

## Disclosure of New Social Movements After 19<sup>th</sup> Century

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### Abstract

*New Social Movements emerged like a wave in 1960s and have sustained so far. New social movements originated based on autonomy, cooperation and direct performance. Their main objective is to establish a more democratic and equal world. In order to reach these aims, a conscious struggle was conducted through various means. These movements have consciously refused political party organization and taking over political power. The major objective of this study is to settle, by comprehensive sociological methods, the purposes, patterns and causes for which social revolutions break out based on the distinctions of the former and novel paradigms such revolutions as well as explaining how these novel social revolutions that involve high participation, grasp the authority without modification and especially address changes in culture having an overwhelming identity orientation have an active role in cultural transformation.*

**Keywords:** *New social movements, new social movements paradigms, so called Arab Spring, Spanish movement, Wall Street Movement.*

## 19. Yüzyıl Sonrası Yeni Sosyal Hareketler

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### Öz

*Yeni Sosyal Hareketler, 1960'larda önlenemez bir şekilde ortaya çıktı ve şimdîye kadar devam etti. Özerklik, işbirliği ve doğrudan performansa dayalı yeni toplumsal hareketler olarak varlık buldu. Temel amaçları daha demokratik ve eşit bir dünya kurmak olan yeni sosyal hareketler, bu amaçlara ulaşmak için çeşitli yollarla bilinçli bir mücadele yürütmüştür. Bu hareketler bilinçli olarak siyasi parti örgütlenmesini reddettiler ve siyasal iktidarı ele geçirdiler. Bu çalışmanın temel amacı kapsamlı toplumsal sosyolojik metotlarla, toplumsal devrimlerin ve bu türden toplumsal devrimlerin nasıl ortaya çıktığıyla ilgili, eski ve yeni paradigmalardan ayrımlarına dayalı olarak ortaya çıktığı amaçlar, örüntüler ve nedenleri ortaya koymaktır. Yüksek katılım, otoriteyi deęişim olmaksızın kavramak ve özellikle kültürel dönüşümde ezici bir kimlik yönelimi olan kültürdeki deęişikliklerin ele alınmasını sağlamak bu makalenin amacını oluşturmaktadır.*

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** *Yeni sosyal hareketler, yeni sosyal hareket paradigması, sözde Arap Baharı, Wall Street Hareketleri*

## Introduction

The qualification 'novel' used to determine today's social movements is just an attributive in comparison with the past, rather than setting an absolute and clear-cut distinction. Approaches with reference to the past can always enable us to detect constant changes in a society. Indeed, social movements do not break out instantly, nor are they non-changing stereotypes. In case a change takes place abruptly, marking a distinction of some social changes by the word 'novel' explains the issue more plainly in analytical sense. Therefore, any explanation lacking relevance to the past may involve missing or inaccurate solutions. Nevertheless, anything new is either directly engendered by the former or added to it subsequently (Touraine, 1999). In this sense, endeavours to grasp the new without ignoring the relations with the former can yield better and more accurate outcomes.

We are going through a period in which the world is exposed to drastic changes and transformations and economic, political as well as social dynamics shift promptly. With the engagement of globalism in such processes as industrialism, urbanization and modernization that has gained velocity especially as of the mid-20<sup>th</sup> Century, changes within societies not only have profound impacts on their own regions, but also stretch their effects over continents via miscellaneous means of communication (Touraine, 1999). Among all these changes and transformations, the status and roles of actors in any society are to be revised and reconsidered. In addition to the deep and instant transformations in the world observed apparently as of the 1960s, social movements can be said to go through an evolution as well.

Factors in social life seem to be volatile and have multi fractions. Hence, a pluralist and democratic philosophy to meet the needs of the newly emerged individual in postmodern politics should be developed (Touraine, 1999). The most significant nascence oriented to extend the ethnic politics down to the bases of a society and then let it gain more ground is the New Social Movement. New Social Movements emerged like a wave in 1960s and have sustained so far. New social movements originated based on autonomy, cooperation and direct performance. Their main objective is to establish a more democratic and equal world.

