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Robbie A. Paul

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**Recycling Historical Events and Outcomes: Is Another World Possible  
Through Social Movement Activity?**

by

Robbie A. Paul

A Thesis

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of

St. Cloud State University

in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirement

for the Degree

Masters of Science in

Social Responsibility

June, 2016

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### **Abstract**

From the left, there seems to be too much emphasis placed on blaming the “free-market, and neo-liberalism” (Bricmont, 2006; McNally, 2002). By doing so, modern social movement avoids the real issue which is “capitalism” (Wood, 2003). Thus, there seems to be evidence that current social movement activity has done little more than reproduce the same tactics used post-1960s, and while their actions may have awakened certain sets of social consciousness, they have yielded little socio-structural change, due either to their irrational ideologies and strategies in response to social inequality or their rational attempt(s) to innovate them. By taking this stance, global social movements may have centralized themselves into fixed spaces of contention where their most critical voices against neoliberalism only serves to inculcate the very system it is against.

**Key Words:** modern social movements, neo-liberalism, free market, capitalism, ideologies, social inequality.

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## Chapter 1: Introduction

It is said that the economy of the globalized world started to fall after the year 1913, and completed its demise during and after World War II. Shortly after, then U.S. President Harry S. Truman made a proclamation to the world in 1949 that we must “embark on a bold new program for making benefits our scientific advances and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of underdeveloped areas” (McMichael, 2012).

Truman would go on to say that the old imperialistic tactics would no longer be used in global expansion for profit. The new program would only pertain to the “concepts of democratic dealing” in helping the least fortunate people (McMichael, 2012). However, those who did not wish to freely participate in the new global concept would be labeled “rogue nations” and would be dealt with, not with traditional imperialistic tactics, but by sanctions and “military force if necessary” (Harvey, 2007). That is to say, no individual state or nation would reap the benefits from global commerce at the expense of someone else’s loss or suffering. Truman’s ideological speech placed the citizens of what we know as developed nations into a position of global advocacy. President Truman alluded to the guarantee of two phenomena: 1) that each state and nation would have access to resources and spaces that would be equipped to participate in equal measure within the global economic sector, and 2) that proceeding generations would “if in a position to do so... pass on these valuable resources, enabling them to satisfy their own basic needs...” and come to realize their own human rights (Risse, 1970).

In a just world, this would have come to fruition. However, following World War II, a large portion of the developing countries did not fall lock-in-step with this new competitive

economic ideology. Instead, they would choose to focus on internal economic strategies which discouraged participation within the global economy.

These strategic economic approaches were not particularly successful for several reasons that will be addressed forthcoming. However, it is important for now to recognize that throughout this period, both local and international economies had merely “stumbled from one crisis to another,” and by the mid-1970s to the early 1980s, capitalists had countered these events by establishing a new global economic offensive, recognized by the majority of people as neoliberalism or globalization (McNally, 2002). It would be prudent to keep in mind that the two are often used synonymously, but as we will see, they are distinctly different.

This new phase of economics called neoliberalism was initiated globally by President Ronald Reagan (1980-1988) and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher (1979-1990). The new economic plan needed institutions to carry out the rules of engagement. Therefore, they looked toward institutions that included, but were not limited to, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank (WB), and World Trade Organization (WTO) to enact the liberalization of trade, deregulation of markets, their prices, and privatization of state protected land(s), export developments, and reductions in trade barriers.

In an effort to sell the idea of neoliberalism as more appealing to the global public, and in response to leftist critiques at the time, proponents of the neoliberal system created a novel theory of “trickledown economics,” whereby, the overall economic benefits would inevitably fall towards the common people (Fischer & Thompson, 2003; Pinsky, 2010). Once implemented, these free market forces would transcend local and international “artificial barriers,” such as tariffs, public land(s), and subsidies. Once it had taken hold, each state that

participated would be rewarded as well (Brecher & Costello, 1994). This rhetoric turned out to be nothing but demagoguery by giving *Carte Blanche* to private global transnational corporations, and supranational institutions such as the IMF, WB, WTO, and Bretton Woods Systems (BWS) only served to create an economic system that “has no limits to its expansion,” and only serve to entrench polarization of the world (Meszaros, 2010).

The current economic system has reduced global participation into “second order mediations” where capital is valorized and nothing else. It has little or no regard for human or environmental imperatives. Society has now been reduced to wasteful production and disposable labor in the name of profit. To give a brief example, between the years of 1980 and 1995, the number of property owners and laborers had increased from 1.9 billion to 3 billion (McNally, 2002). More than a billion people do not have access to clean “drinking water, adequate food and shelter” (McNally, 2002). According to the IMF’s 2015 report, it is estimated that “half of the world’s wealth is now owned by just 1 percent of the population, amounting to \$110 trillion—65 times the total wealth of the bottom half of the world’s population” (Dabla-Norris, Kochhar, Suphaphiphat, Ricka, & Tsounta, 2015; Fuentes-Nieva & Galasso, 2014).

The only outcome the new economic structural reform accomplished was to widen the gap between those who have and those who have not. Its benefits do nothing for the majority of the poor, and some would say it serves to make life more difficult. During this time, union leader Jay Mazur stated, “globalization has dramatically increased inequality between and within nations” (Mazur, 2000). In response, global citizens have refused to accept that they will be forced to pass down to the next generation a “smaller stock of resources and spaces”

than they themselves had inherited (Risse, 1970). The result of the neoliberalist agenda has been a revitalization of social protest. The current and most notably recognized of these are the Alter-globalization Movement, the Anti-Globalization Movement (AGM), and Global Justice Movements (GJM).

Within the above mentioned movements are subnetworks, such as the “Worker-to-Worker Network...People’s Plan 21, Zapatista’s Movement, U.S. Anarchists, the Have-Nots, religious groups, Non-Governmental Agencies (NGOs) (such as Greenpeace), union organizers, and the Occupy Movement(s)” (Crass, 2013; McNally, 2002; Porta, 2007; Stekelenburg, Roggeband, & Klandermans, 2013). More important, these movements have moved into transnational protests which have intensified with frequency and strength.

Certainly social movements do not organically appear out of nowhere or without reason. No, the increases in resistance are a direct result of the materialized growing supply of opportunities created by ever growing inequalities, whether they be environmental, economic, racial, or material. What is remarkable is how these seemingly separate entities are able to transcend transnationally by way of “sophisticated mobilization techniques” that bring together supply and demand (Porta, 2007; Stekelenburg et al., 2013). Furthermore, the fabric of our global society has created additional modes of communicating that link theoretical models of resistance via social media (Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, etc.), the internet, and cell phones. However, let us not forget this is not a new social phenomenon; the reoccurring theme of inalienable human rights and their violations can be traced back thousands of years. Not so long ago, in the last quarter of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, there was a transnational development between France and what is now the United States.

The battle for independence from despotic government(s) was fought by the people to establish “liberty as a precondition of, and restriction on, the power of the state” (Robertson, 2006). However, with the advent of globalization, we now find ourselves fighting both the state and powerful external entities; not just for liberty, but for survival. This begs the question: Is another world possible?

### **The Problem**

We hear two forms of dominant discourse with regards to globalization or modernity. From the right, we hear that there “is nothing to put forward in opposition” to the global economic sector called neo-liberalism (Bourdieu, 1998). More matter of fact, the system has done nothing more than prove self-evident that there is no feasible alternative other than to stay the course. On the other hand, we have the far left, who wishes to place significant weight on blaming the “free-market, neo-liberalism or humanitarian imperialism” or any other cosmopolitan label the media and science that suits to explain or condemn the growing global inequalities that persist today (Bricmont, 2006; McNally, 2002).

