

# Social Movements' Influence on Public Policy: Goals, Actions and Outcomes

Diego Galego

*Public Governance Institute, KU Leuven, Leuven, Belgium,*

*GOVCOPP-DCSPT, University of Aveiro, Portugal*

[diego.galego@kuleuven.be](mailto:diego.galego@kuleuven.be)

How do social movements seek to influence policymaking and what are the most common actions to reach an outcome? To answer these questions this paper unpacks the movement-policy relationship by integrating methods. I conducted a scoping review of 35 studies, which will be used to create a database for a case survey of 76 cases from 17 countries and two internationals. To shape the policy process, social movements are often deploying direct and/or indirect actions. The findings confirmed that movements are more successful in influencing policymaking by deploying joint actions, a combination of the two.

Keywords: policymaking; influence; outcomes; actions; scoping review; case survey;

## Introduction

Public policies are often made behind closed doors. However, for many years now social movements have been deploying several strategies to overcome the barriers excluding them from policy formulation (Burstein, 1999; Burstein & Linton, 2002). In the last decade, research on the relationship between social movements and public policymaking has increased, and attempts to unveil the political influence of movements have gained momentum (Amenta, 2014). Oscillating between movement-centred and policy-centred studies, scholars have often analysed movements' influence as 'movement outcomes', which in fact are 'political outcomes that may sometimes be influenced by movements' (Amenta, 2014, p. 27). Although the movement-policy relationship have gained prominence in academic analysis, empirical results of outcomes remain inconclusive and studies are mostly single cases or countries, e.g.: US-focused (Amenta, 2014; Amenta, Caren, Chiarello, & Su, 2010; M. Giugni, 2007; M. G. Giugni, 1998; Kitschelt, 1986).

However, how do social movements influence policymaking? Which are the most common actions deployed by social movements to reach an outcome? To broaden the scope of this scholarship and learn from different empirical evidence, this article provides a mapping of social movements outcomes and their actions to influence policymaking from different cases, social and political contexts.

Influence, defined as a direct or indirect pressure exerted on a person or group to affect actors' attitudes, behaviours, thoughts and opinion caused by other people (Friedkin, 1998), will be examined looking at the social and policy actors' interactions in a policy process. Such interaction accounts for the diversity of social movements actions (direct, indirect, or joint) potentially influencing the policymaking. To unpack the movement-policy relationship this article combines methodologies. By using the scoping review method (Tricco et al., 2018) a database of academic literature was created to map empirical knowledge for a case survey (Yin & Heald, 1975). The case survey method was used to analyse 76 cases and identify trends of social movement actions leading to outcomes, potentially influencing public policies. Social movement outcome aims "to advance the interests of their adherents or beneficiaries by securing specifiable

objectives” (Benford & Snow, 2000, p. 632). From the patterns of actions deployed, a repertoire of influential strategies was identified from different socio-political movements around the world. In terms of relationship between actions and outcome, findings revealed that the movements using joint actions are more successful in reaching a high outcome.

To map and understand how social movements are influencing policymaking, this article is divided in five sections. First, I begin by exploring the theoretical background focusing on the movement-policy relationships. Second, I propose an alternative analytical model to expand the understanding of the movement-policy relationship by accounting for the diversity goals, actions and outcomes of a social movement to influence policymaking, from different contexts and political systems. Third, I explain the methodological decisions and methods used to collect and analyse the data and present preliminary findings evidencing the relationship between social movement and public policy from academic literature. Fourth, I summarize the case survey findings, presenting the relationship between social movements and public policy based on the empirical observations of goals, actions and outcomes. The concluding section presents the contributions and limitations of this study.

## **Theoretical Background**

Several are the theoretical models proposed to analyse the movement-policy relationship. Some of the mainstream frameworks are political opportunity structures (Kitschelt, 1986; Meyer & Staggenborg, 1996; Rootes, 1997), institutional politics (Meyer, 2005), contentious politics (McAdam, Tarrow, & Tilly, 1996; Tarrow, 2011, 2015), interest groups (Baumgartner & Leech, 1998; Baumgartner & Mahoney, 2005) and resource mobilization (Benford & Snow, 2000; Foweraker, 1997; Polletta & Jasper, 2001). However, critiques have challenged the dominant theoretical approaches, often appraising the state-movement interactions (Amenta, 2014; Meyer & Lupo, 2010).

According to Snow, (2004), there is a risk of reducing social movement scholarship to movement-state relations, thus he proposed a more inclusive understanding of social movements challenging the system of authority ‘outside of formal institutional or organizational channels’ (p. 11). In this vein, Armstrong & Bernstein, (2008) will suggest a ‘multi-institutional politics’ approach to analyse movements challenging the system of authority through ‘the state, other institutions, or cultural meanings’ (p. 84). This approach will allow to explore how social movements as challengers of inequality, exclusion, and the status quo of a society will seek to influence public policies in multiple spheres to secure rights in social, cultural, economic and political domains.

To make influence observable, scholars started analysing the strategies movements deploy to achieve political goals (Sawyers & Meyer, 1999). Strategies, here understood, as actions carried out by “players with goals to influence other players, whether in conflict or cooperation, that is strategic interaction” (Jasper, Moran, & Tramontano, 2015, p. 1). Therefore, scholars aimed to explore the diverse pathways movements take from collective actions, activists’ actions, political alliances and public opinion to influence policy decision-making (Smithey, 2009). Marco Giugni (1998) developed an analytical model accounting for ‘direct-effect, indirect-effect, and joint-effect’ (M. Giugni, 2007):

The direct-effect model maintains that movements can have a positive impact on policy through their own forces and in the absence of external support. The indirect-effect model sees movements as having an impact following a two-stage process, first by influencing certain aspects of their external environment – specifically, political alliances and public opinion – and then by allowing the effect of the public opinion to influence policy. The

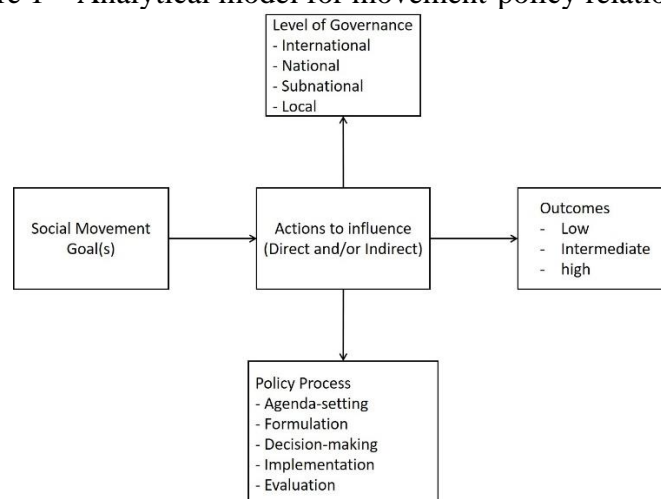
joint-effect model states that movement impact is forthcoming when political allies or public opinion (or both) intervene together with movement mobilization (M. Giugni, 2007, pp. 53–54).

Another model is the ‘political mediation’ developed by Edwin Amenta's et al. (2005), which focuses on the ‘basic idea that challengers must engage in collective action that changes the calculations of relevant institutional political actors and this mobilize and adopt strategies in ways that fit political circumstances’ (Amenta et al., 2005, p. 519). Overall, these models contributed significantly to the analysis of the movement-policy, but only accounted for the combination of some strategies deployed by the movements to influence policymaking – collective actions, mobilization, public opinion and political alliances. By expanding these models, I propose an alternative to account for the diversity of actions, which will be further clustered into strategies, that movements may have in their arsenal to influence policymaking in different contexts.