In order to reach these aims, a conscious struggle was conducted through various means. These movements have consciously refused political party organization and taking over political power (Touraine, 1999). Today, a protest triggered in a given country can spread to other countries and echo internationally thanks to contemporary communication technologies, making social movements more visible and providing interaction between societies. Different societies react differently to the events they face (Çayır, 1999). Protests, meetings, rebellions, civil disobedience have lost to events organized on social media and e-petitions.

The major objective of this study is to settle, by comprehensive sociological methods, the purposes, patterns and causes for which social revolutions break out based on the distinctions of the former and novel paradigms such revolutions, to answer why Spanish Movement, Wall Street Movement and so called Arab Spring are new social movements as well as explaining how these novel social revolutions that involve high participation, grasp the authority without modification and especially address changes in culture having an overwhelming identity orientation have an active role in cultural transformation.

### **New Social Movements**

On the 16<sup>th</sup>, January, 2001, Tuesday, about midnight mobile phones in Manila (Philippines) and its surrounding began to spread a message ‘Go to EDSA and wear in black’ (Tilly, 2008). Thousands gathered in Epifanio de los Santos Street called by Minians EDSA in an hour. During the following four days, more than a thousand people in black gathered in Minia centre and wanted the Prime Minister Joseph Estrada to step down from the office (Tilly, 2008) In this sense, this is a convincing example as to how technology and new social movements are related with each other. In another case, 29<sup>th</sup>, November, 1999, major business leaders and leading politicians in Seattle organized a welcoming in the football stadium for the delegates attending the World Trade Organisation Third Ministers’ Conference. Meanwhile, thousands of protestors gathered in churches in order that they could prepare for the first confrontation that would subsequently be called ‘**Seattle Battle**’. Many had their coats and raincoats as the symbol of their opposition to the WTO. Thousands of

protestors marched to the stadium and surrounded it, representing the debt crisis and their paralyzing practices. Representing the debt chains with people was a part of an international campaign (Jubilee, 2000) aiming to eradicate the Third World debts (Tilly, 2008).

Former social movements and uprisings are known to have been terribly tricky. Despite humane demands such as rights, equality and freedom, it evident from the conditions of the era that French Revolution was subdued bloodily, claimed the lives of many people and most importantly lacked heterogeneity. 'Howard Reingold, a technology analyst, regards his experiences in Philippines as the precursor of what he called wise societies: ones that can act in harmony without knowing each other.' (Tilly, 2008). The advent of internet and mobile phones' becoming common soon after is considered as the greatest transformer of social movements.

In a diligent and comprehensive study carried out recently about the use of internet, Caroline Haythornthwaite and Barry Wellman give a general review of the social impact of internet (Tilly, 2008).

*Even before the introduction of the internet, a shift from a collective and communal and socially controlling societies to individual ones was on its way. Many friends and relatives with whom we have socially proximate relations are not actually close physically. These relationships spread other countries and reach overseas from metropolises. Mailing, telephone, cars, planes and today internet as well as e-mail sustain these connections. Rather than leading a life confined to a single society, they prefer to act in several sophisticated societies and have a certain level of adherence to them. People globalized their lives by bringing their relations they have in households, neighbourhoods and workplaces together with long-distance relationships.*

These observations reveal the extent to which new media are benefited in the new social movements. The most effective way of appraising these movements is to addressing the distinctions between the new social movements and the traditional. Moreover, various paradigms put forward for these movements can also be included.

## **The Differences between The New Social Movements and The Classical Ones**

It is essential to analyse the mentioned changes and transformations in social movements because globalisation of social movements and the society itself is of great importance. Movements overwhelming during the first stages of modernism were mostly based on economic interests and were generally made up of a single cast of a society organized centrally to gain the political power. Labourers' Movement that was identified with the idea of revolution and was formed almost under the shadow of a political party or movement is one of the foremost examples of movements of this kind. The labourers in this movement are more like figures struggling to fulfil a historic mission than actors. These kind of conventional movements are called 'obsolete social movements' implying that they belong to the industrial era. Just like the old ones, modern social movements are no independent from the social context in which they have emerged (Çayır, 2008).