There are several distinct issues that emerge from these types of discourse. On the one hand, if we accept that the perversion of the economic system of world is the only solution, we then only remain docile participants in inculcating and unifying the very “system of beliefs and practices” relative to the sacred ideas of the ruling ideology (Durkheim, 2014). This means the ruling class that owns the “means of material production” also controls the means of “mental production,” and those who lack it are then subjugated to it (Marx & Engels, 2011; Pascal, 2011). Furthermore, the use of terms, such as neo-liberalism, free-trade, IMF, humanitarian imperialism, and other various rhetoric aimed at developing opposition

through social movements in attempts to dismantle the inequalities they are so passionate about, only serve to “de-radicalize” their position (McNally, 2011).

Modern social movements do this in two forms. First, social movements against the inequalities of the current economic system “deny the praxis of the oppressed... and invalidate their own praxis” by prescribing the same dichotomies reflected in methods that the dominant hegemony used to subjugate them (Freire, 2011). The sloganizing of the dominant discourse only serves to deny the people the right to speak the truth. These two opposing forces cannot work dialogically because either the dominating force must concede to the movement itself or lose their “power through miscalculation” (Freire, 2011). Secondly, by avoiding the term “capitalism” in replacing other labels, we aim only to “change the ideology that drives government policy...not the system as a whole” (McNally, 2011; Wood, 2003).

Drawing on Rosa Luxemburg’s *The Mass Strike, the Political Party and the Trade Unions* (1906), social movements created against such entities as the IMF, WB, or BWS can spurn on the development of social movements that seek political demands. However, by focusing on such issues as institutional functionality and ideological changes within these policies, regarding the IMF and WB, only serve to skirt around the real issue of social injustices caused by capitalism itself. Therefore, mass general strikes against such ventures removed from capital do not secure “permanent change” (cited in Luxemburg, 2008; Scott, 2008).

Luxemburg understood that social transformation was far more than just mass strikes against structures that encircled capitalism; these would yield only partial amelioration of the masses, and it was the conditions brought on by capitalism itself. Luxemburg called the

goings on of new social movements, “the crisis of Sisyphus,” which is in reference to the Greek mythic figure doomed to roll a large boulder up a hill, only to watch it fall again and again through infinity. This form of social movement activity falls into step with the predominant ideology of acceptable terms and rules of social engagement. That is to say, so ritualized is the behavior of our social movement activity that it falls prey to the top-down bureaucracy that advocates for “concessions and secret agreements” (Scott, 2008).

Luxemburg (2008) would say that “mass strikes, economic and political” will only continue as long as capitalism persists.

The fundamental issue remaining with social movements of today is their inability to rethink and retrain the modern activist into seeing the issue from a reductionist point of view. We have, as David McNally (2002) states, “the resources both historically and in the here and now,” but there remains a disconnection between the historical working class social movement mentality and the modern working class movement mentality (p. 30). We need to rekindle activism conversations around the radical synthesis of emergent classes. This emphasis would bring forth the importance and relevance of social power against those who wield it.

The aspect of social power that leads to social change must start with destruction of capitalism itself. As of late, we are seeing the organization of the disintegrated working class into factions that believe the actual social problem is class. As Karl Marx would say, “the working class is a coherent actor, not simply a sociological phenomenon.” It stands to reason that there is a social ideological shift in movement activities because social movements themselves have transformed their consciousness over time, and within that same expanse of

time, the social exploitations have increased and diversified. However, the fact remains: just as the bourgeoisie replaced the old aristocracy which led to our current social circumstance, so to must the proletariat replace the owners of capital with a new social reform. Therefore, social movements must regain their clarity for the purpose of forging counter hegemonic forces, and only then it is argued that they will avoid “futile strategies” (Bond, 2006). That is not to say that certain social movements and governmental agencies have not been able to construct meaningful fair trade practices, such as the march on Washington D.C. in 1963 by civil rights protesters that lead to a successful passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 called the Public Law 88-352 (78 Stat. 241), according to *West's Encyclopedia of American Law* (Lehman & Phelps, 2005). The provisional changes to the 1964 Public Law 88-352 forbade explicit discrimination on the basis of sex and race, with regards to employment hiring, firing, and promotions.

On the surface, these tactics may seem to have exacted social change. However, women still only earn between 70-78 cents on the dollar compared to men, according to the website [www.whitehouse.gov](http://www.whitehouse.gov) (2016). Furthermore, according the Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis (2016) statistics since 1975, the unemployment rate for African Americans has remained around 15% and has increased to over 20% in the years where the U.S. economy was in a recession/depression. This leads me to believe that these tactics seem to only “yield concessions” from the majority elites and serve to calm the lower-classes “roused imagination and defiance” (Piven & Cloward, 1979), thus limiting any significant social change towards equality.



Given that these two ideological and political strategies are in constant states of contention, it is no small wonder why political, behavioral, psychological, and sociological theorists continue to argue that these “conventional ideologies” must be linked to the transformation of new social imagery and imagination that “casts the world as a single, interdependent place” (Giddens, 2000; Sassen, 2006; Steger, Goodwin, & Wilson, 2013). This places a significant amount of social imagery upon global consciousness. These images can or will foster new routines and understandings of what global justice is, as well as global policy and its negative outcomes. This is of specific importance since ideologies are inclusive belief systems made up of an individual’s “ideas and values” which they hold to be true within social groups (Sargent, 2009; Steger, 2009; Steger et al., 2013). Therefore, social groups that are in control and social movements are continuously navigating control over places of ideology in places of contention, in this case, global justice. By actively engaging the subjective world of contentious politics, global justice movements have the potential to manifest their own image onto a greater number of people.

However, as anti-/alter globalization and global justice protesters have taken to the streets to expose the exploitative nature of neoliberalism, they still rely on the top-down method of social change through actions intended to exact social change through democratic means. These are the top-down approaches to social movements, the social structures of power lobbies, and bargaining with persons who hold decision-making capabilities, such as government agencies who volley up pressures through campaign mechanisms and advocacy activities (U.S. Government and multi-national corps).

Many theorists from both the right and left of the political ideological spectrum have questioned the legitimacy of these new social movements and their abilities to exact social change. This is due in large part to their inability to “articulate an alternative” to the current capitalist market and its institutional advocates of neoliberalism (Pinsky, 2010).

### **Argument**

While the Global Justice Movement(s) embrace “dialogical bottom-up” methods of operating against the global capitalists, the global capitalist in their own movement embraces a top-down approach to global governance, one that typically operates behind closed doors (Bond, 2006). Historically, this has always entangled the grass roots protesters in a constant and locked “struggle with the repressive state (representing in some complex combination) both imperial capitalism and local dominant classes” (Bond, 2006).

Accompanying this relationship is the ever increasing danger of cooptation from the elites of the movement who will become the enemy of the struggle tomorrow, given the competing and misguided approaches that I argue in this paper for the reinterpretation of social movement methods from the leftist perspective concerning social change; one that emphasizes the key role of social space and accountability in global justice from a parallel perspective. Ferguson would state that “social movements that fight not from below...but across lines...using foreign policy to fight struggles not against the state...but against the financial institutions, and agencies which contemporary capitalist domination functions” (Ferguson, 2006; as cited in Bond, 2006).

