulated, culture is a more communicative action that treats people as subjects to share understandings with. He resisted the tendency to view culture as singular and is a proponent of viewing culture as separate "beliefs, feelings, rituals, symbols, practices, moral visions" (Jasper, 1997, p. 48). As discussed above, culture is understood as implicit and explicit, individualized and collective, and in a social movement context can be both constraining while structured. Thus, culture, according to Jasper, shapes resources and strategies used in movements such that: culture influences the movement goal, which in turn impacts the reason for accumulating resources; culture influences the moral and emotional values placed on strategies; strategies can be a form of performing culture; and all physical and mental tools are a reflection of cultural creations that are socially agreed upon.

Biography. Jasper (1997) asserted that the concept of biography helps explain why people make individual decisions in movement settings. While implicit and explicit mental ideas shared with other people are considered the cultural dimension of social movements, the implicit and explicit mental ideas that are not shared with others, or the specific elements of culture employed in an "individual mental and emotional arsenal" (Jasper, 1997, p. 54), comprise the biographical dimension of protest. Biography has been explored in various fields, such as idiosyncrasy, personality, and the concept of self, desire, and coping (Jasper, 1997). In social movement settings, individuals carry their own unique set of cultural meanings with them, which can be shared in the various contexts they may interact in and thus impact movements, a perspective that highlights the role of individuals, not the role of organizations or structures.

Artfulness. Jasper (1997) further contended that the concept of artfulness honors that people are conscious of their actions and thus engage in planning and innovation, while working toward goals. Art is understood here as an experimental process of problematizing what has been taken for granted to recreate existing traditions by transforming them into new ones. Art can take place over a varied amount of time and through numerous types of projects. Jasper (1997) argued that effective organizing relies on "artful innovation and choice" (p. 66) that is influenced by biography and culture.

Resisting Coloniality: U.S. Social Movements of the 20th Century

In many ways, various components of some of these theoretical frameworks discussed above, wittingly or wittingly, reproduce the logics of coloniality such as the characterizations of social movement actors as inferior, the epistemic privileging of Western notions of scientific knowledge, rationality, and patriarchy. In response, the following discussion explores briefly how key 20th-century social movements, which will be delimited to movements that took place in the neocolonial United States context, emerged to resist various logics of coloniality. This discussion clarifies the social, cultural, and political traditions that most inform youth movements in the United States.

Labor Movement

Labor conditions in advanced capitalist societies reflect the persistence of imperial directives to exploit the dispossessed for the economic benefit of the privileged few, who perpetuate asymmetrical power relations. Union organizations often engage in bargaining with employers, help regulate economic activity, and help stabilize labor markets on behalf of workers (Fantasia & Stepan-Norris, 2004). The emergence of labor union activism in the United States dates back to the late 19th century, when the Knights of Labor aimed to "organize all

workers, regardless of skill level, race, or gender" (Fantasia & Stepan-Norris, 2004, p. 561). The Knights of Labor's organizing efforts grew out of national labor militancy such that, by 1886, about 10% of the industrial labor force had become members. When employers countermobilized with employers' organizations, the revolutionary syndicalism (militant working class union organizing) of the Knights of Labor suffered a sharp decline within five years (Fantasia & Stepan-Norris, 2004).

The decline of and resistance to the radical approaches of the Knights of Labor ushered the rise of the American Federation of Labor (AFL) led by Samuel Gompers, whose pragmatist orientation toward union organizing influenced American business union organizing methods for more than a century (Fantasia & Stepan-Norris, 2004). Labor organizers who resisted the conservative pragmatism and bureaucracy of the AFL developed the anarcho-syndicalist Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), also referred to as the "Wobblies." The Wobblies experienced heavy state repression by the end of World War I, and a period of union decline ensued (Fantasia & Stepan-Norris, 2004).

In the wake of union decline, the Committee for Industrial Organizations emerged as an experiment of eight AFL unions that sought industrial unionism in mass-production industries (Fantasia & Stepan-Norris, 2004). When the AFL grew opposed to campaigns that proved unstoppable, the AFL suspended the 10 unions that became involved and that responded with the formal creation of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO). The emergence of the CIO also took place when left-wing radical organizers successfully pressured the government to pass the National Labor Relations Act, which supported the growth of unions and limited employers' countermobilization (Fantasia & Stepan-Norris, 2004).

The CIO employed a more inclusive union activism marked by organizing by industry, which included both semi- and unskilled workers (whereas traditional unionism was organized by craft), and by organizing all workers "regardless of sex, race, religion, and national origin" to be more effective (Fantasia & Stepan-Norris, 2004, p. 562). In contrast to the AFL that prohibited communists from leadership positions, the CIO was comprised of more politically left-leaning leadership that identified as communist or socialist, supported advocating for working class interests, and employed militant tactics. The effectiveness of CIO radicals in attaining union goals (when compared to moderates who worked within system constraints) increased their leadership representation by integrating more democratic participation in their union organizing (Fantasia & Stepan-Norris, 2004). The success of the CIO incited corporate countermobilization, which supported the passage of the Taft-Harley Act, which restricted the use of strikes, and prohibited union leadership by communists. By shifting union practices through legislation, the corporate countermobilization ushered the merger of the CIO and the AFL in 1955.

These shifts in the labor union movement demonstrate the complexity, fluidity, and multidimensional nature of union mobilizing, which can be characterized between direct action organizing and institutionalized power, and between democracy and bureaucracy (Fantasia & Stepan-Norris, 2004). The discussion above also demonstrates the importance of examining these different labor union movement dimensions in relationship with one another, as the power of one has often precipitated the rise of the other, while according internal disagreements among factions over union organizing methods have ensued. Additionally, the historical discussion demonstrates how radical unionizing reflecting more social movement repertoires oftentimes enjoyed more success due to increased worker participation, while more bureaucratic union

efforts failed to engage workers whose collective action would otherwise challenge and pressure corporate power structures to meet workers' needs (Fantasia & Stepan-Norris, 2004).

American Civil Rights Movement

The colonial racism embedded in American society and institutions sustains the legacy of White supremacy and human rights violations for communities of color residing in the United States. The legacy of Black American social movement activism resisting state targets' denial of civil rights dates back to 1900s efforts of middle-class Black women's civic groups and the formation of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored Peoples (NAACP) (Anyon, 2005). During the Cold War era, the record of civil rights violations in the United States compared to the Soviet Union made it subject to international criticism, while the criticism of the United States created tensions between the federal government and Southern states' politicians who supported racial segregation (Staggenborg, 2011).

Civil Rights leaders took advantage of the global climate concerned with human rights, in order to not only provide a domestic master frame for the Civil Rights Movement in the United States, but also appeal to international audiences by connecting the plight of African Americans to struggles in other countries, decolonization efforts, and engaging the philosophy of Gandhi (Staggenborg, 2011). Proponents of the political process perspective note the national electoral impact of Black American migration to the Northern industrial states, which propelled interests to engage the Black vote. Additionally, Black American migration to Southern cities in concentrated numbers promoted the creation of Black-owned institutions and organizations, where the Black vote could be a political force. The increase of political opportunities helped shift perceptions that change was possible (Staggenborg, 2011).

Indigenous Southern Black structures and cultural resources were appropriated for advancing the Civil Rights Movement (Anyon, 2005). Southern Black churches played a critical role in incubating the civil rights movement with its tradition centered on freedom and justice (Staggenborg, 2011). As churches were able to support their own ministers, many of whom were committed to the emerging Civil Rights Movement, they were also able to mobilize many educated middle-class church attendees to subscribe to a radical theology and become leaders advocating for social activism in the Civil Rights Movement (Staggenborg, 2011). Many church leaders and other local organizations were organized with the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), which served as a type of movement center and umbrella regional organization that facilitated local coordination toward an overall regional, state, and national direction (Anyon, 2005).

Young people also made important contributions to the civil rights movement. Black college students in the Southern Negro Youth Congress (SYNC) in the 1930s and the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) in the 1960s traveled from the cities and brought their city and higher education perspectives into local Southern farming communities (Anyon, 2005). SNCC was also instrumental in developing Mississippi Freedom Schools, which recruited college students around the nation to be teachers who promoted civics, literacy, engagement in the voter registration campaign, and cultivating local leadership in the civil rights movement (Hale, 2009). The televised violence of proponents of segregation toward protesters and the disappearance and deaths of civil rights activists, two of whom were White Northerner students, "created a national uproar, and forced the FBI into supporting protesters in the South" (Anyon, 2005, p. 144).

The Civil Rights Movement mobilized people across socioeconomic and racial backgrounds and "ultimately changed federal and state laws, American mores of acceptability, many institutional practices, and U.S. culture" (Anyon, 2005, p. 152). The *Brown v. Board* Supreme Court decision promoted integration, various Civil Rights Movement tactics, and widespread protests like the 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, which helped provide a precedent and moral justification for promulgating legislation like the 1957 Civil Rights Act, "the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Voting Rights Act of 1965, and, later the 1968 Fair Housing Act" (Anyon, 2005, p. 148). Additionally, by creating a powerful master frame of "civil rights" with strong cultural resonance (McAdam, 1994), the Civil Rights Movement helped initiate a protest cycle with a cultural frame adapted by other movements (Staggenborg, 2011).

Poor People's Movements

The confluence of colonial industrial capitalist political economies, White supremacy, and heteropatriarchy served to maintain systems that sustain the economic dispossession of oppressed peoples. In their study of poor people's movements of the 20th century, Piven and Cloward (1977) clarified their use of the terms "lower class" and "poor" by distancing their use of these terms from the sociological tradition and instead aligning their usage with Marxist definitions wherein "lower class" and "poor" refer to the "stratum within the working class that is poor by standards prevailing in society at the time" (p. xxiii). In order to create a case for their conclusions that mass defiance is what leads to the success of poor people's movements, not mass-membership organizations, Piven and Cloward examined the relations between protestors' actions, the context within which these actions took place, and elite responses during the following case studies: the unemployed workers' movement and the industrial workers'

movements (discussed previously in the labor movement) of the Great Depression era, and the Civil Rights Movement and welfare rights movements of the postwar era. Below is a brief discussion of these poor people's movements.

Unemployed Workers' Movement. The hegemonic Protestant work ethic promoting individualistic self-sufficiency in the United States created a culture in which people were discouraged from relying on public relief agencies (which only provided very little support) and private charities—thus, during the Great Depression, a national relief system did not exist (Piven & Cloward, 1977). This system created conditions in which most of the poor did not receive aid and were constrained to accept any available work at any wage through any means. Those who received the little aid that was available were dehumanized and marginalized in institutions that shamed and incarcerated them, and orphans became indentured to those who would voluntarily care for them (Piven & Cloward, 1977). When the Great Depression of the 1930s occurred during a period of sustained American prosperity, it produced divisions among elites and political uncertainty; one of the earliest uprisings that emerged during this period was the unemployed workers' movement.

As the Great Depression created conditions wherein workers began to shift the framing of their misfortune from their individual efforts to analyses of "the system" (Piven & Cloward, 1977), unemployed workers, according to Piven and Cloward (1977), began to resist through looting; local, regional, and national street marches and demonstrations; and "rent riots" that were resisting evictions. There was a shift away from refusing to rely on relief because of social norms due to desperation from debt and the lack of necessary resources, and anger from the lack of jobs to provide for families. The unemployed movement began to employ tactics that militantly demanded relief—tactics that increased in frequency, expanded, and became more

well-organized across the nation. Local efforts were led by Communist activists who enlisted direct action tactics and Socialists who organized the unemployed through lobbying efforts, committees, and unions. National organizing efforts culminated with the creation of the Workers' Alliance of America, a nonpartisan federation represented by members of unemployed organizations.

In many large industrial cities, the unemployed represented voting majorities, and officials could no longer ignore their mounting protests when private charities could no longer meet their needs. While some cities began to create relief funds, most of these efforts could not meet the needs of their unemployed residents. The challenges of local officials created the national political electoral upheaval of 1932, which ultimately led to the creation of "New Deal" federal relief legislation, funds, and programs developed by the Franklin Delano Roosevelt administration (Piven & Cloward, 1977).

Civil Rights Movement. As discussed in the previous chapter, the United States's rise to global economic dominance can be attributed to the exploitation of Black Americans through slavery (Baptist, 2014) and the economic shifts to cash tenants, sharecroppers,

> the lowest stratum in an emerging southern rural free labor system; and finally, to the status of an urban proletariat characterized by low wages and high unemployment. In effect, the black poor progressed from slave labor to cheap labor to (for many) no labor at all. (Piven & Cloward, 1977, p. 184)

Piven and Cloward referred to the elites' use of legislatures, judiciaries, and executive branches throughout local and national governments through various time periods as creating a type of caste system that upholds White supremacy and the subjugation of Black Americans. Thus, the discussion of the Civil Rights Movement in the section above demonstrates how Black

Americans resisted the political and economic suppression of their communities through the Civil Rights Movement.

Welfare rights movement. While most of the economic beneficiaries of civil rights movement efforts were from the emerging middle class, many poor Black Americans also achieved economic gains. Piven and Cloward (1977) discussed that after many Black Americans from the South did not find jobs in the industrial North in the 1940s and 1950s, the hardships poor Black Americans and Whites experienced were mitigated by relief benefits that emerged from organizing in the 1960s, as evidenced by the hundreds of thousands of poor Black Americans who participated in the federal relief system. Without being led or organized, by the 1960s, some Black people and a few White people helped contribute to the growing broad-based relief movement that emerged from the sheer struggle for survival—not because of integrationist or nationalist motivations. Similar to developments during the unemployed workers' movement of the Great Depression era, welfare groups emerged and united through the National Welfare Rights Organization (NWRO), whose leaders were committed to building mass-based organizations that served the interests of the urban poor.

The rising unemployment of this period, antipoverty political rhetoric and programs, and mass riots/uprisings that took place in cities across the United States between 1964 and 1968 mobilized communities in Black ghettos and cultivated local leadership to demand that government services meet their needs. As social workers, antipoverty community action workers and lawyers advocated for their constituencies, federal judicial decisions, legislation, and policies began to increase poor people's access to relief funds. By 1965, there was increased awareness of welfare rights, and people began to receive more support for obtaining assistance; welfare agencies also began to experience a decrease in termination rates of those receiving assistance.

Between 1968 and 1972, there was a 300% increase of families who received assistance, evidence of the welfare movement gains for its participants (Piven & Cloward, 1977).

New Left Student Movements

The New Left comprised of radical 1960s movements that: distanced themselves from Communist and democratic socialist parties, were dissatisfied with Old Left failures, and sought to create politics that were critical of capitalism while promoting "meaningful forms of democracy" (Staggenborg, 2011, p. 66). New Left student movements, Staggenborg contended, were concerned with the need for university reforms, upholding free speech, making demands on governments, supporting civil rights, and protesting against the Vietnam War. The civil rights movement spurred the New Left student movement, and these movements were engaged in international concerns and protests, evidenced by the rise of student movements in Western countries in the 1950s in resistance to the "Cold War, nuclear threats, colonialism, and racism" (Staggenborg, 2011, p. 66).

Many college students across the country were involved in Civil Rights Movement efforts like the Mississippi Freedom Schools, an experience that was instrumental to building their leadership skills that would be applied to New Left student movement concerns (Hale, 2009; Staggenborg, 2011). University of California, Berkeley, students involved in the Freedom Schools became leaders in the 1964 Free Speech Movement student protest and enacted tactics learned from the Civil Rights Movement such as strikes and sit-ins to protest university policies that banned "on-campus organizing and fundraising for off-campus political causes" (Staggenborg, 2011, p. 66). New Left student movements in Western countries organized around on-campus concerns such as student fee hikes, alienation, university bureaucracy, overcrowded and irrelevant courses with outdated curricula and pedagogy, and the lack of access to higher

education for working class students, and demanded greater student involvement in university governance.

College students critiqued university policies as mirroring corporate, capitalist society. Organizations like Students for a Democratic Society bridged their student experiences with larger domestic and global civil rights concerns, struggles against racism, and efforts to promote democracy (Staggenborg, 2011). New Left student movements in Western countries also organized around off-campus concerns like the Civil Rights Movement, resisting Cold War policies, supporting Native rights, supporting disadvantaged communities, resisting international policies in colonies, and resisting the Vietnam War. Ultimately, the New Left student movement challenged arbitrary and exploitative authority, institutions, and values that mar people's rights while creating leaders who would be involved in subsequent movements in the 1960s protest cycle (Staggenborg, 2011).

Antiwar and Peace Movements

The violence of war is a tool of imperial nations to pursue colonial interests to achieve domination through force and conquest. Staggenborg's (2011) work examined the ways in which the Vietnam War spurred widespread American student protest as it escalated and when the draft expanded in 1965. National and international protests and teach-ins in the United States, Canada, West Germany, France, Italy, and Japan promoted awareness, critiques of countries' complicity in the war, American imperialism, and the need for greater democracy in their own countries. International engagement was facilitated through dissemination of publications, participation in student exchange programs, media, and personal connections. Student solidarity across the globe was evidenced by West German exchange student activists' support for the Black Panther Party and Vietnam War resistance upon their return back home.

Antiwar and peace movement activists oftentimes employ a spectrum of tactics, from conventional political engagement to disruptive extrainstitutional actions like demonstrations and civil disobedience, in order to shift public opinion, pressure legislature, and undermine structures that support war (Marullo & Meyer, 2004). Political opportunities were created by splits among elites and state challenges to legitimizing war costs when policies: (a) appeared aggressive, dangerous, costly, and impacted the quality of life for citizens, and (b) promoted public concern for foreign policy and mobilization for peace movements. While the Cold War instigated a perpetual threat of war, which peace activists often referenced to justify mobilization despite the absence of fighting, it also created a climate wherein activists became dependent on military strategy changes to warrant an alternative vision (Marullo & Meyer, 2004).

Also, studies have shown that the most successful antiwar and peace movements employed simple yet broad goals, facilitating the mobilization of diverse constituents and resources from other movements and from a range of issues to sustain its organizing efforts (Marullo & Meyer, 2004). Unfortunately, peace movements often dilute their message in order to appeal to broader constituencies, and these coalitions experience both internal and external conflict when government opponents undermine their efforts. The struggle for meaningful influence has often centered policy and reform efforts, which split participants who advocated for institutional mainstream politics and those who sought more comprehensive goals.

According to Marullo and Meyer (2004), peace and antiwar movements see periods of resurgence and quiescence, which impact mobilization and tactics. While radical tactics are effective during periods of movement resurgence, these tactics are easily ignored during periods of movement quiescence. While widespread movement mobilization may end during times of

quiescence, the cultural and political resources remain available in sustained structures for future periods of movement resurgence.

Ethnic and Nationalist Movements

Ethnic, racial, and nationalist social movements share "themes, claims, tactics, personnel, and goals" (Olzak, 2004, p. 666) to resist imperial and colonial interests to uphold economic, political, and epistemological hegemony. Nationalist subcultures, Johnston (1994) asserted, develop in the context of "relatively permanent social ties and well-developed systems of symbols, values, and beliefs derived from the minority culture" (p. 270), where nationalist subcultures represent an alternative to dominant ideas endorsed by the state and its institutions. Nationalist subcultures contain a mix of religious, political, and national ideas and symbols that are transmitted between and refined by subsequent generations, primarily through family socialization processes. Thus, nationalist subcultures are grounded in identities and social relationships that people are born into. Additionally, nationalist grievances are often framed in terms of how the minority of status of one's group problematizes the dominant national culture.

Because the minority status of many nationalist groups impacts the quality of their daily lives in a dominant national culture, a shared injustice frame promotes a high level of solidarity and emotionality in nationalist movements (Johnston, 1994). Olzak (2004) contended that ethnic and racial (E/R) movements have social movement claims based on particular identities "defined by the presence of racial or ethnic markers" (p. 667), where participants can express "ethnic solidarity" (p. 668) by identifying and expressing loyalty in ethnic mobilizations, which emphasize: identity rooted in culture and language (Johnston, 1994); actions that may range from nonviolent short-term tactics to sustained campaigns; and goals that commonly demand expanding civil rights. The political context impacts various ethnic movement dynamics such

that "modernization, political development, economic well-being, and increasingly international linkages among nations and organizations exacerbate E/R and nationalist movements" (Olzak, 2004, p. 687). Additionally, the efforts of international organizations appear to facilitate the spread of ethnic identities by diffusing nationalist ideology.

The Civil Rights Movement in the United States led by the Black American community can be viewed as an example of an ethnic movement that provided master frames for other ethnic communities in the United States. After the rise of the Civil Rights Movement, the Chicano movement (Gutiérrez, 2010), the Asian American movement (Courturier, 2001), and the American Indian Movement (Cook-Lynn, 2004) were major ethnic, racial, and nationalist movements that emerged in the 1960s through the 1970s and were deeply affected by both domestic and international influences (Fleming & Morris, 2015).

American Indian movement. Native Americans across the United States, Cook-Lynn (2004) asserted, have encountered various destructive policies where the U.S. government failed to honor treaties with Indian nations; engaged in genocidal wars and massacres; and enacted social, economic, and political policies that have "nearly destroyed the lives and sovereignty of America's Indigenous peoples" (p. 14). While the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 intended to reverse the historical damage of allotment and coercive assimilation policies and returned some elements of self-government to Indian nations, many Native Americans did not enjoy the promises of treaties. Instead, many Native Americans experienced land-theft, abject poverty and the failure of policies to promote social, economic, and political growth. The American Indian Movement (AIM) emerged as an ideological struggle for "sovereignty, cultural survival, land restoration, and human rights" (Cook-Lynn, 2004, p. 15), which resisted American exceptionalism, imperialism, theft of land, colonialism, and domination.

Chicano movement. The term Chicano, according to Gutiérrez (2010), is derived from Nahuatl, the language of the Meshica (also known as the Aztecs), and is the shortened version of Meshicano. The historical relationship between the United States and Mexico is marked by a series of encounters (Texas revolt in 1836, U.S. invasion of Mexico in 1846, and the Gadsden Purchase in 1853) that resulted in the shifting of borders, where the Mexican residents became incorporated as minorities who lost power and become foreigners in their own lands. In this process, the United States imposed new racial hierarchies; language policies; and legal, religious, education, and economic systems. When the 1910 revolution took place in Mexico, almost one million people returned to their ancestral homelands in the United States with the intent of returning to Mexico after the revolution. When the revolution did not end when expected, some Mexicans created the League of United Latin American Citizens in 1929, a civil rights organization that championed an incorporation strategy that would promote assimilation into the White American culture. Soon after, millions of Mexicans were deported from the United States during the Great Depression of the 1930s (Acuña, 1972; Gutiérrez, 2010).