The joint study carried out by Hank Johnston, Enrique Larana, Joseph R. Gusfield reached some results to make the difference. These movements do not represent an apparent relation with the social roles of the participants. In the essence of novel movements, there is a tendency overwhelming the class distinction. The ideology behind the novel social movements opposes to the labour movements and Marxist ideology as a homogenizing and integrating agent required for collective movement. They signify the inception process of a newly or formerly undermined identity. They refer to the relationship between individual and collective approach becoming blurry. Modern movements reflect themselves better by individual endeavours than group works. Hippie Movement is the most astounding example of this kind. They represent individual characteristics of human life. Movements initiated about abortion, health movements like alternative cures and anti-tobacco campaigns as well as New Age, self – transformation and women's movement all have a role aiming to alter sexual and somatic behaviours. Unlike the labour class movements, novel movements exploit radical techniques. Taking a dramatic position based on the strategies inspired by Ghandi, Thoreau and Kropotkin, modern social movements opposing the dominant behav-

itorial norms employ novel models of mobilization characterized by anti-violence and civil disobedience. The organization and proliferation of modern social movements are associated with credibility crisis of engagement channels in western democracies. This is especially true in the context of traditional mass parties. Taking all these peculiarities into account, it can be stated that novel social movements tend to have 'self existence' (Johnstone, Larana & Gusfield, 1994). The attributes stated above are enough to distinguish them from the obsolete social movements.

There emerged several theories in order to conceive modern social movements. In parallel with this, the classical paradigm valid by 1970s was the psychological and social custom of Chicago school. Indeed, it is the mass society theories (Kornhauser, Arendt, etc.) and Smelser's structural functionalist model that was criticized most by modern theorists (Cohen, 1999). Of the paramount collective movement theorists, Smelser' collective behaviour is considered as irrational and momentary movements arising as a response to structural changes engendered by modernism process (Çayır, 1999). Despite noticeable distinctions, all theories of collective approach have such common assumptions; as non-organizational collective approach and organizational and traditional approach, there are two separate patterns of behaviour. Non-organizational collective behaviours are the ones that are not based on the current social norms and were formed in order to stand for the unidentified and non-structured conditions. These conditions can be tolerated with reference to the social and economic collapse caused by the structural alterations. The feelings of discontent, disappointment and belligerence arising from the structural collapse led people to collective behaviour. Non-organizational collective behaviour has an evolving outbreak from an instant crowd movement into social movements. The emergence and development of a movement in this circle initiates via inadequate communication (Cohen, 1999). In 1960 and 1970s, inefficiency of this approach was observable.

In 1960s and 70s, this conventional style began to be questioned with the emergence of peace, environmentalist and anti-nuclear movements as well as women's movements in the U.S and Europe as they broke out in societies marked by pluralism, democracy and a potent society. These

movements are certainly not a reflection of social and economic collapse, nor do their actors suit the responsive, anomic and non-rooted actor image of the conventional paradigm. Rather than being mostly economic, they get formed within the notions of self-expressionism, attendance and civil rights (Çayır, 1999).

The classical movements mentioned above are not quite enough to explain novel social movements, leading to new theories to appear. These can be divided into two groups as *Source Mobilization Paradigm* and *Modern Social Movements Paradigm* or *Identity Directed Paradigm* based on their general recognition.

‘Above all, both paradigms consider clashing collective movement as normal and the participants as the members of rational and well integrated organizations. In addition, they both assert that social movements are the struggle between organized groups within the concept of independent unions and enhanced communication means (Çayır, 1999).