It has been shown that social movements that work “across” both the right and left divide, using policy to fight the “hydra-headed” supranational organizations such as banks,

economic institutions, and international agencies, are more successful in creating social change (Bond, 2006). However, the Right's top-down approach to social change has so entrenched itself into fortified permanent institutions that we must look towards genuine global citizenship from below if we want to change systems of inequality.

### **Theme**

The focus of this paper is to show that the trajectory of social movements from the left have taken a stance in reflexive historical action. Whereby, their actions may have awakened a certain set of social consciousness, yet have yielded little socio-structural change, due either to their irrational ideologies and strategies in response to social inequality or their rational attempt(s) to innovate them. By taking this stance, global social movements may have boxed themselves into fixed spaces of contention, where even their most critical voices against neoliberalism only serve to inculcate the very system they are against. Put more succinctly, GJMs have not yet proven that there is another world possible, or that their methods of changing it have any discernable effects.

### **The Left**

From the leftist social movement perspective, we look towards the much heralded success of the Zapatista's movement against the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) first developed in 1994. This movement was a direct social response to an incredibly unequal trade agreement that allowed tens of thousands of people to suffer. In an effort to show the government they were not going to stand for the injustice placed on them, the Zapatista, or Army of National Liberation (EZLN), took hold of the "old colonial capital of Chiapas...declaring that NAFTA was a death sentence to their people" (McNally, 2002).

Following shortly, the independent workers' movements engaged their support. Soon after that, like a virus, the movement had not only showed the world, but local and national movements, that something could be done. However, what we like to call victory was nothing more than an installation of hope, not change from a social inequality scale. It did serve to change the social movement landscape, and empowered their movement and support.

### **The Right**

We need not look very far to see the Right's reaction to inequality. As stated in the introduction, the structural adjustment programs imposed by the WB and IMF, while sold as solutions, have only served the public in making life more difficult. In response, the IMF and WB simply relabeled structural adjustments to "poverty reduction strategies (1999-present) which incorporated more civil engagement in the process of reducing inequality. Yet, shortly after the implantation of this new program, which alluded to some form of institutional accountability, bank staff affiliated with the project 'walked out in the middle' of the process" (Bond, 2010; Petras, 2011). In support of this argument, sociologist James Petras has stated something very similar: "Contrary to the public image of themselves as grassroots social movements, they are in respect 'grass roots reactionaries' who serve only to complement the IMF and other institutions which aid in demobilizing other movements" (Bond, 2010; Petras, 1997).

Moving forward, I will use the global justice movement(s) and their alternative views as my primary focus. I do this to compare active engagement and success (subjective) to whether there is a discernable difference in state and national action-to-responses. I intend to draw on three distinct features of the movements themselves: 1) historical development,

2) strategy method (actions), and 3) political ideology. It is through this approach that I attempt to provide interconnections between these movements and discover both their strengths and weaknesses, successes and failures, and provide a critical analysis that will contribute to the overall objective of global inequality, if achievable.

First, I will need to define certain key elements of the global justice system such as 1) What is globalization vs. globalism? 2) What defines the global justice movement vs. the alter globalization and anti-globalization movements? In addition, I will need to give a brief overview of the top-down approach to social movement responses in an effort to establish why the study of the global justice movement in the United States is so important.

### **Research Questions**

1. Who are the instrumental leaders who have persisted in the global justice movement?
2. How did they develop?
3. What are their ideologies, values, and principles?
4. What is global democracy?
5. Who are they specifically against? (target of social change)
6. What are the goals, tactics, and methods of action against the unequal system of justice and neoliberalism? Why do they use them?
  - \* How do they respond to altering their strategies of resistance, if any?
7. How have the social justice movements met their objectives concerning policy changes?

- \* Have they had a negative centralized impact, both from ideological framing and geographical spaces of resistance?

### **Importance**

One might think of the term “civil society” to mean a body of people that lives within an inclusive, symbiotic, and respectful world. However, recent usage of the term falls back on old euphemisms for “the rest of us,” or more aptly put, the people outside of the circle of influence in all matters that matter, namely our very existence (Starr, Fernandez, & Scholl, 2011). It is the majority of global citizens who hold some form of socially constructed belief that living is reduced to participating in daily life. This way of thinking and living places the fundamental values of equality, human rights, fairness, and value of life into nothing more than a theory, while at the same time, income inequality, lack of social status, economic mobility, access to medical care and education, and intensified concentration of power within the hand of a few become a reality for many.

The effects of the capitalist system of economics have created a global network of interlocking systems of oppression that contribute to the “erosion and disintegration” of traditional and historical cultures, values, and institutional social structures, which are perpetuated by “political stratification and control” (Meszaros, 2010). This “crisis of hegemony, or crisis of the state in all spheres” creates a world of injustice on all fronts (Bukharin, 1921).

### **Method**

Because it is simply impossible for me to be a direct witness or observer of the global justice movement in real time, I must rely on the historical method of inquiry, or what some

refer to as historiography. Social scientists, theorists, and philosophers have made use of historical events to extract evidence that may support or deny their theories and those who stand in opposition.

As with some things in life, there are two modes of thought. On the one hand, there stands a body of fellow researchers who have made significant strides in establishing historical research as a solid base of science “by developing respectable rules and techniques of recording and analyzing historical facts” (Collingwood, 1956; Dray, 1964; Furat Firat, 1987). On the other hand, they challenge the very notion that historical analysis can be established as a science at all. Moreover, a practical use of the utility of history in human life (Furat Firat, 1987). Be that as it may, there is a consensus among historians “that each historical period and context has its own account of the causes and reasons why events occurred” (Furat Firat, 1987). More importantly, each unique historical episode or event cannot be replicated, and therefore, cannot be ruled as a method that cannot infer cause or correlation to those specific events. It is precisely because of this method one can extract the critical components necessary to each event that one can deduct a clearer understanding of each epoch within our social history.

However, one may ask the question: Can history be understood separately from theory? Or has this been the issue of critiques all along? Gareth Stedman Jones (1976) stated in his book *Historical Sociology to Theoretical History* that “sociological theory as a discipline... and history as an empirical discipline” are separate entities that converge on one another. Yet, that would be like saying the individual experiencing the historical event was

separated by the event itself, and that the individual was simply a bystander and not an actor of history themselves.

Philip Abrams, in the book *Historical Sociology* (1982) argues that there are certain sociological phenomena that work in a dialectical manner. We must uncover the “truth rather than a means to uncover illusion” by examining the paradox of opposing forces within nature (Abrams 1982; Hegel, 1977). From this vantage point, we can say that certain actions or events have an impact on changing society, and therefore, change future events, and then the spiral continues. However, Abrams (1982) argues that sociological theory and history not separated or in opposition to one another. They are “always and have been the same” (p. x). Both act within the realm of individual agency and move within the process of developing social structures of eventuation and apprehension. Abrams goes on to state, and rightly so, that history does not stand alone in evidence of truth, nor does sociology stand alone from access to it.

The issue of separation from the mindset of most theorists that utilize the scientific historical method is one that has failed to separate the “logic of explanation” from their own interests (Abrams, 1982). It is this way of thinking that becomes problematic for social researchers to fixate on their individual argument or problem, rather than the practice itself. This has special implications within the study of social movements, because this can lead to a singlemindedness that establishes boundaries that may preclude a more accurate social analysis, one that treats social issues as objects rather than relationships between and among other structures.