During the 1920s and 1930s, over one million Mexican American children were born, referred to as Mexican baby boomers, many of whom became World War II veterans, demanding civil rights through the American GI Forum in 1948 (Gutiérrez, 2010). During this period, the United States and Mexico created the Bracero Program that took place between 1947 and the 1960s, which provided millions of Mexican men contract work in the United States. During this same period, the Eisenhower administration instituted Operation Wetback in 1954, which deported many Mexicans from the United States. Between 1950 and 1970, the Mexican American baby boomers gave birth to the children known as the Chicano generation (Acuña, 1972; Gutiérrez, 2010).

The Chicano generation rejected assimilating into White American culture and created an identity referred to as Chicano, which was neither Mexican nor Mexican American (Gutiérrez, 2010). Chicanos sought political power that would shift the inequitable relations between Chicanos and White Americans through a nationalist strategy. Chicanos engaged in nation-building and built power through institutionalizing methods of revolt, litigation, protest, electoral work, and coalition/alliance-building. Examples of Chicano revolt in the 1930s and 1940s included revolts in the fields and factories, and zoot suit battles with Los Angeles police, U.S. Navy sailors and Marines (Acuña, 1972; Gutiérrez, 2010).

The 1960s revolt that created a labor tradition of strikes and boycotts marked by alliance-building between Mexican laborers led by Cesar Chavez and Filipino laborers led by Larry Itliong who created the United Farm Workers of America (Ganz, 2000). Examples of nonviolent Chicano protest in the form of boycotts, strikes, walkouts, and demonstrations—led mainly by youth during the 1960s, were directed toward addressing the dehumanizing conditions Chicano students experienced in public schools (Gonzalez, 2013). Chicano youth also engaged in coalition-building by joining other young people who resisted the Vietnam War (Gutiérrez, 2010; Muñoz, 2007).

Chicano Movement youth's disenchantment with the Democratic Party prompted them to create the La Raza Unida Party (RUP) in 1970 (Gutiérrez, 2010). While the RUP enjoyed elections into school districts, local governments, and even a county government, it either lost or was unable to gain ballot status in many states. Although the RUP experienced destruction, its candidates have ultimately enjoyed election into city, state, and federal offices and created a legacy of Chicano electoral activity to achieve gains in politics that were not always won through boycotts (Gutiérrez, 2010). Litigation battles for civil rights led to the creation of the Mexican

American Legal Defense Fund in 1968, the National Council of La Raza in 1973, and the Southwest Voter Registration Education Project in 1974 (Acuña, 1972; Gutiérrez, 2010). United States Supreme Court cases *US vs. Texas* (1971) and *Lau v. Nichols* (1974) supported bilingual education and teaching English as a second language, and *Plyer v. Doe* supported the rights of undocumented students to receive state public education (Gonzalez, 2013).

Asian American movement. Throughout the 19th and 20th centuries, the Asian American struggle for racial and political equality was founded in a tradition of resisting labor oppression (Courturier, 2001). Chinese railroad workers, Japanese plantation workers, and Filipino farm workers protested oppressive working conditions, unfair treatment, and wages; where some of these resistance efforts enjoyed success others experienced suppression (Courturier, 2001; Ganz, 2000). Asian Americans also fought for their rights through litigation as early as the 19th century. Between 1882 and 1894, Chinese Americans fought 1,270 court cases where 170 went to the Supreme Court; and Japanese Americans fought 95 cases where 15 went to the Supreme Court—few of these cases were successful (Courturier, 2001).

Asian Americans have been positioned in the dominant narrative from "helpless oppressed victim" to "model minority" (Courturier, 2001, p. 86). As evidenced by early labor and litigation fights, Asian Americans struggled to "gain full acceptance in the dominant society" (p. 86) and began to develop a wider Asian American movement through a pan-ethnic identity to achieve wider gains. Courturier noted that, during the 1960s, demographic changes and the relaxation of racial discrimination policies supported the large influx of Asian American students admitted into universities. Many Asian American students became engaged in activism during the civil rights movement and the Vietnam War when Asian American soldiers experienced anti-Asian bigotry and witnessed Vietnamese civilian atrocities at the hands of American soldiers.

When the antiwar movement activists did not acknowledge the racial issues during the Vietnam War, Asian American student groups began to form their own antiwar groups in solidarity with other Asian American communities, a process that facilitated the development of a pan-Asian identity.

The pan-Asian identity developed out of growing consciousness of the parallels between U.S. imperialism in Vietnam and the oppression they experienced as Asian Americans in the United States (Courturier, 2001). Asian Americans have historically tried to assimilate into dominant American culture but have consistently been labeled as foreigners by White Americans, an experience that Courturier argued alienated Asian Americans from mainstream society. Asian American students and scholars began to critique Eurocentric curricula and assemble various sources that reflected the diverse Asian American communities' cultures and histories to develop a cohesive, collective Asian American identity. In solidarity with other ethnic student movements that challenged the Eurocentric curricula of their universities, Asian American students at San Francisco State and UC Berkeley participated in the Third World Strike of 1968, which led to the incorporation of Asian American Studies courses that would be adopted in universities around the nation.

Women's Movement

Women's movements have resisted the colonial logic of patriarchy in order to promote the rights and dignity of women. In the United States context, as Staggenborg (2011) explained, the women's movement is often understood in terms of three waves. The first wave of the women's movement is associated with advocacy for women's suffrage, education, property rights, the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA), and challenging employment discrimination. The second wave of the women's movement is associated with radical feminist identities whose

collective action frame of "the personal is political" centered issues previously considered outside the political sphere such as: gender roles in the family; women's health and reproductive rights around sexuality, contraception, childbirth, and abortion; and violence against women such as harassment, rape, and domestic violence. The second wave women's movement encountered countermovement activity, ushered in a variety of services and laws that met women's needs, and promoted novel ways to view what is considered socially acceptable behavior and what should be addressed publicly.

The third wave of the women's movement was marked by varied activity such as the proliferation of cultural feminist groups and events in the 1970s and 1980s, continued activity on abortion and pornography, and the continual fight to defend existing gains in the presence of antifeminist countermovements and their supporting governments who struck down the ERA. The conservative political climate promoted a more individualized and personal form of organizing than collective and overtly political organizing. The third wave of feminism is also marked by an increased focus on the need to diversify and include women of color, transgendered people, poor women, and others in the feminist movement (Sandoval, 1995). Regarding sexuality, third wave feminists emphasized women's pleasure and power instead of previous emphases on their victimization (Staggenborg, 2011). Additionally, many new organizations, activities, and cultural products emerged from the Third Wave Feminism.

The women's movement has also reached a global, international scale, and should be reframed as a movement that is not solely a Western phenomenon and may not always be feminist (Ferree & Mueller, 2004; Staggenborg, 2011). While women's movements appeal to women constituents, feminist movements seek to challenge patriarchy (Staggenborg, 2011). Nonetheless, the relationship between mobilizing women and challenging gender relations,

produces varying alliances between women's movements and feminist movements depending on movement goals (Ferree & Mueller, 2004). Transnational networks of women activists (from the North, South, developing countries, and the developed world) have been cultivated by organizational structures facilitated by United Nations conferences (Staggenborg, 2011). At these conferences, global networks have had opportunities to overcome divisions through a collective rethinking of the boundaries between public and private and by addressing violence against women. On the other hand, issues regarding sexual and reproductive rights have been divisive in these transnational networks. Additionally, feminists have advanced critiques of policies that advance neoliberalism, which have detrimental impacts of women who are marginalized around the globe (Staggenborg, 2011).

Critics of prevailing social movement theories contend that male-led movements are normalized while perspectives on gender relations and gender meanings could "provide a more dynamic, long-term, and less state-centered approach to power, protest, and change" (Ferree & Mueller, 2004, p. 577). By making gender visible, gender dynamics that are institutionalized in social movements and government institutions can be exposed. Also, examining the intersectionality of gender, race, class, and other identities can expose the challenges that take place within movements.

Gay and Lesbian Movement

The gay and lesbian movement resists the colonial logics of heteropatriarchy and the hegemony of Christian religious values to promote the dignity of all people whose identities and existence cannot be placed within a gender binary. The gay and lesbian movement in the United States fought discrimination in employing and housing; advocated for the recognition of same-sex relationships, which included rights to partner benefits, custody and adoption of children,

marriage and civil unions; responded to violence toward gay, lesbian, bisexual, transsexual, and transgendered people; challenged the stigma attached to sexualities that were not heterosexual; and the homophobic medical practices and government policies during the AIDS epidemic (Staggenborg, 2011). While the modern gay rights movement is often associated with the Stonewall Rebellion of 1969, the movement can date back to World War II, which facilitated opportunities to meet in war-related institutions and the growth of gay subcultures that hosted networks and organizations.

While the Cold War Era ushered a more cautious and assimilationist approach in the gay rights movement, Staggenborg (2011) noted that the rise of the Civil Rights Movement inspired a more radical and militant approach in the gay liberation movement that emerged in the 1960s. The activists subscribing to claims for gay liberation adopted a New Left ideology, created a new gay identity, and propagated collective action frames for gay liberation. While gay rights activists employed a more mainstream "rights" frame, gay liberationists argued they were not a minority group but were instead challenging heteronormative notions of sexuality. Gay liberationists employed militant and visual tactics to challenge and educate authorities and the public around the natural fluidity of sexuality, which needed to be liberated by the oppressive constraints of church, state, and medical institutions, gender socialization, and the hegemonic notion of a nuclear family.

The gay and lesbian movement developed during the 1960s counterculture era and forged its own culture and collective identity (Staggenborg, 2011). While the 1970s antigay countermovement mobilized in response to their efforts, it served to expand mobilization into the movement in ways akin to sociopolitical homophobia during the AIDS epidemic. Since the

inception of the gay and lesbian movement, there have been major social changes such as increasing support for same-sex marriage and cultural impacts on American society.

New American Right Movement

Efforts to uphold imperial, colonial, and Western hegemony are evidenced in the countermovements, the conservative movements referred to as the "New Right" that were active in the United States during the 1960s (Staggenborg, 2011). The New American Right included both the New Right and Christian Right and was a prominent political force during the 1970s that supported the campaign for Ronald Reagan as president and continues to influence the Republican Party. The New American Right membership is comprised of political and social elite, grassroots activists, and Christian Right Evangelicals. The New American Right mobilized in response to civil rights movement gains, feminist movements, gay movements, and environmental movements. Due to alliances between right-wing activists and the Republic Party, the New American Right enjoyed extraordinary access to government during periods of Republican control in federal government (Staggenborg, 2011).

By utilizing numerous mobilizing structures (such as Evangelical networks), the New American Right created organizational structures (such as right-wing think tanks) and enjoyed the flow of resources from both grassroots and elite supporters (Staggenborg, 2011). The New American Right mobilized participants by appealing to moral frames, status politics, and defending dominant notions of culture. These mobilization tactics engaged strong emotions that promoted passionate reactions and engagement in collective action that countered the Civil Rights Movement, feminist movement, gay movement, environmental movement, and other progressive movement gains in order to protect the "American way of life" (Staggenborg, 2011, p. 190). Due to extensive support from the Republic Party, conservative corporations, and

Evangelical networks, the New American Right has been able to forge widespread political and cultural change in the United States.

Environmental Movement

The environmental movement resists epistemicides of ecological hierarchies that privilege Western destruction of life (Grosfoguel, 2011) and imperial policies for control of land and resources that uphold global capitalism and neoliberalism (Staggenborg, 2011). With regard to environmental concerns, the public in most industrialized countries tends to trust environmental movement organizations (EMOs) over their governments (Rootes, 2004). EMOs set environmental reform agendas and oftentimes frame issues around notions of collective global responsibility. EMOs enjoy widespread public support, as evidenced by financial contributions (Staggenborg, 2011).

Support for the environmental movement takes place at the local level and the international level through various EMOs, and through the national level through political parties like the Green Party (Rootes, 2004; Staggenborg, 2011). Given the multidimensional nature of environmental movement concerns, strategic diversity through coalitions with members of other movements has been instrumental with addressing the scope of its problems. Although environmental movements have experienced countermovements from the New American Right and corporate industries that benefit from global neoliberal and capitalist policies, networks have sustained collective identities for the environmental movement despite periods of movement decline (Staggenborg, 2001).

The environmental movement has been critiqued for its potential to be institutionalized and co-opted (Staggenborg, 2011). For example, environmentalism has become institutionalized, ecology has become a recognized academic discipline, environmental journalism is reorganized

as a specialization in the field, environmental protection agencies are nearly universal, environmental ministries moved from the margins toward centers of government power, and environmental concerns have enjoyed higher priority in political agendas and mainstream political party programs. Despite these developments, the environmental movement has not experienced sociological predictions of bureaucratization, institutionalism, ossification, and death but, instead, has prevailed (Rootes, 2004).

The environmental movement has enjoyed many local victories, and EMOs have earned legitimacy that enabled them to play roles with constructing and implementing policy while advocating for the consultation of EMOs and affected communities, when pending decisions have local, national, and international environmental impacts (Rootes, 2004). The environmental movement also enjoys continued engagement and legitimacy due to its relationship with science; such that it challenges "the hubris of modern science" (Yearly as cited in Rootes, 2004), while effectively utilizing scientific expertise to support its efforts, its highly convincing and practical calls for global solidarity, and resonant critique of the costs of industrial capitalism while also offering an alternative to addressing the impacts of global capitalism.

Global Justice Movement

The global justice movement, also known as the antiglobalization movement, not only resists global capitalism, but also promotes global democracy (Staggenborg, 2011). Global justice activists protest neoliberal economic policies like structural adjustment programs (SAPs) that increase private trade by (a) mandating developing countries to eliminate social services and (b) privatizing these services and investments to pay debts. Global justice advocates protest how these policies advanced by global financial institutions like the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, and the World Trade Organization (WTO), promote increased poverty in

developing countries, increased burdens on women and families, environmental destruction, and decreased labor standards (Staggenborg, 2011).

During its inception, the global justice movement encountered challenges with unifying heterogeneous participants from various movements, developing strategies that would impact global political and economic institutions, and continued mobilizing after 9/11, according to Staggenborg (2011). Despite these initial challenges, the global justice movement stimulated increased protest activity since the 1960s and engaged feminists, environmentalists, labor activists, students, and other community organizers in a collective resistance against neoliberal policies and global capitalism. Together, the participants in the global justice movement raised public awareness on how neoliberal policies and global capitalist practices exploit women, workers, and the environment, which promoted the increased public scrutiny of international institutions and government bodies. Although large-scale demonstrations were sporadic, the movement has been able to diffuse and mobilize transnational activists through global networks and the Internet. The success of the global justice movement hinges on the creation of long-term campaigns that will address and create solutions to problems in the era of global capitalism and neoliberalism.

Contemporary Social Movement Conditions

There are several conditions of contemporary social movements that are noteworthy. These include technological changes, globalization, and the dominant community-organizing framework.

Technology: Internet and Media

Technological changes and globalization have influenced cultural changes in society and social movement organizing (Staggenborg, 2011). Technologies are types of resources (Jasper,

1997) for social movement activity. For example, the Internet has become a new tool (Mayo, 2005) that has become a cost-effective method to reach potential supporters instead of relying on mass media. The Internet has facilitated social networking and the dissemination of personal media in ways that create news outside of traditional forms of print and visual media (Staggenborg, 2011). Additionally, the Internet has helped facilitate international organization and transnational movement-building (Mayo, 2005; Tarrow, 2011).

In the history of social movements, the media has helped communicate campaign messages, broadcast upcoming movement activities, evaluate movement activities, and report on movement success or failure to a broader public (Tilly & Wood, 2013). In doing so, media impacts public opinion by shaping how the public constructs reality (Mauss, 1975) and disseminating vocabulary and ideas (Staggenborg, 2011). The media helps shape public discourse and impacts cultural change by: (a) legitimizing social movement actors when quoting them as sources who thus, have media standing and (b) including social movements in media discourse, which gives them cultural advantages in society (Gamson as cited in Staggenborg, 2011). Thus, media responses to potential social movement activities become an important cultural consideration for social movement organizers (Jasper, 1997).

Bystanders, public opinion, and the media are important to consider, in order to better understand "the scope of conflict and efforts to change the balance of power" (Gamson, 2004, p. 259). Gamson noted that the mass media employs its own framing strategies, which can impact the scope of social movements by potentially increasing social movement mobilization, the readiness of movement participants to act collectively, movement media standing, and the prominence of preferred movement frames. Thus, Gamson noted, movements encounter a number of dilemmas when developing their movement framing strategy: Should movements

challenge deeply held dominant beliefs or pursue more narrow approaches? Is media coverage an end goal, or should movements gain access to media through spectacular displays where media coverage could end up distracting the public away from the movement's preferred frames? When movements have effective framing strategies, media can be used to: (a) disseminate frames that resonate with broader themes and counter-themes, which help neutralize opponents and facilitate marketing that increases access to resources or communicates the potential for social movements' withdrawal from institutions, like boycotts, to impose constraints on opponents and; (b) publicly embarrass opponents to incite changes.

Mass media can be interpreted as a type of political opportunity structure that has norms and practices that impact opportunities and constraints on social movement (Kriesi, 2004). For example, media frames can distort movement messages (Staggenborg, 2011). When bearing in mind news organizational and resource considerations, it is important to understand that news organizations' sources are often located at centralized places and disseminated through means such as press conferences and press releases. Here, people who have the most access to these centralized places oftentimes get the most coverage since the centralization facilitates easier gathering of information by reporters who are pressed to meet deadlines.

Thus, movements that tend to be more centralized, professionalized, and conform to media norms are most likely to get coverage (Staggenborg, 2011). However, these organizations still face the challenges of having limited control (Tilly & Wood, 2013) over how mass media portray movement frames and maintaining long-term coverage of trends and conditions when mass media have an event orientation toward reporting (Staggenborg, 2011). These realities can push movements to employ various new tactics to stay relevant in the media, however these efforts may detract from movement goals. Thus, people with the greatest amount of resources

tend to dominate media, which can have wide impacts on individual opinion, so far as potentially skewing democratic processes (Mayo, 2005).

The asymmetrical relationships between the media and movements (Tilly & Wood, 2013) impact the spread of movements. Here, different types of media can limit or promote the symmetry and exchanges between senders and receivers of media content (Tilly & Wood, 2013). Additionally, media can facilitate the connection between activists who have access to shared media while simultaneously disconnecting people who do not have access to these media from movements (Tilly & Wood, 2013). When the media can facilitate indirect exchanges between movement activists and third parties (Rucht, 2004), third parties can include powerful figures outside of movement opponents, the wider public who can either support or oppose the movement, potential recruits into the movement, or opponents' allies who may reconsider their positions (Tilly & Wood, 2013). Additionally, when media can act as an indirect channel of diffusion, the movement can also diffuse to other locations (Soule, 2004).

In the current climate of computer-mediated communication, which promotes virtual links between people, there are questions of how technology can impact social organization and depth (Diani, 2004). Tilly and Wood (2013) cautioned against technological determination claims that new communications media change the character of social movements. In their study of social movements, they contended that technology helps mediate preexisting social movement cultures, practices, and organizational routines. While some movement organizers can effectively adopt media to enhance activities that they are already engaging in, reinforce connections, or even facilitate new connections in movement-building efforts, these efforts typically promote organizational innovation (Tilly & Wood, 2013).

Thus, Tilly and Wood (2013) further argued that political changes and organizational contexts have more impact on movements than technology. Additional questions concern how, in the current climate, virtual ties may replace ties that are developed in contexts where physical interactions promote shared understandings and trust, elements that have been consistently identified as facilitating collective action (Diani, 2004). Tilly and Wood supported these questions by arguing that online activity does not automatically generate offline engagement, collective strategizing, or sustained participation in social movements.

Globalization

Globalization is not new, but instead has occurred throughout three different eras or waves (Mayo, 2005; Tilly & Wood, 2013). Tilly and Wood's work provided a salient description of these waves. The first wave of globalization emerged in 1500, when European influence spread across the world, the Ottoman Empire expanded, and Chinese and Arab merchants expanded activities into the Indian Ocean and the Pacific. The second wave of globalization emerged between 1850 and 1914, when long-distance migration increased; improvements in and lowered costs of transportation and communication accelerated international trade and capital flows; massive movements of labor, goods, and capital trade promoted more uniform prices of goods around the world; and there were increased disparities in wealth between beneficiaries of these new developments and others. The third wave of globalization emerged after the World Wars and the early 21st century, when there was increased long-distance migration of smaller numbers of professional and technical workers and larger numbers of servants and general workers into richer countries; accelerated flows of goods and capital, many of which took place within firms like multinational companies; accelerated trade between countries and firms; the

availability of high-end goods around the world; and outsourcing of labor in low-wage countries where goods and profits go back to home countries of capitalists from rich countries.

The current era of globalization holds new markets, tools, rules, and actors who include multinational corporations and groups that transcend national borders, like nongovernmental organizations (Mayo, 2005). International organizations (such as the WTO, World Bank, and IMF) have framed globalization as a viable development strategy and employed neoliberal policies that maintain poverty and impoverished areas of society considered key to development efforts (Mayo, 2005). Here, master frames can be employed to expand the scale of protest, through coalitions, globalization, and the transnationalization of protest (Snow, 2004b). Tilly and Wood (2013) contended that social movements emerge in globalization contexts when a "middle ground of negotiation" takes place where "people respond to opportunities or threats" created by "top-down processes" through "bottom-up networks to create new relations with centers of power" (p. 102). When developments of capitalist globalization expanded, global resistance emerged such that citizen action (such as community organizations, social movements, issue campaigns, and policy advocacy) has mobilized people from various backgrounds, promoted solidarity beyond the state, and led to the construction of global agendas (Mayo, 2005).

When international cooperation expanded from economic exchange and military security to include concerns about environment, health, and crime, the increase in the scope and scale in transnational interaction influenced local conditions (Smith, 2004). The changes in international interaction impacted structures of political opportunities such that formal structures promoted changes in national and international politics, movement allies and opponents were constructed, and there were possibilities for favorable or repressive government responses to global social movement efforts (Smith, 2004). The changes in the political context also created multiple

systems of governance with which social movements must engage (Smith, 2004). Here, social movements could engage national governments, international legal structures that can compel national compliance, and alliances with national governments or international agencies (Smith, 2004). Tilly and Wood (2013) argued that international movements ultimately have national targets and in their study of social movements, movements that have been perceived to be international are ultimately rooted in specific histories, polities, and economies.

