**A Brief History of Social Movements in North America**

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**Purpose Statement**

The purpose of this analysis is to differentiate social movements. In this instance we will be using the hippie/counterculture movements during the 1960s and 1970s in Canada, and those that are occurring in the second decade of the twenty-first century. In particular, this analysis distinguishes right-wing extremist movements in 2016 from groups like the Hippie Movement and the Black Panther Party Movement. Specific reference will be made to contrast the social movements of the twenty-first century that are non-political in nature but are identity based, versus movements during the 60s and 70s that were political by design and intent. Due to the non-political nature of twenty first century Violent Transnational Social Movements, they might be characterized as fifth generation warfare, which we identify as identity-based social movements in violent conflict with other identity based social movements, this violence may be soft or hard. 'Soft violence damages the fabric of relationships between communities as entrenches or highlights superiority of one group over another without kinetic impact. Soft violence is harmful activities to others which stops short of physical violence'. (Kelshall, 2019) Hard violence is then recognized as when soft violence tactics result in physical violence. Insurgencies are groups that challenge and/or resist the authority of the state. There are different levels of insurgencies; and on the extreme end there is the resistance of systemic authority.

In the latter half of the twentieth century, there was resistance to the structures and values upheld by the state and the norms and values which they upheld. In Europe, the Irish Republican Army strived to undercut state legitimacy by perpetrating terrorist attacks against state institutions. In the Middle East, groups like Hezbollah committed terrorist attacks in Lebanon against Israeli state institutions. In Central America, groups like the Contras rose up in resistance to the government in Nicaragua. All of these groups have two things in common: they perpetrated hard and kinetic violence against the state, and they are all considered 4th-Generation Warfare insurgents who tried to challenge the authority of the state and/or overthrow.

The main distinctions, as shown in this analysis, are (1) the objectives and (2) identities of the actors concerned. In the 21st century, we are seeing a rise in identity-based conflict. Groups such as the III%, the Yellow Vest movement, which has been infiltrated by right-wing extremist actors, Patriot Prayer, and the Islamic State are waging a new type of war based on identity, which perpetuates group-group conflict. These groups fall under a distinct category of 5th-Generation Warfare. The groups are Violent Transnational Social Movements (VTSMs) that are identity-based in nature. They also do not see the state as the primary enemy. Rather, 21st century VTSMs target groups specifically with soft violence, which takes the form of overwhelming and intimidating symbology.

**Key Differences**

The key differences between social movements in the 60s and 70s, illustrated by the Black Panther Party and Hippie Movement compared to current movements like the Yellow Vest Canada Movement (YVC) are the objectives of the group and the nature of the threat.

The Black Panther Party (BPP) and the Hippie movements were premised on a group vs. state mentality. This is 4th-generation warfare. Whereas, the YVC movement in 2018 embodies a new generation of warfare because at its core, the movement has a "homogenous conceptualization that some aspect of social or cultural importance is under an existential threat" (Kelshall, 2018: 27). For the YVC movement, this is the conception of "well-fare" (CASIS Vancouver, 2018); the notion that certain events/values are central to the values of a group. The YVC movement sees the state as ancillary to its mission because in 2018, there is no central authority, much less one that gives power (Cook, 2011). Instead, the YVC movement states that they will take matters into their own hands to defend Canadian values from forces who attempt to overthrow it, thus disregarding the state as a "giver" of power.

What also differs the BPP and the Hippie movements from the YVC in 2018 is the way in which they talk about power and how it is manifested in society. In the '60s, power came and emanated from "the man", and the state, which is what the movements from that era attempted to fight. Whereas, in 2018, the YVC movement sees power as something that is transferred through the social relations of actors – different groups and institutions (Hough et al., 2013: 39), but not necessarily the state, as it no longer has a monopoly on discourse as it arguably did in the '60s. The YVC movement is not currently seen as culturally significant by mainstream academic thinkers. However, when looking at the actors and how power is manifested through them, one can see how the YVC movement can gain power by authoring a change in political discourse around a subject (Poblete, 2015, p.203).