### **Source Mobilization Paradigm**

Gaining ground in the United States, it is based on the economic and political aspects of the clashes between modern movements. The clash is regarded as the struggle of alienated groups for participation in the system again. Economic sources should be distributed evenly and exclusively. The most important representative of the paradigm is Charles Tilly. Tilly sticks to the opinion that large-scale structural changes manipulate collective movements. To him, economic transformation, urbanization, establishment processes of states and therefore new dynamics of daily life have led to the emergence of a new movement repertoire and organization patterns. Source mobilization paradigm deals with modern movements more on political grounds and demands these movements or the so called struggle of alienated groups to participate in the system as well as the sources to be distributed equally. Source mobilization theorists are known to give much importance to the power of civil organizations. That’s because in order to stimulate collective behaviours, enhanced organizational patterns and communication media are required rather than the obsolete mechanisms embraced by conventional methods. On the other hand, this theory can be stated to have originated from

a rational notion of movement and not to be able to come up with a solution to every problem. These up to date movements cannot only be described as a reaction to the uneven source distribution as they have a foremost aspect of identity as well. Feminism, ecology, peace and autonomy endeavours are among the identity oriented movements. 'Indeed, Source Mobilization Paradigm focuses on the political aspects of clashes by confining itself to the strategic use of its potential. Even if it is a significant part of the modern social movements, this point of view sheds light on the movement actors' interests in identity, autonomy and social norm (Çayır, 1999).

In this respect, mobilization theorists assert that collective movements are the rational pursuit of individuals' interests with a subtle mind. They describe them as a rational interest in its simple meaning, which actually resembles to the traditional political tactics of self-seekers in tandem with bureaucracy for the sake of the targets. Moreover, some regard protests aiming moral values as a kind of materialist interest agent rather than an attempt to realize an ideal moral world. According to the Source Mobilization Paradigm, the object of the analysis is not the social movement itself but the collective actor within the clashing interest groups. The rational actor (individual and the group) employing the strategic and instrumental mind replaces the crowd as the central event in the collective movement.

### **The New Paradigm of Social Movements**

Originating in Europe, the new social movements' paradigm emphasizes the cultural aspects of the clash. The forerunner of the idea is Alain Touraine, who holds that the essence is not the clash between the movement and the opponent but the presence of a real social problem bothering the whole society. Therefore, Touraine asserts that social movements refer to the capacity self resurrection of a society on a historical basis going beyond the politics. Civil society, globalisation and conflicting approach are the pillars of this theory. 'Touraine depicts social movements as the interaction between the opposing social models (rival groups) on a cultural base.' (Touraine, 1999). It is possible to see opposing views on a common arena, representing an approach revealing the identity. It is also

apparent that individuals can question the events or oppose to a condition. ‘Pure identity model’ attributes to the defensive reaction of the actors within a movement who actually refuse the idea that they are the actual subjects of a revolution imposed on them, which means that the structural crisis and organizational development of states and the political system can be described (Çayır, 1999).

Above all, both approaches try to set the development processes of the modern social movements originated with the advent of globalism on a stout base. They both come up with a new understanding of social movements, criticizing the classical sociological aspect that takes everything in the context of modern world. In this view, social movements are regarded not as a reaction but normal, enabling the society to contribute to its self-construction. Source Mobilization Theory states that actors bring together to obtain their own share from the sources on a strategic movement basis, whereas the new social movements paradigm asserts that new movements cannot originate just based on economic or political interests, rather they boost the identity development and the so called cultural aspect (Çayır, 1999).

