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## Justice in New Social Movements

Saeid Madani Ghahfarokhi<sup>1</sup>, Mohammad Ali Mohammadi Ghareghani<sup>2</sup>

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### Abstract

During the struggle against the Qajar tyranny, struggling leaders went to the Shah Abdul Azim Shrine to hold a sit-in against the Shah Mosque Case and foot whipping of Tehran sugar merchants. The demonstrators in Paragraph 4 of their demands, as mentioned by Nazem al-Islam Kermani, the initial demands of refugees, called for the establishment of a justice system. According to this report, and many other evidences, justice, always has been a lasting and permanent matter for the Iranian society. Recent surveys show that justice should still be considered as one of the main demands of the Iranian society. The debate about justice and social movements is constantly changing, and thinkers in this area are constantly revising their ideas. The aim of this study is to elaborate these changes and to discuss the place of justice in new social movements that refers to a range of collective actions with purpose of changing in one or all of the institutions. The emergence of new social movements brought about new ways of expressing demands and protests, and a wide range of collective behavior forms, which, in terms of goals, nature and method of struggle, had a fundamental difference with earlier movements. In fact, with the advent of modernity, the calculations of traditional society were collapsed and, with the advent of postmodernity, new demands were created largely due to development of higher education and autonomy of individuals. Accordingly, new social movements emerged in a broader context of discourses, subcultures, ideological struggle, and identity diversity, and were spread in the form of new discourses.

**Keywords:** Iran; Justice System; Social Movements; Inequality; Postmodernism.

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## **Introduction**

During the struggle against the Qajar tyranny, leaders went to the Shah Abdul Azim Shrine to hold a sit-in over the Shah Mosque Case and foot whipping of Tehran sugar merchants. The demonstrators in their demands, as mentioned by Nazem al-Islam Kermani, the initial demands of refugees, called for the establishment of a justice system (Nazem al-Islam Kermani, 1997). According to this report, and many other evidences, justice always has been a lasting and permanent matter in the Iranian society. Recent surveys show that justice still should be considered as one of the main issues of the society. For example, Ghaffari et al. (2015) in a national study entitled Measuring Social Capital in the Country have shown that 59 percent of the Iranian population aged 18 and over believed that justice implementation is low and very low in the country and only 6.2 percent estimated conditions of justice and equity as high or very high. In this research, justice and equality were evaluated by variables such as compliances between effort and well-being, talent and reward, hardwork and rewards, equal access to health opportunities, the equal access to educational opportunities, compliance between the financial conditions of people with their skills and education, equal access to job opportunities for skilled people, uniformity of law and decision enforcement for all and compliance between official position and status with merit and expertise. The study suggests that, in the eyes of young and adult population, inequality and injustice have spread to all angles of existing structures. The research indicates respondents assessing of the future and that only 23.8% of them believed that social inequality is improving; 34.5 of them have a same view on the welfare state, 28.4% on

economic situation and 21% expected improvement in poverty and inequality. Other evidences also confirm the chronic and enduring structural inequality in the socio-economic, political and legal system (Momeni et al., 2017; Sharif Zadegan, 2017; Farastkhah et al., 2017).

Debate on justice and social movements is constantly changing, and thinkers in these areas are constantly revising their ideas, since on the one hand, the concept of justice and its implications have never reached a state of stability, and from the ancient to this day, there have been plenty of challenging issues on the topic, and on the other hand, social movements have undergone major changes, in line with political, economic, social and technological developments. The purpose of this study is to elaborate such changes and to discuss the place of justice in new social movements.

## **What is Social Movement?**

A social movement refers to a range of collective actions that aim to change one or all of the institutions. The concept of the social movement was understood differently in the nineteenth century, when it was mainly attributed to the movement of the class of new industrial workers (proletariat) with socialist, communist and left-wing tendencies. German thinker, Von Stein, who soon realized the real significance of socialist movements, asserted that these movements are reflection of workers' demand for the kind of social system in which economic exploitation is absent and humans have the chance to progress (Heberle, 1968).