### **Movement-Policy relationship: an alternative analytical model**

To identify and map the most common actions deployed by social movements to influence public policy process from diverse contexts, the alternative analytical model follows the three dimensions considered by Giugni's models – direct influence, indirect influence and joint influence. Given that social movements deploy direct and indirect actions, or the combination of actions (joint) to challenge the system of authority in many social and political contexts, the analysis of the movement-policy relationship will account for several aspects to unpack the social and policy actors' interactions. The analytical model accounts for a causal mechanism of influence starting from social movements goals, which will facilitate the deploying of actions to influence, leading to an outcome. This mechanism contributes to identify the diversity of strategies social movement use to access and participate in the public policy process, either to advance new policies or promote reforms on existing policies (Baumgartner & Mahoney, 2005). Figure 1 shows the analytical model for the case surveying of the movements influence on policymaking.

Figure 1 – Analytical model for movement-policy relationships



Although the conceptualization and the terms in Figure 1 are standard and are used by many academics to analyse the relationship between social movement and public policy, it may vary interpretation elsewhere. Therefore, this is how the concepts and the

relationships represented in figure 1 will be operationalized. First, a goal is what motivates the social movement to act to achieve an outcome. It starts with social or political demands and grievances (Klandermans, 2015). These would include social or political goals like solving societal problems or policy changes to improve the citizens quality of life. Based on the motivations, the movements will carry out actions, which is a set of activities developed by individuals or groups of people who come together to help improve their lives and solve the problems that are important in their communities (Galego, Moulaert, Brans, & Santinha, 2021). In general lines, direct actions are those deployed by the movement without an external intermediary to have access and possibly influence the policy process (e.g.: mobilizations, litigation, advocacy). Indirect actions are deployed first to interact with an external intermediary who can influence the policy process (e.g.: hiring a lobbyist, social media, public opinion). Actions to influence will be perceived in different stages of the policy process, often identified in five stages of a policy cycle: agenda-setting, formulation, decision-making, implementation, and evaluation (Howlett, Ramesh, & Perl, 2009). The interaction between social and policy actors will take place at different levels of governance: local, subnational, national or international. Finally the outcome, which is something that happens as an effect of the social movement activities influencing the policy process (M. Giugni, 2007). The outcomes are categorized in three levels: low, intermediate and high. Low outcome is when the goal could not be achieved despite, although the interaction between social and policy actors remains. Intermediate outcome is when movement achieved partially the goal. High outcome is when successfully achieving the goals.

## **Methodology**

The scoping review is a useful tool to map available evidence on a topic and identify main concepts, theories, sources, and knowledge gaps in a body of literature which has not yet been extensively reviewed (Harms & Goodwin, 2019; Munn et al., 2018; Peters et al., 2015). By focusing on the relationship between social movement and public policies, I performed a scoping review aiming to identify relevant literature presenting empirical evidence of social movements in different social and political contexts influencing policymaking. The data collection was performed in February 2021 retrieving studies from two multidisciplinary data sources, Thompson Reuters' Web of Science and Elsevier SCOPUS. The combination of keywords used for the search was [social movement\*] AND [influenc\*] AND [public polic\*], which generated 146 entries of studies reporting the keywords in the title or in the abstract. This search reported studies published between Jan 1971 and Dec 2020, including books, book chapters, journal articles, editorial and conference papers.

## **Eligibility criteria**

This protocol was inspired by De Vries, Bekkers, and Tummers (2016) and Pollitt and Dan (2011) literature reviews. Studies from the original search were included if they met the following inclusion criteria:

- Field: Studies should deal with social movement influencing public policy process. I defined influence as the access and participation in the policy process to change or create a new policy (Amenta, 2014; Burstein, 1999; M. Giugni, 2007).
- Topic: Studies should contain the words social movement\* and influenc\* and public polic\* in their title and/or abstract to prevent confusion with related concepts. For the first search term, it was not necessary for the word 'social' to be in the title or abstract since the specific movement topic (such as women, indigenous, education) is frequently

mentioned instead of the term ‘social’. So, the equivalent was considered such as women movement, indigenous movement, education movement, and so on.

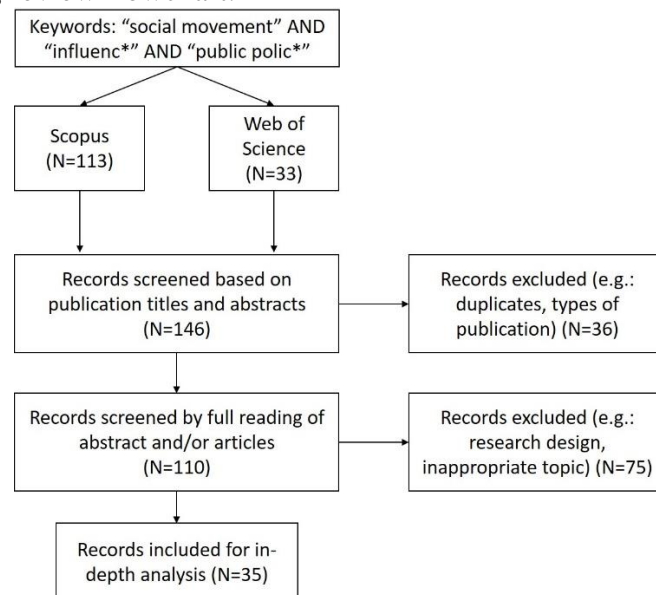
- Study design: Only empirical studies were eligible as I was interested in empirical evidence on social movement influencing policymaking. All research designs were allowable (e.g.: questionnaire, case study, experiment) but case studies that were purely illustrative in nature were excluded. I also excluded systematic reviews.
- Language: Studies written in English, Spanish, and Portuguese were considered.
- Type of publication: Only book chapters, journal articles and conference papers were considered.

## Study selection

In total, I screened 110 studies. Based on the eligibility criteria, eventually 35 studies were included in the analysis. The selection process is presented in figure 2. First, I screened the studies by scanning the title and abstracts. Here I checked if the inclusion criteria were met (topic, study design and language). One inclusion criteria was that the searching keyword had to be included in the title and/or abstract, and for many studies this was not the case. In this step, duplicates were removed.

In the second step, I screened studies by reading the full text. Here, I excluded further studies mainly because they were theoretical in nature or had a weak empirical design when case studies were merely illustrative in nature to support a theoretical argument. For each document, I developed a data extraction form to summarize the author(s), publication year, title, journal, methods used, countries where the study was conducted, language of publication, and topics of the movement.

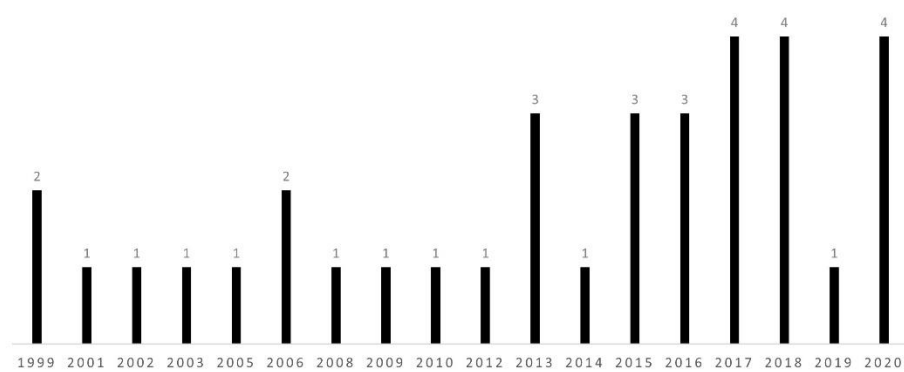
Figure 2. Scoping review flowchart.



The final database of 35 documents includes 27 papers written in English, 6 in Portuguese and 2 in Spanish, published from 1999 to 2020 (see fig. 3). The inclusion of studies in different language contributes to expanding the contextual perspectives connecting the key concepts, social movement and public policy. The articles included in the scoping review were published in 35 journals. Among them are: sociological journals like *American Sociological Review*, *Mobilization*, *Current Sociology*; political science journals like *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* and *Comparative Political Studies*;

interdisciplinary journals like *Global Society* and *Development and Change* among others (full list in the bibliography).

Figure 3. Final list of documents by years of publication (N=35).