Briefly, a chart can be worked out as the following based on Claus Offe’s article ‘*New Social Movements*’

*Table 1. “Basic Qualities of the new and the old political paradigms’ (Offe, 1985).*

	“Old Paradigm”	“New Paradigm”
<b>Actors</b>	Socioeconomic groups engaged in the conflict of uneven source distribution working in groups.	Socioeconomic groups working in favour of groups coming together for certain objectives but not acting as groups
<b>Themes</b>	Economic growth and distribution; military and social security, social control	Maintenance of peace, environment and human rights
<b>Values</b>	Freedom, consumption security and economic progress	Autonomy and identity versus the central authority
<b>Movement Styles</b>	a) Internal: Formal organization, large scale representation unions b) External: Pluralist or corporatist interest agents, political competitiveness and majority vote	a) Internal: Informality, low level of vertical and horizontal diversification b) External: Protest politics based on the demands formalized with negative terms

## **Of The New Social Movement Examples; (So-called) Arab Spring, Indignados and the Wall Street Movement**

### **(So-called) Arab Spring**

Generally known as an obscure notion, so called Arab Spring is the period of transformation triggered by a Tunisian street vendor's burning himself alive in 2011 (Çubukçu, 2011). People in Northern Africa and the Middle East, most probably triggered by this incident that was the last straw on the camel's back, began to give more voice to their long-awaited rights, freedom and a better governance.

In order to comprehend the so called Arab Spring, it is necessary to take stock of all elaborate and numerous motives behind, the foremost of which is probably the stagnant policy. Arab countries mostly ignore the concept of power and political majority which actually refer to authentic democracy and are among its foremost agents. This lack cannot be overshadowed with the polls that are suspected of their limited and pre-conditioned neutrality and do not reflect the public's preference. Much as there are several powers having limited independence in some Arabic countries, the full authority is not distributed. This led to hopelessness about development and change in countries exposed to so called Arab Spring. When the developmental processes of the social movements are looked through, the political system in the countries going through so called Arab Spring is observed to have had a direct effect on the severity and dimension of the movements. That's because most of these countries dictated their political system as the unique option of chaos (Ghareeb, 2000).

While negotiating the agents which triggered so called Arab Spring, it would be incorrect to ignore cultural, economic and even denominational dimensions called social polarization in today's Arab world (Campante & Chor, 2012). Recently, there have been great economic, social and cultural distinctions between social layers and sects in Arabic countries as they host many different societal sects.

Accessibility of the internet throughout both the urban and rural areas in Arab region is alleged to have been potent to shape the Arab World by some academicians (Nizam, 2013). Low cost of alternative media was

the prime motive behind this transformation, especially in Egypt's case in which people made their various forms of publications and broadcasts public via international organizations. The uprising in Tunis is also called the Twitter Revolution as Twitter was the prime exploited media (Tekek, 2011). Furthermore, the role of alternative media in the relationship formed between the Western world and Tahrir Square is also indispensable, making us witness what a transformation social media triggered in new social movements.

It is true that Egypt is the country where the effects of social media were experienced the most. It was also the social media that gathered masses in Tahrir Square in January, 25<sup>th</sup>, 2011 (Bayat, 2010). Any upsetting incident taking place in any part of the world or a neighbouring settlement could stir the outrage in Arab societies. They have especially happened to be able to compare through social media their life to the ones in the western world where people can enjoy freedom and democracy as it is easy to follow through internet (Babacan, Hařlak & Hira, 2011). The mobilization of the new generation challenged the political system and gave birth to the new social movement.

Being a part of the street politics, urban population also became one of the most eye-catching developments in so called Arab Spring process. Protestors made use of the urban areas in cities and led significant events, especially in Egypt. Being the core of the movement, Tahrir Square is the best example of this opinion, confirming that the square became the symbol of democracy. So called Arab Spring brought about a great change in terms of regional balance of power. This is going to contribute to the cooperation of Arabic countries and non-Arabic Muslim countries like Turkey. The reference of Turkish Model put forward at a panel about so called Arab Spring in which intellectuals from both the Arab region and Europe participated is quite an important statement (Göle, 2012). Turkey, with respect to its secular system, stands as the best example of a Muslim country with a democratic system. In this respect, Turkish President (Ex-prime minister) Recep Tayyip Erdoğan advised the Egyptian ex-leader Mursi before coup on his inauguration as the Egyptian President to adopt secularism. People from all sects of the society took part in the movements in so called Arab Spring, sticking to each other tightly in squares. Despite having different opinions, world views