The Hippie and BPP movement both represent group versus state conflict – the 4th generation of war. The Hippie Movement expressed the counter cultural movement with an agenda of an alternate option to the capitalist institutions. The Black Panther Party for Self-Defense was rooted in protecting African-Americans, using the Second Amendment to their advantage, and using their 10 pillars to ensure the welfare of African Americans. Both of these movements were political in nature and sought to create change within the pre-existing institutions. Both movements were political and were referred to as great threats against the state; as they held views and acted in a manner that directly opposed the state.

Each of these movements took place in a physical domain of gathering and held strategies in their protest which could be located. This differs from the Yellow Vest Canada movement taking place in today's date, which can be characterized by its' transnational reach, amplified with a great volume of followers on online platforms. Although the YVC movement is not directly against the state, it poses no less of a threat. The nature of threats to the state in the 20th century could be defined as those that stood in direct opposition to its legitimacy. The Yellow Vest Movement represents a shift in the nature of a state's threat. The YVC movement does not oppose the state, rather it focuses on issues such as anti-carbon tax, pro-pipeline, and pro-economic development. Starkly different to the Hippie and Black Panther Party Movement, the greatest emerging threat facing a state currently is the intra-state conflict from which has emerged a movement that can't be contained by conventional means which have been utilized in the past.

**Black Panther Party Context**

The Black Panther Party for Self-Defense, referred more commonly as the Black Panther Party (BPP) was a revolutionary, Black Nationalist Party founded in 1966 (Lazerow & Williams, 2006). Establised in Oakland, California by Huey Newton and Bobby Seale the original purpose behind the creation of the political organization was for the desire to protect residents from acts of police brutality (Duncan, 2018). The movement was in the wake of the assassination of prominent civil rights leader, Malcolm X (Duncan, 2018). Eventually, it was rooted in a Marxist school of thought, therefore it reflected Marxist values in that it became encouraged for all African Americans to obtain arms for the purpose of defending themselves. This movement took place in the political sphere and at its peak in the late 1960s, Panther membership exceeded 2,000' and was operating in different cities in the country, officially chartering 13 clubs in the country (Duncan, 2018; University of Washington, 2015). The different chapters of the organization across the country participated in social welfare programs such as food programs. An example of services run by various BPP chapters include, the Chicago Chapter, who ran free breakfast programs 'that served up to 4,000 daily and ran a free medical clinic'. (University of Washington, 2015) The Philadelphia Chapter opened political education classes, a free library that featured black authors, and clothing programs. The BPP Chapters had a mission to enforce their 'Ten Point Program' and instilled action within society to create the change. However, the first Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) Director, J. Edgar Hoover notably referred to the BPP as 'the single greatest threat to the nation's internal security' (Duncan, 2018; Lazerow & Williams, 2006). The state proceeded to eventually declare the political party as an enemy of the US government (Duncan, 2018). The greatest perceived threat faced by the state was a political movement directly targeting the government with an alternate ideological belief.

**Structure Of The Black Panther Party**

The Black Panther Party (BPP) was directed on the foundation of the 'Ten-Point Program'. The Ten Point Party Platform was 'delivered in Seale's speech at the Huey Newton Birthday Rally in Oakland, CA, February 17, 1968.' (PBS, 2002) A written transcript from the speech delivered outlines to the Ten Points that governed the movement. The first point stated that the black community wanted to claim power to determine the destiny of the black community. The second point stated the want for full employment, and for ability to get jobs. The third three expressed the importance of ending the 'robbery by the capitalists of the black community, and further stating that they were not anti-white but anti-wrong' (PBS, 2002). The fourth point emphasized the need for housing and shelter which is habitable for humans. The fifth was the need for an education system that taught and shed light on their true history and role in current era America. Number six stated the need to exempt Black men from military service, as the country they were serving was not serving them as citizens. This was focused on American presence in Vietnam, which was a major event in American society and the world. The seventh point emphasized the need to deal with Oakland, as the American government dealt with Vietnam. Number eight expressed the need for 'black men to be released from all jails and penitentiaries, as their constitutional rights have been violated.' (PBS, 2002) The ninth point elaborates on the eight and states that 'when black people are brought to trial in this country we want them tried in a court of law.' (PBS, 2002) The final, tenth point was peace in the notion that justice and accessibility will be served.

These points were used as a guide to navigate the movement which spread across the country. Initially beginning in Oakland, California, various cities across America founded their own chapters. Although predicted to be higher, the BPP in Oakland officially had chartered 13 chapters in cities such as; Oakland, San Francisco, New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, Seattle and Philadelphia (University of Washington, 2015). Each chapter subscribed to the Ten Point Program and carried out the BPP values across the country which created a national impact, creating the legacy of the social movement that is experienced today.