By placing a fixed boundary between events or actions from the economic, political, and social, we aim only to hinder the fluency of social progression. That is to say, class is not just part of the social engine, but is the very essence of the engine itself, and once in motion, it no longer matters what the friction of ideologies pertaining to social movements from the right or left are, but the forward momentum itself; “the heat...and thundering noise” that concerns me (Abrams, 1982; Thompson, 1978). This understanding of the study of society from an historical lens gives credence to Rosa Luxemburg’s argument, which concerns itself with class and capitalism, and David McNally’s argument that new social movements are not retraining their way of thinking by not critically examining social movement activity from the past as one fluid, thunderous movement to the present. More importantly, the choice of utilizing the method of historical analysis regarding social movements as a satisfactory way of examining social life only supports the theoretical argument of Abrams, in that I am turning towards sociology itself. After all, the social world we live is the historical.

### **Theory**

Many scholars including Patrick Bond (2010), Marian Pinsky (2010), and Haigi Katz (2006) have supported the efforts of Antonio Gramsci’s hegemony and counter-hegemony as a valid theoretical model to address explanations concerning the development of new social movements. This reasoning is greatly due to Antonio Gramsci’s concept of hegemony and the ways in which our social conscious is formed, and how the political, economic, and corporate institutions rule the majority under conditions of popular consent. Most importantly, Gramsci was fascinated by how the polarity between “asymmetrical power” and “social relations” were used in perpetuating a system of top-down control (Hunt, 1990; Pinsky, 2010). Social

change, it is argued from those in power via bureaucratic intervention by governments, transnational companies, or large not for profit agencies (NGOs), impose top-down solutions. However, they more than often fail to take into account both the needs and wants of the people at the bottom.

In addition, Gramsci was interested in just how profoundly volatile are the “expressions of counter hegemonic consciousness” from the majority of potential collective citizens against such methods of control and social change (Cox, 1993; Worth, 2002). Speaking from a more neo-Gramscian sense, I am referring to the tactics, ideologies, and collective consciousness of the lay person in strategizing how a grass roots-based system from the bottom-up can replace the ruling body of capital and its dependent partner, democracy.

As one can see, this works well within the overarching ideological premise of the rights justification to support neoliberalism. Not only support, but to make our current reality a “process involving the production, reproduction, and mobilization of popular consent” that allows the majority to feel as though life is not only normal, but commonsensical (Hunt, 1990). It is important to understand that Gramsci’s focus was for the understanding of the leadership roles and their abilities to create a dominant world verses that of explaining the “idea of consent itself” (Hunt, 1990). This is not to suggest that he did not spend some considerable time in developing a succinct theoretical explanation.

Counter-hegemony is the counter to what hegemony is. In essence, the concept “requires the 'reworking' or 'refashioning' of the elements of our social world from the prevailing and often invisible forms of control over our life” (Hunt, 1990). Antonio Gramsci

contends that this is not simply a matter of constructing a vision of what the world could be. No, it requires “renovating and making 'critical' an already existing activity” (Hunt, 1990).

One of the ways in which to create a practical world is to replace what is already in place by adding or expanding discourse. More importantly, to open up the silences of the world. That is to say, make available to those around us in the collective struggle how the system controls us, and for those who do not know, to become aware of their position within society. This places significant importance on the ability for social movements to maintain their ideological positions. By providing knowledge of the ways in which individuals are controlled and the ill effects they have on them can potentially recruit more individuals to the movement itself.

From the social movements' perspective, counter-hegemony often involves strategies which are directed at dismantling, or even reversing, the effectiveness of hegemony. An example would be when there is a discussion concerning “individual and collective rights” in a frame in which individual rights are to be opposed to those of the collective (Hunt, 1990). The goal is to not recreate what is already there, but to transcend it into a thought of existence that strives to better the world through a unified ideology of egalitarianism.

## Chapter 2: Social History

“History has no direction of its own accord, for it is shaped by the will of men and the choices they make” (Abrams, 1982). Yet, with every moment that passes, people are making their choices through their behaviors. With those behaviors, whether or not the behaviors are acted out in violent retaliation against an oppressive force, they are a matter of agency. Regardless of the forces the behaviors are against, they are in every way manufactured by the past that has led up to these present moments. Therefore, the shaping of action by structure and the transformation of that structure by that action which occurs within the same expanse of time is the critical factor in examining history. We must therefore start our analysis from the beginning of civil society.

For what purpose would we develop an analysis of social movements without creating a foundation on which society functions through the development of itself? Starting anywhere else validates the hegemonic misconception that the “state produces national sentiment” as a formal reality and discounts the true reality of citizens that inhabit it (Saligman, 1995). If we accepted this perversion of history, we need only move from the elite ideology that a nation was developed by a state, and think only of the role in which the state shall use its coercive power to establish administrative duties over those within it. In so doing, we then have to discount social movement activity against social injustices that connect such diverse fields of contention into one national or global identity.

When we refer to the concept of a nation that holds a specific ideological approach to administratively dealing with both people and corporation, we must first look at the design that made it so. Too often we hear the terms civil society used synonymously with democracy.

Albeit, civil society as democracy may in fact lead to a progressive alternative to state socialism that necessitate preconditions of a more egalitarian and civil society based on “the autonomous individual” freed from common social ties cannot be taken for granted (Seligman, 1995).

What is necessary is a synthesis of the “public and private...social and individual..., memberships...and relationships...as well as the state” that make of the existence of society (Ibid). Without it, the continuities of social loyalty, solidarity, and social exclusion that define citizenship will diminish. Regardless of the fact that participants within social movements at times mobilize outside established political and corporate institutions, they are still citizens. Conversely, those in power (state and corporate) reflect the grievances of the majority based on their administration are also citizens.

### **Development of Civil Society: Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle**

The term “civil society” is rarely, if ever, spared from political speeches or justified actions from the majority. When I say majority, I aim to implicate those with power over a minority; in this case, people with limited power. However, this, as stated above, causes a problem. Is everyone referring to the same thing regarding what civil society is or was? Today, civil society is used in reference to lend an air of civility or fairness. Yet, for others who experience it, under this context, feel its exploitative power in very real and violent ways. It is as if using the term civil society within a macro global context, as Truman would have us believe, only obscures us from the truth. This only shows that the concept of civil society has changed over the expanse of time. Moreover, the meaning must then be different for each country due to its historical development, notwithstanding how one would interpret this

historical shift through concepts within their given language. This stands to reason then that the modern concept of civil society, if attached to political ideology, is questionable.

Therefore, an analysis of how and why such concepts have changed over time becomes necessary. That said, the frame of contemporary civil society tends to be commonly referred to the “public sphere” and separated by political and corporate entities (Laine, 2014).

Ironically, the origins of civil society are considered a type of political ideology, whose members were subject to social laws that ensure social peace and human rights.

The origins trace back to Socrates’ concept of the *Polis*, a Greek city-state. Socrates, in his description of hypothesis, proposed that society was dialectic, and was a form of argument to uncover the truth (Laine, 2014). This method of inquiry was essential to uncovering the truth from illusion. In approaching society through this manner, one could open up a theoretical dialogue to test the validity against what we would consider common sense, versus what is truth. For example, in today’s society, people often equate individuals living in poverty with having a lack of moral judgement, laziness, or some genetic predisposition that precludes the poor from functioning within the norms of society. Yet, we know that is not the case; there is a deeper and richer understanding of why people are poor and remain so.