The globalization of culture, media, and communications has created various challenges and opportunities for global campaign efforts (Mayo, 2005). For example, the Internet can help support transnational networking and mobilizing (Tarrow, 2011). Trade and labor unions have begun to recognize the need for new organizing approaches in a global context and have consequently built emphases on global strategies, networking and building with new social movements (Mayo, 2005). Global movements face challenges with building effective alliances while retaining organizational independence. Nonetheless, global network exchanges facilitate sharing learning, support of local campaigns, and strengthening local organizing capacities.

Nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) play many roles in global development, regulating the global economy, contributing research that challenge neoliberal policies and practices, and advancing social justice efforts such as fighting climate change and human rights abuses (Mayo, 2005; Tarrow, 2011). As NGOs effectively engage with international political actors, they experience increased pressure to be more businesslike, formal, bureaucratic, and professionalized at the expense of losing legitimacy with the people they aim to represent. In an effort to promote progressive goals, NGOs may also promote regressive outcomes when they serve as contractors for public services that were cut through neoliberal policies (Mayo, 2005).

Additionally, NGOs are positioned to negotiate and take advantage of opportunities that may advance movement interests, the NGO brand, and the career goals of professionals or celebrities who may be invested in upholding the poverty business (Mayo, 2005). Diverse global social movements have challenges with upholding democratic accountability and effectiveness (Mayo, 2005) and, by evading democratic accountability, may promote de-democratization (Tilly & Wood, 2013). Additional ramifications include: the potential domination of organizations situated in the global North in claim-making over organizations from poorer, less-connected countries, as well as increased divisions between "skilled political entrepreneurs and ordinary people" (Tilly & Wood, 2013, p. 123).

The development of political economy-based alternative analyses and policies that emphasize holistic development, gender justice, and freedom from discrimination and oppression represent future directions in the global justice movement (Mayo, 2005). These types of efforts are advanced by organizations like the Development of Alternatives for Women for a New Era (DAWN) and global campaigns like the Global Campaign for Education and Jubilee 2000. While there has been increased interest in the rise of antiglobalization movements and the internationalization of protest, Tilly and Wood (2013) contended that many of these 21st-century movement activities continue to "rely on the local, regional, and national forms of organization that already prevailed during the later twentieth century" (p. 99).

The Dominant Community Organizing Framework

While community organizing arguably existed prior to the 20th century, many people consider Saul Alinsky the "father of community organizing in the United States" (Oakes et al., 2006, p. 102) because he was the first to document "a model of organizing that could be replicated" (Sen, 2003, p. xliv). Alinsky methods in community organizing call for self-interest,

collective power, building strategic relationships with powerful elite, creating organizations and coalitions that help shift power relations, confrontational tactics, issue-based campaigns focusing on immediate and concrete changes, dividing labor between organizers and indigenous leaders, working on campaigns constantly, and avoiding ideological issues (Martinson & Su, 2012; Oakes et al., 2006; Sen, 2003; Stall & Stoecker, 1998).

Self-interest and collective power are at the crux of Alinsky's model of community organizing. Alinsky (1971) believed that through creating organizations and coalitions of like-minded organizations, movements could be sustained by advancing the class interests of their members. Additionally, by demonstrating a collective power through mass mobilization, organizations and movements can help shift the relations of power. In addition to a mass mobilization of community members, building strategic relationships with powerful elite can demonstrate collective power. Having relationships with the media and other elites helps groups hold them more accountable to advancing their agenda (Oakes et al., 2006). The power of numbers was so important that "Alinsky believed that no action should be taken until the 'mass power base' had been built, for without that base, the organizer 'has nothing with which to confront anything" (Martinson & Su, 2012, p. 61). Thus, it follows that collective power can help alter the relations of power.

In the Alinsky model of direct action, confrontational tactics (i.e., boycotts and sit-ins) are directed toward a target that has the power to give an organization their desired goals and objectives (Alinsky, 1971; Martinson & Su, 2012; Oakes et al., 2006; Sen, 2003). Here, it can be implied that in order for someone to give you what you want, they need to be confronted and pressured to concede. Thus, in order for communities to successfully achieve their goals, issue-based campaigns need to focus on immediate and concrete changes (Alinsky, 1971; Martinson &

Su, 2012; Sen, 2003). When an organized community achieves "winnable goals" in this fashion, they are able to "shift power from being concentrated among elite power brokers" and are able to "gain access to the decision-making table" (Martinson & Su, 2012, p. 61). This approach can help communities "redress power imbalances" and challenge the status quo (Martinson & Su, 2012, p. 61).

The labor of direct action organizing is oftentimes divided between professional organizers and leaders who are indigenous to the community (Alinksy, 1971). Organizers attain professional status when they are formally trained in direct action community organizing methodologies and are committed to applying their training in community settings (Alinsky, 1971). Alinsky was committed to promoting communication, respect, and trusting relationships between organizers and the community. In community settings, the professional organizers' role is to listen to the concerns of the people, agitate by creating a dissatisfaction with the status quo, and mobilize the masses in order to act on their concerns (Alinsky, 1971; Martinson & Su, 2012). Professional organizers were expected to work a "24/7 work schedule," which was oftentimes evidenced by strategic discussions that would take place "late into the night" (Sen, 2003, p. xlvii). Additionally, because Alinsky believed that "when we respect the dignity of the people… they cannot be denied the elementary right to participate fully in the solutions of their own problems" (p. 123). Thus, organizers were expected to work in the background, while community leaders represent the organization in the media and negotiate within the power structure they seek to change (Alinsky, 1971; Sen, 2003).

Alinsky expected organizers help communities achieve their goals without imposing their own ideologies on a group and, thus, avoided ideological issues (Sen, 2003). Because direct action organizing was focused on winning concrete improvements for the community, Alinsky

believed that ideology was not relevant (Sen, 2003). Because Alinsky (1971) believed that the ends justify the means, it follows that the means of confrontational tactics, working on campaigns constantly, and avoiding ideological issues are justified in the Alinsky model of direct action organizing.

Critiques of Alinsky Model

Many communities of color and feminists "took issue with Alinsky's rules, the issues he considered good to work on, the lack of a deeper analysis, and his reliance on formal leadership" (Sen, 2003, p. xlix). Consistent with Freire's education for liberation approach, the Highlander Research and Education Center promoted popular education as a form of civic education (Martinson & Su, 2012) and finding answers to ordinary people's experiences (Oakes et al., 2006). The Highlander Center provided training for community leaders of color and organizers like Ella Baker (Oakes et al., 2006). Opposed to Alinsky's model of formal leadership (Sen, 2003), Ella Baker insisted "leadership should be decentralized and should come from ordinary people" (Oakes et al., 2006, p. 105), advocating for a focus on broad issues that create a sense of a shared community identity and solidarity. Ella Baker's influence is reflected in the creation of the youth-led Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and Mississippi Freedom Schools—organizing spaces that embraced Freire's approach toward an education for liberation.

Antiracist critiques. The antiracist critique of Alinsky's methods also challenges the culture of direct action organizing. Many people argue that Alinsky's "rules do not match the political cultures and priorities of communities of color and antiracist activists" (Sen, 2003, p. l). In fact, some "people of color argue that many of the rules of community organizing run counter to the political traditions, cultures, and realities of communities of color" (Sen, 2003, p. l). The refusal to critique capitalism and U.S. democracy in these spaces is one example of how direct

action organizing culture is not responsive to the realities of communities of color (Sen, 2003). Oftentimes,

> people of color have little faith that simply raising their voices will have a dramatic effect. Tactically, communities of color are accustomed to finding other ways to challenge institutions, including building alternatives. (Sen, 2003, p. li)

This tactical tradition is reflected in the role many Black women played in helping organize the nonviolent Montgomery Bus Boycott (Stall & Stoecker, 1998). Other critics argue that Alinsky appropriated the techniques of communities of color (Sen, 2003).

Feminist critiques. Feminists also critique the division of labor between public and private spheres in Alinsky's model of direct action organizing (Sen, 2003; Stall & Stoecker, 1998). Many feminists argue that postindustrial capitalism relegated women to a private sphere and are rendered invisible when organizing focuses solely on the public sphere (Sen, 2003). Oftentimes, this dynamic is reflected in community organizing work where "men work heavily on the external strategy questions and women work on membership recruitment and leadership development" (Sen, 2003, p. liv). Thus, the Alinsky direct action organizing expectation to work a "24/7 work schedule" oftentimes excludes women, who are expected to play critical roles in the private sphere of the home and who strive to achieve work and family balance (Sen, 2003).

According to Stall and Stoecker (1998), many feminists argue that Alinsky's predilection for confrontational tactics aligns with a public approach to organizing. Another perspective on the public and private sphere can also be applied to the way different genders are socialized. Oftentimes, boys "learn to separate themselves from others," which arguably promotes "competition between men," while "girls learn to connect with others" (Stall & Stoecker, 1998, p. 737). This form of socialization can also arguably explain the gender bias in his organizing

methods. Alinsky's notion of fighting for "self-interest" in order to achieve altering relations of power in his model can be likened to male socialization toward individualism and competition.

Women-centered organizing approaches counter the male bias of Alinsky's model of direct action organizing. While Alinsky's model advocates for oppositional relationships between elites and the community marked by confrontational tactics to alter power relations, women-centered organizing focuses on collectivism, building nurturing and compassionate relationships, sympathy, and learning opportunities for self-transformation (Stall & Stoecker, 1998). Women-centered organizing is characterized by cooperation for wider neighborhood improvements, and a tactic of change that is accountable to all people in a community. The focus of building relationships in a women-centered organizing model helps promote building community bonds, a type of bond that is arguably critical to the success of social movements like the Montgomery Bus Boycott, a boycott that lasted for over one year and required deep community coordination efforts and emotional support in order to persist and be successful. While Alinsky promotes militaristic discipline in his methods, women-centered organizing endorses the relationships and the support necessary for communities to remain committed to one another while they struggle together for liberation.

The Promise of Transformative Organizing

Angela Davis (2016) contended that events—such as the shooting and killing of a Michael Brown, a Black American youth, in Ferguson—occur in a global context by drawing connections between the military training of police in the United States and in Israel. When exploring issues surrounding immigration, Davis (2016) implicated global capitalism in restructuring economies that push immigration. When immigrant people are incarcerated, Davis (2016) argues, this is due to the "state's inability and refusal to address the most pressing social

problems of this era" (p. 25). Davis (2016) argued that movements that appear to arise spontaneously will continue to emerge due to the "structural nature of state violence" (p. 15). Thus, it is critical to be vigilant of the interconnectedness and intersectionality of struggle around the world and the need for solidarity.

W. E. B. Du Bois (as cited in Davis, 2016) argued that slavery would not be abolished if people did not develop institutions that incorporated people who were enslaved into a democratic society. Here, Davis argued that abolitionist movements must move beyond removing "material institutions or facilities" (p. 22) and must also address ideological and psychological issues. To this end, Davis argued, restorative justice frameworks can begin the process that transformative justice frameworks can sustain by imagining a different type of future. Envisioning a new future with transformative justice frameworks and the understanding that the personal is political, people can begin to develop an understanding of the relationships between institutions and struggles and engage in a process of reinventing their lives and themselves.

Grace Lee Boggs (2012), similar to concerns voiced recently by Michelle Alexander (2016) in her decision to move the arena of her work to theology, asserted,

> it becomes clearer every day that organizing or joining massive protests and demanding new policies fail to sufficiently address the crisis we face… they are not transformative enough. They do not change the cultural images or the symbols that play such a pivotal role in molding us into who we are. (p. 36)

Thus, Boggs argued for a transformative organizing approach that is marked by "the limitless capacity to love, serve, and create for and with each other where people "bring the neighbor back into our hoods" (p. 47). With a transformative organizing approach, efforts move beyond traditional capitalism, give people ownership over the way they live and make a living, promote

nurturing relationships with the Earth, and promote humanizing education. Boggs contended transformative organizing requires patience "because changing people and people changing themselves requires time" (p. 49). Because the process involves small groups of people, these efforts do not have the visibility of masses in traditional organizing approaches. Instead of enacting change through a "critical mass," as Alinsky would promote, transformational organizing can cultivate systemic change through "critical connections" (p. 50).

Summary

Theorizing social movements can be traced back to the works of Karl Marx, Emile Durkheim, John Stuart Mill, Max Weber, Antonio Gramsci, and Vladimir Lenin. These thinkers have produced ideas that cultivated structuralist analyses, rationalist approaches, the centrality of leaders, and the power of cultural hegemony in the study of social movements. Social movement theories continue to be developed in the collective behavior tradition, which advances notions of the abnormality of political protest, the resource mobilization tradition that argues social movement activity is a part of the normal political process, the political process tradition that centralizes the role of structures and political opportunities in social movements, and the social constructionist perspective that highlight the cultural and moral dimensions of social movements.

Social movement activity and issues can also be conceptualized according to dimensions of mobilization, which concerns recruitment, participation, retention, and leadership and; mobilizing structures such as organizations, coalitions, networks; and movement strategies such as action repertoires, tactics, and campaigns. Jasper (1997) critiqued the resource mobilization and political process perspectives that advance those categorizations of social movement dimensions and contended that protest activity can be understood in terms of resources, strategies, culture, and biography.

This chapter explored key 20th-century social movements that took place in the neocolonial United States context and the various ways these movements resisted and reproduced logics of coloniality. The movements explored in this chapter included the labor movement, the American Civil Rights Movement, New Left student movements, antiwar and peace movements, ethnic and nationalist movements, the Women's and feminist movements, the gay and lesbian movement, the new American Right movement, the environmental movement, and the global justice movement.

Furthermore, this chapter explored how technological and globalization contexts as well as the dominant community organizing frameworks advanced by Saul Alinsky impact contemporary social movement conditions. The chapter concluded with a brief preliminary discussion on the promise of transformative frameworks to advance the evolution of social movement activity. From this review of social movement theories and 20th-century social movements, I move to the literature on youth organizing approaches in order to set the stage for critical pedagogical principles that can inform a decolonizing transformative paradigm for youth organizing.

CHAPTER 4

YOUTH ORGANIZING AND SOCIAL MOVEMENT RESISTANCE

> All around us, young people are at the forefront of asking how we imagine a different future, but their theorizing goes unnoticed because youth are still seen as the junior partners of the social movement.
>
> Robin Kelley

Discussions of social movements often erase or ignore the invaluable contributions of young people. This chapter explores how age is positioned as an additional axis of oppression, given the deferral of agency young people experience along various intersectional identities and in various intergenerational contexts. The purpose here is to highlight the various ways young people have been engaged in 20th-century movements in the United States, while simultaneously creating a foundation for understanding how the study of youth organizing is contested. By exploring various scholars' critiques and identified gaps in the literature of youth organizing, the perspectives explored in this chapter inform an evolving theory of transformative youth organizing.

Social Constructions of Youth in the United States

Since the inception of the concept of youth, various youth development models emerged to explain and help people understand the biological, cognitive, psychological, and social development of youth. These youth development models have become cemented in the public consciousness through a discourse perpetuated by the media, which also informs government policy. In being framed as immature and idealistic, youth have been perceived as incapable of acting on behalf of their own interests; and, thus, have become the objects of adult supervision and control. This rise of *adultism* has positioned youth along an axis of oppression (Gordon,

2010). However, youth do not only experience oppression according to age. When youth are members of other marginalized communities in society, they encounter various intersecting axes of oppressions, which create different social, political, and economic realities for youth.

Creation of Youth as a Social Construct

The Western social construct of youth and attending theories emerged during the rise of industrialization and urbanization, a period of great societal change (Scott, 2016). In the early 1900s, psychologist G. Stanley Hall popularized the term "adolescence" and characterized teenage adolescents with social and emotional traits such as "fragile, insecure, idealistic, and confident" as well as "energetic, idealistic, and confident" (Scott, 2016, p. 6). Hall argued that: (a) these are natural, biological traits that exist across all cultures and should be embraced; and (b) negative traits can be transitioned out as adolescents develop into healthy adults (as cited in Scott, 2016). In an effort to counteract the negative traits theorized by Hall, adults began to lengthen school days, which led to the gradual conflation of youth with students. Additionally, adults began to develop clubs according to middle-class values (Scott, 2016) such as Boy Scouts, Campfire Girls, and Junior Citizens, which facilitated youth activities under the supervision of adults (Braxton, 2016). However, much of these efforts did not have a wide impact on working-class youth, whose culture was more focused on entertainment and urban nightlife (Scott, 2016).

In Randolph Bourne's *Youth and Life,* Hall's positive characterizations of youth as "more energetic and adventuresome by nature" (Scott, 2016, p. 7) are supported, but Bourne argued to reframe adolescence as having the power and potential to change the world, rather than merely being a phase of life to work through. Holly Scott (2016) contended that Hall and Bourne's early 20th-century perspectives continue to shape contemporary perceptions of youth as possessing "passion, energy, and idealism, yet also instability, irrationality, and moodiness" (p. 7).

Contemporary understandings in the United States situate childhood and adolescence as periods marked by "less social and economic responsibility than adulthood" (Conner & Rosen, 2016, p. 4) and where youth ages are defined by the legal system and social institutions, such as schools of primary, secondary, and higher education. Thus, contemporary social constructions of youth are framed by legal definitions, social institutions, and psychological understandings of youth as biologically determined; and as possessing both positive and negative traits that should be supervised by adults.

Youth Development Models

Psychological theories of childhood and adolescence have deeply shaped Western conceptions of youth development. As discussed above, the influence of psychology on framing youth development can date as far back to the early 1900s with G. Stanley Hall, whose assertions argued the centrality of universal biology on impacting youth development. In the 1950s, the developmental psychologist Erik Erikson's seminal text, *Childhood and Society*, advanced the concept of youth development along different stages, which also supported the biological explanations of youth development, by referring to stages as universal, natural occurrences (Scott, 2016). The 1968 work of Erikson, *Identity: Youth and Crisis*, built on his previous work, which informed popular notions of youth as undergoing a stage of "identity crisis" marked by rebellion toward parents and older generations (Gordon, 2010).

When exploring the historical understandings of political and moral development, James Youniss and Miranda Yates (1999) argued that an "internalization model of youth" dominated the field. Under the internalization model of youth, adults played a key role in instilling societal norms and values informally at the familial level and formally at the school level, which were reinforced through various institutions that interact with youth. Thus, according to the

internalization model of youth socialization, it is thought that through the efforts of adults along multiple levels of society, youth learn to internalize the norms and values of their respective societal contexts. In their critique of this model of youth socialization, Youniss and Yates contended that the cognitive abilities of youth should also be considered as shifting, since social and political realities, such as changes in political governance, do not always position adults as experts of changing social norms and values. Because shifting social and political realities impact norms and values, Youniss and Yates argued that context, structural conditions, and institutions that impact development should also be considered in discussions of youth.

The dominance of biological and cognitive explanations of youth development has perpetuated essentialist notions of youth (Gordon, 2010). This youth development field context continued through the 1980s and the early 1990s, when literature on youth and adolescent research explained the challenges of youth of color according to a problem or pathology framework (Ginwright & Cammarota, 2002). Here, the social disintegration thesis was central in advancing the popular understanding of youth crime, delinquency, and violence as "individual or pathological behavior" or "cultural adaptations" (Ginwright, 2010, p. 15), due to social disorganization in communities. Together, these essentialist or youth as a "problem" approaches to youth development depicted young people as empty vessels, victims, and perpetrators (Delgado & Staples, 2008).

Advocates for more contextualized and politicized understandings of youth development supported a more "positive youth development" model (Delgado & Staples, 2008). In the 1990s, this was marked by a shift to promoting youth assets instead of youth problems (Ginwright & Cammarota, 2002). Here, the positive youth development approach began to shift the understanding of youth from victims to agents and the importance of cultivating youth self-

worth, self-awareness, emotional health, empowerment, and exploration through skill-building and asset-building (Ginwright & Cammarota, 2002). This shift facilitated the creation of programs and policies that expanded supports and opportunities for youth development. However, critics of the positive youth development approach argue that this model (a) fails to address the social, economic, and political contexts that influence young people's lived realities; and (b) creates an over-romanticized and problem-free view of youth (Ginwright & Cammarota, 2002). Thus, by dismissing the complexity of youth experiences and centering the importance of increased supports and opportunities, the positive youth development model reinforces the notion that youth are objects that need to be changed, not the environment that impacts their everyday lives.

Media Constructions of Youth

Youth development frameworks and political climates have historically shaped discourse on youth in the United States and have been reflected in the rhetoric of media outlets. During the Reagan administration of the 1980s, the rise of conservatism was reflected in efforts to dismantle the welfare state and other efforts to equalize economic and civic hierarchies (Franklin, 2014; Hosang, 2006), through language such as "the breakdown of the family, the primacy of individual responsibility over government intervention, the intergenerational 'culture of poverty'" (Hosang, 2006, p. 6), which served to ostracize youth who existed outside of White middle-class and upper-class realities. When this conservative language was coupled with the problem-based framework in the youth development field, working-class youth of color were profiled as threats (Ginwright, 2010) to conservative views of family, which became framed as a critical component of the nation and its security (Hosang, 2006).

Conservative political rhetoric in the 1990s scapegoated youth of color in California legislation and in the national context. In the 1990s, California undersaw a spate of legislation that vilified immigrants and the growing populations of youth of color (Gordon, 2010). For example, Proposition 187 prohibited undocumented immigrants from access to social services, medical care, and their children's education; Proposition 209 dismantled higher education affirmative action policies; Proposition 227 eliminated bilingual education from public schools; Proposition 21 expanded the number of youth under the age of 18 eligible for trial as adults; and Proposition 184 established the "three strikes law," which imposed harsh measures on youth of color (Gordon, 2010). On national media platforms, conservative family values were used to conflate the growing populations of poor youth of color with violence and crime—groups to fear and punish severely. These media constructions facilitated the rise of curfew laws, antigang taskforces, and Clinton's 1994 crime bill that allowed minors to be tried as adults (Hosang, 2006).

Mike Males (2006) argued that the United States culture of hate toward young people was facilitated by (a) rapid social change, which cultivated a fear of youth as part of the uncertain changing future; (b) racial changes and the attending challenges with adjusting to racial population changes, which was used by White Americans and affluent minorities to attribute youth to those social tensions; (c) the commodification of youth of color as objects of privatized social policies due to their abandonment of youth of color through legislation and ubiquitous rhetoric that deemed them a menace to White, middle-, and upper-class families; and (d) the "grownup deterioration" of the "Baby Boomers," whose unprecedented need for social services around drug abuse, imprisonment, family instability, and AIDS was occluded by scapegoating and shifting the blame toward minorities.