In later definitions of the social movement, the central concepts of inequality and exploitation gradually diminished. For example, Abercrombie et al. (1984), call any

collective action aimed at rebuilding a social organization as social movement. Tilly (2010) argues that "phenomena such as revolutions, riots, social movements, political conspiracies, and even many coups are a variety of collective actions that aim to change or prevent a change in society". Turner et al. (2014) defined it as a collective effort to advance or resist social changes. Nonetheless, social movements are new phenomena in human history, mostly formed after the development of industries and the emergence of social classes, because the industrial revolution had brought about a change in class status. Contemplation in the history of social movements shows quite well that most of these movements occurred after the industrial revolution.

Protest movements - whether reform or revolutionary - are interestingly nurturing similar ideologues. These ideologies have both negative and positive components. The negative side is the feeling of great anxiety about the risks that threaten social life. The positive side is the readiness of supporters to sacrifice themselves for movements; people struggling to realize their desirable society with great power to overcome the risks and barriers that come from the negative side of their imagination of the world (Smelser, 2014).

According to Tilly (2010), social movement, as it emerged in the West after 1750, was the product of three elements: 1) sustainable and well-organized public effort to address allegations against authorities; 2) employment of all political actions (the capital of the social movement); 3) valuable, coherent and public display of unity (such as intimate and dignified behavior and arranged dressing) in the form of symbols (such as headbands, flags, and march in regular formation), numbers (such as the

number of people who sign up a statement or come to the streets) and commitment (such as resistance to violence, selflessness, and payment of membership fees).

Joseph Gusfield describes social movements as follows: "Common social activities and beliefs that are focused on the desire to change in an aspect of social order ...What distinguishes social movement as a particular type of change factor is its quality as an articulated and organized group." John Wilson argue that: "a social movement is a consciously collective and organized effort to create or prevent a large scale change in the social order through abnormal means" (Fox Pion et al., 2014).

### **What are New Social Movements?**

Today, confining of social movements into what Von Stein intended is considered as a big mistake. By the middle of the twentieth century, the idea of social movements, still meant revolutionary, proletariat and class movements. By the advent of new movements in industrial countries, the scope of the concept of social movement has undergone major changes since the 1950s. The emergence of new social movements meant new ways of expressing demands and protests, and a wide range of collective behavior forms, which, in terms of goals, nature and method of struggle, had a fundamental difference with earlier movements. If in the old movements the protesters directly pointed to the centers of political power, and were stand on their positions for the benefit of the lower middle and low-income classes such as workers, farmers and the poor, the new movements had a hidden and fluid nature. In this new type of movements, norms, symbols and specific subcultures were produced and reproduced, and protesters focused on a wide

variety of different socio-economic life, such as the environment, the rights of minorities and ethnic groups, social and lifestyle freedoms, human rights, and so on. The year 1968 marked the end of the era of old social movements and the beginnings of new ones. Thus, the age of old social movements or great revolutions with the aim of bringing workers and other deprived classes to power, gradually disappeared.

Most people see old social movements as equal to revolution (Davis, 2014). Many believe that new social movements - which inclined to independence, self-expression, and critique of post-industrial society - are the successor to old movements. Alain Touraine, an analyst of labor movements in the Western Europe and Latin America, formulated some of the most effective ideas in such a development. Prior to the end of 1968, Touraine published an important statement entitled *The May Movement or the Utopian Communism*, declaring that the national liberation struggle has been surrendered to dominant governments of the world, while the cold war has stalled the apparent struggle of capitalism and socialism. He added that "the pure power of governments, companies and mass media have become an enemy of creativity and change by creating a violent type of power" (Touraine, 1971). The emergence of a new kind of social movement has created hopes for a break up the stifling space of the bureaucracy and it is an important task to reveal the fact that, which forces and social conflicts are supposed to act in this new type of society? Touraine concluded that is "A society that is still young enough to acknowledge its nature and problems". This new class struggle between hegemony through the control apparatus and those who experience the change ... does not call it the

moment of the link of a crisis, but rather the beginning of a new struggle that, like the worker's movement during the industrialization of capitalism, is fundamental and long-lasting for our society" (Touraine 1968: 279 Tilly, 2004: 74).