For Plato, Socrates’ most well-known student, civil society was a place where each moral individual created an “ideal state” that permitted each to dedicate themselves to the common good of all men under the virtues of “wisdom, moderation, courage, and justice” (Ehrenberg, 1999; Laine, 2014; Peddle, 2000). Aristotle was the first to consider civil society as a “political association,” known as *Koinonia Politike*’ (Baker, 1946). When translated, this

means society is made up of human associations bonded together by things they have in common, such as norms, values, cultures, and social identities.

**Civil society continued.** It is important to keep in mind that political associations, at that time, were considered the highest of all other achievements for society, because they connected “collective pursuits...with the common goals” of attaining peace within society (Cohen & Arato, 1992). This brings us back to the original argument. In our current society, we think of the state as the arbitrator of law and social equality. This is significant since the issue of state was not a concept built into the essence of civil society. It had no relative place within it, because the body of human relationships was self-sustainable. Remember that the theory of civil society encompassed all individuals as part of the cohesion of the community, and it was this partnership that allowed us to be self-sufficient. If this sounds familiar, it is because the essence of this credo can be heard from the anarchist movements of today, which I will cover later.

**Marcus Tullius.** It was not until Marcus Tullius Cicero (106-43 B.C.E.) that we begin to see the idea of separate groups within the communities, whereby, the individual is held bound together by common laws and institutions. The key word here is “institutions.” This is the first major shift in the idea of civil society separated by communities within the frame of humanity, and within these communities lies a measure of individualization.

The very idea of civil society would be limiting to its original hypothesis until Leonardo Bruni (1370-1444), who challenged the former concept and eventually coined the term we know today as *societas civilis*, or “civil society.” Jean Bodin (1530-1596), a 16<sup>th</sup> century theorist, would argue that the state was a “natural fact” that can exist on its own,

contingent that it has a family, meaning it has a populace that falls under it (Laine, 2014). He would go on to argue that indeed within society, there are controlling factors that shape the political views into actualities, and these can be considered the forms of rule we have today, such as monarchies, aristocracies, and democracies.

**Thomas Hobbes and John Locke.** Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679) and John Locke (1632-1704) argue that societies are formed as the result of a “social contract” between the state and the commonwealth of the people. This is a decisive shift from the original meaning of a peaceful society. Hobbes argues that each individual is essentially on his/her own to fight for the resources scarcely available. More importantly, it is this “all against all” Darwinian notion that is the natural order of things, not the common interest of the collective (Laine, 2014). Hobbes calls this the *Leviathan*, which means that society is in a constant strain of war in which each individual is governed by their own sense of right and wrong, combined with inalienable human rights for all. Furthermore, the impartial sense of the common goal was not for peace, for peace’s sake. No, society came together out of fear of one controlling power—the state.

Hobbes believed that the reasoning of those participating in society, “if unaided by eloquence,” would be sufficient enough cause to mislead others of the truth of science and would eventually destroy the communal life (Skinner, 1996). This marks another significant shift in the idea of civil society; moving us away from communal to individual, from peace to war, and the ability to manipulate the truth through the powers that are in control. If done so correctly, these would seem to be common sense. This is a significant factor regarding social



movements and society as a whole, for we have just found a link between social development and political *hegemony*.

The word “hegemony” describes a social psychological process that entails the social interactions between differing powers as to how we relate to the world through the construction of “meaning, identity, and political power” (Day, 2005). Hegemony had been originated by Antoni Gramsci (1891-1937), a critical Italian Marxist theorist. For Gramsci, hegemony was a “coercive and consensual struggle” for dominance that occurs at the same time (Day, 2005). Evidently, the development of civil society has enabled two distinct bodies to separate and become diametrically opposed to one another, namely society and the state. However, it is important to be aware, hegemony is a “process...not an accomplishment” and the actions of the dominant party (state) can always be contested. Yet, through political governance, the subjugation of the masses is manufactured through consent, as long as the affairs of the people stay relatively equal.

**John Locke.** Thomas Hobbes levitation and explanation of civil society can be considered one of his most fascinating works when considering mankind’s transition from the natural world to a civil one. Hobbes description concerning humanities diametric condition between freedom and control by an omnipotent authority invites criticism of “both the emotional and ...the intellectual” (Oakeshott, 1975). Therefore, it logically follows that John Locke’s *The Second treatise of Government*, originally written in 1689, would be our next discussion. Most often seen as a critical response to Hobbes leviathan, Locke too wrote about the transition from nature to civil society, however, with far less propensity for violence. From Locke’s point of view, man’s state of nature marks an epoch of human perfection that entails

the highest form of “freedom, equality, and liberty” (Locke, 1988). At this point, an individual has power over their own actions and dominion, placing them in complete control of their lives. Locke states this best when he says that all men are “equal and independent, no one ought to harm another in his life, health, liberty, and possessions” (Locke, 1988).

So it goes, men living in the state of nature may act as both the punisher of those who offend, as well as act as the executioner within the law of nature itself. However, Locke warns us this was an unreasonable expectation for men, because self-love will inevitably lead to partiality for themselves and their friends. What follows their passion for self-love is revenge and jealousy, which fuels ever more increasing punishments. According to Locke, in order to overcome this obstacle, we developed civil society.

Locke continues his argument by elaborating on the significant difference between the state of nature and the state of war. He states that individuals “living together according to reason, without a common” authority is a proper state of nature (Locke, 1988). Yet, when force becomes a design of necessity upon that of an individual person, where there previously did not exist an authority, is an act of war. Wherein, the former elaborates a state of peace and equality, and now has manifested itself into a society of malice, judgement, and mutual destructiveness.

In essence, Locke’s explanation of human kind’s state of nature rests on the premise that man lives in harmony due to his/her capacity for individual agency and property. It is because there is no dominion over an individual, or subordination, that equates to civil society. However, when the rules of nature are violated, this marks a situation of exception. Only when the law of nature becomes complicit, and when there is no law to appeal the violation in question, does the state of man change into a state of war. Once subsided,

mankind goes back into a reflexive state of nature. In order to stave off such convulsions of humanity, an authority (civil-government) was created for the purpose establishing an equilibrium. This is not to say that disruption does not occur, but simply that there is an appeal to an authority that may assist in getting the state of nature back to equality. Once this is achieved, the civil authority goes back into a form of stasis.

Unlike Thomas Hobbes, John Locke viewed humanity as a form of equality and peace, but acknowledged that there may be periods of unrest. However, these episodes could be expedited by a form of authority that could be used to bring back the true state of man's nature. For Locke, civil society was a place of rational thinking and order that involved not only the right to a peaceful life, but property as well. Whereas, Hobbes maintained that the very essence of humanity was irrational, prideful, and savage, and the sole purpose of the individual was self-preservation within the state of chaos. Yet, neither Hobbes nor Locke worked outside the lines of abstraction, meaning, they both have not provided a concrete historical analysis of civil society itself. The farthest they have taken us is to develop a theory regarding a pre-political process of civil society, but have yet discussed how laws are to be dictated which will provide the protection of rights, property, and freedom.

**Adam Smith.** Adam Smith would separate man from the state and refer to society as mere relationships distinctly different from the relationships with the state achieved through despotism. We see here the beginnings of the “top-down” approach to social control, or what we now call the “right of neoliberalism.”