Psychological, social, and political constructions of youth have also shaped how media depict youth movements. As discussed in the previous chapter on social movements, various social, political, and economic realities influence how mass media frame news stories. In youth movement contexts, youth movement leaders also contend with weighing the value of expanding the reach of movement messages through corporate media and the attending possibilities of the distortion of their messages through corporate media (Gordon, 2010). Unlike adult movement leaders who contend with the realities of utilizing mass media in movement actions, youth movement leaders often additionally face being infantilized by the media (Gordon, 2010; Scott, 2016). Here, instead of legitimizing youth anger and their political critiques, media will often frame or portray youth action according to popular understandings of (a) children whose capacities for emotional reactions were limited to either happiness or sadness; (b) children as innocent subjects for adult protection; and (c) fears of youth as threats to public spaces who must be contained (Gordon, 2010).

Scott (2016) explored how media framing of youth participation in movements shifted with various historical and political contexts. In the 1950s, *Time* magazine referred to college youth preoccupied with dating, fraternity and sorority life, and pursuing careers as the "silent generation." Thus, media often praised youth, who challenged the perceptions of an apathetic generation by participating in civil rights movement actions. Moreover, these youth actions were situated within a larger movement that worked toward reform and acted within socially acceptable bounds of behaviors. However, as youth began to protest the Vietnam War and U.S. foreign policy in the 1960s, media news outlets began to highlight youth organizers as ineffective, impressionable youth drawn to excitement and tied to dangerous adult radicals.

Instead of validating the education of college youth, media often portrayed them as immature and depicted them with language traditionally used to describe primary school children.

Scott (2016) contended that the political culture and, hence, media framings of White student activism in the 1960s favored perspectives that fell in the middle of the political spectrum. This was evident in the limited media coverage of the conservative student activist actions and the shift of media coverage to students from the New Left, as they became more vocal about their radical social analysis and confrontational in their tactics. When media framings of New Left actions were devoid of the political motivations of youth, youth were portrayed as spoiled, out-of-control, and sometimes innocent children. Also, drawing from Erikson's stage theory of youth development, media portrayed youth as rebelling against their parents and older generations. Thus, media often reduced White student activism of the 1960s to a generation gap and other youth deficiencies explained by developmental models of youth behavior.

Scott (2016) further contended that media framing of youth participation in movements also differed according to race and class. When portraying the actions of youth in the Black power, Chicano power, and Red power movements, the media advanced assumptions of these youth operating from a political basis, not a developmental one. Here, the media customarily minimized the youth identities of its movement participants, in favor of centering news stories on racial issues. Thus, youth activists of color were not afforded portrayals of youthful innocence or rebellion but instead, were depicted as dangerous to the fabric of mainstream society. Hence, youth protests that advocated for poor urban Black communities were framed by media as "riots." These historical dynamics may account for Hava Gordon's (2010) divergent findings of the struggles Portland-based White middle- and upper-class youth activists encountered when

engaging with media and the tendency for Oakland-based working-class youth of color to avoid engaging with media with regard to their movement actions.

Critiques in Youth Action Discourse

Literature on student movements often centers on the activism of college student activists during the 1960s (Scott, 2016). Sekou Franklin (2014) contended that the construction of youth culture and participation in movements is shaped by social and political struggles between competing actors—realities that make it difficult to organize youth along a common political identity and agenda. Thus, because youth movements may have different methods, goals, objectives, and cultures for young people in primary, secondary, and postsecondary school contexts, it is important to examine youth activism beyond the higher education context (Cohen, 2008; Franklin, 2014; Ginwright, 2010; Gordon, 2010; Taft, 2011). The Oakland-based youth organization in Gordon's study reflected this nuanced understanding of the differing political constructions of youth, as evidenced by the organization's fluid approach to defining youth when organizing different events, actions, and efforts to be responsive to emerging community needs.

Youth action researchers also caution against romanticizing youth as the vanguard of social change movements. Franklin (2014) argued that this perspective erases how youth movement concerns were situated within wider community struggles and were more likely to encounter success when their efforts worked within and in collaboration with broader movement campaigns. Additionally, this perspective overlooks the role of veteran activists who helped politicize, recruit, and mentor young people around organizing skills and politics. Limited generational analyses may reduce intergenerational differences to age when, in actuality, differing positionalities along ideology, class, gender, and temporal entry into a movement may also account for intergenerational differences.

Because developmental models of youth have perpetuated essentialized notions of youth idealism, energy, innocence, fragility, insecurity, and impressionability, youth are positioned as objects of adult control, with only the capability to act with agency in the future (Gordon, 2010). Because youth agency is deferred under the auspices of adult control through (a) terms like "potential" and "future;" (b) the culture of school institutions that deny youth authentic decision-making; and (c) legal definitions of eligibility for voting based on age, the social category of "youth" also exists as an axis of inequity in relation to adultism (Gordon, 2010).

Contesting essentialized notions of youth, Ginwright (2010) critiqued the discourse of youth portrayed as rebellious whose actions are framed as oppositional resistance. Instead, young people's resistance can be reframed as political resistance (Gordon, 2010) or even transformative resistance (Ginwright, 2010). Here, youth are positioned as experts of their own experience, and are thus best positioned to mobilize others to advocate for youth concerns (Lewis-Charp, Yu, & Soukameneuth, 2006). These assertions contest the developmental-based tendency to defer youth agency to the future and instead, support the idea that youth are present, social agents of change (Franklin, 2014; Ginwright & Cammarota, 2006; Gordon, 2010; Taft, 2011). In concert with this idea, this chapter makes a case for how youth movement struggles against adultism work in tandem with resistance efforts against racism, heteropatriarchy, and classism—the logic of coloniality.

Historical Contexts Shaping Youth Movements in the United States

Youth resistance does not occur in isolation. Instead, youth movements exist within wider sociopolitical realities and are informed by wider community resistance to the underlying logic of coloniality. This section explores different decades of the 20th century and the role of youth in the respective social movements of each period.

Assimilation in the 1920s

The modernization facilitated by industrialization and urbanization helped usher in sociocultural changes. While representing a minority of the youth population, middle- and upper-class college students began to influence fashion and fads, pushing conventions regarding women's dress, dating cultures, and sexuality (Scott, 2016). This period was also marked by media constructions equating college student activities to youthful frivolity (Scott, 2016). While middle- and upper-class college youth pushed social conventions, their activity was not considered politically rebellious.

During European immigration to the United States, the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) helped immigrants adjust through Americanization programs (Muñoz, 2007). Muñoz (2007) explained that when there was an influx of Mexican immigration into the United States after the 1910 Mexican Revolution, the YMCA facilitated the Americanization of Mexican immigrant youth into United States mainstream values of liberal capitalism, "melting pot" assimilation, and democracy. The YMCA hosted Mexican Youth Conferences that helped cultivate Mexican youth leadership, leadership that espoused the assimilationist ideologies of the sponsoring YMCA. Thus, for the Mexican American community, assimilation in the 1920s was the product of an Americanization process.

Assimilationist frameworks were also adopted in struggles for equal citizenship rights. In 1911, the Society of American Indians (SAI) advocated for American Indian racial uplift, citizenship rights, and self-determination through assimilation and acculturation (Shreve, 2011). For American Indians who subscribed to SAI leadership, adopting external cultural practices by shedding their traditional cultural identities was justified as a survival strategy (Shreve, 2011). During the 1920s, second-generation Asian American citizens also struggled for equal civil

rights by assimilating into American society (Liu, Geron, & Lai, 2008). For many marginalized communities of color, assimilationist frameworks were viewed as an important tactic to advance citizenship rights through the 1920s.

Radicalism in the 1930s

The disastrous stock market crash of 1929 provided the impetus for widespread social, economic, and environmental insecurity known as the Great Depression. During the 1930s, there was a marked critique of capitalism and corresponding labor practices, which ushered in widespread acceptance of welfare state political frameworks and attending radical ideologies. At the time, many American college youth began to join free speech, labor, and peace movements, which shifted college cultures from youthfully self-absorbed to intellectual and politically radical (Scott, 2016). Given the association of youth movements with the rise of fascism in Germany, radical White American college students distanced their movement participation away from youth identities (Franklin, 2016).

Youth movement participation in communities of color during the 1930s was often within broader political and economic community struggles. In the Mexican American community, while middle-class youth leadership was still connected to assimilationist YMCA-sponsored conferences, working-class youth were exposed to communists and socialists at the workplace, who resisted capitalist-induced class struggles (Muñoz, 2007). Asian immigrant low-wage agricultural workers often resisted unjust working conditions in solidarity with Mexican laborers, through multiracial broad-based labor movements (Liu et al., 2008).

In the African American community, continued unemployment and racial segregation in the workforce and unions became important rallying points for movement formations (Franklin, 2014). The Southern Negro Youth Congress (SNYC) created by young Black radicals also began

to attract young people who grew indignant with the racism and economic stagnation they experienced (Franklin, 2014). In the 1930s, SNYC helped mobilize young Black folks to implement economic justice initiatives that supported Black workers in the South. Thus, radical and progressive formations provided outlets for young people to resist the social inequalities they witnessed in their schools and communities.

Conservatism in the 1950s

The rise in economic prosperity and Cold War politics shaped the socialization and culture of youth during the 1950s. Because wartime realities shifted traditional family economic roles (where fathers were at war and mothers were at work), youth became more independent due to increased leisure time without parental supervision and increased buying power due to increased incomes, which facilitated greater access to cars, fashion, and entertainment (Scott, 2016). Because Cold War politics created a climate of social and political conformity and the centrality of families to the nation's security, the increased autonomy and rebelliousness of youth was abhorred and feared (Scott, 2016). Homophile groups who challenged characterizations of homosexuality as a pathology and sought institutional assimilation and tolerance were discouraged by the dominant rhetoric of youth delinquency, which moved them to limit youth membership into their spaces that could have provided young people the necessary community support to navigate their marginalized sexualities (Cohen, 2008).

Cold War politics created a culture of hysteria, fear, and intimidation of perceived communist-sympathizers, radicals, and participation in subversive activities. This climate discouraged Mexican American students from supporting laborers in the fields and, instead, worked to uphold middle-class Mexican American sensibilities of integration and assimilation

(Muñoz, 2007). Additionally, this climate heightened the harassment and arrests of radical Asian American activists (Liu et al., 2008).

The 1950s was marked by continued social, political, and economic inequalities for communities of color. After the war, the Mexican American community experienced anti-Mexican sentiment, racism, and the loss of employment gains from the war (Muñoz, 2007). Asian American veterans who sought to take advantage of the G.I. Bill experienced "yellow-lining" when attempting to purchase homes and only had access to communities reserved for Asian Americans (Liu et al., 2008). Additionally, because wartime rhetoric framed Asians in America as a dangerous "yellow peril" who were "perpetual foreigners," Asian Americans in the Cold War climate were pressured to assimilate into the "melting pot" of America and ascribe to the growing model minority myth of Asian racial success due to assimilation (Liu et al., 2008). Similarly, the creation of the federal Indian Claims Commission (ICC) facilitated the legal and political coercion to Native American assimilation (Shreve, 2011). During the 1950s, African Americans began to organize and cultivate the civil rights movement efforts around desegregation and ending the lynching of Black people (Scott, 2016).

The gravity of Cold War politics also served to plant the seeds of politicizing youth. Awareness of the Holocaust and the atomic bomb, and routine bomb drills in schools cultivated a growing understanding of world conflict (Scott, 2016). The denial of civil rights to communities of color, labor abuses, and the repression of radical critiques of the 1950s stood in stark contrast to American ideals of freedom and justice. Youth responded to Cold War politics through the creation of youth organizations across various community contexts (Braxton, 2016). Adults from various organizations in the Native American community responded to this climate by creating intensive workshops that would educate Native youth on the skills needed for organizational

governance and the philosophical understandings that should guide broader movement actions (Shreve, 2011).

Youth Radicalism in the 1960s

Media often reduced radical youth activism in the 1960s to the stereotypes of youth innovation, idealism, immaturity, emotionalism, impatience, and faddism (Scott, 2016). For example, when youth dared to voice political expressions that countered the dominant conservative Cold War rhetoric of the 1950s, youth were subject to youth-baiting in the media (Scott, 2016). Here, politically driven young people who acted on their intellectual analyses were often portrayed in the media as being impressionable and highly influenced by adult activists, subjecting them to red-baiting, harassment, and repression due to their progressive and radical beliefs that countered the conservatism of the 1950s. These stereotypes of 1960s youth radicalism created the foundations of the myth and dominant narrative of youth activism in the United States, which reinforced Western obsessions with youth and psychology-based claims of universal behaviors according to different stages and periods of life.

While the media of the 1960s often sensationalized the participation of young people in social movements, close examination of youth movements from the 1960s demonstrates the critical role of collaboration with older, earlier generations of activists to movement success (Franklin, 2014; Hosang, 2006). For example, before becoming an autonomous national antiwar youth organization, Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) y operated as a youth component out of the democratic socialist group, the League for Industrial Democracy (LID) (Scott, 2016). In the African American community, Scott (2016) explained, the youth organization Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) was created in 1960 during a conference hosted by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC).

While Martin Luther King Jr. recommended that SNCC become the youth arm of SCLC, Ella Baker advocated for SNCC to exist as an independent, grassroots organization with the freedom to explore differing political ideologies and tactics. SNCC proceeded to have a strong youth following, with many adult leaders and participants as well. As concerned citizens who sought to combat systemic social, political, and economic inequities experienced in the Black community through an ideology of "Black Power," SNCC often spearheaded more direct-action campaigns and due to the high youth participation, eventually became associated with youthful riskiness (Franklin, 2014; Scott, 2016).

Young Asian Americans were moved by the Black Power movement, which informed the creation of the Asian American Movement. As social, political, and economic realities increased Asian immigration and produced yellow-lining, once sequestered Asian American enclaves became integrated pan-Asian communities by the 1960s (Liu et al., 2008). The increased interaction between Asian American youth in communities, schools, and institutions of higher education and shared struggles of discriminatory policies, which enabled substandard labor and housing practices and urban redevelopment projects, planted the seeds of a politicized pan-Asian American identity.

As Asian Americans witnessed the African American struggle for civil rights, they began to develop an Asian American Movement that echoed the antigovernment, self-determination, and radical societal transformation stance of the Black Power movement (Liu et al., 2008). The Asian American Movement was comprised of college students, community youth, and veteran labor organizers who often espoused anticapitalist and anti-imperialist ideologies that informed the movement (Liu et al., 2008). Each of these groups shared invaluable resources with one

another, which helped promote the success of the movement across a diverse set of organizing campaigns in education, labor organizing, housing rights, and cultural groups.

Homophile groups were inspired by the Civil Rights Movement and set the stage for gay liberationists to not only challenge stereotypes about queer people, but also advocate for the radical transformation of institutions of families, schools, and courts steeped in dominant heteropatriarchal ideologies. Given the conservative and Cold War climate of the 1950s, gay identities were often considered radical as well (Cohen, 2008). Because youth were excluded from homophile organizations that feared association with corrupting delinquent youth, young gay liberationists began to organize against adultism, sexism, homophobia, capitalism, and racism (Cohen, 2008). When adults abandoned queer youth due to political fear or social excommunication, young gay liberationists began to create spaces to break isolation, provide peer support, and create identity-affirming experiences through political action (Cohen, 2008).

In the Mexican American community, as middle-class leaders grew frustrated with social, political, and economic stagnation in the 1950s, there was an increase of Mexican American political actions that rebuked political institutions (Muñoz, 2007). Muñoz explained that, while politicized by the times, many Mexican American youth began to support farmworker organizing and join youth organizations like SDS and SNCC. Assimilationist critiques grew as the cultural labor of artist-activists Corky Gonzalez and Luis Valdez helped cultivate a Chicano identity grounded in a pride of ancestral epistemologies and cultural values and practices. The 1968 Blowouts, a series of school walkouts led by politicized Los Angeles high school youth, moved beyond middle-class integration politics and represented the first large-scale and widely publicized action for Mexican American self-determination and the catalyst for Chicano Power student movements that advocated for the affirmation of community experiences in the

curriculum, as well as rectifying institutional racism that interfered with the social, political, and economic success of their communities.

Radical Native American youth formations were cultivated by adults and sustained by youth who sought to uphold the traditions, values, and ideals of their elders (Shreve, 2011). Shreve (2011) contended that while youth remained closely connected to elder mentors and ideologies, politicized Native American youth embraced the radical, militant tactics, urgency, and rhetoric of peers in SNCC and SDS. In 1961, the National Indian Youth Council (NIYC) grew out of the American Indian Chicago Conference, where various generations of Native Americans from various tribes engaged in deep dialogues to create "The Declaration of Indian Purpose," a document that reaffirmed self-determination, sovereignty, treaty rights, and cultural preservation. The NIYC was an independent, intertribal organization that brought together Native American youth to fight for the principles laid out in the Declaration of Indian Purpose through the slogan of "Red Power."

While radical 1960s youth organizing was closely connected to intergenerational struggles for peace and racial, gender, sexuality, social, political, and economic equality, the efforts of young people also helped advance struggles for youth rights. The youth organizing of the 1960s saw a rise in advocacy for educational experiences of marginalized youth as well as civil rights gains and the resurrection of a welfare state that supported people across various ethnic backgrounds, ages, genders, and sexuality identities. The increased extra-political participation of youth in the 1960s also served as a catalyst for the passage of the 26th Amendment in 1971, which changed the voting age from 21 to 18 years of age (Braxton, 2016).

Conservatism in the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s

Social movement studies of the United States often mark a decline in transformational, radical, militant, and high-risk organizing beginning in the 1970s. Franklin (2014) attributed this decline to "political repression, movement fatigue, party realignment, and the triumph of the conservative agenda in the last three decades of the century" (p. 2). As conservative backlash to 1960s movement gains grew, many movement participants engaged in institutional leveraging, a process of channeling movement energy and resources into bureaucratic and political institutions (Franklin, 2014). Here, movements encountered a strategic and cultural shift toward strategies and tactics that would ensure continued success in bureaucratic and political contexts. As progressive movements became institutionalized and the rise of single-issue politics constrained movement participation to dominant, elite-sanctioned spaces and practices, movement strategies became moderated. These shifts facilitated the growth of Alinksy-style organizing whereby increased movement engagement in bureaucratic and political contexts necessitated the professionalization of organizers.

There was a marked reduction in youth militancy beginning in the 1970s. Franklin (2014) asserted this can be traced to disillusionment from the Vietnam War and the Watergate scandal. Additionally, because the passage of the 26th Amendment lowered the voting age to 18, it enabled young people to participate in bureaucratic and political processes from a younger age, thereby decreasing the necessity to engage in extra-institutional strategies and tactics. Also, studies of media engagement trends purport that youth have become less informed and less likely to follow political developments, findings that have also contributed to the public perception of a decline in youth activism (Bennet, Freelon, & Wells, 2010).

As the rhetoric of the pathology-based youth development models was coupled with the rise of conservatism with the Reagan presidency and its attending attacks on the welfare state in the 1980s and 1990s (Hosang, 2006), queer youth and youth of color were positioned as objects for repression, intervention, and attack in American culture and society. The Black Panther Party, which originated from the leadership of Black youth in Oakland, and other remaining radical organizations experienced severe police repression (Ginwright, 2010). This period saw an increase in community-based social services and school-based programs operated by adult professionals to support queer youth experiencing social-emotional, housing, and medical needs (Cohen, 2008). Additionally, as movements began to institutionalize during this time, the 1980s marked a growth in the nonprofit sector (Ginwright, 2010), which, due to institutional leveraging also served to dilute radical organizing.

After the 1980s, there was a rise in social service agencies, city-sponsored social services, county health programs, mentorship programs, employment and job training programs, and after school programs (Ginwright, 2010). As discussed above, 1990s legislation reflected a systematic attack on young people, which pathologized, individualized, and ultimately scapegoated young people of color as the sources of violence in communities and a drain of resources through purported welfare abuses. Because social services and programs of the 1980s and 1990s directed toward youth were oftentimes based on conservative values and logic that framed youth as objects to be fixed, many of these programs failed to attract and adequately serve marginalized young people. The severe violence, economic losses, and racism toward youth of color and their communities oftentimes cultivated a culture of hopelessness and brute survival.

Present Neoliberal Realities

The rise of neoliberal economic policies in the late 1970s facilitated the rise of conservative rhetoric that waged an assault on communities of color. According to Peck and Tickell (as cited in Lipman, 2011), neoliberalism occurs in two phases: "rollback" and "rollout" neoliberalism. Rollback neoliberalism entails a process of destroying the vestiges of Keynesian economic policies and attending artifacts, agreements, and institutions that gained popularity during the Great Depression. These included public housing, free public higher education, redistributive welfare, labor protections, labor contracts, and the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (Lipman, 2011).

According to Harvey (as cited in Lipman, 2011), rollout neoliberalism promotes capital accumulation through new practices and institutions that create new markets in places such as public housing, schools, infrastructure, and retirement funds. Thus, governments operating from a neoliberal economic stance are largely noninterventionist when regulating capital during times of stability and providing for social welfare. On the other hand, neoliberal states are interventionist when "ensuring the rule of markets and creating favorable conditions for capital accumulation" (Lipman, 2011, p. 29).

Contemporary neoliberal policies serve as a form of state violence on communities of color. When delivered with conservative rhetoric, rollback neoliberal policies facilitate the process of divestment from communities of color and the deindustrialization of urban sectors (Gordon, 2010). Here, once thriving working-class communities began to lose access to jobs with dignified pay and with the federal government's divestment from social welfare programs, many working-class communities of color remained more deeply in the throes of poverty and their young people began to lose faith in traditional means of making a living (Ginwright, 2010).

Instead of shedding light on neoliberal state policies as structural violence, media discourse justified these policies by alienating young people of color who, in turn, internalized the belief that they are to blame for the direct violence they inflict upon one another (Ardizzone, 2007).

Neoliberalism not only attacks communities of color but also distorts the radicalism of organizing. As discussed above, positive youth development models reinforce discourse that limits understandings of youth behavior according to the individual level and fail to acknowledge the role of external environments in shaping young people's behavior. In contemporary times, nonprofit organizations and foundations informed by positive youth development frameworks gave rise to the language of empowerment (Conner & Rosen, 2016). By calling on youth to act as productive citizens who fix problems in their communities, despite lacking voting power, foundation-based empowerment initiatives reinforce the erasure of government accountability to communities and their youth. Here, youth who participate in sanitized community service projects are celebrated, while those who challenge the state are demonized. According to Kwon (as cited in Conner & Rosen, 2016), these efforts both construct and constrain what are considered publicly acceptable roles for young people.