The term modern social movements was gradually expanded and the mobilization of forces in favor of feminism, homosexuals, indigenous people, environmentalists, and many other groups which was absent in Touraine's critics of post industrialization suppression, were included. Activists and commentators in speaking out against the goals of previous social movements employed the key term identity. They also passionately linked new social movements with the creation of vibrant and independent civil society in capitalist and post-socialist countries. However, evidences suggest that new social movements consist ate movements that have different functions in comparison to the old ones. New social movements are the result of a century of change in the nature of the social movements during the twentieth century. According to Tilly (2010), some of these changes are:

- The normalization of some relationships between social movement organizing agents and local authorities responsible for public order and control of communities, especially the police forces;
- The evolution of the campaigns, the actions of social movements and their manifestation in accordance with the change of communication tools;
- Utilizing the dynamics of social movements by the opponents of radical and reformist movements;
- Utilizing the dynamics of social movements, capitals and manifestations of movements through local and national

political culture in countries outside of the boundaries of primary social movements.

From social background, the old movements - such as liberalism, socialism, and fascism - emerged with the beginning of modernity and new movements such as environment, green, and peace groups also emerged with postmodernism. In fact, with the advent of modernity, the calculations of traditional society were collapsed and, with the advent of postmodernity, new demands were created which were due to the development of higher education and the autonomy of individuals (Amir Kousemi, 2009). As Craig Calhoun asserts, "We must take into account the possibility that the spread of new social movements in modernity is natural and does not require a specific explanation, because modernity causes the collapse of existing opposition between the left and the right, the cultural and the social, the general and the private, the aesthetics and the instrumental entity that organized much of our minds" (Tilly, 2010).

Castells too emphasizes the role of the digital world in shaping new social movements and writes: "Citizens of the Information Age, engaging in production of mass media messages and developing independent horizontal communication networks, can create new programs for their lives with materials of suffering, fears, dreams and hopes. They create their own plans by sharing their experiences. By occupying the media and creating messages, they destroy the normal process of communication. By networking their desires, they overcome the disability caused by despair and loneliness. They fight the existing powers by identifying existing networks" (Castells, 2015).

Hirsch (1984) too has examined new social movements from the social cleavage dimension of capitalist societies. He believes

that social dispersion in these societies divides the society into two distinct parts: in one part, the mode of modern production which deals with advanced technologies and its social base is the new middle class as well as skilled workers, and in the other part is the traditional mode of production whose technology is mostly marginal and does not compete with the modern sector and its social base is unskilled workers and incapable masses. Although these two sectors have in-depth links with each other, but political economy actually places these two against each other, and since the modern production mode produces wealth, it simply marginalizes unproductive traditional sector.

### **Justice in New Social Movements**

In old social movements, justice has always been a pivotal issue. Particularly in the Marxist model, there is a direct relationship between poverty and revolution. DecoFelle (quoted by Gay Roche: 2002) writes in this context: "The general public does not come suddenly from poverty to consciousness with a spontaneous collective reaction to open the way for a revolution. Instead, they perceive and understand the poverty that has been mixed with their everyday life". Of course, sociologists did not deny that excessive poverty, instead of real revolutions, mostly ends to violent uprisings and often lead to indifference and fatefulness (Ibid). However, in old movements or revolutions, attention was paid to the fairness and negation of income inequality and excluded groups.

Poverty and inequality are prominent manifestations of injustice and the product of the dominant power relations in a society. The purpose of the new social movements is often the question of the nature of the power and method of exercising it in society. Hence, movements have an important role to play in

challenging structural factors related to poverty and inequality. In social movements, the dominant approach is to fight poverty and inequality. Movements are rarely defending poverty and demand for reducing and fighting it is their pivotal identity and movement's leaders also rely on this demand for their intellectual base. Indeed, the focus of many movements on poverty and inequality has led to the analysis and disclosure of the productive structures of inequality and deprivation. This means that movements are opposed to poverty from two perspectives: First, the causes of poverty (as a root cause, and ultimately the role of power relations in the emergence of poverty) and secondly, poverty creating policies (the relationship between political processes and movements in fighting against poverty). Movements challenge the prevailing methods of the emergence of poverty and inequality and propose alternative ways to reduce poverty and inequality.