The top-down approach of control is manufactured and distributed through a bureaucratic government “rooted in state centered” approaches to social change that cling to

language within a framework of “liberal democratic” privileged institutions, who thrust down decisions on how one should live down to all forms of subjugated minorities (Rimmerman, 2001). This redefined civil society places the human rights of the people under the administration of the government to be safeguarded on the condition that people/societies have evolved both politically and economically, according to Smith. Therefore, social change must come from the top, and then down to the people. Smith would go on to elaborate that the binding of civil society is now based on a private morality that rests on the ability of the individual to respect their peers, contingent upon whether the moral bonds of the majority were to have the same sentiment. He lays out the current foundation of society as an economic one, which is cleaved from, but protected by, the state through the social order of “private property...contracts...and free exchanges of labor (Laine, 2014; Smith, 1993).

Civil society, as Smith sees it, serves the individual in two ways. It was to act as a safe haven for the individual from economic forces, and with that freedom, the individual can concentrate on ways to create more financial abilities. His explanation of society develops into a commercially-driven communal state of living that requires moral virtues. As a disclaimer, Smith does state, and accurately so, that a free trade economy could be advantageous only if “properly governed capitalist society ... prevented monopolistic behavior” (McNally, 2002; Smith, 1993). Put more succinctly, the people of a nation should seek to have a government that will seek its best interests and not those of the capitalist. The capitalist system functions solely to “deceive...oppress... monopolize” and inflates prices for profits whenever it is given a chance to do so (McNally, 2002, p. 61). It is inherently built on a foundation of deception and greed.

**Jean-Jacques Rousseau.** Coming back to Thomas Hobbes and John Locke, we see a divergence in the mood and theoretical approach to understanding humanity's transition from the state of nature to civil society. Jean Jacques Rousseau's state of nature is neither as violent as Thomas Hobbes, nor as optimistic as that of Jean Locke. Conversely, Adam Smith and Jean-Jacques Rousseau consider humanity to evolve from specific historical epochs. Both Smith and Rousseau will agree that there were four main epochs of humanity that assisted in theoretically understanding the evolution of man's state of nature, and they are "hunting, pasture, agriculture, and commerce" (Prieto, 2004).

Similar to the diametric relationship between Hobbes and Locke, both Smith and Rousseau are also at tremendous odds in relation to this topic. While Rousseau regards humanity's progression in all epochs as a natural development in which men and women inevitably destroy themselves through corruption and decadence, and therefore, it is unavoidable that humanity will end in destruction due to its excess. Rousseau, unlike Smith denounces commercial civil society, and considers the lavishness a blight on human progress because it marks a domination of one class over another, where both the rich and poor are nothing but slaves to the market.

Conversely, Smith praises the commercial development of society with an almost overly optimistic point of view. Let us be clear, both Rousseau and Smith understood that private property was the bane of humanity, and that it created social inequalities within the epoch of commercialization. However, Smith places far more emphasis on the role of appearances within the competitive commercialized market by stating "each individual desires not only praise but praiseworthiness," alluding to the fact that we strive for success

within the commercial market since social-psychologically, we see individual success by others as a benchmark for ourselves and what we strive to be (Smith, 1937). This places both an internal feeling to an external action that predicates itself on how we judge ourselves and others within the commercial market. This can be seen not only in our actions, but also the very position we have within the employment sector, and also the material objects obtained that reflect the totality of a person's identity. This is exactly what Rousseau defined as one of the critical characteristics between the separation of the savage persona and that of the social civil persona. Wherein, Rousseau describes that the savage (pre-commercial) individual had lived within themselves, and the new commercialized self-lives external to who they are as a being. For Rousseau, this alienation from self, where society now defines the individual externally, and based on this definition, we in turn define ourselves by dispossessing our abilities to discern the differences between being good or evil. Here, we can see the similarity in Locke's influence, wherein, the individual that places judgement through self-love will inevitably lead to deceit and disharmony.

This alienation is where we see a significant shift between Smith and Rousseau and their analysis on social inequality. For Smith, alienation and inequality could be "counteracted by suitably devised antidotes such as subsidized education" (West, 1971). Wherein, the capitalist system would generate revenues obtained from government taxes, which could pay for education and thus, create more ingenuity that could work within the very system that was the source of complaint. Of course, individual interpretations of alienation differ, just as the solutions differ when it comes to alienation. For Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, the only "medicine" that could cure society's oppressive inequalities was through the abolition of

private property and bourgeoisie government, a cure Smith considered to be one that would certainly “kill the patient” (Rae, 1965). For Smith, man is not alienated within society per se’. For example, alienation is not evident when an individual resides within a society with other common individuals that are striving for the same creative and “forward-looking environment,” wherein each individual is immersed in excellence, knowledge, and invention, and with it the praise of self, and others (West, 1971).

Rousseau diverges within his own concept of alienation, and argues that alienation is man’s internal struggle to go back to the original state of nature, one where he/she does not have to suffer from the artificial world that civil society provides us. No, the truest and fairest state of nature is when men and women can be back in nature, and all that it would provide us, such as a river to drink from and a pasture to lie down to sleep in, wherein life was unencumbered by the disruption of man-made illusions of self and competition. To Smith, the savage persona was simply a curse on society, something that is simply inconceivable, sour, and distasteful.

However, Rousseau, without apology, emphatically and accurately describes in detail, that private property and commercial exchange are the cause of civil society’s illness. It was with the privatization of property that forced upon humanity the necessities of labor for exploitation. Man, in prior epochs, was very content with hunting and gathering food, because it was then that we (humanity) lived freely and equally. According to Rousseau, it was not until the commercialization of exchange that we see man’s need to enslave people for work and where humanity shows its true wretchedness.

Rousseau will go on to say that these new social relations create more wants through human production, and this dialectical condition makes labor a mutual dependence between labor and material, simply for the sake of making newer and greater objects. In return, each individual “becomes a thing, an object, that is a slave to... the multiple necessities...subjected to nature itself” (West, 1971). This sentiment had clearly struck Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. It is with this theoretical foundation that spurs further theoretical analysis, and which I will get to shortly. However, for now, I must complete Rousseau’s contribution to our understanding of society.

For Rousseau, all participants within the property-based capitalist system become victims of alienation. The only way to resolve this issue is for every individual to “give up his rights to the entire community,” creating the same conditions for all, and thus equality (Rousseau, 1913). In doing so, each individual in giving himself to everyone, in essence, giving himself up to no one. This is what Rousseau calls “general will.” General will, in his interpretation, is not the will of every individual that makes up the majority; it is for the greater good of everyone. According to Rousseau, “whoever refuses to obey the general will shall be compelled to do so to the whole body.” That is, each man and woman is forced to be free, but “everywhere in chains” (Rousseau, 1913). Our freedom is relative in the sense that we must obey authority in order to maintain social order, or what he calls a “social contract.”

According to Rousseau, this social contract is supposed to cultivate a more unified state through a political community, similar to a Greek city-state. To him, there has been no state in existence that does not involve this contract. It must be understood that there is no ideal state, simply because each state changes throughout history. Therefore, the state is



merely a rational idea of how one should exist. Interestingly enough, Rousseau discusses in *Emile or On Education* (1979) that a modern state, in the modern sense of the word, no longer exists, purely for the fact that the commercialization of private property has bastardized the true form into nothing more than a state of one class—the bourgeois. This is precisely why Emile, the protagonist in Rousseau’s story, must get a private education. If Emile were to go to a public school, he would be raised as a common citizen within a common understanding of what a state is considered to be. That belonging to the state obligates him to participate in the idea of complete devotion to authority, in which he must consider himself a patriot, and his actions must follow that of state law, even if it goes against the community. Wherein, if Emile were to go to a private school, he would be raised as an individual, far removed from a fixed concept of what one is expected to be—a civil servant.