Given that the social movement literature is heavily dominated by case studies and the focus of this paper is to map the movement actions to influence policymaking from empirical evidence, the 35 documents were analysed through content analysis to generate a data set for a case survey. Case survey is a rigorous methodology to analyse “qualitative evidence in a reliable manner” (Yin & Heald, 1975, p. 372) by using a closed-ended questionnaire. Although case survey is often applied using a check-list of criteria with closed-ended questions, I applied this method combining with meta-analysis and content analysis (De Vries et al., 2016; Pollitt & Dan, 2011). The case survey of studies generated a database of 76 cases. Cases were independently coded. For each case study, I developed a data extraction form to summarize cases name, methods (single or multiple cases), initial goal(s), actions deployed, and achieved outcome. The questions used to assess the cases are related to the analytical model dimensions: (1) what goals social movements are expecting to achieve? (2) what actions are they deploying? (3), what are the outcomes reached? The outcomes were categorized into one of the three degrees: low, intermediate or high. I then inductively grouped the primary study’s findings, the list of entries of most common actions deployed by social movements, in two broad categories: direct actions and indirect actions. Consequently, the third category, joint actions, is the combination of direct and indirect, which represents the most deployed pathway taken to influence policymaking among the cases studied in this review. In addition, I counted the frequency of each action and grouped them based on synonyms and functions. Inspired by Pozzebon and Mailhot (2012), I clustered actions into five groups of strategies: legal strategies, strategies of mobilization, empowerment strategies, diffusion strategies and strategies of civic engagement. In the next section the findings are presented.

### Findings of Case Survey

Table 1 shows, the 76 reported empirical case studies distributed between 17 countries and two cases at the international level. This review indicates an unprecedented result. Although most of the cases are from US (24, more than 31 per cent), the case survey reveals that there is a considerable number of social movements influencing public policies in the Global South, in particular Brazil (14, 18 per cent). A historical reason might be that several countries in Latin America region started re-democratizing after 1980. Therefore, social movements and civil society organizations became key actors in the political overture, collaborating with public policymaking and opposing neoliberal forms of globalization (Almeida & Cordero Ulate, 2015).

Table 1. Distribution of cases by country

Countries	Cases (N=76)	%
Argentina	1	1.32
Brazil	14	18.42
Canada	2	2.63
Chile	2	2.63
Colombia	1	1.32
Finland	5	6.58
France	6	7.89
India	2	2.63
International	2	2.63
Italy	5	6.58
Japan	1	1.32
Morocco	2	2.63
Namibia	1	1.32
New Zealand	1	1.32
South Africa	1	1.32
Tunisia	1	1.32
UK	5	6.58
US	24	31.58

The match between movements and countries gives a glimpse on contextual characteristics that may drive the selection of strategies to influence policies in a specific context. Most of the studies analysed were mainly adopting a single (21, 60 per cent) and multiple (14, 40 per cent) case study approach. The number of cases per articles adopting multiple cases study ranged from a minimum of two cases (6, 17 per cent), three cases (5, 14 per cent), four cases (2, 5 per cent) and a maximum of twenty-cases (1, 2 per cent).

Several are the topics of movements identified in this review (table 2). The environmental movement is the most reported topic, they are from a single paper comparing cases using litigation processes in four European countries: UK, Finland, Italy, and France (Vanhala, 2018).

Table 2. Social movement topics (24) reported among the case studies.

Social Movement Topics	Number of cases (n=76)	%
Environmental movement	20	26.32
Health-based movement	8	10.53
Women movement	8	10.53
LGBT movement	4	5.26
Youth movement	4	5.26
Religious movement	4	5.26
Urban movement	3	3.95
Rights movement	3	3.95
Space policy Grassroots movement	3	3.95
Indigenous women movement	2	2.63
Protest movement	2	2.63
Civil rights movement	2	2.63
Global justice	2	2.63

Inclusive education	1	1.32
Student movement	1	1.32
Pension system movement	1	1.32
Landless movement	1	1.32
Marijuana movement	1	1.32
Feminist movement	1	1.32
Rural movement	1	1.32
Anti-nuclear movement	1	1.32
New Globalization movement	1	1.32
Neighbourhood movement	1	1.32
Reactionary movement	1	1.32

The diversity in movement topics gives a hint in what types of societal issues they are addressing. Social movements have been motivated to challenge the system of authority to find possible solutions for issues related to their communities. We now turn to what motivates a movement to act, their goals.

### Social Movements Goals

Table 3 shows, based on the studies analysed, the goals that social movements initially set as motivations to act.

The first observation is that more than 27 per cent of the cases analysed settled goals to tackle societal problems. The most frequently mentioned motivations for actions was promoting health access for HIV treatment and prevention (Keefe, Lane, & Swarts, 2006; Vincent & Stackpool-Moore, 2009), and women's health concerning breast cancer, for instance (Keefe et al., 2006). Other goals from the women's movement were mostly concerned about their rights and inclusion in the policy process, consequently in the society at large (Arfaoui & Moghadam, 2016; Goss, 2018; Simon-Kumar, 2018). Similar claims for inclusion were expressed by the LGBT movements (Pereira, 2020), disabled children rights for equal education (Borges & Torres, 2020), rights movement calling attention for hunger in India (Hertel, 2015) and right-to-work in US (Dixon, 2008). And, the urban movement in Sao Paulo denounced precarious conditions in housing rights, especially for women (Levy, Latendresse, & Carle-Marsan, 2013).

Table 3. Social movements goals

Goals	Number	%
Tackling societal problems	21	27.63
Policy Change	16	21.05
Increasing citizens participation in the policy process	11	14.47
Others	8	10.53
Not mentioned	20	26.32

The striking observation of 26 per cent of the cases failing to mention the goal is the environmental cases. Although the author did mention the movement intends to reach the 'political goal', it is not mentioned any specific goal (Vanhala, 2018). She focused on the action, which will be presented in the next section, the opportunities for legal actions at national level.

Policy change or law reforms are the initial goals for several movements, but most expressive were those challenging the neoliberal policies. For example, private services such as education and pension system in Chile (Alejandro & Carrasco-Hidalgo, 2020),



agribusiness in Brazil, with few shared land for sustainable agriculture (Pahnke, 2017), and the enterprise privatization process in India (Uba, 2005). Others policy change expected by movements concerned indigenous land protection (Gottardi, 2020), health treatment such as for ‘autism’ in France (Chamak, 2019), marijuana legalization in Texas (K. N. Harris & Morris, 2017), constitutional reforms in Florida (Wald & Corey, 2002), and women rights and protection against violence in the US (Sawyers & Meyer, 1999).

Studies reporting interactions between citizens and state highlighted the need of increasing participation of citizens in the policy process for a more effective policymaking. For example, the cases of youth advocacy organizations in San Francisco and Oakland enabling civic youth participation in policy agenda-setting at the local level (Scott, Deschenes, Hopkins, Newman, & McLaughlin, 2006). Citizens participation was crucial in political decision after the Fukushima nuclear accident (Hasegawa, 2014). In Sao Paulo, urban and neighbourhood movements, got involved in political decision-making to promote transparency and dialogue with local government (Pozzebon & Mailhot, 2012; H. F. R. da Silva, 2018). The women’s movement raised their voice and collectively participated in congressional hearings, in the USA, where women’ engagement in policy process expanded in four decades (Goss, 2018).

In summing up, the analysis of social movement goals revealed that societal problems are expected to be solved by changing national policies, 56 cases are developing their actions only targeting the national government. The other cases are 2 internationals, 3 subnational and national, 11 subnational, and 4 locals. To reach their goals movements have deployed several actions to influence policymaking, as we will see in the next section.

## Social Movements Actions

What are the most common actions deployed by social movements to influence public policymaking? A repertoire of 56 actions, 35 direct and 21 indirect, clustered in five strategies provides an expanded answer to this question. The five clusters of strategies labels were adapted from Pozzebon and Mailhot (2012). Even though actions are not independently exclusive, which increases the complexity in analysing what is direct or indirect actions, I classify them as direct or indirect according to contextual implementation indicated in each case studied.