Movements, on the one hand, relate to job demands and the link between macroeconomic policies and public investment in the production sector with poverty reduction, and on the other hand, they affect the poverty and inequality condition by emphasizing provision of basic needs in terms of consumption.

In both areas of production and consumption, movements follow a wide range of strategies. At each end of the spectrum, there are strategies that are directly linked to government agencies and have a common agenda. In the opposite side, which is more controversial, there are strategies that negotiate and lobby, and ultimately oppose official policies. The choice of strategy, its relative success and its impact on poverty and inequality depends on the context and capacity of the movement and the political

regime. Studies show that sustained decline in poverty entails structural changes in political systems. Such changes, for example, require the creation of tax regimes, the long-term increase in real wages, and the expansion of access to salaries from participation in the formal economy. One of the most important effects of movements is to motivate the creation of new government institutions that help reduce poverty (Bebington, 2010).

With the onset of developments in the capitalist system, including the growth of global markets, the wider scale of industrial, financial and commercial enterprise, and new inter factory division of labor, with deskilling the labor process and the ever-increasing number of white-collar workers, especially in the services sector, largely due to the growth of technology and the replacement of labor force with machine power in many sectors of the economy, were created changes in social stratification. The final result of these developments was to pass through the bipolar labor-capitalist society and the emergence of the middle class that, according to Wright, had an interclass status (Wright, 1985). The demands of capital for cheap labor, as well as more temporary needs for labor, has attracted new forces in the labor market, which previously had a very marginal role in that market or were engaged in particular areas of economic activity. This presence in the public social life, or the change in the position and at the same time the existence of mechanisms such as the dual market and occupational discrimination between individuals of different social, ethnic, gender, and racial segments, created a feeling of relative deprivation that led to creation of new identities with action-orientation and it was followed by the emergence of new social movements

movements (Moshirzadeh, 2002). McAdam and others, asserts: "Rich societies have provided opportunities for investors in the area of dissatisfaction to try to develop their own products; namely social movements" (McAdam et.al, 1988: 695-737).

In addition, the growth of welfare in societies affected the change in the claims and demands of movements, just as it facilitated marketing for social aspirations. Accordingly, new social movements emerged in a broader context of discourses, subcultures, struggle ideologies, and identity diversity, and were spread in the form of new discourses. Accordingly, over the last century, the monopoly of leftist struggle discourses such as Marxist and Socialist, has expanded to a wide range of conservative and liberal, anti-racist approaches, critical discourse, peace, environment, and so on. In the course of these developments, we are facing two significant changes in the status of justice in social movements: first, the development of the concept of justice from the realm of economics and income to all aspects of economic, social, political and legal; second, giving up from movements demands focusing on economic justice and extending it to justice in access to power and identity.

### **Movements and Class Struggle**

Unlike old social movements that, at least theoretically, relied on the ideology of the working class, the reliance of new social movements is on the middle class. Of course, there is no agreement on the definition of this social class. Hence, what makes social movements considered as new, fall in the importance of classes in determining the foundations, interests or ideologies of movements compared to the past. That is precisely why the new social movements are

defined by the dynamics of race, ethnicity, culture, gender, age and social divisions that may be somehow beyond the class. However, theories related to new social movements do not neglect what Webern's call "economic connection." The goals and policies pursued in the new movements may have very different effects on different social classes. Thus, although movements are no longer influenced by the class as before, at the same time, their perception apart of class as one of several prominent factors in the identity of movements in contemporary forms of collective action is not possible. Therefore, an approach to the subject of class is to emphasize collective identity derived of collective action, so that the class such as race, gender, ethnicity, or nationality to be considered as an influential factor on identity. Another theoretical strategy that marginalized the role of class is based on new areas of the social movement, which beyond ideology, is the basis for membership in some homogenous social groups. In the definition of new social movements, it is generally referred to a new social paradigm pattern that challenges the dominant structure of societies. These movements are generally constructed based on the social support of people, whether particular class or ethnicity, and so forth. This paradigm shift from class to set of factors can be largely explained by relying on multiple dimensions of injustice, discrimination and inequality in current societies (Steinmetz 1994).