and motives, every citizen made up a single entity resisting to the regime. Of all the paramount components of the so called Arab Spring, unity and communication developed among Arabs are especially of great significance (Nizam, 2013). Arab societies noticed the ties between each other better through these movements, yielding a unity conscience that could bring about the reorganization of many institutions. Being a good example of a passage from slavery to freedom that objected to torture, corruption and the feudal system, French Revolution should also be remembered for its bloodshed. However, considering outcomes of the Revolution, France became a hallmark of freedom and human rights. Accordingly, a true change in the Arab World may take some more time.

### **The Movement Indignados in Spain**

The emergence of the Indignados Movement dates to the establishment of 'True Democracy, Now' platform. In early 2011, an unidentified and anonymous social movement broke out on social media in Spain with the influence of social discontent and increasing social movements in other countries. The platform founded in March is a product of this organization. While having an online presence initially, the movement gained ground with physical protests as of May the 15<sup>th</sup>, 2011 (Morell, 2013).

May the 15<sup>th</sup>, 2011 is the beginning of extensive mass demonstrations that originated in Spain and spread to other European countries from there. Just in Spain, there were around 130 000 protesters in 50 cities joining the protests with a motto of 'true democracy' just a week before the regional and presidential elections. None of these was an initiative of a single political party, labourers' union or traditional political parties. The demonstrations were indeed not organized in advance but united by independent platforms through social media. The motto 'true democracy, now' united more than 400 different platforms under a single platform. Daily activities and camping events in different cities in Spain were carried on for more than a month subsequent to the demonstrations. Although the demonstrators were evacuated from Hotel Madrid after a police intervention on the 5<sup>th</sup>, December 2011, this place is still regarded as the urban symbol of the movement (Abellan, Sequera & Ja-

noschka, 2012). Just as previous demonstrations had symbolic headquarters, Hotel Madrid became the hallmark of the movement in Spain.

The Indignados in Spain broke out as a reaction to high unemployment rate, rescue of bankrupt banks with state funds, proximity between capital holders and statesmen and unbalanced finance and budget priorities (Castaneda, 2012). Hence, the Movement Indignados has a reaction quality against the prevalent election system, unlawful finance markets, political tricks, misleading proclamations, barriers before collective movements and structural inequalities that cause hegemony within a society. The fact that political decision makers did not launch alternatives to cope with the economic problems and discarded their accountability reflects the discontent of The Indignados Movement (Anduzia, Cristancho & Sabucedo, 2014). Changing individuals drive the political system to change as well, making the inefficient politician to pay back and charging active politicians more responsibilities.

The Movement went on to adopt the same approach to the newly elected Spanish Labour Party's leader Marino Rajoy Brey as the former socialist president Zapatero whom they targeted just at the beginning of the movement (Castaneda, 2013). This can be read as critical approach to the whole political system in Spain.

### **The Movement 'Occupy The Wall Street' in The US**

Occupy the Wall Street originated from the activities organized on an internet web page by Adbusters, an independent Canadian media company. Releasing a web page titled as Occupy Wall street in June, 2011, the company called for a new movement to start of a new Tahrir momentum in July the same year. The demonstrators, who led their protests in the places neighbouring Wall Street then made the famous Zucotti Park in New York as their headquarters, followed by supplementing protests in different states of the country. Being initially overlooked and sees as marginal groups by the main media companies as well as the politicians, the protestors were afterwards blamed for ruining the tourism in New York by The Mayor. However, with the strengthening protests, the politicians adopted a mild approach to the protests in Bloomberg. The movement originating in Wall Street as well as others in different states

of America inspired other movements in different continents. Approaches that call Wall Street Movements as the 'Fall of America' based on the interaction process initiated with the visits of some activists that had a role in the dethroning of the former President Mubarak, gained ground in this process as well. What brought such an intense concern and popularity to Wall Street Movement that began with a simple call made on the internet and spread across the country in time is actually Obama's attitude he adopted subsequent to the economic crisis. Indeed, with the inauguration of Obama, the hopelessness caused by the unsatisfied expectations of Americans as to the prosecution of the finance circles held responsible for the crisis and the establishment of social equality accelerated rise of the movement (Trudell, 2012). Inspired by the movement in Egypt, The Wall Street Movement resembled Wall Street to Tahrir. Moreover, new movements in Egypt affected the US as well.