### *Direct Actions*

Table 4 presents the frequency of direct actions found in the case survey. Strategies of mobilization were the most deployed by social movements to influence policy actors and reach their outcome. Traditional collective actions of mobilization are frequently used by movements such as protest, demonstrations, marches, campaigns and occupying. Although among the legal strategies, litigation was the most prominent action, it should be considered that it was the focus of the study reporting environmental organizations to analyse legal opportunities in four countries (Vanhala, 2018). Other legal frames also highlight the potential for movements to get involved and influence a policy process, favourable political environment facilitates access to the policy process through organized groups such as lobbying, advocacy, or direct policy proposals, and appointment of activists to political office.

Table 4. Patterns of direct actions clustered into strategies identified in the review.

Direct Actions	Frequency	%*
Legal strategies	(N=65)	

Litigation (amendment to law/constitution/policies)	22	33.85
Lobbying	11	16.92
Advocacy	7	10.77
Policy proposals	6	9.23
Petition	6	9.23
Institutionalization	4	6.15
Appointment to political office	3	4.62
Political intermediation	2	3.08
Plebiscite	2	3.08
Electoral process	1	1.54
Legislative action	1	1.54
<b>Strategies of Mobilization</b>	<b>(N=71)</b>	
Protests	15	21.13
Public demonstration, marches	11	15.49
Campaigns	7	9.86
Occupation	6	8.45
Grassroots activism	5	7.04
Institutional activism	5	7.04
Mobilization	5	7.04
Sit-in, picket, road blockage	5	7.04
Appearance in Congress	3	4.23
Counter-movement	3	4.23
Cultural intervention	2	2.82
Resistance	2	2.82
Civil rights	1	1.41
Crowdfunding	1	1.41
<b>Strategies of Empowerment</b>	<b>(N=23)</b>	
Participation in the policy process	10	43.48
Women empowerment	6	26.09
Relationship-building (state/society)	3	13.04
Revising movement practices (self-awareness),	2	8.70
Community recognition	1	4.35
Translation of medical literature into popular language,	1	4.35
<b>Strategies of civic engagement</b>	<b>(N=25)</b>	
Framing the discourse	10	40.00
Negotiation and Dialogue with the state	9	36.00
Letter-writing, email writing	5	20.00
Influence the debate providing problem justification	1	4.00

\*Percentage is calculated by the total number of frequencies of each strategy.

Strategies of empowerment reflect how movements urged for participation in the policy process. This strategy is mainly implemented by groups that are often excluded from the political agenda, for example, the women's movement (Arfaoui & Moghadam, 2016; Goss, 2018; Gottardi, 2020), LGBT movement (Pereira, 2020), rural women movement (Campos & Brasil, 2017) and housing movements (Levy et al., 2013; H. F. R. da Silva, 2018). Moreover, civic engagement reflects the people's voice denouncing the government's absence in solving societal problems. The action of appropriate framing discourses or changing discourse was part of a learning process for several movements,

particularly those who failed in achieving the initial goal. An interesting example is the marijuana movement in Texas, which had to dissociate medicinal from personal purposes of marijuana use. Even though they reframed discourses, hired lobbyist, deployed educational sensitization to state politicians, the legalization bill failed to pass at the state congress (K. N. Harris & Morris, 2017).

Sum up, direct actions are the immediate resources movements have to challenge the system of authority, seeking solutions for societal problems, they raise their voices and directly call the decision-makers attention (Meyer & Staggenborg, 1996).

### *Indirect Actions*

As said before, the dividing lines between direct and indirect actions is blurry, which some actions classified in one of each category may be considered differently elsewhere, according to the context in which the action was deployed. However, several are the indirect actions found in this review, social movements relying on intermediators to influence policymaking. Strategies of diffusion, especially communications actions (social media and conventional media), were mainly used by movements to get the political and public attention. Societal problems were denounced through the medias by indigenous women in the US and Canada (Gottardi, 2020), autistic children treatment raised favourable public and political opinion spreading videos of packing therapy in France (Chamak, 2019), HIV social movement opened battles in the media for anti-retroviral treatment access in Brazil, South Africa and Namibia (Vincent & Stackpool-Moore, 2009). And, online platforms were used to raise money (crowdfunding) to keep space astronomy projects running, supported by citizens, until the US Senate restored funding for such projects (H. E. Harris & Russo, 2015).

Table 5. Patterns of indirect actions clustered into strategies identified in the review.

<b>Indirect Actions</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>%</b>
<b>Legal strategies</b>	<b>(N=23)</b>	
Coalition	12	52.17
Networking	7	30.43
Hiring a lobbyist	2	8.70
Fiscal autonomy	1	4.35
Adoption of international directives	1	4.35
<b>Strategies of Mobilization</b>	<b>(N=14)</b>	
Public opinion	7	50.00
Forums and rallies	3	21.43
Organize meetings with local employers	2	14.29
Public plebiscite	1	7.14
Boycott	1	7.14
<b>Strategies of Empowerment</b>	<b>(N=28)</b>	
Educational opportunities (e.g.: teachers' formation)	10	35.71
Partnership with professionals (e.g.: academics, experts)	10	35.71
Public relations	3	10.71
Creating new leaders	3	10.71
Training for parents, teachers and health professionals	1	3.57
Gaining resources	1	3.57
<b>Strategies of Diffusion</b>	<b>(N=39)</b>	
Social media (e.g.: internet, blogs, hashtags)	20	51.28
Conventional Communication means (e.g.: journalism, press, advertising)	11	28.21

Educational outreach activities	6	15.38
Diffusion of good practices/ideas	2	5.13
<b>Strategies of civic engagement</b>	<b>(N=1)</b>	
Denouncing the controversies of the policies	1	100.00

Empowerment strategies were very prominent with educational approach. Coupled with advocacy, teachers formation was fundamental to get schools support for youth engagement in policy agenda (Scott et al., 2006), and to create a more inclusive educational system for disabled children (Borges & Torres, 2020). Education was also the overarching strategy to create new movement leaders. For instance, the landless movement in Brazil applied widely this action by creating schools in the country-side, to provide a formal education for people living in their settlements, as a strategy to share movement's knowledge (Pahnke, 2017). Education is also propagated among strategies of diffusion. With educational outreach activities such as educative campaigns, seminars, publications and literacy campaigns, social movements provided information to the public and educated politicians on some of their demands and causes (Dixon, 2008; Hertel, 2015; Pozzebon & Mailhot, 2012).

Legal strategies, as indirect action, are frequently deployed by organized movements (e.g.: women, marijuana, pension, national and international campaigns, education, and health movements), benefiting from human and financial resources such as hiring a lobbyist, travelling for networking and coalition building. Strategies of mobilization were, indirectly, used to create a participative democracy by convincing the public opinion through informal meetings, in a counter-movement action, to boycott a policy reform (Dixon, 2008). A public plebiscite in Brazil sent a vivid message to the political power, a national opposition to the agreement for a Free Trade Area of Americas (S. de A. M. e. Silva, 2013). Civic engagement strategy was used for the rural social movement to denounce public policies controversies in Brazil (Barcellos, 2016).

To conclude, social movements to influence the policy process often combine different strategies to promote the movement's cause and gain support from public opinion, political elites or society at large, potentially affecting policy makers to change and/or create new public policies (M. Giugni, 2007). The next section presents the empirical observations of the relationship between actions and outcomes.

### **Social Movements Outcomes**

The last question concerns the reached outcomes from social movements. In line with M. Giugni (2007), I define the outcomes of a movement as the substantive results of the movement actions influencing the policy process towards their goals. The types of outcomes reported by the cases are summarized in table 6.