Contemporary rollout neoliberalism facilitates the process of privatizing public goods (Lipman, 2011). This is evidenced by the rise in gentrifying urban redevelopment projects, construction of private-owned juvenile detention facilities and private-owned jails, and free-market initiatives that have aided the expansion of publicly funded, yet privately governed charter schools. As young people become increasingly alienated from meaningful education (Gordon, 2010) and isolated from gainful employment (Franklin, 2014) in an era of neoliberal capitalism, they become funneled into the school-to-prison pipeline (Conner & Rosen, 2016). By supporting private partnerships in government institutions, neoliberal efforts begin to erode the

democratic process. Many contemporary youth activists, organizations, and networks continue the legacy of struggle in their communities by actively challenging the neoliberal disenfranchisement, dispossession, and destruction of their communities (Conner & Rosen, 2016; Ginwright & Cammarota, 2006; Gordon, 2010; Taft, 2011; Torre & Fine, 2006).

Sites of Struggle and Forms of Youth Organizing

As young people resist the subjugation they experience due to essentialized social, psychological, and media constructions of youth and youthfulness and the oppression inflicted upon their communities, they engage in different forms and sites of youth organizing. While some youth organize in schools, frustration with adult campus politics (Gordon, 2010) and experiences of schools as marginalizing spaces push others to seek outside spaces to cultivate authentic learning (Ardizzone, 2007), democratic empowerment (O'Donoghue, 2006), healing (Ginwright, 2010), organizing training (Warren & Kupscznk, 2016), and autonomous space dedicated to developing youth voice (Flores-González, Rodríguez, & Rodríguez-Muñiz, 2006). Eric Braxton (2016) maintained that there are five major forms of youth organizing: youth civic engagement and leadership, campus-based organizing, civic engagement and advocacy/policy, youth worker organizing, and young adult social justice organizing.

Youth Civic Engagement and Leadership

According to Braxton (2016), this category of youth organizing takes places in middle and high schools and promotes civic education through service learning and participatory action research. While this form of organizing may not be centered on running campaigns that build a base of movement participants, youth civic education and leadership efforts often have access to institutions like city government and school districts, which promote partnerships between civic engagement groups and youth organizing groups. Thus, these partnerships facilitate an inside-

outside strategy whereby civic engagement groups provide institutional access to independent youth organizing groups that engage young people.

Community service and service learning. The rising popularity of community service in the 1990s led to an increase in United States legislation promoting youth service, community service graduation requirements in many schools, organization and education groups supporting efforts to integrate service in school curricula, and business-funded community service initiatives and programs (Yates, 1999). Yates (1999) contended that community service rhetoric often echoes Alex de Tocqueville's claims that voluntarism is instrumental to democracy, which influenced the curricula of some American educators as early as 1916. Educators like Arthur Dunn sought to "foster participatory citizenship through collective projects that connected the classroom to the needs of the community" (Yates, 1999, p. 17). Erikson's theory of the different stages of youth development also supported youth service by asserting that youth identity formation occurs as young people make sense of who they are within societal history, ideologies, and traditions. Thus, community service and service learning became valued as a medium to provide young people with hands-on opportunities to make connections between service and the social, moral, and political questions raised in their own lives.

Community service can provide powerful learning opportunities but can be superficial as well. When school curricula seek to instill an understanding of historical, moral, political, and religious issues, complementary service learning projects can provide a meaningful, concrete understanding of abstract ideas and personal application of democratic principles (Yates, 1999). Thus, service learning has a problem-posing (Freire, 1970) potential by promoting reflection, critical thinking, connectedness, and participation (Claus & Ogden, 1999). However, when service learning does not critically engage historical and contemporary social, political, and

economic realities, it can be superficial and merely induce good feelings about partaking in community service instead of promoting skills for democracy (Claus & Ogden, 1999). Thus, service learning can also lack clear political education about social exclusions and inequalities that would raise important questions and issues about the need for social change (Gordon, 2010; Hernandez, 2017).

Youth Participatory Action Research (YPAR). Participatory action research (PAR) challenges dominant, Western positivist notions of who has the authority to create knowledge, through a pedagogy where multiple participants who are stakeholders of a community concern collectively conduct scientific inquiry with a critical and intersectional lens to actively address concrete concerns (Cammarota & Fine, 2008). YPAR includes the tenets of PAR while also having implications for education and youth development. Critical youth research helps challenge youth exclusion from research and honors their capacity as organic intellectuals (Morrell, 2006). Additionally, YPAR honors youth as present-day political actors who, while equipped with their research findings, have the opportunity to reframe public narratives by bringing youth perspectives to debates and meaningfully engaging policy decisions that directly impact their lives (Stoudt et al., 2016).

YPAR occurs in intergenerational settings where adults and youth deeply participate by designing, reflecting upon, and challenging social policies together in order to cultivate democratic policy (Torre & Fine, 2006). Critical youth research facilitates apprenticeship in communities of practice by helping young people develop literacies of power, urgency for social change, and a sense of agency in their ability to enact change in their own lives (Morrell, 2006). Here, adults support youth through the research process and also help prepare them for sharing research with various audiences who are worthy of their engagement (Torre & Fine, 2006).

While adults in YPAR spaces have a role in helping students situate the oppression they experience in their lives, adults also have a responsibility to uplift histories of resistance to maintain hope and a sense of youth continuing legacies of resistance in their communities (Torre & Fine, 2006).

In addition to youth leadership and youth organizing spaces, YPAR contributes to critical youth engagement projects, which recognize how young people have a deep knowledge and expertise of how their lives and everyday conditions are shaped by oppression, colonization, and resistance; provide a space for young people and adults to study historical and contemporary political contexts of injustice together; examine circuits of dispossession—dispossession that occurs across sectors and intersectional axes of oppression; and provide links between research and action (Fox et al., 2010). When YPAR collectives are constructed in "contact zones," which are "purposely diverse communities that explicitly acknowledge power and privilege within a group" (Torres & Fine, 2006, p. 272), the diversity of the research participants helps produce richly layered research findings that traditional studies may overlook. Here, YPAR has the potential to foster hope, radical collective imagination for what can be, and action in communities (Ginwright, 2008).

Campus-Based organizing: According to Braxton (2016), groups centered on campus-based organizing primarily assemble college students around student issues. Braxton identified the United States Student Association (USSA) as a "major training ground for progressive leaders" (p. 34), which provides unifying campaigns, conventions, and grassroots organizing training aligned with Alinsky organizing methods to many chapters across the country. Braxton also contended that identity-based groups like ethnic, LGBT, and religious student groups play a role in creating a home and training base for college organizers. The Third World Liberation

Front is a poignant historical example of multiethnic college campus-based organizing, where students challenged the Eurocentric curricula of their universities and advanced the struggle for ethnic studies (Liu et al., 2008).

While Braxton (2016) argued that campus-based organizing primarily takes place in college contexts, many researchers contest that this narrative is due to the lacuna of research in primary and secondary school contexts. Jessica Taft (2011) centered her study on teenage girl activists across the Americas and states, "Girls' activism is an extremely underexplored scholarly topic, largely invisible in the academic literatures on girlhood and on social movements" (p. 4). In this study, she found that while girls organize in various movement settings, because many young girls spend much of their time in schools, many girl activists seek to change oppressive conditions and policies that occur in school institutions.

When exploring the gay liberation youth movement in New York between 1966 and 1975, Stephan Cohen (2008) contended that the high school Gay-Straight Alliance (GSA) student club can find its roots in the Gay International Youth Society, which was a campus-based group created by George Washington High School lesbian, gay, and straight students. High school members of Gay International Youth Society resisted the overcrowding and illegal suspensions they witnessed in their school; and also organized in support of educators who experienced suppression due to fears of job loss by homophobic politics.

Because the informal curriculum and policies of schools reinforce adultist youth development frameworks, where youth's agency is deferred to the future and thus, must be objects of adult control, youth who choose to organize from a school-based context often experience instability due to school politics (Gordon, 2010). School-based youth leadership is often limited to adult supervision, and when teacher allies support youth, they often experience

pressure from colleagues to desist based on insinuations that they are instigating youth, which further reinforces adultism that refuses to acknowledge youth autonomy in schools. Thus, these experiences often push young people to organize in spaces outside of the school environment.

Civic engagement and advocacy/policy: According to Braxton (2016), civic engagement and advocacy/policy groups generally do less base building and leadership development. Instead, these groups promote voter engagement and issue advocacy among young people. These groups vary in their approach; some offer internships and training, others organize young people around policy advocacy for relevant community concerns, others promote mass voter engagement, others are specifically issue-based, and others are even based on national identity.

Youth worker organizing: Braxton (2016) contended that efforts to organize youth fast-food, retail, and restaurant workers is often led by labor unions. Braxton cited the Fight for Fifteen as an example of youth worker organizing, which sought to increase the minimum wage in the United States and the expand the SEIU Millennial Program that not only organized young workers, but also supported the development of future labor leaders. Additionally, collaborations between young worker organizing and other social justice issues have been critical to maintaining a strong progressive infrastructure, since labor unions "have been the largest and most independently funded working-class organizations" (Braxton, 2016, p. 35).

Young adult social justice organizing: Braxton (2016) argued that young adult social justice organizing primarily engages 17 through 30 year-olds and tends to center young people of color. Young adult social justice groups often utilize social media with a focus on branding. Additionally, these groups employ a momentum-based organizing strategy with a more decentralized leadership approach "that focuses on capitalizing on flashpoints and movement

moments (such as the killings of Michael Brown in Ferguson and Freddie Gray in Baltimore) to build a mass movement" (Braxton, 2016, p. 35) opposed to more traditional structure-based organizing, which is generally focused on "smaller groups of individual leaders and incremental victories" (Braxton, 2016, p. 35).

While youth may or may not be a leading identity in these groups, many of these groups are proponents of an intersectional analysis of race, class, gender, and other axes of oppression, which has helped these groups understand "how multiple forms of oppressions reinforce one another" (Braxton, 2016, p. 35) and move participants in these groups to resist all forms of oppression, not just one. In contemporary times, the momentum-based approach and the success of attracting media attention due to branding efforts of these groups have helped radicalize young people and sustain their engagement through network structures more effectively than traditional, formal membership organizations.

Tensions within Youth Organizing

While the above discussion explored the participation of youth in social movements and various sites of struggle where youth organizing may take place, this section more deeply explores the various tensions youth experience in intergenerational and intersectional identity contexts.

Intergenerational Contexts

Legal status. Gordon (2010) contended that in social movements where community activism and organizing occurs across multiple generations, when planning direct actions, the legal status of young people often becomes a point of contention. Because legal definitions of youth hold young people to a different set of legal repercussions, in intergenerational organizing contexts, adult organizers often perceive that youth can take risks with fewer ramifications than

radical adults. This perspective created tensions in civil rights movements, given that politically active college students (who may have reduced legal ramifications) also encountered the risks of losing jobs, scholarships, and university support (Franklin, 2014). In Gordon's (2010) study of youth organizing in Portland, these understandings of youth risk occurred along gendered lines. While boys tended to support engagement in radical direct action organizing, girls exhibited more reservations due to fears of parental punishment, more so than state punishment. Despite their differing experiences with punishment due to participation in risky direct actions, both girls and boys agreed that due to their legal status as juveniles, they were "able to take risks for the entire movement in ways that adult radicals could not" (Gordon, 2010, p. 156).

Parental impacts. While dominant youth development discourse frames youth activism as "rebellion"—a function of the natural progression of youth development stages—some researchers posited that radical young people often learn and develop their political sensibilities from supportive parents (Hale, 2016), many of whom participated in previous social movements (Gordon, 2010; Scott, 2016). Thus, despite the dominant narratives, many youth organizers have actually been raised in homes with parents that cultivated political activism as part of their childhood formation. Thus, in some cases, parents support and encourage youth organizing.

Parenting patterns and parental worry over their children's activism, however, can also shape how some parents constrain youth organizing. For example, patriarchal "parenting patterns can promote boys' independence and autonomy and girls' interdependence, dependence, and/or passivity" (Gordon, 2010, p. 179). However, Hill and Sprague (as cited in Gordon, 2010) argued that it is important to note that these gendered parenting patterns can also vary across different socioeconomic and racial contexts. Gordon (2010) found that youth organizers in Oakland and Portland perceived their parents' opposition as stemming from concerns about their physical

safety, their developing political ideologies, and the conflicting roles of children's organizing against their home responsibilities. Thus, adult ally presence in youth activist contexts helped mollify parental concerns, especially in impoverished communities facing violence.

Gender differences impact how youth activists navigate parental worry. Despite common experiences with parental constraint and the attending tensions in families with youth activists, girl activists experienced more pronounced parental constraints than boys in both Portland and Oakland (Gordon, 2010). These realities pushed girls to (a) navigate parental worry, opposition, and constraint; and (b) negotiate their participation in Portland politics in complex ways, which oftentimes served to mitigate their radical political and public voice in order to avoid family disharmony and to be sensitive to their parents' concerns about their safety and childhood innocence (Gordon, 2010). On the other hand, boys did not share the experience of complex navigations around parental worry and instead, "expressed much more confidence in dealing with parental power than did girls and also tended to see parental power as less absolute and more manageable" (Gordon, 2010, p. 187).

Adultism. Adultism is the phenomenon where deficit attitudes are applied toward youth such that adults dominate in interactions with youth through supervision, control, and decision-making on behalf of youth, thereby dismissing the value and agency young people attempt to bring in various spaces (Delgado & Staples, 2008; Warren & Kupscznk, 2016). As discussed earlier, adultism is reflected in systematic legal, social, political, and economic institutional treatment of minors. In doing so, adultism permeates youth life in families, schools, and the broader society. Thus, as young people resist systems where decision-making and leadership is privileged to adults, youth activists encounter adultism in their organizing.

In Gordon's (2010) study of White, middle- and upper-class high school youth organizing in Portland, young people's understandings of adultism informed their stringent, autonomous youth-led approach. Gordon (2010) contended that the race, class, and gender positions of the Portland youth played an important role in shaping the experiences that informed their understandings of adultism. For example, the Portland youth had "confidence in their abilities to speak eloquently to adults in power: indeed, to speak like well-educated adults" (Gordon, 2010, p. 110), and the social capital to verbally engage adults in power. Also, Portland youth had access to safe, White, middle-class public spaces, which they were able to appropriate for meetings and other organizing purposes. Because less risky, liberal tactics like negotiating with liberal adults could sometimes end up in betrayal, Portland youth oftentimes resorted to radical extra-institutional tactics that not only went according to their plans but also attracted media attention. Because of the Portland youth's stringent, youth-led approach, media portrayed Portland youth as independent actors with their own vision, which validated their empowerment.

Taft (2011) contended that adultism is a barrier to intergenerational movement organizing when adults are not aware of how age is an axis of inequality and fail to engage in the necessary self-reflection and vigilance required for authentic adult-youth partnerships. In Gordon's (2010) study of low-income youth of color organizing in Oakland, the adult allies reflected a keen understanding and vigilance about the ways in which adultism impacts interactions within the organization and interactions with adult decision-makers. Here, the youth and adults in Oakland "politicized and openly claimed adult power to be a systematic oppression" (Gordon, 2010, p. 104), which enabled the organization to remain youth-led with adult mentorship and support. Here, adult allies were self-reflective about their interactions with youth and were accountable to youth when they engaged in adultist behavior. This clarity about adultism as a systematic

oppression enabled adults to act as: supporters who could give low-income youth of color access to basic needs through social service referrals and grants; mentors in politicizing youth about institutional, interpersonal, and internalized oppression; coaches to train youth organizers on movement framing and tactics; trusted chaperones in the eyes of concerned parents; a legitimate, educated adult face to adult decision-makers; and transmitters of an institutional memory that connects youth to histories of community struggle (Gordon, 2010).

Generation gap discourse. As young activists began to employ radical tactics that challenged conservative values and political ideas, the media drew from Erikson's stages of youth development model to frame youth activism as rebellion against parents and older generations—thereby wedging a perceived "generation gap" in the public imagination (Scott, 2016). Because media frames often reduce the complexity of the social movement stories they cover, it is important to critically examine alternatives to seeming generational differences. For example, as the New Left (comprised of mostly White college students) developed a radical critique of racism, capitalism, and war, centering their identities as young people enabled them to engage their shared experience of dislocation with the movements they were in solidarity with (Scott, 2016). Conversely, the media did not tend to depict Civil Rights Movement actors along a frame of generational differences. For example, because outward racial unity was critical to the success of the Civil Rights Movement, generational differences in the Black community were oftentimes contained internally (Franklin, 2014; Scott, 2016).

The generation gap discourse erases the instrumental role that veteran adult social movement leaders played in politicizing, recruiting, and mentoring youth in social movements (Franklin, 2014). For example, Ella Baker was a prominent leader in the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), who advocated for the autonomy of radical youth who did not want to be

limited by the bureaucracy of the existing movement structure (Franklin, 2014; Scott, 2016). Baker's advocacy supported the creation of SNCC, which explored grassroots organizing approaches and alternative philosophies of cultivating radical democratic approaches that veteran activists like Ella Baker, James Forman, Gloria Richardson, Amzie Moore, Fannie Lou Hamer, Herbert Lee, Septima Clark, and Miles Horton highlighted in their mentoring of youth (Franklin, 2014). Similarly, veteran activists were important in intergenerational efforts in the Asian American Movement (Liu et al., 2008). In the Chicano Power movement, teacher Sal Castro was an important mentor for the high school youth who led the Los Angeles Chicano Blowouts/Walkouts (Muñoz, 2007). As discussed above, adult organizations in Native American communities were instrumental in politicizing Native youth who led the Red Power movement (Shreve, 2011). Additionally, adults in organizations informed by a gay liberation ideology provided support for emerging gay liberation youth groups (Cohen, 2008).

The misinterpretation of generational differences can be traced back to the practice of equating philosophy and tactics with youth, not biological age (Scott, 2016). In this framework, Martin Luther King Jr. was often referred to being old despite being 31 in 1960, and Ella Baker being considered the youngest person in the movement despite being 57 in 1960 (Scott, 2016). Here, youth was equated with militancy (as opposed to more traditional and conservative approaches), which enabled older people like Ella Baker to identify as militant despite biological age. However, because of the sheer number of youth who were engaged in more militant approaches and the reinforcing media coverage of these highly visual movement actions by youth, an inaccurate understanding of generational differences was constructed.

Generation gap discourse, moreover, has damaging implications for sustaining movement participation. In Gordon's (2010) study of Portland youth activism, youth critiqued the New Left

as ineffective, which discouraged them from seeking adult mentorship from adults who participated in the New Left or who also were perceived as sell-outs to the comforts of middle-class life. Additionally, because of the strict youth-led policy of Portland youth activists, recent graduates were prohibited from continued participation (Gordon, 2010). The severe resistance to adultism promoted a lack of mentorship, a reliance on radical direct action approaches that attracted media attention, and challenges with sustaining movement efforts toward long-term goals (Gordon, 2010).

Patron-Client relationships. Franklin (2014) argued that the generation gap discourse also cultivated concerns about youth engaging in adult-led organizations due to a belief that adults would coopt youth organizing efforts by manipulating political agendas in order to serve predetermined veteran activist agendas, thereby creating a patron-client relationship. Here, youth engaged in movement structures would be positioned as clients and subordinates who are subject to the control of antidemocratic adults. However, Franklin also contended that the realities of institutional leveraging to sustain movement wins during the conservative period following the 1960s created a resource dilemma for sustaining youth organizing. For example, youth groups with limited resources will seek out patrons to support their efforts or patron organizations may recruit clients whose participation can give them legitimacy, loyalty, and support. Tensions may arise between patrons and clients when patrons receiving support from foundations or political elites may pressure clients to moderate their movement activity. Thus, tensions can arise when there are ideological, philosophical, and methodological differences.

Intersectional Contexts

Intersectional contexts are particularly significant to this discussion of tensions within the arena of youth organizing, particularly with respect to race, class, gender, and sexuality.

Race and class. As discussed above, low-income youth of color have experienced multiple attacks from the media and state policies, which have created a type of vulnerability that impacts their movement participation. When exploring the phenomenon of youth legal status in social movements, Gordon (2010) noticed differences along race. When planning for risky direct actions that would attract media, White youth organizers often played on the discourse of youth innocence to help expand their movement messages to the wider public. On the other hand, youth of color would often avoid direct encounters with media due to prevalent media discourse that demonizes youth of color.

Because cultural and economic imperialism dispossesses low-income youth of color in destructive ways, adults are critical to supporting their organizing efforts. Adults not only help low-income youth of color gain access to fundamental social services, but also help secure safe spaces that are scarce in impoverished communities fraught with danger, violence, and instability. Also, when education systems fail to adequately serve low-income youth of color, many youth organizers do have access to an education that cultivates a strong command of Standard English, the dominant language of power. Thus, the mentorship and presence of college-educated adult allies help legitimize the organizing efforts of low-income youth of color.

Additionally, in order to combat the internalized hopelessness created by the structural violence of the state, adults are instrumental in cultivating a sense of institutional memory, which help youth feel a sense of purpose and empowerment, when they are able to connect their efforts to a longer history and legacy of strong community resistance. While White middle-class youth activists are portrayed as competent and innocent, low-income youth of color have to actively distance themselves from stereotypical portrayals and the negative hypervisibility they

experience in the media, while working ardently to build their confidence to challenge dominant authorities.

Gender. Western, heteropatriarchal notions of masculinity and femininity impact parenting patterns and socialization, which affect youth organizing. When examining the impact of parental worry in constraining youth organizing, Gordon (2010) found that the Portland boys in her study experienced a general familial independence, which enabled them to have more mobility, visibility, and access to privileged information in adult community organizing spaces. When gender was coupled with race, she found that Portland boys experienced less parental worry than Oakland boys, which had an impact on their movement participation.

Interviews with the White, middle-class boys from Portland showed that many boys viewed their movement activity as the result of individual choices and thus questioned girls' commitment to the movement when they did not participate in similar ways. On the other hand, as discussed above, girls reared with values of dependence and interdependence often experienced more pressure to ameliorate their parents' worry by making conscious decisions to minimize participation in radical actions. Additionally, Taft (2011) found that girls' socialization toward emotionality, concern for others, and optimism pushed them to adopt more collective and hopeful attitudes toward movement participation, while boys learning to be masculine distanced themselves from emotionality and expressing compassion for others.