Despite this explanation, instead of working and lower classes, the middle class is sometimes considered a force for new movements. Claus Offe (1985) introduced the concept of contradictory class location as an analytical tool for addressing the complexity of contemporary class structure and its consequences for mobilizing

movements. He believes that new social movements have three pillars: new middle class, elements of the old middle class, and excluded groups of the labor market. According to Offe, this combination of negative effects of the system goes beyond a single class and the potential of the crisis in society. Such a crisis creates a tripartite sphere for new social movements, the only common feature of which is the distance from the old dipole of capital and labor (Buechler, 1995).

Thus, the struggle of new social movements in different aspects does not mean quitting of class struggle, rather the product of the plurality of problems surrounding social conflicts goes beyond the contradiction of labor and capital. As Gramsci says, "social movements are not seeking hegemony but seek to eliminate it because civil movements have a radical anti-hegemony pluralism that does not accept any class center as a solution to the conflict, but ultimately it is a class game" (Carroll and Ratner, 2015).

While civic movements advance the class interests of the groups with a special interest, consider general interest as well. They protest against individual constraints and government interference in the realm of individual rights, or generally, citizenship rights, women, minorities and the like, pursue their protest on economic issues such as poverty and inequality, but the degree and type of addressing these issues depends on definition of identity of the participants in the movement. The presence of many actors in social movements, including women, workers, children, environmentalists, advocates of citizenship rights, peacekeepers and human rights activities, descendants and marginalized people, immigrants and exiles, is not a reduction in class struggle. The

identity of new actors in social movements represents the complexity of the contradictions and crises of political systems that are emerging in new ways and forms; hence, solving them requires extending the scope of the concept of "justice and discrimination" from the field of economics to all aspects of individual and social life.

By expanding the sphere of participants in the movements as well as expanding their areas of demands, the language and literature of the movements are obviously more diverse than class literature, because social forces, based on obtaining weight and credibility in the movement, try to create common language to communicate with other forces. Therefore, each movement in exposing to different layers, classes and different social groups with different social contradiction found their own language.

Thus, in a final summing up, the emergence of social movements in every part of the world, along with the struggle for democracy, has a nature of justice and a systematic connection with forms of inequality and discrimination. The process of shifting the focus of social movements from only class exploitation to the very diverse aspects of discrimination and inequality is an attempt to find a common language that links the anti-tyranny struggle with social justice and the promotion of the demands of the movements from civil and human rights to deeper and wider concepts such as social justice. Although this means defining a new place for justice in new social movements, it does not mean ignoring the class division and the exploitation of the workforce.

The empirical study of some of the new social movements at local, national, and global levels shows that some of them continue to pursue justice and fight against exploitation, as the basis of their identity.

For example, in conjunction with the annual summit of major capitalist countries and their economic agents in Davos, in order to examine the prospects and depth of the current economic crisis and the way out of the global economic downturn, the Global Social Movement in Belem city, in the Amazon region of Brazil, gathered to express their opposition to the current order of the capitalist world, neoliberalism and the current policies of the capitalist world at the ninth World Social Movement. In their Declaration of the Assembly of Social Movements, under the slogan of Making another World Possible, they wrote:

We do not pay the cost of this crisis. The rich must pay it! We, social movements activists, from all over the world, gathered in the Belem, Amazon, in the ninth course of the social movement, in a land where people stand against the plundering of their resources, their land and their culture...We are faced with a global crisis that is a direct result of the policies of the capitalist system and cannot be resolved within the framework of this system ...The present system is rich on the basis of exploitation, competition, the provision of individual interests for the overthrow of public interests and the crazy accumulation of wealth in the hands of a some handful people...The result is bloody wars, racism and religious extremism ...In order to overcome these crises; we must fight it fundamentally and move as fast as possible towards a radical alternative that would eliminate the domination of the capitalist system and paternalism. We must move towards a society that fulfills social needs .... (World Social Forum, 2009).