The first observation is that most of the cases (23, 29 per cent) did not report outcomes. Twenty-three cases failed to report if the actions deployed reached any outcome (e.g.: Vanhala 2018; Levy, Latendresse, and Carle-Marsan 2013; Vincent and Stackpool-Moore 2009), also four cases failed to report the actions (Vanhala, 2018). In addition, many cases failed to reach their goals, reported as failed to influence the policy process. Regarding the policy change, a total of 38 cases reported reaching it. From this outcome, twenty-five cases mentioned the stage of the policy process the movement had some incidence (e.g.: Arfaoui and Moghadam 2016; McVeigh, Welch, and Bjarnason 2003). To increase citizens participation in policy process, movements often complied with opening channels of dialogue and negotiation (Pozzebon & Mailhot, 2012; H. F. R.

da Silva, 2018) with policy actors, a way to reach a policy reform, and solve a societal problem (e.g.: Keefe, Lane, and Swarts 2006).

Table 6. Reached outcomes by social movements

Outcomes Achieved	Number	%
Policy Change/Reform	13	16.05
Policy agenda-setting	3	3.70
Policy formulation	1	1.23
Policy decision-making	3	3.70
Policy implementation	8	9.88
Policy or Law Approval	8	9.88
Influenced Legal action	2	2.47
Increased citizens participation	8	9.88
Tackling societal problems	1	1.23
Failed to influence the policy process	11	13.58
Not mentioned	23	28.40

Total N=81 (100%) – some cases included more than one outcome.

The cases studied in this review show that the motivations to act (goals) are in line with the outcomes reached, although the degree of outcomes vary among them. Also, some movements had to adjust or change goals over the process of mobilization. When comparing actions with outcomes, the use of joint actions is the most successful to influence the policy process. Table 7 shows, a relationship between actions and each degree of outcomes identified from the 76 cases analysed.

Table 7. Relationship between actions and degree of outcomes.

	Low outcome		Intermediate outcome		High outcome		Not mentioned		Total	
	N	% *	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Direct actions	6	7.89	4	5.26	3	3.95	17	22.37	30	39.47
Indirect actions	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1.32	1	1.32
Joint actions	3	3.95	15	19.74	22	28.95	1	1.32	41	53.95
No action	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	5.26	4	5.26
Total	9	11.84	19	25.00	25	32.89	23	30.26	76	100

\*Percentage of the total database of 76 cases.

#### *Low Outcomes*

“Activists seek the most direct means toward influence on policy” (Meyer & Staggenborg, 1996, p. 1647). In this review, a total of 30 cases used direct actions, but with few successful results. Direct actions led to low outcomes because of two conditions. First, lack of political support for the movement goals. Second, lack of organizational structure from the movement itself. The first condition is experienced by the LGBT movement in Brazil, suffering a backlash in national LGBT policies between 2009 and 2016, facing restrictions in institutional activism, consequence of portfolios changes and the ministers (Pereira, 2020). The Christian rights movement faced lack of political support because when movement representatives got appointed to the Constitutional Revision Commission in Florida, they hold a conservative position and few partnerships, which left them alone in policy proposal table (Wald & Corey, 2002). During a hostile political environment in the US, the women’s movement decided to have a period of abeyance from political decisions, but it led to a fragmentation within the movement, this

fits with the second condition for failing influence (lack of organizational structure). When returning to the political realm, women's movement faced a critical period trying to organize the fragmented movement to fight for their rights together, but it was too late to get political support in the congress (Sawyers & Meyer, 1999). Crossing the line between lack of political support and weak organizational structure is the example of the Currency Transaction Tax campaign, failing to reach a successful outcome by lacking an effective framing strategy (Shawki, 2010).

Three cases deploying joint actions were also less successful. The marijuana movement in Texas used different actions such as hiring a professional lobbyist, built coalition to advocacy, promoting educational activities and personal contact to politicians. But facing a lack of political support, the legalization bill failed at the state congress (K. N. Harris & Morris, 2017). So did the right-to-work movement in Ohio. Even though deploying different sorts of actions, an organized counter-movement prevented a policy change to restrict "unions violence" in the state (Dixon, 2008). Whereas, the Ontario Women's Directorate proposed several bills regarding women rights, deployed joint actions, but had a weak organizational structure which failed in bridging societal groups with their policy proposals, reaching little or no public or political support (Malloy, 1999).

### *Intermediate Outcomes*

Direct actions led to a few intermediate outcomes. Protest movements in Western Sahara emerged in response to public policies restricting the fisheries and the house access in the region (Veguilla, 2017). By a series of protests (sit-ins, occupation, and cautions discourses framed to avoid pro-independence struggles) the Sahrawi mobilization pressured the government to change the number of licenses for fishing, although some restrictive regulations still in place. In the case of Gdeim Izik protest for housing, intermediate outcome was reached when the community got qualified to benefit from housing policies in cities like El Ayun and Dakhla, but negotiations are still ongoing under conflicts.

In Argentina, a governmental programme was created to promote youth employment, a demand from the youth unemployed workers movement. But its implementation was criticized by the movement as an alternative of collective work and not effective in creating stability to youth employment (Otero, 2016). The LGBT movement in Brazil, applying direct institutional activism within the ministry of culture reached partially the promotion of LGBT culture and inclusion, but it lasted until a supportive minister was in office. Because of a weak coalition government, changes in ministerial portfolios were frequent and the movement's influence was lost as more conservative bureaucrats took over (Pereira, 2020).

Using joint actions social movements reached intermediate outcomes such as some policy changes, including legal actions, agenda-setting, implementation and some approval of bill proposals. For example, in 2011, the neoliberal Chilean government saw the streets crowded by students to demand a free higher education system. In 2016 was the time for the No Pension Fund Administrators – (No+AFP acronym in Spanish) movement to challenge the Chilean private pension system, protesting with the slogan 'a system of solidarity, tripartite distribution and administered by the State' (Alejandro & Carrasco-Hidalgo, 2020, p. 215). The students' movement negotiated with the government and accepted some terms proposed for policy reforms, whereas the pension movement refused the proposed changes and still fighting for social policy reforms, at least they shaped the policy agenda. The women's movement in Tunisia deployed many strategies to tackle violence and secure their rights. They used advocacy, lobbying and

political work to achieve some reforms in the laws, policies and systems that discriminated against women under the totalitarian regime, but despite having made some progress, ‘old-laws and policies’ remained after the country’s democratization with the Arab Spring (Arfaoui & Moghadam, 2016). Women’s movement in the US (Goss, 2018) and New Zealand (Simon-Kumar, 2018) reached some progressive changes in legislation to secure their rights by acting in different fronts at the grassroots and congress levels. The women of standing rock, a grassroots movement in the US, opposing the construction of the Dakota Pipeline managed to open a legal battle, which still ongoing (Gottardi, 2020). Other movements sustaining grassroots-level mobilization, such as the neighbourhood in Sao Paulo (H. F. R. da Silva, 2018), the right to food in India (Hertel, 2015), the national campaign against the Free Trade Area of Americas in Brazil (S. de A. M. e. Silva, 2013), and the anti-nuclear in Japan (Hasegawa, 2014), initially lacked political support for their demands, but after shifting from contentious actions – mass mobilization, protests, and occupation – to negotiations with the government, they galvanized some policy changes. Policy implementation was partially improved after the collective mobilization of the rural social movement (Barcellos, 2016) and the landless movement (Pahnke, 2017) in Brazil, reaching a longstanding demand, rights to land. Also, the international Jubilee 2000 campaign, aiming to get the cancellation of 100 per cent of the international debts for world’s poorest countries, managed to acquire a modest debit relief for 35 countries (Shawki, 2010). Although the civil rights movement in the US contributed to the passage of the Hate Crime Act in 1990, its implementation was jeopardized by a lack of consensus on what defines and qualifies for a hate crime at the state level. The civil rights movement, to force reluctant states to effectively implement the law, provided justification on what consists a hate crime and how data should be reported, but the system still not effective in all states (McVeigh et al., 2003). Although the religious Marriage movement succeed in passing the covenant marriage law at the state level – Louisiana (1997) and Arizona (1998), they were less successful when proposing to amend the US constitution, which would restrict marriage as only between man and woman (Coltrane, 2001).