Gender also had varied implications for relationships with adults and respective gender roles in movement work. In Gordon's (2010) study of Portland youth activists, there was a gendered relationship to school adults. While boys could perform at medium and low academic levels and even get disciplined for their political organizing, they did not lose legitimacy and the

ability to negotiate with school adults. On the other hand, girls feared disappointing their teachers and oftentimes minimized sharing their movement participation with school adults.

In the Chicano Power movement, Muñoz (2007) recognized how heteropatriarchy operated in the movement such that males enjoyed much more visibility. These constraints further illustrate the increased visibility of boys as leaders in social movements. In Taft's (2011) study of girl activists across the Americas, girls expressed how many boys were irresponsible and were not showing up to intensive workdays due to societal pressure to perform in more masculine types of labor, while girls did not share that experience.

Gender socialization and gender roles also impact the methods and direction of movements. Taft (2011) found that while boys tended to express more cynicism, girls tended to be more willing to imagine their utopias and engage in prefigurative politics, the creation of relationships in movements that are reflective of the world they seek to create. Similarly, Gordon (2010) found that Portland boys tended to support more straightforward, militant, confrontational actions, while girls tended to propose more complex actions and movement processes in order to accommodate for the complex ways they had to navigate relationships with adults and family expectations. In Gordon's study, the gendered differences created internal fractures in the movement that led to the increased dropout of girl participation and the ultimate dissolution of the Portland youth organizing efforts.

However, intentional adult feminist interventions can help counter the negative impacts of gendered participation in youth movements. In Gordon's (2010) study of Oakland youth organizing, adults operating with a strong anti-adultism and feminist frameworks were able to facilitate the young people's politicization around sexism, which helped them become vigilant of patriarchy in their spaces and actively create political spaces that honored girls' anger. Ginwright

(2010) highlighted how these types of adult interventions helped girls heal from gendered violence, boys develop a more feminist approach in their work, and boys heal from toxic masculinity, by engaging in groups that helped reshape their understanding of healthy Black masculinity.

While adult interventions can help boys and girls heal in organizing frameworks, it is necessary to be critical of how funders of patron organizations may provide empowerment training and resources that reinforce neoliberal values. Taft (2010) contended that in a climate where feminism has promoted an empowerment discourse toward girl leadership development programs, these empowerment frameworks support neoliberal ideologies. By reinforcing ideas of individual agency and the remaking of individuals, these neoliberal leadership programs teach girls that empowerment is remaking oneself and acting upon their individuality. Similar to critiques of positive development models, these programs place the onus of change on the individual youth, not on the structural inequalities that produce their oppression.

Sexuality. Andreana Clay (2012) contended that the popular discourse in the lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ) movement is centered on the White experience in same-sex marriage debates and television shows. Queer youth activists of color not only experience homophobia bias at school, at home, legal institutions, and the media, but also experience this bias from other youth activists. Thus, due to their invisibility in popular discourse and the homophobia they experience in various arenas in their lives, many queer youth activists of color seek to actively incorporate their experiences in social justice organizing spaces, challenge dominant ideologies and practices in various social settings, and make sense of their queer identity.

Youth Organizing Pedagogies

Youth organizing is cultivated through a variety of pedagogies that help engage and sustain youth participation in movements for justice. While previous sections have alluded to these pedagogies, this section more deeply explores pedagogies for youth organizing.

Support for Basic Needs

When supporting youth organizing in impoverished communities of color, providing access to basic needs is critical to sustaining youth engagement. As discussed above, adults can play a critical role with helping connect students to needed resources such as food and housing (Gordon, 2010). Adults in community spaces can also help youth develop a politicized understanding of their educational success, which can facilitate academic supports for improved academic achievement in order to create a more just world (Ginwright, 2010). Also, adults operating from a *radical healing framework* (Ginwright, 2010) in organizations can help young people process and heal from traumatic experiences in a safe space where they feel loved and cared for.

Political Education

The increasingly covert nature of oppression has created a political climate where increased political education is necessary not only to inform people about power (Lewis-Charp et al., 2006), but also to help facilitate a youth organizing praxis centered on contesting multiple oppressions. Leonisa Ardizzone (2007) argued that a peace education framework directed toward transformation can help facilitate the process of conscientization (Freire, 1970). Here, peace education helps raise youth consciousness about the structural (institutional) violence that creates conditions of direct (interpersonal) violence in communities. When peace education is directed toward transformation, it can help youth differentiate between "negative peace efforts" that seek

to minimize violence and work toward "positive peace" efforts that help create different relationships and spaces that promote the transformation they seek to achieve in society.

Political education can facilitate youth connections between their life experiences and broader issues of race, class, and gender oppression (Braxton, 2016). Youth political education during the Civil Rights Movement took place in the African American community through adult mentorship (Franklin, 2014) and summer Freedom Schools (Hale, 2016). Political education also took place in youth conferences that cultivated the creation of the Chicano Power movement (Muñoz, 2007) and the Red Power movement (Shreve, 2011). As discussed earlier, political education can take place in education contexts like community service learning (Claus & Ogden, 1999; Yates, 1999) and YPAR collectives (Torres & Fine, 2006); community organization contexts (Braxton, 2016; Ginwright, 2010; Gordon, 2010); and youth-led spaces (Taft, 2011).

Oftentimes, political education takes place outside of schools due to the cultural imperialism (Muñoz, 2007) and economic imperialism (Gordon, 2010) young people experience in school settings. When political education takes place in community organization contexts, adults can help youth draw connections between the root causes of problems in their communities and develop a sense of responsibility to address these concerns (Ginwright, 2010; Gordon, 2010). In historical youth-led spaces, SNCC engaged in prefigurative politics by creating youth-led, youth-organized, and youth-serving summer Freedom Schools (Hale, 2016). In some contemporary youth-led activist spaces in Latin America, girls facilitated their own political education through participant-led spaces grounded in reading political texts with one another, engaging in rich theoretical dialogue, and actively listening to each other's voices and opinions (Taft, 2011).

Democratic Principles

While political education helps cultivate understanding of why young people should engage in activism, youth organizing spaces should help young people authentically practice the skills required to create the democratic society they seek to create. For example, in the Native American community, youth conferences in the 1960s not only politicized youth, but also provided them with training on the democratic process—efforts that collectively helped create conditions where youth could lead the intertribal National Indian Youth Council (NIYC). Community-based youth organizations (CBYOs) can facilitate democratic principles by implementing organizational intentionality to support youth and power, educating youth on public concepts that provide a framework for youth to understanding their organizing work, youth participation in decision-making, providing content and pedagogies that give youth opportunities for critical reflection and active participation, and macropolitical connections that help engage young people in community issues and actions (O'Donoghue, 2006). Youth-serving organizations can also facilitate youth learning democratic principles through deliberative democracy, a process whereby dialogue among participants can help youth generate their own agendas and to not be simply recruited into a pre-determined one, where they are rendered more passive (Kirshner, 2015).

Schools often limit opportunities for youth leadership to organizing events divorced from school politics, a common practice based on a deferred understanding of youth agency, which Gordon (2010) called the "citizen-in-the-making" model. Instead, schools can create authentic opportunities for young people to engage in democratic decision-making in ways that impact their concrete experience in their school climate (Gordon, 2010). In the 1960s, SNCC youth envisioned and created schools that provided these types of democratic decision-making around

the curriculum, instruction, organization, and facilitation of summer Freedom Schools—schools that helped spark the community imagination of what student-centered schools could look like (Hale, 2016). In a more contemporary example, David Stovall (2006) contended that the fight for a community school in Chicago centered democratic youth participation by creating intentional processes that provided for youth voice and representation in decision-making and policy development. Additionally, school partnerships with universities can provide youth opportunities to engage in YPAR, which, as discussed earlier, provides many rich opportunities for democratic participation between youth and adults (Torre & Fine, 2006).

Youth can also facilitate their own development in participatory democracy in political education settings. For example, girls from Latin America in Taft's (2011) study embraced a collectivist and community well-being approach to organizing where involving more people in their work meant engaging them in movement activities, not simply recruiting them as individuals who would simply contribute labor or resources to predetermined movement goals. Here, as new participants engaged in political education, they participated in rich, open conversations that facilitated a more active democratic approach to involving movement participants. Taft (2011) argued that adults who operate from more Alinsky-style issue-based organizing could learn from these girls' horizontal movement approaches in Latin America.

Content Creation as Cultural Workers

As discussed in Chapter 3, culture is also an integral component of movement efforts. By having alternative opportunities for expression, youth organizers can be cultural workers who create alternative content that can influence the wider community. Clay (2012) contended that hip-hop culture has been a tool that youth of color have used to politicize themselves and mobilize others toward demanding structural change in communities. Here, youth borrowed and

recreated images, texts, and practices from previous social movements, in order to create a hip-hop culture that was reflective of their current lived conditions; and also mobilized others, through a more decentralized approach, in a more complex political landscape compared to previous generations. Franklin (2014) contended that contemporary hip-hop youth organizers have also had to struggle with the neoliberal cooptation of hip-hop that reproduces oppressive ideologies and the perpetuation of generational analyses of movement participation in hip-hop, which has served to depict the post–civil rights generation along uniform lines, instead of honoring their various intersectional identities.

Youth organizers can work as cultural workers by producing alternative content that complements the efforts of the hip-hop culture. YPAR not only provides a democratic approach to creating knowledge among youth and adults, it also promotes more creative, participatory approaches to sharing research findings in ways that are accessible to the wider community (Torre & Fine, 2006). Duncan-Andrade (2006) contended that a pedagogy of creating media in a classroom context provides an alternative approach to assessment, where students can demonstrate critique, analysis, posit solutions to concerns in their communities, and engage in civic participation by sharing media expressing their ideas with others. In the advent of an online culture of social media, youth have displayed a preference for participatory digital media that enables content consumers to also produce and share content with others who are in their personal networks, which has shifted how youth engage in political discourse (Bennet et al., 2010). Thus, by having alternative means for expressing youth voice, youth can create a participatory youth culture that produces content that reflects their experiences while also utilizing tools that decentralize and mobilize movement participation.

Leadership Development through Praxis: Reflection and Action

Praxis is the process of developing a deep understanding of theory through reflective action (Freire, 1970). Praxis has been an important framework for contesting dominant Western Eurocentric understandings of knowledge creation. By centering the experiences of learners, the learning process becomes relevant. When teachers challenge dominant notions of authority by creating new knowledge with students, they create new understandings of how adult allies can work with young people to address critical community concerns. Thus, service-learning projects have been viewed as valuable action-oriented learning experiences that have the potential to facilitate deeper student reflections on course curricula that critically engage questions of power and oppression in students' communities (Claus & Ogden, 1999; Yates, 1999). YPAR projects help students to not only engage in a knowledge-creation process based on research, they also help provide the mentorship young people need to engage decision-makers and voters who have the ability to meaningfully affect policies that directly impact their lives (Torre & Fine, 2006).

Reflection is also a valuable tool for guiding the leadership development process and sustaining a commitment to combating interpersonal and internalized oppression. Here, self-reflection helps facilitate young people's honest understandings of areas for growth as movement participants, which can facilitate leadership development efforts (Kirshner, 2015; O'Donoghue, 2006). Also, when adult allies are committed to combating adultism in youth organizing spaces, their honest reflections on their actions help facilitate their accountability to youth and their autonomy (Gordon, 2010). Action helps combat the hopelessness that youth can feel due to the experience of multiple intersections of race, class, gender, and sexuality-based oppression (Ardizzone, 2007; Gordon, 2010). When young people feel that adults have abandoned them by failing to fight for youth needs, youth organizing is a medium for youth to combat adult

abandonment (Taft, 2011). When adults and youth share a commitment to be vigilant of how their actions reflect social responsibility and accountability to the community, they engage in a praxis that can help heal and transform their community (Ginwright, 2010).

Alternative Youth Development Models

As different scholars have engaged with the various implications for youth development and youth organizing discussed above, they created alternative youth development models that challenge dominant, deficit, and individualistic approaches to supporting youth. This section explores various propositions for applying youth organizing pedagogies in ways that help transform youth development work. This discussion will help to inform a transformative youth organizing paradigm.

The Social Justice Youth Development (SJYD) (Ginwright & Cammarota, 2002), Community Youth Development (CYD) (Lewis-Charp et al., 2006) and Sociopolitical Development (SPD) (Watts & Guessous, 2006) models have been responsive to critiques of problem-based and individual-focused approaches to youth development. The SJYD model contends that when a social justice framework accounts for the political, economic, and social struggles of communities, it provides youth with a capacity to respond to these community concerns through critical self-awareness, social awareness, global awareness, and action (Ginwright & Cammarota, 2002).

Similarly, scholars in CYD seek to address contextual realities in communities by not only encouraging youth to channel their power toward community change, but also challenging the community to play a role in supporting youth development (Lewis-Charp et al., 2006). SPD scholars build on developmental psychology frameworks by pushing the field to move beyond coping and resilience discourses and advocating for liberation psychology frameworks that

include engagement with social, political, and economic systemic forces of oppression (Watts & Guessous, 2006). The SPD model supports analysis of authority and power, highlights the importance of young people's sense of agency, action that requires opportunities, and outcomes that sustain commitment and action (Watts & Guessous, 2006). Collectively, the SJYD, CYD, and SPD models help support a shift in youth development language toward promoting youth activism that is grounded in a critical understanding of the community contexts that shape youth realities.

Civic activist approaches and critical youth engagement frameworks also provide guidance for cultivating youth activism. Civic activist approaches, according to Lewis-Charp and collaborators (2006), include (a) nurturing collective forms of identity that create a sense of purpose through critical analysis and deep reflection; (b) making social change tangible through political education that centers youth as experts of their experience and change agendas that provide clear roles for young people to take leadership on issues that impact their lives; and (c) coaching strategies that foster lifelong activism that instill attitudes that combat cynicism, distrust, and alienation. Youth leadership, youth organizing, and YPAR frameworks overlap in ways that create common commitments for "critical youth engagement": youth carry knowledge about their experience, cultivate critical analysis toward critical consciousness, youth leadership in partnership with adults, an understanding of intersectionality, and engaging in collective action for social change (Fox et al., 2010).

The critical hope (Duncan-Andrade, 2009) and radical healing (Ginwright, 2010) frameworks help inform how adults can create trusting, caring relationships that facilitate hope and healing through traumatic community experiences. Duncan-Andrade (2009) posited that critical hope is created when: youth receive access to basic physiological and emotional needs

(material hope); adults are willing to engage in critical self-reflection that pushes adults to honor the pain and righteous indignation youth experience while also building students' capacity to grow from pain and indignation (Socratic hope); and adults help create interdependent communities where all participants are in genuine solidarity with one another's pain and victories (audacious hope).

By cultivating a sense of humanizing hope, Ginwright (2010) contended, educators can facilitate radical healing, a process of healing from society's oppressive and destructive toxins through (a) caring relationships grounded in communal, cultural, and political solidarity; (b) communities grounded in love, hope, goodness, and rituals that facilitate regular healing practices; (c) critical consciousness that is cultivated in caring relationships and opportunities for political expression and engagement; and (d) culture that builds a strong sense of self, history, legacy, and purpose. As communities engage in a process of radical healing, they build the capacity to act on toxic environments by creating healing spaces that support wellness in individual political consciousness, community collective power and control, and social movements characterized by collective action and democratic life.

Contesting Definitions of Youth-Led Organizing

While this chapter has engaged different questions of youth participation in social movements and the various youth development models that have shaped these discussions, it is also critical to engage the different ways the concept of "youth-led" organizing has been contested to develop an understanding of who drives youth activism work (Rosen & Conner, 2016). This discussion explores the literature review constructed by Rosen and Conner (2016), which provides the final consideration that will inform the creation of a transformative youth organizing social movement paradigm.

Delgado and Staples (2008) argued that there are four models of youth power in community organizing: adult-led with youth participation, adult-led with youth as limited partners, youth-adult collaborative partnerships, and youth-led spaces with adult allies. While this is an appealing model for many, Rosen and Conner (2016) claimed that these models do not provide specificity on "how youth power and control may manifest within an organization" or "what exactly it is that youth are 'in charge of' and how they assert this authority" (p. 61). Zimmerman (as cited in Rosen & Conner, 2016) asserted that youth leadership takes place along a spectrum ranging from "youth as clients" to "youth-led" which indicate "the degree to which youth are empowered to participate and lead" (p. 61). While this model helps identify the ways in which youth can have meaningful roles in governance, programming, and managing operations, Rosen and Conner contended that this perspective narrowly defines youth leadership in terms of governance and does not acknowledge other youth participant contributions.

Rosen and Conner (2016) further argued that distributed leadership and collectivist leadership approaches reflect an understanding of leadership as "embodied in relationships and expressed through a variety of actions that support the culture, vision, and work of an organization in purposeful and constructive ways" (p. 61). They cited YPAR as an example of distributed leadership while explaining that spaces that facilitate developing leadership capacity among peers are examples of collectivist leadership—a type of leadership similar to those of the girls from Latin America in Taft's (2011) study. Rosen and Conner argued that scholars on these topics still need to provide clearer definitions of adult roles in youth-led research and organizing spaces.

Ben Kirshner (2006; 2015) advanced a model of youth leadership that explicitly examined adult roles in youth organizing spaces. Kirshner (2015) posited a spectrum of adult

guidance strategies: (a) facilitation: where adults act as neutral facilitators of youth-led processes; (b) apprenticeship: where youth learn about the organizing process through a process of witnessing adult modeling, receiving adult coaching, and experiencing the fading of adult support in persuasive speech and problem-framing organizing practices; and (c) joint-work: where, like in the apprenticeship phase, adults have a vested interest in the success of campaigns, but treat youth as equal partners who do not receive the types of adult guidance described in the facilitation and apprenticeship phases.

Based on the discussion of literature on youth-led organizing frameworks, Rosen and Conner (2016) argued that clear definitions of youth-led organizing should consider the authority of youth (compared to adults), the depth of youth involvement or responsibilities, and the continuity of youth involvement with regard to organizational decision-making, with respect to the management and operations of an organization, long-term visioning and strategy development, and creating the organizational identity and culture. Exploring youth leadership among those various intersecting domains not only helps illuminate the complexity of youth leadership in youth organizing contexts but also helps shed light on the various ways youth express responsibility to the organization, the organizing work, and to each other.

Summary

This chapter has explored the creation of the concept of youth and how psychological youth development models have created deficit understandings of youth that were perpetuated in the media and reinforced by state policies. This chapter examined the different ways youth were engaged in United States social movements throughout the 20th century, which reflected a cycle of assimilation/conservatism and radicalism leading up to the current destructive impact of neoliberalism in communities of color. Together, those discussions help highlight how social,

political, and economic institutions have worked in tandem to create oppression on a separate axis according to age, which is manifested as adultism in various aspects of young people's lives. Scholars have contested deficit, individualized approaches in youth development models to create alternative frameworks for youth organizing, youth organizing pedagogies, youth development, and youth-led organizing that respect the intersectional and intergenerational realities young people face when engaging in youth organizing.

While the work explored in this chapter has engaged the impact of political climate, attending discourse on youth of color, shifting approaches in youth development, and how different scholars problematize different ways to facilitate and define youth organizing and agency, there is limited discussion on youth as participants within social movement frameworks. In the following chapter, I expand the discussion of social movements in ways that honor the agency of young people while also recognizing (a) the multiple axes of oppression young people experience along age, race, class, gender, and sexuality due to their intersectional identities and lived realities; and (b) the current impacts of coloniality and epistemicides that young people and their communities seek to resist. In order to move our understanding of youth organizing to a more deeply emancipatory level, I present a decolonizing transformative paradigm for youth organizing that seeks to move our thinking of social movements beyond protest and to embrace the emancipatory possibilities of transformative approaches that heal the intersectional impacts of epistemicides.

CHAPTER 5

TRANSFORMATIVE YOUTH ORGANIZING

> The struggle is inner: Chicano, indio, American Indian, mojado, mexicano, immigrant Latino, Anglo in power, working class Anglo, Black, Asian—our psyches resemble the bordertowns and are populated by the same people. The struggle has always been inner, and it is played out in outer terrains. Awareness of our situation must come before inner changes, which in turn comes before changes in society. Nothing happens in the "real" world unless it first happens in the images in our heads.
>
> Gloria Anzaldúa

Anzaldúa, like Fanon, interrogated the importance of exploring the psychological impacts of colonialism and called activists to engage in a process of spiritual activism, a decolonial process that politicizes the spirit while engaging in movement work (Calderón, Delgado Bernal, Pérez Huber, Malagón, & Velez, 2012; Keating, 2008). In Chapter 2 of this study, I explored how the process of epistemicides systematically aims to murder indigenous worldviews and their attending spiritualties in order to facilitate the hegemony of imperialist Western epistemologies such as Cartesian dualism and positivism (Grosfoguel, 2013). These Western epistemologies are reflected in my discussion of social movement theories (see Chapter 3), such that abyssal thinking (Santos, 2014) prevents a serious engagement of spirituality in social movement theory. In the United States, Constitutional demands to separate church from state render the concept of spiritual activism as lying behind the abyssal line (Santos, 2014), such that contemporary understandings of political activism invisibilize the role of spirituality in activism. In contrast, I present in this last chapter, a decolonizing social movement framework that seeks to engage the role of spirituality in facilitating a decolonizing transformative paradigm for youth organizing.

While various social movements have facilitated a gradual process of different community advancements, the normalization of protest centered on state targets has moved many organizers and activists to question the effectiveness of that strategy during a time where neoliberal laws and policies have subverted and appropriated movement language to advance neocolonial interests. Michelle Alexander, a renowned legal scholar who has been informed by law, policy, and advocacy for more than 20 years, has recently decided to leave law and move into the seminary. Alexander (2016) "no longer believe[s] we can 'win' justice simply by filing lawsuits, flexing our political muscles, or boosting voter turnout" nor that these efforts "will ever be enough" on their own. She claimed, "Without a moral or spiritual awakening, we will remain forever trapped in political games fueled by fear, greed and the hunger for power." Instead, she argued,

> This is not simply a legal problem, or a political problem, or a policy problem. At its core, America's journey from slavery to Jim Crow to mass incarceration raises profound moral and spiritual questions about who we are, individually and collectively, who we aim to become, and what we are willing to do now. (Alexander, 2016)

Alexander publicly announced her resignation as a law professor due to a desire to take "very seriously the moral, ethical and spiritual dimensions of justice work" through study at Union Theological Seminary.