Of all the issues that lay behind the development of Wall Street Movement, by far the most disputed one is the assumption that the financial system being held the prime suspect of Wall Street based collapse together with the crisis could come up with a new system in which wealth could be distributed more evenly, followed by the protests breaking out against the cut down policies on several social rights and education primarily. Rumours that indicated a dual party election system, withdrawal of public participation and the shifting of democracy into a plutocracy also had a paramount role in the developmental process of the movement. One of the greatest accomplishments of the movement is that the news brought the inequalities experiences in daily life on the agenda, both stimulating the awareness of the public and particularly influencing the language used (Chomsky, 2013). New social movements that gained a momentum of change could establish a sustainable success.

Even if they embrace separate aims and targets, almost all movements throughout the world employ identical methods, thereby affecting each other. Just as the Wall Street Movement was inspired by its prior so-called Arab Spring, it will undoubtedly inspire other massive movements to come.

## Conclusion

In the 21<sup>st</sup> century world, the notion of a superior state has disappeared, so will the idea of nation state undermine. The collapse of the Soviet Union, followed by the collapse of the Berlin Wall is a good example to this kind. In contrast, the concept of globalism on an international basis originated. In today's world, countries and nations seem to be tightly bound to each other (Tarrow, 1996). As a consequence, any incidence taking place in the US or Europe can evoke itself in a remote part of Africa or Asia.

The struggle to become true civilians for hundreds of years in the global world has gained pace. Non-governmental organizations have brought about great changes on a global basis. These movements that deal with general issues and include heterogeneity can be called the new social movements. Posing many differences in many aspects such as method, content and participation from former social movements, these new social movements are likely to be like the ancient mighty powers with the help of nongovernmental organizations.

Encompassing all the means provided by science and technology, new social movements are gradually gaining ground in modern world and spreading civil culture consciousness.

In today's world, there are two significant notions for which people should struggle, democracy and civilization. In order to accomplish this, they should act in accordance with the philosophy of the new social movements. Any individual aware of his responsibility of being a human excluding others should have the qualities of the civil society.

The new social movements also focus on the connection between social movements emphasizing identity relying on characteristic changes in post-industrial societies, organizational patterns of participants and their complaints. These movements pose no clear relation with the social roles of the participants. Social base of modern movements have a tendency to go beyond a class distinction. They are based on distinct social statuses irrespective of age, gender or physical concepts such as sexual tendency and job selection, making themselves distinct from traditional social movements. So called Arab Spring, Indignados and Wall Street Movements represent the best examples of this kind.

The fact that the world has become a small village because of technological advances and anything in the world can be monitored has contributed to the activation of any individual. Spread of the internet and increased use of mobile phones especially provided people with mobilization. With the advent of mobile devices, people can act and share their opinions freely. Activist groups can be formed through social media. Using this mobility, people can join events together and conduct demonstrations in different parts of the world simultaneously.

In today's post-industrial society, cultural clashes can turn into problems with unprecedented dimensions. The more democratic a society gets, the more it develops in terms of social movements and their scales as well as extent. There is a proximate link between democracy and social movements, which means that demands never mentioned before are put on the agenda. It is quite observable from the social movements in different parts of the world that globalization has no single dimension. The new social movements struggle for much greater values and targets, which makes people hopeful about the future of the world. These movements make societies become more democratic (Bayat, 2010). That is because many countries in the world try to embrace the best government system, so the sustainability of such new social movements will be a requirement. These movements have brought about the post-politics period, causing such movements as environment protection, anti-militarism, anti-nuclear armament and spending to redirect world politics. For example, investments in weapon development in the US are harshly criticized by American people (De IUca & Peeples, 2002). Politicians take this seriously, but unfortunately not as much as intended. In order to raise the effectiveness of these efforts, participation rate in social movements should be promoted, so should their sustainability.