### *High Outcomes*

Few are the cases reporting high outcomes led by direct actions. The anti-privatization reactionary movement in India promoted large and economically disruptive protests, a large number of participants, consequently that showed to policy-makers a financial damage if the privatization process succeeded (Uba, 2005). The grassroots religious movement Promise Keepers in the US, with the aim of promoting Jesus-inspired masculinity, has succeeded in organizing mass events, filling stadiums at the “Stand in the Gap” event (Coltrane, 2001). The events attracted the media and politician’s attention. By directly deploying institutional activism for LGBT rights within the federal Secretariat of Human Rights in Brazil, the movement succeeded in influencing the formulation of anti-discrimination policies under the human rights frame (Pereira, 2020).

Most of the cases reaching a high outcome deployed joint actions (22). The health-based movements (6) are the most expressive in combining strategies. Bottom-up cases from the US (4) showed that the fight for equal healthcare delivery was the driving force for HIV prevention and needle exchange campaigns organized by ACT UP, and women empowerment made the difference in changing women’s health care and breast cancer treatments (Keefe et al., 2006). In South Africa, the HIV social movement, led by the Treatment Action Campaign used the media features to get collective support, to enforce legal advocacy, to organise marches and events through text messaging and internet, which “influenced the government to roll out anti-retroviral drugs for all in 2003”

(Vincent & Stackpool-Moore, 2009). In France, autistic children parents' activism also deployed diffusion strategies via media actions, and lobbying opened a litigation case at the European Committee of Social Rights. Amid controversial discourse and legal cases, the autism activism promoted trainings for parents and health professionals, changed discourse and partnered with the scientific community to succeed in two fronts: first, in gaining recognition of autism as a disability, not only psychiatric, and second, get the packing therapy banned in 2016 from the autism treatment (Chamak, 2019).

Grassroots movements influenced the space astronomy policy in the US by promoting the online support through several channels – hashtags, Facebook, Twitter, Change.org, blogs, forums, internet-led movement “Science Warriors”. Also, they raised money and took the responsibility of some projects; the great public interest in spatial projects made the government to act upon restoring public investment for the projects (H. E. Harris & Russo, 2015). “Idle No More” indigenous women movement in Canada, through grassroots activism, deployed women empowerment strategies, protest, advocacy, and social media reaching policy reforms to protect indigenous sacred sites and indigenous sovereignty (Gottardi, 2020).

The civil rights movement called the national attention with many local protests and promoted desegregate public accommodations (restaurants, movie theaters, hotels, etc) in the South of USA. These actions influenced the approval of the 1964 Civil Rights Act as well as the president assertive and proactive intervention supporting the civil rights (Andrews & Gaby, 2015). Similarly, the successful mobilization (pressure, coalitions, meetings in major cities) of the women's movement managed to pass the Pregnancy Discrimination Act of 1978 in the US congress. This Act reversed the Supreme Court's decision declaring not discriminatory the absence of pregnancy leave in insurance programs (Sawyers & Meyer, 1999). Another successful example is the case of women's mobilization in Colombia, Madres de la Candelaria. In this case, mothers from Medellin started protesting in front of the Candelaria church every week because of the disappearance of their husbands, brothers, sisters, and children, victims of terror from guerrillas. When the protests attracted media's attention, activism through journalism promoted the movement at the national media, after that the movement strengthened its political participation and succeed in policy formulation against such crime (Arango, 2014).

The urban movement in Sao Paulo deployed occupation to public buildings, gender relations debates, collaboration with other organizations, political parties, and feminist NGOs, to successfully start negotiations with the local administration and pass a bill to secure women (in diverse family configuration, single or marriage) rights to access housing programmes (Levy et al., 2013). The neighbourhood movement, ‘Nossa Sao Paulo’, used legal strategies to reach policy changes by lobbying, networking, creating petitions and opinion polls, making public demonstrations, and diffusing information through the press and educational activities (Pozzebon & Mailhot, 2012). These joint actions influenced political decisions to improve quality of life and sustainability in the city. Also from Brazil, the special education movement, who has a strong national coalition between association for disabled people, managed to promote teacher's formation and implement international guidelines for inclusive education for disabled people at national level (Borges & Torres, 2020). Youth advocacy organizations in the US built coalitions, provided leadership training for teachers, promoted campaigns involving young people in political actions and managed to accomplish policy reforms, school regulations reforms, and the creation of the Fund for Children and Youth for youth services at the local level (San Francisco and Oakland) (Scott et al., 2006).



## Conclusion

The goal of this article was to systematically map how social movements have been influencing the public policy process across cases and countries. By scope reviewing 35 academic studies, a database for the case survey was created and 76 cases, from 17 different countries and two internationals, were analysed. In so doing, the available empirical evidence from the case survey, contributed to unpack the movement-policy relations seeking for patterns of actions that led to low, intermediate or high outcomes, according to contextual situations. The main finding of this research is that the social movements applying joint actions are more successful in influencing policymaking. This result contradicts the conclusions drawn by M. Giugni (2007), but should be mentioned his database had less cases, four from the US. Another finding is the diversity of direct and indirect actions deployed by the movements to influence policymaking. This mapping expands the repertoire of strategies observed in a single article on the topic, what usually scholars do is to focus on a few strategies and test their effectiveness to influence the policy process (M. G. Giugni, 1998; Vanhala, 2018). Furthermore, unprecedented results are the variety of Global South social movements found and the diversity of policy domains in which they are playing a crucial role. In sum, although the outcome of a movement is dependent to the actions they deploy, most important is how strategic the actions are deployed since social and political contexts matter.

This article contributions are modest, as I summarize some: first, methodological, by combining scoping review and case survey, it was a systematic strategy to collect and analyse empirical evidence of a topic. Second, usually literature reviews on social movement and public policy are centred and based on relevant anglophone publications. To broaden the scope of the scholarship and bring more substantial evidence to the debate, this article analyses studies published in three languages: English, Portuguese and Spanish. The third contribution is the case survey itself, comparing social movement outcomes from 76 cases in the five continents. Although some scholars have been comparing movement outcomes across countries (14 analysed in this article), there is still a predominance of single case studies or countries (21 analysed in this article).

The main limitations of such a study are bias in the selection of publications included and inaccuracy in data extraction, which I attempted to solve by combining two systematic methods and previously defining the research questions and categories to be searched, explained in the Methodology section. Given that the focus of this study was the empirical cases, theoretical contributions to this debate were excluded.

Further research could benefit from more qualitative multiple case studies, from different countries and languages, providing more generalizations of empirical evidence in how social movement are influencing diverse public policies domains. It is an open avenue for collaborative research.

## References

\*References included in the scoping review and cited in this article.

\* Alejandro, O. L., & Carrasco-Hidalgo, C. (2020). Social movements and public policy in Chile: An analysis of the student movement of 2011 and the no+AFP movement of 2016. *Studia Politica*, 20(2), 203–222. Retrieved from <https://www.ceeol.com/search/article-detail?id=899655>

Almeida, P., & Cordero Ulate, A. (2015). Social Movements Across Latin America. In A. P. & C. U. A. (Eds.), *Handbook of Social Movements across Latin America. Handbooks of Sociology and Social Research* (pp. 3–10).