Alexander's sentiments mirror much of Mahatma Gandhi's (1910) sentiments expressed in his seminal work *Hind Swaraj*. Here, Gandhi sought to clarify the meaning of swaraj and distinguish it from the quest for self-government and the quest for self-improvement (Parel, 1997). Gandhi contended swaraj is not achieved solely through political power and economic prosperity, but also through moral development. Swaraj cannot be given to the colonized by the

colonizer—it must be achieved through internal transformation (Parel, 1997). Gandhi's work was influenced by Rajchandra Ravjibhai Mehta, who defined dharma as "a quality of the soul" present in every human being. "Through it we know our duty in human life and our true relations with other souls…dharma is the means [*sadhana*] by which we can know ourselves" (Parel, 1997, pp. xlviii–xlix). Gandhi (1910) contended that political activity can represent "the highest form of active life" when practiced "within the framework of an updated dharma" that is "suited for life in the modern world of liberty, equality and prosperity" (p. lii) toward "a moral vision of the human good" (lvii).

While social movement frameworks and the organizing methodology advanced by Alinsky promote adversarial relations between the oppressors and the oppressed to achieve justice, spiritual perspectives around nonviolence and love can inform a decolonial social movement approach. In the pursuit of an ethical life, violence was not acceptable to Gandhi, who supported the use of nonviolent methods (Parel, 1997). While Alinsky purported that the ends justify the means, for Gandhi "the means have to be morally as defensible as the ends themselves" (Parel, 1997, p. lv). Gandhi argued that nonviolence derives its power from soul-force (which contains love-force, truth-force, compassion-force, suffering-force, and justice-force), which is superior to the violence in body-force (Peral, 1997).

In Howard Thurman's (1976) seminal work, *Jesus and the Disinherited*, Thurman contended that the disinherited must follow Jesus's call to love their enemy—a process that "requires reconciliation, the will to re-establish a relationship. It involves confession of error and a seeking to be restored to one's former place" (p. 92). Here, Gandhi and Thurman's spiritual teachings around a nonviolent commitment to restore the humanity of those who oppress and

those who are oppressed can inform decolonial social movement approaches toward transforming society.

Karen Armstrong's (2006) analysis of world religions during the Axial Age illustrated a history where new religions and faiths emerged in response to frightening social crises that necessitated a change in faith and what it means to be human. While religion is a "body of ideas," Armstrong (as cited in Boggs, 2012) contended that social crises precipitated a new form of spirituality, where spirituality is "a leap of faith, a practice of compassion based on a new belief in the sacredness of ourselves and other selves" (p. 45). Armstrong argued that when violence became synonymous with militant religious action that gave rise to terrifyingly contentious times, religious leaders among various faiths came to the conclusion that self-criticism became necessary to facilitate spiritual action marked by compassion for others' suffering through acts of love.

Boggs (2012) contended that World War II questions surrounding the justification of the use the atomic bomb built a movement to "grow our souls," where it was important to redefine understandings of what it means to be human. Boggs explored how Albert Einstein viewed humans as part of the universe, critiqued the separation of people's experiences from others, and asserted that the task for humans is to widen our compassion to all living creatures and nature. Boggs discussed how the Montgomery Bus Boycott of 19551956 employed nonviolent methods that transformed participants in ways that contributed to the good in the world, by creating the community and human identity they sought to create. Boggs also asserted that Marxist-Leninist structuralist analyses of radical social change should be integrated into "a two-sided transformational process of ourselves and of our institutions" (p. 39).

Boggs (2012) argued that many civic groups in the United States are engaging in a cultural revolution marked by a combination of spiritual awakening and implementing practical actions in daily life. Many of these groups that resist the Western male privileging of scientific rationalism are inspired by Indigenous peoples' knowledge, and motivated by European village women's approaches toward intimate connections with nature, healing, and caring (Boggs, 2012). Boggs noted that these groups struggle to engage in social movement activity "beyond protest and negativity" and strive to build a sense of community that has been "destroyed by the dominant culture" (p. 43). Thus, in order to confront the crises created by global capitalism, it is critical to work toward future goals "based on partnership among ourselves and with our environment rather than patriarchal and bureaucratic domination" (Boggs, 2012, p. 43). Boggs's insights here, in combination with the discussion from previous chapters, inform the principles of a decolonizing social movement framework for transformative youth organizing.

Principles of Transformative Youth Organizing

The decolonizing interpretive methodology (Darder, 2015a) has guided my process of reading various texts around the logics of coloniality, social movement theory, and youth organizing frameworks through the lenses of critical pedagogy and decolonizing pedagogy in order to develop a decolonizing transformative youth organizing paradigm. Thus, the principles of transformative youth organizing discussed below arise from a long history of critical pedagogy (Darder et al., 2009) and decolonizing pedagogies that seek to reclaim spiritual ontologies (Shahjahan et al., 2009) that facilitate the process of inward spiritual healing from internalized epistemicides, while engaging in outward social justice efforts to transform society.

In this discussion of transformative youth organizing, I utilize the metaphor of a butterfly (a symbol of transformation) centered in "love" and propelled by the wings of "community" and

"healing." Here, the butterfly represents a loving social movement community that strengthens its wings of "community" and "healing" through acts of "agency" and "creation" within the context of a "haven" (see Figure 7).

Figure 7. A visual summary of the transformative youth organizing framework.

As I will demonstrate in the discussion below, the efforts of many "butterflies" in various counterhegemonic "havens" can facilitate transformative youth organizing efforts that promote a wider decolonizing social movement to transform our world. Thus, the transformative youth organizing framework can also be conceptualized as a "Butterfly Pedagogy," a pedagogy where "haven" meets transformation.

Haven

The neoliberal assaults on communities of color have created toxic and violent environments (Ginwright, 2010; Gordon, 2010; Lipman, 2011), which signal a need for safe

spaces for youth of color and their adult allies. Thus, the transformative youth organizing approach calls for cultivating a haven—a counterhegemonic space that supports the creation of alternative structures, practices, and relationships toward democratic and liberatory aims (Darder et al., 2009). Grounded in critical social theory, counterhegemonic spaces honor subaltern experiences and allow for the disruption of dominant, oppressive Eurocentric perspectives, theories, and practices through a decolonizing, dialectical critique (Darder, 2015a). Here, counterhegemonic intellectual spaces create safe spaces where "new readings of the world can unfold, in ways that lead us toward change, both in theory and practice" (Darder, 2015a, p. 63). Thus, counterhegemonic spaces not only facilitate the critique of colonial epistemologies, but also cultivate the reinvention of decolonizing ideas, interpretations, and analyses toward "a liberatory process of consciousness" (Darder, 2015a, p. 75).

Transformative youth organizing "havens" represent counterhegemonic spaces where youth and adult allies actively resist the intellectual and social reproduction of asymmetrical power relations (Darder et al., 2009), in order to actualize their shared humanity with one another. Thus, the transformative aim of transformative youth organizing "havens" is to *create autonomous intergenerational solidarity spaces* between young people and adults where counterhegemonic critical social principles can inform how young people and adults can feel safe to heal and grow with one another. Transformative youth organizing "havens" help create a space where young people and adults can engage in the praxis of dismantling the Eurocentric privileging of adult agency, by creating a space where adult and youth participants are collectively committed to not only understanding how adultism limits youth agency but also hold one another accountable to actively cultivating youth agency with intergenerational support.

Thus, the anticipated pedagogical outcome of transformative youth organizing "havens" is that, when guided by counterhegemonic critical social theory principles, young people and adults can collectively create autonomous solidarity spaces that actively dismantle adultism and honor youth agency with intergenerational support. Applying the butterfly metaphor, the counterhegemonic haven is akin to a cocoon, the protective space that helps the butterfly (a loving social movement community) strengthen its wings of "community" and "healing" through acts of "agency" and "creation," which ultimately promote the creation of more butterflies in more counterhegemonic "havens," whose collective efforts help transform society by engaging in a transformative youth organizing praxis. The discussion below will expand upon the transformative youth organizing principles of "community," "love," "healing," and "agency and creation."

Community

Freire (1970) contended that an "authentic revolution" is marked by the "communion" of leaders and the people through a collective engagement in praxis together. This stands in stark contrast to Alinsky's pragmatic organizing approaches that assert that trained organizers must facilitate the process of community organizing. Instead, Freire (1970) called for decolonial approaches that decenter colonial hierarchies and dignify the experiences of the people—a spirit that is echoed in the grassroots organizing approach promoted by Ella Baker (Oakes et al., 2006). As discussed in Chapter 2, Ella Baker argued that leadership should be both decentralized and draw upon ordinary people's experiences (Oakes et al., 2006). More specifically, a transformative youth organizing "community" should foster the communion between youth and adults; communion through community building; communion with indigenous peoples and the Earth; as well as engage community goals for transformative youth organizing.

Communion between youth and adults. In a transformative youth organizing setting, a communion between adults and young people can be marked by a shared commitment to disrupt the adultism they experience internally, interpersonally, institutionally, and ideologically. The communion of youth and adults in transformative youth organizing settings should consider the contesting definitions of youth-led organizing discussed in Chapter 3. Thus, transformative youth organizing settings should cultivate the distributive leadership reflected in YPAR collectives (Rosen & Conner, 2016; Torre & Fine, 2006), carefully consider how to apply the spectrum of adult guidance strategies (Kirshner, 2015), and cultivate youth-led spaces (Rosen & Conner, 2016), which interrogate the authority of youth (compared to adults), the depth of youth involvement or responsibilities, and the continuity of youth involvement with regard to: organizational decision-making on the management and operations of an organization, long-term visioning and strategy development, and creating the organizational identity and culture.

Given Gordon's (2010) findings on the impact of parental worry regarding youth participation in movements, it is also critical to build a true union between children and their parents. Thus, it is critical to engage parents in the process of combating adultism and patriarchal parenting patterns. Building community between adults, youth, and their parents is critical to helping assuage parental worry that, when activated, could limit parental support for their children's participation in these types of counterhegemonic spaces. By promoting a true union between adults and young people, transformative youth organizing approaches facilitate the growth of counterhegemonic spaces that reflect a decolonial effort to disrupt individualistic hierarchies (Grosfoguel, 2013) and antidialogical "divide and conquer" tactics (Freire, 1970) between youth and adults toward a democratic engagement between youth and adults who seek to critically disrupt colonial relationships and institutions together.

Communion through building community. As discussed above, technology can assist social movements with mediating social movement culture, practices, and organizational routines (Tilly & Wood, 2013), while facilitating a wider engagement of youth in social justice movements through social media (Braxton, 2016). As technology continues to transform how people virtually engage with one another, it is important to engage questions of how organizing communities can continue to promote trust and sustain social movement engagement, which have historically taken place in settings with physical interactions between people (Diani, 2004). Thus, it is critical that transformative youth organizing approaches foster community-building spaces that facilitate the relationship-building (Duncan-Andrade, 2009; Ginwright, 2010; Mirra et al., 2016) necessary for youth and adults to authentically build and participate in trusting, democratic, counterhegemonic communities. In today's context, transformative youth organizing communities should consider how to facilitate community-building in both virtual and physical spaces to promote authentic relationship-building and to enhance opportunities for participation.

Community-building in decolonial transformative youth organizing communities should not only take place in defined collectives but also be built across time and space. Engaging the Yoruba concept of ancestors may be useful here when discussing building community across time and space in the context of spirituality in colonial realities. According to Yoruba spirituality, ancestors represent the past, the future, and the living (Adefarakan, 2015). When organizing communities have this sacred Yoruba understanding of community, which extends from a history that continues through the present and the future, it can build an understanding of the circular, continuity of life and the importance of building a community of struggle and resistance not only in the present, but also across different times and spaces. Without being in true communion with one another, or, in true relationships built upon the concept of community,

it would be difficult for participants to engage in the full potential of transformative youth organizing counterhegemonic spaces.

Communion with indigenous peoples and the earth. A decolonizing social movement framework would be incomplete without a critical engagement around the colonial impact of dispossessing indigenous people from the land that settlers currently live on. Thus, the "butterfly," the transformative youth organizing social movement community comprised of communities of color in the United States, must talk about the history of settler colonialism to gain a historicity of knowledge about the specific land that they collectively occupy (Tuck & Yang, 2014). Additionally, an understanding of the specific settler colonialism taking place in their specific region will help the transformative youth organizing community understand its contemporary position in relation to the settler colonial power and privilege that sustains the dispossession of indigenous land (Tuck & Yang, 2014).

While the political economy of colonialism treats land as mere resources to extract in order to build imperial material wealth, it is critical to recover the indigenous epistemologies deeply connected to that land, which has been assaulted by the epistemicides of settler colonialism. In Leonardo Boff's (1995) discussion about the connections between liberation theology and ecology, he argued that the Earth and the oppressed, which are both part of nature, have been dispossessed during a period of ecological aggression. Noting that ecology has been divided between environmental, social, and mental analyses, Boff further argued that the liberation of the land and of the oppressed is inextricably linked, as the land reflects a deep relationship between people and the Earth.

Thus, drawing from theological perspectives can be useful when exploring how to build communion with the Earth and indigenous peoples. Here, liberation theology moves beyond

traditional Christian ethics of helping the poor (Boff, 1995). Instead, liberation theology, which emerged during revolutionary resistance periods of the 1960s, calls for the rich to be in solidarity with the poor, not to simply serve them, but to also work alongside them as they challenge the power systems that have dispossessed them while working toward their own liberation (Boff, 1995). Liberation theology calls for seeing other's suffering, critically judging the ways power dynamics creates poverty to exploit others, acting in solidarity with the poor to resist inequitable systems, and celebrating the social, community, political, and divine advancements of their collective achievements (Boff, 1995).

Liberation theology as connected to ecology represents a form of solidarity with Indigenous environmentalism. Michelle Jacob (2016) contended that the principles of Indigenous environmentalism include: "1) Spiritual Responsibility; 2) Listening to Tribal Elders; 3) Looking Downstream and Looking Upstream; 4) Embracing Allies Who Understand the Shared Responsibility of Protecting Mother Earth" (p. 43). Jacob explained that Indigenous environmentalism is an inclusive concept, where allies who have a shared understanding of the importance of caring for the Earth "can and should serve as allies in protecting Indigenous homelands" (p. 44). As growing globalization and neoliberalism facilitates the extinction of various species and the premature death of people in poverty around the globe (Boff, 1995), building communion with indigenous people who are stewards of the land we occupy signals the importance of sustaining the sacredness of that land, the epistemologies connected to that land, and our collective decolonizing struggle.

Community goals for transformative youth organizing. The transformative aim of a transformative youth organizing "community" is to *disrupt colonial isolation and division* by promoting the communion between young people and adults. In this way, community-building

promotes authentic relationships and creates a sense of a counterhegemonic community that is nurtured and cultivated across time and space. Additionally, in order to truly work toward decolonizing liberatory ends, these intergenerational counterhegemonic communities must develop a strong sense of the historicity of the land they occupy through developing a communion with indigenous peoples who are stewards of the Earth and who resist the settler colonial attacks on their land and indigenous epistemologies.

By building a counterhegemonic "community" in these ways, transformative youth organizing communities engage in the praxis of building an authentic revolution marked by the true communion between leaders and people who collectively engage in praxis with one another (Freire, 1970). The anticipated pedagogical outcome of building a transformative youth organizing "community" is that young people and their adult allies can collectively implement the indigenous Mayan concept of "In Lak'ech," which communicates "If you are my other me, then I must respect you as I do myself; we must draw energy from one another in order to be able to survive the daily onslaughts of negative experiences" (Huerta, 1973, p. 16). Here, a transformative youth organizing "community" aims to build a strong sense of unity through encompassing transformative organizing goals that build and support community among youth, adults, indigenous peoples, and the land.

Recommendations for community praxis. In my experience as a youth organizer, I had the opportunity to build an authentic communion between youth and adults in the context of a student-initiated organizing context. At UCLA, a rich history of students (a) demanding culturally- relevant student-run spaces that honor the wisdom garnered from their own lived experiences; and (b) creatively developing funding streams from both student-generated and university-generated funds to sustain student-run outreach/access, retention, community service,

and advocacy projects and organizations created a legacy of student organizing where adult alumni allies (whose own powerful experiences with student empowerment) are compelled to build authentic relationships with current students that facilitate the development of their own sense of student empowerment and self-determination. Here, I was able to simultaneously have mentorship relationships and collegial relationships with adult alumni where I had the autonomy to respectfully make decisions that were not always in alignment with their advice. As I've shared in Chapter 1, in my experience as an educator and mentor, I have had the opportunity to develop these types of relationships with youth as an adult.

In my experience as a youth organizer and adult organizing with youth, I have had and continue to have the opportunity to build community with my peers and with organizers who existed before me. As a student organizer, I had the opportunity to not only participate in fun activities that "break the ice" with peers, I was able to deepen my relationships with my peers through intimate interactions that extended beyond organizing contexts. In addition to meeting spaces, through long car rides, retreats, study sessions, sharing meals together, and recreational activities, I had various opportunities to learn about my peers as individuals, family members, and community members whose stories reflect a history of love, joy, and struggle. As I began to interact with my peers, alumni, and younger students, I began to understand that I existed within a long history of student organizers. As an elder in the UCLA student organizing community, I continue to build community with the current and future student leaders.

Based on my theoretical discussion and lived experience as a youth organizer and an adult involved in youth organizing, I have a few recommendations for youth and adults who aspire to realize the principle of "community" in their own transformative youth organizing spaces. First, I suggest that both youth and adults have a clear and shared understanding of what

it means to be in a space that will honor young people's agency. In my experience as a youth organizer, this was referred to as "student-initiated," "student-run," and "student-funded" organizing.

Once there is clarity about this shared meaning, there should additionally be a commitment to honor this shared meaning through a willingness to be in integrity with and accountable to upholding this shared meaning when organizing together. Second, I recommend that community-building activities have a balance of ice-breakers, intentionally planned and meaningful community-building activities, organic community-building activities, and developing a shared understanding of belonging to a history and community that expands beyond a present temporal space.

Additionally, I would also recommend developing politicized understandings of the land youth and adults collectively occupy together in order to develop an understanding of settler colonialism in their specific locality, what support and solidarity with the indigenous people of the land being occupied can look like, and the implications for settler colonial power dynamics that impact their current realities and transformative organizing possibilities.

Love

During some of the most challenging times in my organizing experience, the genuine feeling of love I received from my comrades validated my humanity and the collective care it required to heal and resist together. At moments when I was at full capacity, instead of being chastised for not meeting the capitalist ideologies around labor embedded in the dominant Alinsky organizing framework, my community held me with a strong sense of love. My community listened to my needs and supported me, which enabled me to be even more present in our organizing spaces. This is the type of revolutionary love that Freire (1998) referred to when

he expressed “I have a right to love and to express my love to the world and to use it as a motivational foundation for my struggle because I live in history at a time of possibility and not of determinism” (p. 71). Here, love is not simply a romantic exchange, but “an intentional spiritual act of consciousness that emerges and matures through our social and material practices, as we work to live, learn, and labor together” (Darder, 2015b, p. 49).

Darder (2015b) contended that across Freire’s work, love is a political, “dialectical force that simultaneously unites and respects difference” (p. 50), which supports the type of kinship necessary to engage “our shared curiosity, creativity, and imagination, giving meaning to both our resistance and counterhegemonic practice” (p. 50). Here, when transformative youth organizing communities are grounded in a sense of love, when participants know that other members of their community have an authentic love for them, they could safely exist in the community in their full humanity when living, learning, and laboring together. Additionally, love for the struggle informs the shared meanings in their collective resistance and counterhegemonic practice. Thus, if any differences should arise in these communities, the dialectical force of love generated through their collective work together (Darder, 2015) will enable the community to engage dialectically in transformative practices that will facilitate the healing of the collective through their engagement together.

The transformative aim of transformative youth organizing “love” is to *maintain the relationships that bond a counterhegemonic community together*. In the transformative youth organizing framework, “love” is the central force that connects the wings of “community” and “healing” together. Without a strong sense of love, it would be impossible for communities to sincerely commit to participating in the painful yet liberating healing process together. Democratically engaging one another with love requires deep courage and vulnerability, a praxis

that is essential to promoting learning and organizing environments that honor the humanity of all its members (Darder, 2015b). The anticipated pedagogical outcome of transformative youth organizing "love" is that young people and adults can build caring relationships with one another in ways that honor one another's human struggles and reflect a collective commitment to heal together.

Recommendations for love praxis. in my experience as a youth organizer, building community with my peers provided the impetus for my sense of revolutionary love for them. While my peers and I were in community together due to our shared political purpose, it was inevitable that we would not always be in alignment with one another, which almost always required some sort of dialectical engagement. For example, the tensions between institutional student government bodies and grassroots student organizations often created dialectical tensions between how these two bodies of student organizing could best work together toward meeting community needs. In various instances, in both my experience as a youth organizer and as an adult organizer, my personal disagreements with my peers led to heated debates and unintentional hurt feelings. However, because I was luckily in revolutionary love with my organizing peers, we were almost always able to move from these confrontational interactions to interactions marked by love. Once we had opportunities to breathe and gather ourselves, we were almost always able to come back together, be vulnerable in ways that honored one another's humanity, dialogue, and develop some sort of agreement or solution that would best honor one another's feelings, ideological positions, and shared visions for our revolutionary aims.

Based on my theoretical discussion and lived experience as a youth organizer and as an adult organizer, I have a few recommendations for youth and adults who aspire to build the principle of "love" in their own transformative youth organizing spaces. First, I would reinforce

the community-building efforts that were discussed above. These are foundational efforts to building a community grounded in love. Second, I recommend that transformative organizing communities develop a shared understanding of their political, revolutionary aims. This is critical to cultivating what Darder (2015b) has referred to as "our shared curiosity, creativity, and imagination, giving meaning to both our resistance and counterhegemonic practice" (p. 50).

In my personal experience, being able to name why we were in community together helped strengthen my resolve to stay in revolutionary love with my organizing peers and to engage tensions that may arise because, at the end of the day, these tensions are inevitable. Additionally, I recommend maintaining an open mind and heart that centers our shared humanity. When we can recognize our humanity, we can understand the various ways in which internalized colonialism can impact our interactions with one another and move toward a committed revolutionary love with one another.

Healing

Communities that experience the impact of colonialism continue to experience the vestiges of what Freire (1970) called antidialogical action: conquest and manipulation. Indigenous peoples continue to experience the dispossession of land due to conquest settler colonial policies, which have been sustained by various political and social practices of manipulation. Here, indigenous peoples and communities of color who occupy the land of the United States due to imperialist agendas experience manipulation through the effects of epistemicides that systemically aim to render indigenous knowledges invisible and preserve the hegemonic dominance of Western epistemologies grounded in imperial conquest and positivism.