As far as discussing law, Rousseau defines the general interest of law in two forms. First, law serves to preserve the sanctity of the state. Secondly, the interest is divided equally amongst each individual that resides within the state. Therefore, it becomes the general will of everyone. In simpler terms, what is good for one individual is equal to all other individuals, regardless of personal differences, such as religious beliefs, political beliefs, and so forth. However, the greater the patriotism of the individual, the more “public affairs encroach on the minds of the citizen” to the point that will render private matters less important to pursue (Rousseau, 1913). Therefore, the state, in its entirety, as long as the individual is willing to be subservient, succumbs to the hegemon in all facets of life.

Rousseau elaborates on the right to vote as the right of the people to express their feelings as a collective, which he considers to be a foundational aspect of law. He stated, “The

general will is never unjust, because it never decides the fate of the individual” (Rousseau, 1913). The overarching idea here is that every individual under general will has a say in the law, and those decisions based on this action necessitate the person to accept that this is the best for them, because they have to follow the law which they helped create. Yet, Rousseau acknowledges that this socially-constructed arrangement will never be universal. Like the invisible hand of Adam Smith’s free market, there is no mechanism for the natural law. It simply does not exist, and it is an apparition, an ideology imposed upon the people as an excuse to perpetuate the despotism of a governing authority. “The Political economy of the state is the executive power that distributes the wealth among the nation” (Rousseau, 1913). The authority is there only to serve the general will of popularity, and if done so in theory, each individual would have a say in the ability to correctly and rationally decide on how to best preserve the nation and all its function, such as financial budget oversight, public welfare, equality, and the rights of all citizens. However, as Rousseau points out, this is both a physical and theoretical impossibility when a society is divided between classes, “because they both escape the rule of the law.” The first due to their treasures, and the second due to their misery (Rousseau, 1913). It stands to reason that the main purpose of a true governing authority, in this case, American Democracy, should be here to prevent such social inequalities from happening in the first place.

The reality is, the American government reflexively addresses issues of inequality under the guise of democratic representation, acting as mediator within the very system of inequality it created. Its justification is hidden in plain view of the people who called the vote. The fact that inequalities exist is the singular greatest example of how our government has

failed the totality of its citizens. Similarities to this fact prompted Rousseau to argue if such a time should make itself apparent, that the state no longer represents the will of the people, thus this would serve as grounds for a revolution.

**G. W. F. Hegel, Karl Marx, and Friedrich Engels.** There can be little doubt that Jean -Jacques Rousseau had a tremendous impact on scholars regarding the philosophy of alienation. For Rousseau, the explanation of alienation and its formation introduced the conceptual framework of what an individual could become, if realized, separate of the conditions imposed by the constitution of the state. According to Rousseau, an individual's daily activity is based on will, and this will translate into a social contract. When this occurs, general will is the general law of the people, and thus acts as the binding agent for the collective.

For Karl Marx (1818-1883) and Friedrich Engels (1820-1895), man's true nature of activity involves *praxis*. Praxis is the singular personification of man that separates him from all other creatures. According to Marx and Engels, in the *Thesis on Feuerbach* (1845), Praxis involves both theory and practice, wherein man "must prove the truth...the reality" of life through the human activity of doing something (Marx & Engels, 1969). This activity is brought to life from theories based on generalizable rules that can be applied in practice. Where theory is knowledge, and when in physical motion, becomes practice, and at times the solving of problems.

This is significantly different from Rousseau's theory of general will, in that it establishes an individual as a devout servant and creator of the state itself. Whereas Marx and Engels praxis dictates that the individual, through theory and action, not only creates history,

but also directs its trajectory. For example, by separating theory and practice, a person can contemplate, in detail, a difficult problem and then apply it into the manufacturing of, let us say, a tool. This tool then becomes a more practical way of using one's activity in the production. This aspect of human behavior is a social relationship, because our thoughts become actions and those actions change society and the environment. This becomes the continual play of dialectics between man and nature regarding the ends and means of humanity.

Marx, and Engels agreed with Rousseau in that the economic structure of society transgresses from an "accessory" of common life, and progresses into the absorption of, and domination by, the economy (McNally, 2002; Polanyi, 1968). This marks another significant shift; not only with regards to the evolution of society, but also the way we understand it to be in reality. That is to say, Hegel's idea of society is situated between the large portion of the state and the minor community of family, where both family and state have well defined expectations. However, it would be Alexis de Tocqueville (1805-1859), a French political theorist and historian, who would connect the dots to Hegel's concept of society and argue that because society is split between two distinguishing powers, it is the right of the citizen to counterbalance the systems of oppression through civic engagement.

De Tocqueville states that the effectiveness of society is determined by its "organizational form" largely based on the social *mores* of that unique society. The intellectual properties combined with the moral agents under the state that comprise social customs, ethics, opinions, and beliefs have a greater influence on how a civil society works,

rather than just the administrative regulation of the state itself. For all intents and purposes, De Tocqueville could be describing a social movement of today.

**The formation of a class society.** Marx and Engels did agree with Hegel's interpretation that civil society was the foci of study regarding the examination of human relations. However, they argue that human relations evolved in a linear progression with a "predetermined direction" based on the materialistic aspects of society, and not idealism that Hegel had argued, was the most important feature of analysis with regards to civil society (Marx & Engels, 1992). Society for Marx and Engels starts as a tribal society built on the principles of "reciprocity and redistribution" (Marx & Engels, 1992; McNally, 2002; Polanyi, 1968). Put more succinctly, all members of a society have duties and expectations to all others as a common goal, as Aristotle, Plato, and Socrates also suggest. In lieu of this common goal, the distribution of wealth gained from work would be evenly divided, or go to those who need assistance. This ensures that the community not only flourishes, but does so without harm or risk.

Marx and Engels also state that society has transformed itself an extremely exploitative society regarding the proletariat, wherein the bourgeoisie have taken the upper hand from the feudal system of patriarchy, and "torn asunder the motley...ties that bound man to his natural" peers, and has reduced the relations of men to no more than "naked self-interest" and "callous payment" (Marx & Engels, 1992). Furthermore, the capital economy has single-mindedly transformed the worth of the individual into a mere exchange value brought on by free trade. The social manifestation of civil social ties has only produced a system that exploits those who do not own the means of production. Those who own the

means to productive forces justify their actions by creating “religious and political illusions” as a means to an end for those who shall sell their only worth—their labor (Marx & Engels, 1992). This shift is the result of the development of private property, and the transformation into estate-property, which eventually leads to advanced technology, and in turn creates a stronger market. With this new advent in history, we see the separation of communal ties of kinship and life’s responsibilities now reside within the individual. This means that the individual no longer has a means of security, but must find it on his or her own. In every aspect of social life, they will be dependent on those who own the property (bourgeoisie), whether it is through direct ownership of landed property, material, social production, or the property of the body itself that equates to wage-labor.