[https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-017-9912-6\\_1](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-017-9912-6_1)

- Amenta, E. (2014). How to Analyze the Influence of Movements. *Contemporary Sociology: A Journal of Reviews*, 43(1), 16–29. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0094306113514536>
- Amenta, E., Caren, N., Chiarello, E., & Su, Y. (2010). The Political Consequences of Social Movements. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 36(1), 287–307. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-soc-070308-120029>
- Amenta, E., Caren, N., & Olasky, S. J. (2005). Age for Leisure? Political Mediation and the Impact of the Pension Movement on U.S. Old-Age Policy. *American Sociological Review*, 70(3), 516–538. <https://doi.org/10.1177/000312240507000308>
- \* Andrews, K. T., & Gaby, S. (2015). Local Protest and Federal Policy: The Impact of the Civil Rights Movement on the 1964 Civil Rights Act. *Sociological Forum*, 30(June), 509–527. <https://doi.org/10.1111/socf.12175>
- \* Arango, A. S. T. (2014). Movimientos sociales de mujeres en el conflicto armado colombiano: política participativa y periodismo. Reflexiones en torno al caso de las Madres de la Candelaria. *Comunicación y Medios*, 0(28), 80–95. <https://doi.org/10.5354/0716-3991.2013.27161>
- \* Arfaoui, K., & Moghadam, V. M. (2016). Violence against women and Tunisian feminism: Advocacy, policy, and politics in an Arab context. *Current Sociology*, 64(4), 637–653. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0011392116640481>
- Armstrong, E. A., & Bernstein, M. (2008). Culture, Power, and Institutions: A Multi-Institutional Politics Approach to Social Movements. *Sociological Theory*, 26(1), 74–99. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9558.2008.00319.x>
- \* Barcellos, S. B. (2016). O crédito fundiário e a linha Nossa Primeira Terra em debate no Brasil. *Novos Cadernos NAEA*, 19(1), 71–92. <https://doi.org/10.5801/ncn.v19i1.2575>
- Baumgartner, F. R., & Leech, B. L. (1998). *Basic Interests: the importance of groups in politics and in political science*. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9781400822485>
- Baumgartner, F. R., & Mahoney, C. (2005). Social movements, the rise of new issues, and the public agenda. In D. S. Meyer, V. Jenness, & H. Ingram (Eds.), *Routing the Opposition: Social Movements, Public Policy, and Democracy* (pp. 65–86). Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Benford, R. D., & Snow, D. A. (2000). Framing Processes and Social Movements: An Overview and Assessment. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 26, 611–639. Retrieved from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/223459>
- \* Borges, A., & Torres, J. (2020). Educação Especial na Perspectiva Inclusiva no Brasil: análise da influência internacional no contexto local. *Curriculo Sem Fronteiras*, 20(1), 148–170. <https://doi.org/10.35786/1645-1384.v20.n1.9>

- Burstein, P. (1999). Social Movements and Public Policy. In M. Giugni, D. McAdam, & C. Tilly (Eds.), *How Social Movements Matter* (pp. 3–21). Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Burstein, P., & Linton, A. (2002). The Impact of Political Parties, Interest Groups, and Social Movement Organizations on Public Policy: Some Recent Evidence and Theoretical Concerns. *Social Forces*, 81(2), 380–408.  
<https://doi.org/10.1353/sof.2003.0004>
- \* Campos, M. de L., & Brasil, F. de P. D. (2017). Movimentos de mulheres do campo e o Estado: um estudo sobre as políticas voltadas ao enfrentamento da violência contra a mulher na realidade rural. *Revista Do Serviço Público*, 68(3), 533–556.  
<https://doi.org/10.21874/rsp.v68i3.2292>
- \* Chamak, B. (2019). Lobbying by association: The case of autism and the controversy over packing therapy in France. *Social Science & Medicine*, 230(June 2018), 256–263. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2019.04.027>
- \* Coltrane, S. (2001). Marketing the Marriage “Solution”: Misplaced Simplicity in the Politics of Fatherhood - 2001 Presidential Address to the Pacific Sociological Association. *Sociological Perspectives*, 44(4), 387–418.  
<https://doi.org/10.2307/1389651>
- De Vries, H., Bekkers, V., & Tummers, L. (2016). INNOVATION IN THE PUBLIC SECTOR: A SYSTEMATIC REVIEW AND FUTURE RESEARCH AGENDA. *Public Administration*, 94(1), 146–166. <https://doi.org/10.1111/padm.12209>
- \* Dixon, M. (2008). Movements, Countermovements and Policy Adoption: The Case of Right-to-Work Activism. *Social Forces*, 87(1), 473–500.  
<https://doi.org/10.1353/sof.0.0076>
- Foweraker, J. (1997). Social movement theory and the political context of collective action. In R. Edmondson (Ed.), *The Political Context of Collective Action - Power, Argumentation and Democracy* (pp. 48–60). London and New York: Routledge.
- Friedkin, N. E. (1998). *A Structural Theory of Social Influence*.  
<https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511527524>
- Galego, D., Moulaert, F., Brans, M., & Santinha, G. (2021). Social innovation & Governance: a scoping review. *Innovation: The European Journal of Social Science Research*, 0(0), 1–26. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13511610.2021.1879630>
- Giugni, M. (2007). Useless Protest? A Time-Series Analysis of the Policy Outcomes of Ecology, Antinuclear, and Peace Movements in the United States, 1977-1995. *Mobilization: An International Quarterly*, 12(1), 53–77.  
<https://doi.org/10.17813/mai.12.1.b05j1087v7pxg382>
- Giugni, M. G. (1998). Was it Worth the Effort? The Outcomes and Consequences of Social Movements. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 24(1), 371–393.  
<https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.soc.24.1.371>
- \* Goss, K. A. (2018). US Women’s Groups in National Policy Debates, 1880–2000. In

H. J. McCammon & L. A. Banaszak (Eds.), *100 Years of the Nineteenth Amendment: An Appraisal of Women's Political Activism*.  
<https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780190265144.003.0009>

- \* Gottardi, F. (2020). Sacred Sites Protection and Indigenous Women's Activism: Empowering Grassroots Social Movements to Influence Public Policy. A Look into the "Women of Standing Rock" and "Idle No More" Indigenous Movements. *Religions*, 11(8), 380. <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel11080380>
- Harms, M. C., & Goodwin, V. A. (2019). Scoping reviews. *Physiotherapy*, 105(4), 397–398. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.physio.2019.10.005>
- \* Harris, H. E., & Russo, P. (2015). The influence of social movements on space astronomy policy. *Space Policy*, 31, 1–4.  
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.spacepol.2014.08.009>
- \* Harris, K. N., & Morris, J. C. (2017). "Grass" Roots in Texas: A Multiple Streams Approach to Understanding the Marijuana Movement's Policy Impact. *World Affairs*, 180(1), 93–126. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0043820017716683>
- \* Hasegawa, K. (2014). The Fukushima nuclear accident and Japan's civil society: Context, reactions, and policy impacts. *International Sociology*, 29(4), 283–301.  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0268580914536413>
- \* Hertel, S. (2015). Hungry for Justice: Social Mobilization on the Right to Food in India. *Development and Change*, 46(1), 72–94. <https://doi.org/10.1111/dech.12144>
- Howlett, M., Ramesh, M., & Perl, A. (2009). *Studying Public Policy: policy cycles & policy subsystems* (3rd ed.). Ontario, Canada: Oxford University Press.
- Jasper, J., Moran, K., & Tramontano, M. (2015). Strategy. In D. Della Porta & M. Diani (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Social Movements* (pp. 1–13).  
<https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199678402.013.33>
- \* Keefe, R. H., Lane, S. D., & Swarts, H. J. (2006). From the Bottom Up. Tracing the impact of four health-based social movements on health and social policies. *Journal of Health & Social Policy*, 21(3), 55–69.  
[https://doi.org/10.1300/J045v21n03\\_04](https://doi.org/10.1300/J045v21n03_04)
- Kitschelt, H. P. (1986). Political Opportunity Structures and Political Protest: Anti-Nuclear Movements in Four Democracies. *British Journal of Political Science*, 16(1), 57–85.
- Klandermans, B. (2015). Motivations to Action. In D. Della Porta & M. Diani (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Social Movements* (pp. 1–13).  
<https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199678402.013.30>
- \* Levy, C., Latendresse, A., & Carle-Marsan, M. (2013). Movimento Popular Urbano e Mulheres no Brasil: Uma Experiência de Feminização das Políticas Públicas de Habitação. *Cadernos Gestão Pública e Cidadania*, 18(63), 310–334.  
<https://doi.org/10.12660/cgpc.v18n63.8023>