Consequently, the transformation in the construction, relations and mechanisms of the new social movements in contrast to

older ones does not prevent the continuation of leftist justice movements.

### **Discussions and Conclusion**

According to Tilly (2010), the dynamics, actions and manifestations of social movements may, in principle, act in the direction of inequality and deprivation rather than favoring equality and inclusion. For example, the probability (very logical) of the existence of movements for the deporting of immigrants can be considered as an inevitable result of conflicting interests. But if we consider Tilly's point as an exception, we can conclude that the goal of the new social movements is to provide better conditions for the members and to strengthen the identity of the participants in these movements. Therefore, the subject of the movements and their civil struggle for the fulfillment of demands determines the actor's identity of the movement.

Therefore, first, there is no ban on the entry of deprived classes into new social movements; secondly, the absence of subordinate classes, and even the hegemony of new movements by middle class, never means indifference to the issues and interests of the lower classes, the workers and the deprived groups. In addition, the process of democratization of the political and economic spheres of societies through social movements satisfies the interests of all social groups, including descendants. The deprived groups will be able to express and pursue their demands in a democratic context by influencing political and social institutions of the state and ultimately transforming them or democratizing the state. At the same time, the transformation of social structures and democratization of the political arena depend on the role played by class in the context of social movements. Moreover, given that the

activists of the new social movements defend the interests of all classes and people against the state, have the capacity to participate in social movements while pursuing the demands of lower classes. The development of new social movements is natural for modernity because modernity confuses left and right borders and the cultural and social, the public, and the private sphere.

Emphasizing new social movements on identity and attempting to consolidate it in order to influence activists on their supporters, rivals, potential allies, and affecting their goals and claims greatly eliminate the distinction between an identity-based movement and an interest-based movement.

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## عدالت در جنبش‌های اجتماعی جدید

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### چکیده

بنا بر شواهد موجود عدالت همواره مسئله ماندگار و پایدار جامعه ایران بوده که نقش اساسی در اعتراضات و جنبش‌های اجتماعی داشته است. بحث درباره عدالت و جنبش‌های اجتماعی دائماً در حال دگرگونی است و متفکران این حوزه مدام در حال بازاندیشی در آرایش آن هستند؛ زیرا از یک سو مفهوم عدالت و مصادیق آن موضوع مناقشات بسیار بوده است و از سوی دیگر، جنبش‌های اجتماعی متناسب با تغییرات سیاسی، اقتصادی، اجتماعی و همچنین تکنولوژیک دستخوش تغییرات مهم شده است. هدف مطالعه حاضر همین دگرگونی‌ها و بحث درباره جایگاه عدالت در جنبش‌های اجتماعی جدید را مورد بحث قرار داده است.

جنبش اجتماعی به طیف وسیعی از کنش‌های جمعی‌ای اطلاق می‌شود که هدفشان تغییر در یک یا همه نهادهاست. مفهوم جنبش اجتماعی در قرن نوزدهم با امروز تفاوت داشت و در آن مقطع عمدتاً به جنبش طبقه کارگران صنعتی جدید (پرولتاریا) با تمایلات سوسیالیستی، کمونیستی و در مجموع چپ نسبت داده می‌شد. با پیدایش جنبش‌های جدید در کشورهای صنعتی از دهه ۱۹۵۰ دامنه مفهوم جنبش اجتماعی دستخوش تغییرات مهم و اساسی شد. ظهور جنبش‌های اجتماعی جدید به معنای شیوه‌های جدید بیان خواست‌ها و اعتراض‌ها و گستره متنوعی از اشکال رفتار جمعی بود که از نظر اهداف، ماهیت و روش مبارزه، با جنبش‌های پیش از آن تفاوت اساسی داشت. اگر در جنبش‌های قدیم معترضان مستقیماً کانون‌های قدرت سیاسی را نشانه می‌گرفتند و بر مواضع خود به سود فرودستان و طبقات کم‌درآمد، کارگران و کشاورزان و فقرا پای می‌فشردند، جنبش‌های جدید ماهیتی پنهان و سیال داشت؛ در این دسته جدید جنبش‌ها هنجارها، نمادها و خرده‌فرهنگ‌های خاص تولید و بازتولید می‌شد و معترضان به جنبه‌های بسیار متنوع و متفاوت زندگی اجتماعی-اقتصادی مثل محیط زیست، حقوق اقلیت‌ها و قومیت‌ها، آزادی‌های اجتماعی و سبک زندگی، حقوق بشر و امثال آن توجه داشتند.