**Hippie Movements In Canada**

The Hippie Movement was a part of the counter cultural movement that took place during the 1960s and 1970s, originating in the United States and later spread to Canada. The Hippie Movement prominently gained momentum during the 60s as a result of the opposition to the American involvement in the Vietnam War (Pruitt, 2018). Approximately 30,000 American males, many of whom identified as part of the Hippie movement, migrated across the border into Canada during these years, as 'draft dodgers' (Open Text BC, n.d). The movement spread to Canada where it contributed to a 'growing sense of Canadian nationalism' (Open Text BC, n.d). In Canada, the movement was concentrated in Toronto's Yorkville and Vancouver's Kitsilano District where local elites vocalized their disapproval of the lifestyle of the hippies, stating that 'it was a threat to public health and using terms such as "undesirables" and "lunatic fringe" (Ross, 2014). The aims that the hippie movement held included 'to propose political and cultural alternatives to the institutions of capitalist society; upholding pacifism, communal life, egalitarianism' (Kostash, 2015). Consistently, the movement was a group versus state conflict, however there was a belief that the man wasn't the state, and this enforced the political nature of the cultural movement posing as a direct threat to the state.

**Structure Of The Hippie Movement**

The Hippie Movement had a high concentration of 'white, middle-class young people with undeniable luxury' (Maldonado, 2018). The movement was unified by the anti-war sentiment and desire for cultural and political alternatives that currently governed the state. The movement did not have a specific leader, but rather was focused on the specific agenda of leading the lifestyle that conformed to the 'New Left', with groups leading the movement. The movement was participated in by individuals who sought out alternatives to the lifestyle and institutions that governed them. An example of how the Hippie Movement influenced groups to form around the cause were students at Simon Fraser University (SFU). SFU is a university in British Columbia, Canada that was founded in 1965. Using mediums such as the school newspaper 'The Peak' and holding protests centered around local issues, such as 'the construction of a gas station, the firing of five teaching assistants for participating in an off-campus high school demonstration, and the demand for transfer credits' (Bennett, 2013). Earning a reputation of a 'radical campus' as Hugh Johnston refers to it, the institution was seen as 'the ultimate demonstration of the problem of Americanization of the universities' (Bennett, 2013).

**Yellow Vest Canada Movement**

Following the trajectory of the Gilets Jaunes movement in France, the Yellow Vest (YVC) Movement spread to Canada emerging as a right wing extremist threat in 2018. The Yellow Vest Canada movement

itself differs in its goals when compared to the Gilets Jaunes movement. The emergence of the YVC movement is alleged to have begun on November 24th, 2018 with the Rally Against UN Migrant Compact in Toronto (CASIS Vancouver, 2018). The protests led by the YVC expresses their stance on issues such as the opposition against carbon tax, pro-pipeline, pro-economic development as well anti UN Migration Compact. The Facebook group 'Yellow Vests Canada' (https://www.facebook.com/groups/565213087274651/) has over a hundred thousand members in its public group. The online group has illustrated the evolution of conflict, as the YVC movement showcases a clash between an identity and issue. This poses a great threat to states such as Canada, which cannot monitor right-wing movements as the nature of conflict evolves.

**Structure of the Yellow Vest Movement**

The YVC Movement draws inspiration from the Gilet Jaunes movement in France, taking action dominantly through the act of protests. There is no specific leader identifiable for the structure of this movement. Instead, there are key organizers. Alleged organizers include "Tyson Hunt, former leader of the Edmonton chapter of the Soldiers of Odin, and Kazz Nowlin, III% National Commanding Officer" (CASIS Vancouver, 2018). The key domain that the movement uses to organize events and spread their values is social media. With a public profile, the group can foster an online community and call it to action.

**Conclusion**

The non-political nature of the social movements in the twenty first century illustrates a shift between the fourth-generation warfare in the late twentieth century to social movements exhibiting fifth generation warfare. This transition, made evident between the contrast of social movements such as the Hippie Movement, and Black Panther Party to current date Yellow Vest Movement in Canada, illustrates the evolving nature of the social movements.

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