- \* Malloy, J. (1999). What Makes a State Advocacy Structure Effective? — Conflicts Between Bureaucratic and Social Movement Criteria. *Governance*, 12(3), 267–288. <https://doi.org/10.1111/0952-1895.00103>
- McAdam, D., Tarrow, S., & Tilly, C. (1996). To Map Contentious Politics. *Mobilization: An International Quarterly*, 1(1), 17–34. <https://doi.org/10.17813/mai.1.1.y3p544u2j1l536u9>
- \* McVeigh, R., Welch, M. R., & Bjarnason, T. (2003). Hate Crime Reporting as a Successful Social Movement Outcome. *American Sociological Review*, 68(6), 843. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1519748>
- Meyer, D. S. (2005). Introduction: Social movements and Public policy: Eggs, Chicken, and Theory. In D. S. Meyer, V. Jenness, & H. Ingram (Eds.), *Routing the Opposition: Social Movements, Public Policy, and Democracy* (pp. 1–26). Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Meyer, D. S., & Lupo, L. (2010). Assessing the Politics of Protest: Political Science and the Study of Social Movements. In B. Klandermans & C. Roggeband (Eds.), *Handbook of Social Movements Across Disciplines* (pp. 111–156). <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-0-387-70960-4>
- Meyer, D. S., & Staggenborg, S. (1996). Movements, Countermovements, and the Structure of Political Opportunity. *American Journal of Sociology*, 101(6), 1628–1660. <https://doi.org/10.1086/230869>
- Munn, Z., Peters, M. D. J., Stern, C., Tufanaru, C., McArthur, A., & Aromataris, E. (2018). Systematic review or scoping review? Guidance for authors when choosing between a systematic or scoping review approach. *BMC Medical Research Methodology*, 18(143), 1–7. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s12874-018-0611-x>
- \* Otero, A. E. (2016). La otra cara. Políticas públicas, inclusión laboral y jóvenes urbanos de sectores populares en un movimiento social. *Recerca. Revista de Pensament i Anàlisi*, (16), 139–160. <https://doi.org/10.6035/Recerca.2015.16.7>
- \* Pahnke, A. (2017). The Changing Terrain of Rural Contention in Brazil: Institutionalization and Identity Development in the Landless Movement's Educational Project. *Latin American Politics and Society*, 59(3), 3–26. <https://doi.org/10.1111/laps.12024>
- \* Pereira, M. M. (2020). Trazendo os governos de volta: a chefia do executivo e os resultados do ativismo institucional LGBT (2003-2014). *Sociologias*, 22(53), 228–263. <https://doi.org/10.1590/15174522-95594>
- Peters, M. D. J., Godfrey, C. M., Khalil, H., McInerney, P., Parker, D., & Soares, C. B. (2015). Guidance for conducting systematic scoping reviews. *International Journal of Evidence-Based Healthcare*, 13(3), 141–146. <https://doi.org/10.1097/XEB.0000000000000050>
- Polletta, F., & Jasper, J. M. (2001). Collective Identity and Social Movements. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 27(1), 283–305. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.soc.27.1.283>

- Pollitt, C., & Dan, S. (2011). The Impacts of the New Public Management in Europe: A meta-analysis. In *COCOPS Working Paper*. Retrieved from [https://repub.eur.nl/pub/40668/COCOPS WP 3.pdf](https://repub.eur.nl/pub/40668/COCOPS_WP_3.pdf)
- \* Pozzebon, M., & Mailhot, C. (2012). Citizens Engaged to Improve the Sustainability and Quality of Life of Their Cities: the Case of Nossa Sao Paulo. *Journal of Change Management*, 12(3), 301–321. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14697017.2012.673072>
- Rootes, C. (1997). Shaping collective action: structure, contingency and knowledge. In R. Edmondson (Ed.), *The Political Context of Collective Action - Power, Argumentation and Democracy* (pp. 64–85). London and New York: Routledge.
- \* Sawyers, T. M., & Meyer, D. S. (1999). Missed Opportunities: Social Movement Abeyance and Public Policy. *Social Problems*, 46(2), 187–206. <https://doi.org/10.1525/sp.1999.46.2.03x0185c>
- \* Scott, W. R., Deschenes, S., Hopkins, K., Newman, A., & McLaughlin, M. (2006). Advocacy Organizations and the Field of Youth Services: Ongoing Efforts to Restructure a Field. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, 35(4), 691–714. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0899764006289772>
- \* Shawki, N. (2010). Issue Frames and the Political Outcomes of Transnational Campaigns: A Comparison of the Jubilee 2000 Movement and the Currency Transaction Tax Campaign. *Global Society*, 24(2), 203–230. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13600821003626468>
- \* Silva, H. F. R. da. (2018). The “Heliópolis Case” and the political urban dispute in Brazil. *Revista de Administração Pública*, 52(6), 1073–1089. <https://doi.org/10.1590/0034-761220170138>
- \* Silva, S. de A. M. e. (2013). Democracia participativa e processo decisório de políticas públicas: a influência da campanha contra a Alca. *Sociedade e Estado*, 28(1), 53–74. <https://doi.org/10.1590/S0102-69922013000100004>
- \* Simon-Kumar, R. (2018). Translating Inclusion into Influence in New Zealand: The Conundrum of Engaging Gender Organizations in Public Policy. *Journal of Women, Politics & Policy*, 39(2), 151–176. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1554477X.2018.1449525>
- Smithey, L. A. (2009). Social Movement Strategy, Tactics, and Collective Identity. *Sociology Compass*, 3(4), 658–671. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1751-9020.2009.00218.x>
- Snow, D. A. (2004). Social Movements As Challenges To Authority: Resistance To an Emerging Conceptual Hegemony. *Research in Social Movements, Conflicts and Change*, 25, 3–25. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0163-786X\(04\)25001-7](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0163-786X(04)25001-7)
- Tarrow, S. (2011). *Power in Movement: Social Movement and Contentious Politics* (3rd ed.). New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Tarrow, S. (2015). Contentious Politics. In D. Della Porta & M. Diani (Eds.), *The*

*Oxford Handbook of Social Movements* (pp. 1–25).  
<https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199678402.013.8>

- Tricco, A. C., Lillie, E., Zarin, W., O'Brien, K. K., Colquhoun, H., Levac, D., ...  
Straus, S. E. (2018). PRISMA Extension for Scoping Reviews (PRISMA-ScR):  
Checklist and Explanation. *Annals of Internal Medicine*, 169(7), 467–473.  
<https://doi.org/10.7326/M18-0850>
- \* Uba, K. (2005). Political Protest and Policy Change: The Direct Impacts of Indian  
Anti-Privatization Mobilizations, 1990-2003. *Mobilization: An International  
Quarterly*, 10(3), 383–396. <https://doi.org/10.17813/mai.10.3.004857754441n353>
- \* Vanhala, L. (2018). Is Legal Mobilization for the Birds? Legal Opportunity Structures  
and Environmental Nongovernmental Organizations in the United Kingdom,  
France, Finland, and Italy. *Comparative Political Studies*, 51(3), 380–412.  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414017710257>
- \* Veguilla, V. (2017). Social Protest and Nationalism in Western Sahara: Struggles  
around Fisheries and Housing in El Ayun and Dakhla. *Mediterranean Politics*,  
22(3), 362–382. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13629395.2016.1215046>
- \* Vincent, R., & Stackpool-Moore, L. (2009). Moved to act: communication supporting  
HIV social movements to achieve inclusive social change. *Development in  
Practice*, 19(4–5), 630–642. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09614520902866413>
- \* Wald, K. D., & Corey, J. C. (2002). The Christian Right and Public Policy: Social  
Movement Elites as Institutional Activists. *State Politics & Policy Quarterly*, 2(2),  
99–125. <https://doi.org/10.1177/153244000200200201>
- Yin, R. K., & Heald, K. A. (1975). Using the Case Survey Method to Analyze Policy  
Studies. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 20(3), 371–381.  
<https://doi.org/10.2307/2391997>