در جنبش‌های اجتماعی قدیم عدالت همواره مسئله‌ای محوری بوده است؛ به ویژه در مدل مارکسیستی بین فقر و انقلاب رابطه‌ای مستقیم برقرار است. فقر و نابرابری نمودهای برجسته بی‌عدالتی و محصول روابط غالب قدرت در یک جامعه است. اغلب هدف جنبش‌های اجتماعی جدید، پرسش از ماهیت قدرت و روش اعمال قدرت در جامعه است. از این رو جنبش‌ها در به چالش کشیدن عوامل ساختاری مرتبط با فقر و نابرابری نقشی مهم دارند. جنبش‌ها با فقر از دو منظر مخالف اند: اول علل فقر (به منزله ریشه و در نهایت نقش روابط قدرت در پدید آمدن فقر) و دوم سیاست‌های فقرزا (رابطه فرایندهای سیاسی و جنبش‌ها در مبارزه با فقر). جنبش‌ها روشهای غالب پدیدآیی فقر و نابرابری را به چالش می‌کشند و برای کاهش فقر و نابرابری راه‌هایی جایگزین پیشنهاد می‌کنند.

برخلاف جنبش‌های اجتماعی قدیم که دست‌کم از لحاظ نظری به پایگاه و ایدئولوژی طبقه کارگر متکی بود، اتکای جنبش‌های اجتماعی جدید بر طبقه اجتماعی‌ای متفاوتی، یعنی طبقه متوسط، است. آنچه باعث می‌شود

جنبش‌های اجتماعی جدید محسوب شوند، کاهش اهمیت طبقات در تعیین مبانی، منافع یا ایدئولوژی جنبش‌ها در مقایسه با گذشته است. درست به همین علت جنبش‌های اجتماعی جدید از طریق پویایی نژاد، قومیت، فرهنگ، جنسیت یا تقسیمات سنی و اجتماعی تعریف می‌شوند که ممکن است به نوعی فراتر از طبقه باشد. با این وجود، نظریه‌های معطوف به جنبش‌های اجتماعی جدید، نافی آنچه برین‌ها «ارتباط اقتصادی» نامیده‌اند نیست. اهداف و سیاست‌هایی که در جنبش‌های جدید دنبال می‌شود، ممکن است بر طبقات مختلف اجتماعی تأثیرات بسیار متفاوت داشته باشد. بنا براین اگرچه جنبش‌ها دیگر همچون گذشته تحت تأثیر طبقه نیستند، در همان حال ادراک آنها جدای از طبقه، به منزله یکی از چندین عامل برجسته در هویت جنبش‌ها در اشکال معاصر اقدام جمعی، ممکن نیست.

گسترش جنبش‌های جدید اجتماعی برای مدرنیته امری طبیعی است زیرا مدرنیته مرزهای چپ و راست، امر فرهنگی و امر اجتماعی، امر عمومی و امر خصوصی، را درهم می‌ریزد. تأکید جنبش‌های اجتماعی جدید بر هویت و تلاش برای تثبیت آن به منظور تاثیرگذاری کنشگران بر طرفداران، رقیبان، متحدان بالقوه، اهداف یا ادعاهای آنها تمایز میان جنبش مبتنی بر هویت و جنبش مبتنی بر منافع را تا حد زیادی از میان می‌برد.

**واژه‌های کلیدی:** جنبش اجتماعی جدید، جنبش اجتماعی قدیم، عدالت، فقر، نابرابری

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