The ubiquity of Western ideologies throughout politics, society, culture, and institutions facilitates the internalization of these harmful ideologies, which also get reproduced in

interactions among people and are institutionalized academic thought and policies. Thus, the project of healing from these colonial effects is of utmost importance in transformative youth organizing spaces, where young people experience many of the intersecting oppressions that impact their communities, heightened by their vulnerable position as legally defined "minors" or "juveniles." This healing process can be facilitated through a process of engaging the world dialectically through dialogue (Darder et al., 2009).

Freire (1970) argued that manipulation is a means that dominant elites use to "try to conform the masses to their objectives" (p. 147) in order to preserve and perpetuate their domination through cultural politics (Darder et al., 2009). Cartesian philosophies would boast of the possibilities of the individualistic "I" to know the world through Western positivism that creates knowledge by defining limits and excluding any engagement with knowledge that exists outside its rigid and narrow epistemicidal purview. In contrast, healing within a decolonizing transformative space requires us to engage spiritual ontologies (Shahjahan et al., 2009) that acknowledge limits and possibilities, call for humility and uncertainty, and ultimately influence the way people understand and interact with their world.

By engaging in open dialogue about these dialectical positionalities, transformative youth organizing communities can begin to heal from internalized colonial beliefs that sustain domination, by engaging in a process of epistemological healing and recovery that honors their ancestral knowledge and the power of spiritual ontologies. Here, dialogue facilitates a critical awareness of how indigenous epistemologies have been subjected to epistemicides and domination (Darder et al., 2009; Grosfoguel, 2013). Developing an understanding of the dialectics of positivism and spiritual ontologies facilitates an understanding of the historicity of

different epistemologies, which holds the potential to create new understandings of how humans shape knowledge and transform the world (Darder et al., 2009).

Anzaldúa's "spiritual activism" helps inform the Chicana Feminist Epistemology (CFE) framework (Calderón et al., 2012), which is an example of a counterhegemonic decolonial project that embraces indigenous spiritualties. Anzaldúa's legacy of engaging the politics of spirit in her work encourages scholar activists to draw from a politics of spirit to challenge the psychological traumas of colonialism manifested in racism, sexism, and homophobia (Calderón et al., 2012). While Cartesian dualism promotes a split between the body and the mind, a CFE approach engages what Anzaldúa called *nepantla*, the borderlands where different hybridities can live (Calderón et al., 2012). The CFE framework also embraces what Anzaldúa called *El Mundo Zurdo*, "a location where the odd, different, misfit, and queer bodies exist… a space informed by these bodies and where these bodies begin to heal" (Calderón et al., 2012, p. 521). *El Mundo Zurdo* holds possibilities of "queering" knowledge in order to facilitate healing and transformation (Calderón et al., 2012).

Anzaldúa, moreover, reclaims the story of the Mesoamerican moon goddess Coyolxauqui, who experienced being dismembered by her brother Huitzilopochtli from a story about violence toward a vision of reunifying the "bodymindspirit" (Calderón et al., 2012, p. 517). A CFE framework engages the vision for Coyolxauqui through various methodologies that "put us back together" (Calderón et al., 2012, p. 525). Here, by uncovering the different components of spiritual activism, a CFE framework can inform transformative youth organizing approaches in embracing spiritual ontologies and critical pedagogical principles of cultural politics, dialectical knowledge, critiquing ideology, dialogue, and conscientization (Darder et al., 2009) in order to facilitate healing and transformation.

Audre Lorde extended the conversation of the spiritual as political and also discussed the importance of healing the body from colonial histories. Lorde (1984) contended that the "dichotomy between the spiritual and the political is also false, resulting from an incomplete attention to erotic knowledge" (p. 56). While "erotic" has come to be associated with pornography, Lorde traced the meaning of *erotic* to the Greek word *eros*, which means "the personification of love in all its aspects—born of Chaos and personifying creative power and harmony" (p. 55). Thus, erotic knowledge serves as a passionate bridge between the spiritual and political, the "sensual—those physical, emotional, and psychic expressions of what is deepest and strongest and richest within each of us, being shared: the passions of love, in its deepest meanings" (Lorde, 1984, p. 56).

Lorde (1984) further explored how erotic knowledge has become perverted through limiting understandings of erotic that limit women to objects of satisfaction, which has impacted women's relationships with their bodies and, in turn, confines the potential for connections with others due to the colonial sexualization of their bodies (hooks, 2005). Similar to Anzaldúa's spiritual activism, Lorde called us to live "from within outward, in touch with the power of the erotic within ourselves, and allowing that power to inform and illuminate our actions upon the world around us" such that "Our acts against oppression become integral with self, motivated and empowered from within" (p. 58).

Anzaldúa and Lorde's efforts to connect the body, mind, and spirit as part of the decolonizing healing process are akin to Antonia Darder and Zeus Yiamouyiannis's (2010) assertion that comprehending people as full human beings requires an understanding of "the intersections of physical, intellectual, emotional and spiritual life" (p. 20). With regard to the physical aspect of human life, Darder (2015b) contended that decolonizing our bodies requires

recognizing the indispensability of the body as both a source and producer of knowledge. Here, knowledge does not simply exist in the mind, but is integral to the physicality of the body. While decolonizing the mind is often linked to the intellectual aspects of human life and the process of decolonizing the spirit is often linked to the spiritual aspects of life, Darder also contended that the heart is also a critical faculty for decolonizing the love aspects of human life. Because "collective struggles to decolonize community practice are, intimately, tied to our personal struggles to liberate and awaken our minds, bodies, hearts, and spirits," which is "inspired by political grace and our renewed commitment to the power of love" (Darder & Yiamouyiannis, 2010, p. 26), healing in a transformative youth organizing framework must also deeply engage the dialectical connections between body, mind, spirit, and the heart.

Transformative justice approaches also facilitate the process of healing in transformative youth organizing spaces by engaging in dialectics and dialogue toward transforming harmful relationships and structures. Esteban Kelly (2011) contended that transformative justice approaches arose in response to "situations of sexual assault" (p. 50), which:

> asserts that the state, the courts, the prison system, and police inadequately address the damage done. Not only does the prison-industrial complex fail to offer solutions to community problems, it also fuels additional cycles of sexualized violence. Its apparatus targets low-income and working-class communities of people of color, especially Black and Latino/a communities, destabilizing family life in the process. We acknowledge that when someone is sexually assaulted, everyone in the community is harmed; everyone needs to heal; and everyone has a responsibility to support a survivor and hold a perpetrator accountable. Thus, the aftermath of an assault represents an opportunity to

dismantle institutionalized oppression and bring the group closer to social and economic justice. (p. 50)

Thus, transformative justice approaches are grounded in a deep understanding of how political institutions perpetuate cycles of colonial violence on communities of color through justice systems that fail to adequately address how colonial conditions promote violence between community members. Transformative justice approaches offer a powerful framework for facilitating healing by recognizing that when community members harm one another, the entire community is harmed and the entire community shares a responsibility to support those who are harmed while holding those who harmed others accountable. Transformative justice approaches are essential then to facilitating the healing that is inevitably needed when people who have internalized colonial violence engage in transformative organizing communities with one another.

For example, toxic masculinity oftentimes reproduces gender and sexual violence in many organizing spaces. Organizing communities committed to transformative justice must engage in community accountability, "the practice of imagining, creating, and applying alternative responses to violence from and within communities" (Durazno, 2011, p. 77). Community accountability requires dialogue and the courage to critique and unlearn the patriarchal Western ideologies that create relationships that reproduce gender and sexual violence. Here, transformative justice approaches reflect a community commitment, grounded in love, to heal from the various ways asymmetrical power relations can be reproduced in counterhegemonic spaces by engaging in dialogue and healing-centered praxis.

The aim of transformative youth organizing "healing" is to facilitate the *epistemological healing and unity of the body, mind, spirit, and heart*. Because colonial epistemicides have

systematically divided the unity between indigenous bodies, minds, and spiritualties, the praxis of engaging in transformative justice dialogues and practices can help address the colonial violence that occurs within and toward communities who have been colonized, dispossessed, and oppressed. The anticipated pedagogical outcome of transformative youth organizing "healing" is that young people and adult allies will be able to engage in transformative dialogue and practices that will help reconnect the dialectical connections between body, mind, spirit, and heart and, in this way, address the harm and trauma caused by the persistence of colonial violence within and toward their communities.

Recommendations for healing praxis. In my experience as a youth organizer, exposure to ethnic studies courses, curricula, and programming were critical to helping me name the internalized self-hate I harbored and to developing a critical understanding of how colonialism and its logics have shaped my community's histories, which influenced my family and neighborhood experiences when growing up. This process of uncovering indigenous epistemologies through ethnic studies began my journey toward (a) healing deep psychological, mental, and spiritual wounds; and (b) beginning to learn how to love myself and my community, whose internalized colonialism has inflicted harm upon me throughout my life. Learning about my community's indigenous spiritualties and practices facilitated my decolonization process by helping me learn alternative ways to be in relationship with my mind, body, spirit, and heart.

Also, when organizing in multiethnic spaces, learning about other communities' historical struggles manifested in contemporary lived realities helped me develop a profound sense of love and solidarity. In an effort to engage in collective struggle, being in communion with other folks required that I critically reflect on the ways colonialism has impacted my personal and community interactions with other communities and the vigilance, self-reflection,

and courage required to truly be in solidarity and struggle with people I consider to be in my beloved community. In my experience as an adult working with youth, applying restorative justice practices has helped disrupt traditional power dynamics in adult-youth relationships. Similarly, in my organizing relationships with peers, transformative justice practices have helped facilitate interpersonal and collective healing processes when inevitable harms occur when diverse people who have internalized colonialism in varying ways are in community with one another.

Based on my theoretical discussion and lived experience as a youth organizer and an adult organizing with youth and adult peers, I have a few recommendations for youth and adults who aspire to build the principle of "healing" in their own transformative youth organizing spaces. First, I recommend creating spaces to understand the historicity of one's own and other people's and communities' struggles. Here, examples of struggles to understand oneself and one another could lie along intersections of race, class, gender, sexuality, ability, and mental health. These types of spaces can help illuminate how decolonization is a plural process and in order to honor different people's and communities' struggles, there must be great care and emotional, spiritual, and intellectual labor to respect different community needs. Second, I recommend creating spaces that actively work to decolonize and heal the mind, body, spirit, and heart. Here, this might mean that transformative youth organizing spaces should not only have political education activities, but should also incorporate regular spiritual practices as well as promote physical, mental, and emotional health in its activities and relationship structures.

Additionally, I recommend a serious engagement with and accountability to transformative justice practices. Because harm is inevitable when diverse people interact with one another, it is critical to have processes that will create safe spaces for (a) people to unlearn

and heal from internalized oppression and colonial logics that may have created internalized, interpersonal, institutional, or ideological harm with people who love and care for them; (b) people who have experienced harm by a fellow community member to know a process exists to hold others accountable and provide support from other community members during their healing process; (c) people who are in community together to collectively heal from harm that impacts not only individual community members, but all members who are in community together; and (d) rebuilding and strengthening relationships amongst all community members.

Agency and Creation

Adultism in cultural, social, and political institutions consistently defers young people's sense of agency to the future—when they are considered adults. Thus, transformative youth organizing spaces cultivate the agency of youth by engaging in critical youth praxis as reflected in the application of critical pedagogy, critical/youth participatory action research (CPAR/YPAR), and other forms of critical youth studies. Critical youth praxis in a transformative youth organizing framework represents the opportunity for young people to build on their reflections on the dialogues that engage the various dialectics that are interrogated in counterhegemonic spaces and to participate in intentional action. Through praxis, young people have the opportunity to not only engage in an intellectual practice of discussing theory, but also have the opportunity to engage theory through practice, in order to transform the relationships of power in their world (Darder et al., 2009).

In youth participatory action research (YPAR) collectives, young people enact a sense of agency through democratic intellectual engagement with adults, while also democratically sharing research with community members in order to engage them in a process of resisting the oppressive conditions in their communities (Torre & Fine, 2006). However, critical youth praxis

possibilities need not be limited to academic research collectives. Transformative youth organizing settings can learn from the distributed leadership of CPAR and YPAR collectives and embrace critical youth praxis approaches in ways that create organizing spaces centered on praxis (a critical engagement of theory through reflective action) for community liberation.

Praxis is not only an act of resistance, but also a process of engaging the imaginative energies of participants to envision and create a new world through conscientization (Darder, 2015b). History shows that young people have had the courage to create the type of spaces and transformed relationships they sought to see—SNCC youth created the Mississippi summer Freedom Schools grounded in a vision of culturally relevant education that advances the liberatory efforts of the Civil Rights Movement (Hale, 2016), and the Black Panther Party created a plethora of community programs and services that inspired their communities to demand from the state the basic needs that would honor their human dignity (Kelley, 2002). While the toxicity of environments that perpetuate colonial violence in impoverished communities of color can limit the dreams and hopes of young people of color in the United States, radical healing with supportive adults can create transformative organizing possibilities filled with hope (Ginwright, 2016). Thus, critical youth praxis also cultivates young people's dreams for a different society while cultivating their sense of hope when resisting the colonial realities they experience in their communities.

The aim of transformative youth organizing "agency and creation" is to *provide a means for democratic communities to dismantle colonial institutions and epistemologies through meaningful collective action in order to create a new world*. The praxis of transformative youth organizing "agency and creation" is informed by the discussion of abolitionist movements in Chapter 3. W. E. B. Du Bois (as cited in Davis, 2016) argued that simply abolishing slavery

would not promote liberation. Because capitalist political economies and White supremacist settler colonial policies systematically facilitated epistemicides; engendered environmental, physical, and psychological violence on communities that have experienced colonialism; and disenfranchised enslaved and indigenous peoples from participating in democratic institutions, Du Bois (as cited in Davis, 2016) argued that abolitionist movements should "develop the institutions that would allow for the incorporation of previously enslaved people into a democratic society" (p. 26).

Thus, Davis (2016) contended that abolitionist movements should move beyond discussion around the removal of material facilities and institutions and should include addressing ideological and psychological concerns, a discussion that can be informed by spiritual perspectives and the transformative possibilities of restorative and transformative justice frameworks. Thus, the anticipated pedagogical outcome of transformative youth organizing is that, by engaging in the *praxis of agency and creation* that serve to abolish colonial violence in their communities, youth and adults will be able to cultivate a sense of hope in their ability to collectively imagine, transform, and create the world they seek.

Recommendations for agency and creation praxis. In my experience as a youth organizer, ethnic studies not only helped me decolonize my mind and spirit, it also provided me with a theoretical framework to inform my resistance efforts. Thus, ethnic studies offered me a medium for engaging in praxis in my emerging consciousness as a young, Pinay American. It was incredibly empowering for me to feel that my presence in marches and my voice in rallies helped strengthen a collective sense of community, solidarity, and resistance to oppressive conditions in our communities and on our campus. Having the ability to democratically name community needs with others and developing different campaigns to hold different stakeholders

accountable to meeting our needs was invigorating. Seeing how my college formation culminated with the successful passing of three organizational campaigns to: (a) advance a historical student Campaign for Pilpino Studies and engage in wider Pilipino community struggles; (b) sustain funding for student-initiated, student-run, and student-funded projects rooted in culturally responsive theoretical frameworks; and (c) elect two Pilipinx students into student government cemented my belief in the power of young people to not only demand, but to advance and sustain student-created visions and legacies.

In my experience as an adult organizing with youth and wider grassroots community resistance efforts (specifically with the Coalition to End Sheriff Violence in LA County Jails), I also witnessed the power of implementing youth participatory action research (YPAR) in my classroom, which culminated with providing students with an opportunity to share their academic research of deeply felt community concerns around law enforcement brutality and abuse with their community members and local elected officials. It was incredibly powerful to reflect with students on this type of action-oriented learning process, a form of critical youth praxis, because they sincerely believed their efforts would spark the beginning of a movement. To date, their efforts (through YPAR in my classroom) have contributed to the current advancements in civilian oversight in Los Angeles County jails. Also, as discussed in Chapter 1, in my experience with organizing with peers around creating summer Freedom Schools with the People's Education Movement, we were able to create spaces where adults and youth could collectively create and envision what community schools grounded in an education for liberation could look like.

Based on my theoretical discussion and lived experience as a youth organizer and an adult organizer, I have a few recommendations for youth and adults who aspire to build the

principle of "agency and creation" in their own transformative youth organizing spaces. First, I recommend developing a strong understanding of critical youth praxis. Here, it would be important for both youth and adults to be grounded in critical pedagogy principles, which inform critical youth praxis efforts that honor young people's community experiences and democratize how knowledge is created, dispersed, and acted upon in the community.

Second, I recommend engaging in a process of developing shared political clarity, which requires a serious engagement and commitment to dialogue. Because youth and adults in transformative youth organizing spaces will be transforming their ideological and epistemological understandings in counterhegemonic spaces, dialogue is critical to the process of shared meaning-making. Without collective readings and dialogue, it would be incredibly difficult to have a sense of political clarity, which would inform my next recommendation.

Third, I recommend that communities draw from the collective's sense of political clarity to dream and envision the world they seek. This process of dreaming and envisioning is a fundamental to the "creation" component of "agency and creation." Finally, I recommend communities to joyfully and painfully struggle through the process of working toward the world they envision, a process that reflects acts of both agency and creation.

Future Research

The multidimensionality of this project lends itself to various possibilities for future research. Regarding educational leadership research, in the current climate of promoting local control in schools, further research stemming from this project can explore the various ways educational leaders can critically assess how school institutions defer youth agency and reconceptualize school leadership and the role students can play. Concerning teacher education studies, further research stemming from this project can explore how to integrate YPAR

pedagogical approaches into teacher education curricula and programs. As regards social movement study, further research stemming from this project can expand exploration around the role of spirituality in social movements. Considering youth organizing, further research stemming from this project can explore how to expand access to YPAR beyond academic settings. Additionally, further research stemming from this project can disrupt how Alinsky's community organizing methodologies have become the dominant approach accessible to university students by providing an alternative approach to organizing that integrates decolonial healing and transformative justice frameworks.

With all this in mind, a transformative youth organizing framework within the context of a "haven" can help strengthen the butterfly's wings of "community" and "healing." Here, the hope is that, as young people engage in transformative youth organizing frameworks, a loving social movement community can strengthen their sense of community while engaging in healing from the colonial vestiges of epistemicides that impact their internalized beliefs, interpersonal interactions, and experiences within social, political, and economic institutions. With a strong sense of love, community, and healing, transformative youth organizing frameworks facilitate the sense of social agency from which young people can recreate their world and engage others in transformative possibilities. As counterhegemonic havens cultivate the strength and growth of butterflies, transformative youth organizing frameworks—anchored in these principles of community, love, healing, and agency and creation—will facilitate the exponential growth of more butterflies, whose collective efforts have the potential to ignite decolonizing social movements throughout the world.

EPILOGUE

Four years ago, I was adamant that I would not return to higher education to pursue a doctorate degree. Informed by Freire's (1970) perspective that leaders should be in communion with community members, I did not want to become entrenched in institutional spaces that would potentially alienate me from my community and the communities I sought to serve. I was perfectly content with the opportunities to develop as an organic intellectual (Gramsci, 1971) in autonomous organizing spaces and in school spaces with youth and colleagues. However, as I grew increasingly indignant with my experiences with being dismissed and disrespected due to patriarchy, White supremacy, and adultism as a young, woman of color in a school leader position, I came to accept that obtaining a doctoral degree would help validate the subaltern knowledge I carry with me when working toward liberatory ends for our communities. I came to accept that in our credential-centric society, pursuing a doctorate degree would not only help validate the knowledge I already possess but also provide me with a unique opportunity to deepen my understandings of intergenerational organizing and Freedom School efforts.

During the doctoral program, the methods class heightened my fear of participating in academic institutions rooted in positivist assumptions of who has the authority to articulate the knowledge they possess. I felt incredibly disempowered when I learned that the methodologies at my disposal expect researchers to create a false sense of objectivity through various methods that serve to distance researchers from research participants. Thankfully, Dr. Darder introduced me to her decolonizing interpretive research methodology (Darder, 2015a), which provided me with an avenue to more profoundly engage with various scholars' ideas with a critical, decolonial lens, as I moved toward a deeper understanding of the logics of coloniality, social movements, and transformative youth organizing. Equipped with a decolonizing interpretive research

methodology, I was able to participate in the long scholarly tradition of counterhegemonic critical social theory and contribute to developing a transformative, decolonizing framework for youth movements.

The process of writing a dissertation with a decolonizing interpretive methodology was incredibly painful and healing. The first part of the decolonizing interpretive methodology in my dissertation required a deep examination of the logics of coloniality. Not only did this part of the journey force me to relive the painful process of decolonizing my mind as a member of the Pilipinx diaspora and building my consciousness as a student organizer, it also deepened my understanding of epistemicides (Grosfoguel, 2013; Paraskeva, 2016; Quijano, 2007; Santos, 2014). Developing an understanding of epistemicides made me think about my own ancestors and the colonial violence they endured. I continue to mourn the indigenous epistemologies that have been stripped from my bodymindspirit and the indigenous spiritualities that have guided my ancestors' connections with the land, one another, and with the divine source. Nonetheless, this painful process has also helped facilitate my healing by augmenting my renewed purpose in my political work to engage in decolonizing epistemological healing.

The process of writing a dissertation with a decolonizing interpretive methodology was also incredibly labor intensive. In order to develop a deeply informed understanding of the historicity of scholarly discussions around coloniality, social movements, and youth organizing, I needed to engage with and interpret a plethora of texts. This journey helped me have a deeper understanding of how various scholars contest the meaning and implications of coloniality, social movement theories, and youth organizing. The decolonizing interpretive methodology helped me uncover how the logics of coloniality are embedded in dominant discussions around social movements, which signals the critical importance of seriously engaging the role of

spirituality in informing transformative, decolonizing social movements. Also, through deeper engagement with scholars who theorize around youth organizing, I have learned about the power of intergenerational possibilities, when adults are in true solidarity with young people in youth movements.

This dissertation project will forever inform my praxis as a subaltern, Pinay American educator and organizer. The process of contributing to our understandings of transformative youth organizing has helped augment my praxis in building community and loving relationships with my movement comrades. As I continue to strengthen my community-building praxis in organizing spaces, I am beginning to develop a lived understanding of the spiritual forces that facilitate collective healing when engaging in transformative justice practices with my beloved comrades. By strengthening my praxis in building community rooted in a strong sense of love and healing, I hope to transform my praxis in movement spaces with youth. This dissertation journey will forever inform my praxis to cultivate authentic adult solidarity with young people that will actualize collective, intergenerational efforts to reinvent, transform, and recreate our world.

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