The distinction of the new social movements from the left wing movements became more apparent after the Second World War. These movements do not ignore conventional movements; rather, they encapsulate the obsolete movements to a great extent. The best message aimed to be conveyed through these movements is that different ideologies can fight for common interests and values (Bürkey & Özüğurlu, 2011). They adopt the idea that the poor, overlooked and minority groups should resist the current system for their rights and justice.

It is possible to state that these new social movements are system-resistant events, serving as a social opposition. They are surely going to contribute much to the enhancement of the future of the world and next generations. With the globalisations of capitalism, the immense inequality caused by the relentless competitiveness within the society caused incurable wounds. In order to transform an exploitative system, it is mandatory to settle high values that can gather each sect of the society. It is necessary to halt people who enslave others and let them to be noticed (Göle, 2012). This endeavour should be carried out on a legal program via democratic tactics leaving no chance of violence. These movements require us to defend world peace, justice, freedom and human values.

Turning into a small village with the communicative technology, the world is anymore an easy place to spread knowledge and news and thanks to technological advances, so called Arab Spring is not confined to the Arab world, making people aware of the incidents in any part of the world and lead them to change their political system to have better democracy and human rights. Employing the media, these new social movements contribute to people become aware, politicized and become an activist (Stepan, 2013). A new generation as much bound to each other as they are independent of themselves can yield unprecedented dimensions to the future of new social movements.

With so called Arab Spring, democracy began to be discussed more. The question of how to secure the rights of Muslims, non-Muslims, the ones rejecting a life regulated by religious rules and non-believers in public places has been recently discussed on an intellectual ground (Aktaş, 2012). At this point, it is necessary to imagine a democracy different from the one in Europe. With the changes in social life, so do the governmental philosophies change mandatorily. According to the processes undergone, it is possible to see that certain patterns cannot meet the needs of people. Whether a democracy, a religion based law or another, any governmental system has to be tolerant. Just as our social patterns change, so should our governmental philosophy. As can be seen in the countries subjected to so called Arab Spring movements, government system had to be changed as it could not meet the needs of the society. In order not to cause massive destructions and losses, governmental sys-

tems should always detect the change signals coming from the bottom of the society and develop politics accordingly.

Without comprehending the ongoing conflicts in a given society, it would almost be impossible to understand that society wholly. The best way to understand a society is to cognize the discrepancies and conflicts in that society and thereby we can get to understand the new social movements. It is observable that the new social movements aim at fulfil personal autonomy. The fundamental characteristic of 1960s is to construct culture against the authority (Çetinkaya, 2008). On one hand, collectivises are opposed and on the other hand collective social subjects such as nation, class and ethnicity are proliferating. In this respect, personal identity is increasingly important. These movements require all political struggles carried over identity to be combined and respect for each others' rights. In this way, democracy improves and a new society where citizens can express self-existence freely.

Today, all new social movements have an opposition role. As in Wall Street, Indignados and so called Arab Spring, they express discontent, but they do not propose what the new system should be like. Based on the distance covered so far, I want to express that there is no cause for despair and considering that the conditions are quite recent, there can be created thousands of alternatives (Sanlı, 2003). As many different movements or totally at odds with each other can organize together, alternatives will naturally be miscellaneous. We have the potential to come up with thousands of solutions to each and every problem caused by the global order.

Providing the new social movements that can act to resurrect itself in the world to fulfil its aims can conduct missions in tandem with its targets, they can possibly yield many facilities. However, the movements that diverge from its targets and missions serving for different organizations with distorted aims will lead societies to chaos and cause irreversible splits and conflicts.

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