We can finally see the inverse relationship between economy and state. Whereas, the state has shrunk in its capacity to rule and has been replaced by the economy. Likewise, we see a distinct difference from those who are in control (Bourgeoisie), which appears to be equal to or greater than the state itself, within the economic market. At the same time, those in control, namely the state and the economic forces, work diametrically with both society and the state. So too has society shrunk into separate entities that are volleying for the same thing, notwithstanding the individual proletariat that now finds him/herself in the middle of the diametric conflict between the economy (national and transitional corporations) and the state. As with social organizations, they are directly linked with the state, individual, and society. However, modern social movements stand removed from the economy and are only connected by a much smaller society, as well as removed from capital altogether.

### **Dependency of the Relationship between Slave and Slave Owner**

The disconnection between the proletariat and the owners of capital, with the uninhibited support of the state as a regulatory agent, reduces each individual that resides within modern society and who owns nothing but their labor, not citizens with a moral individual concept of right or wrong and who fight for a common goal of harmony. We have become a private, as in a low ranking military soldier, one who makes up an “industrial army” of exploited and disposal cannon fodder that assist in perpetuating the creation of the production of material for commercial exchange, but also in the social production of more bourgeoisie (Marx & Engels, 1992). This places the “proletariat as a slave of the bourgeoisie class,” and that of the state itself (Ibid).

Marx and Engels believe that capitalism contains the seeds of its own growth that will lead to its destruction. They were referring to the dependency of the wealth of the bourgeoisie and how it will always be predicated on the work of the proletariat to perform, and at a consistent pace. Not only this factor, but this relationship will always require there to be an underclass.

### **Separation and Alienation Leads to Revolt**

Civil society has always been filled with some form of social stratification between those who have and those who have not. For the purpose of this work, I rely on Marx and Engels interpretation of class as the predetermining factor relating to today’s exacerbated exploitation and oppression of the global masses. Their analysis of “commodity production and exchange reveals “that within society, there are those individuals that seek profit (capitalists) and those who will be forced to give up their surplus labor (proletariat) to nourish

the hunger of capitalists insatiable need to gluttonously grow ever more increasing profits at the proletariats expense” (Harvey, 2006). Therefore, the capitalist is the personification of capital, and the proletariat and their labor, is reduced the burden of the commodity itself. This places both classes in a perverse relationship of dependence. Neither can or would exist without the other’s contribution of unequal contributions to the function of capital that binds them. In turn, the relationship becomes dominantly hegemonic towards the laborer because capital is the driving force that predetermines the outcome of each individual that does not own the means of production.

Marx and Engels believe that this never ceasing struggle and will inevitably end either in a revolutionary altercation of the social system, or in the annihilation of the contending classes. This is in large part due to the necessary exploitive practices of capitalism that create social inequality. This in turn leads to alienation and degradation of the underclass. That is to say, the internal aspects of each individual will cause such a strain between both social relations with one another, and that of his or her ability to create.

These creative activities shape not only our lives, but nature itself; this is what separates us from animals and classifies us as human beings. Under the capitalist economic system, our existence is robbed of our very essence as individuals and reduces our daily lives into automatons of misery and mind-numbing work. In this new malicious reality of living and being, the only way to offset the conflict we feel within ourselves and others around us is to consume. Capitalism promises to deliver us from this misery by fulfilling our lives with commodities, such as the newest version of the iPhone, clothing, cars, homes, and other products. We compete with one another, not for what we need, but for what owners of capital



force us to create and convince us that we want. Thus, capitalism has created perversions of everything natural within society. Once conscious of this fact, we will revolt and tear asunder those in power.

### Chapter 3: Democracy

Just as civil society evolves, so does the authority that rules it, called democracy, regarding the United States. The word “democracy” oscillates within the political system as a “debased currency” that supports a wide range of justifications concerning their actions to support the capitalist’s endeavors to exploit the proletariat (Schmitter & Karl, 1991). It seems from the right, part of their ongoing hegemonic discourse has been to silence, or abandon altogether, the useful adjectives “like popular...guided...and bourgeois” and formal democracy to describe what it should be by reducing democracy into the minimal conditions to merit its very functions today (Schmitter & Karl, 1991). Yet, from the left, even for this fact, many individuals who study social movements, in specific, new global social movements, seem to start from the vantage point of the “battle in Seattle protests” as the locus in the resistance against the many forms of inequality capitalism creates today (Bourdieu, 1998; McNally, 2002; Starr et al., 2011). Yet, they “skip over earlier periods” with no meaningful content and forget “all real events” that have led up to this moment, regarding the development of society itself. (Marx & Engels, 2011).

This reflex to react to systems of oppression and to critique their power within the sphere of social and political theorists merely creates a “history of ideas” from the current perspective of society and pay little attention to the “history” and “facts” that got us here (Marx & Engels, 2011). This results in a perversion of our current political and economic time. As Thomas Hobbes states in the *Leviathan*, “if unaided by eloquence,” the powers that control us will be sufficient enough cause to mislead others of the truth” (Skinner, 1996).

If we accept the reality of the current democratic system in America as an accurate portrayal of what a democracy is intended to be, we then, as stated previously, only remain docile participants in inculcating and unifying the very “system of beliefs and practices” relative to the sacred ideas of the ruling ideology (Durkheim, 2014). The ruling class that owns the “means of material production” controls the means of “mental production,” and those that lack it are then subjugated to it (Marx & Engels, 2011; Pascal, 2011). Therefore, we must examine what it is, versus what they in power say it is. Furthermore, it would be wise to elaborate on this matter, simply because a great many nations consider themselves a democracy in one form or another, and this portrayal of reality, has in every way, an impact on how a social movement is developed and operates within this frame.

In etymological terms, the word “democracy” stems from ancient Greece, a composite of the words *demos* and *kratos*. *Demos* can be translated as “the people” and *kratos* as a power. Whereby, democracy translates as “the power of the people” (Ober, 2007). However, a power in what sense of the word? In today’s modern political ideology, of the United States specifically, it means every citizen has equal power through the vote to challenge its current rule, and with it, the impression that the people govern themselves.

Along with this privilege, the people who live within this political system have rights, such as liberty, democratic (often misleading) moral values, and economic democracy. Democracy starts with the preposition that all men and women are equal or free. It is our job to delineate between the individual consciousness and the collective consciousness of the body we call “society.”

The use of the words “equality” or “freedom” suggests that political powers must distribute and deliver these units in measure to the human rights of *each* individual. Without that distribution, it is not equal. However, is this descriptively accurate and normative? Reducing democracy to a voting right may omit value and strength for the potential of democracy. Yet, the original meaning of the word in Greek had no “inherent authority for us” (Ober, 2007).

By its own admission, majority rule, according to the United States Bureau of International Information, does not “automatically” equate to “democracy,” because 51% of the population can oppress the remaining 49% (U.S. Department of State, 2016). This makes perfect sense; we need to include human rights. Yet, the fact that social movements exist negates the human rights issue and supports the majority rule concept of democracy. This suggests we may be able to expand on our modern knowledge of what we conceive democracy to be. If so, we may be able to expound it further than just the right to vote into a more fruitful conversation which may elude some strengths or faults of both the political system and social movements.

The meaning of the word “democracy” (Ober, 2007) explains that in the Greek vocabulary regarding political regimes, the words themselves tended to focus on the empowered or ruling body,” which may be a single individual (monarchy) or a limited number of people (oligarchy) or a large inclusive body (demokratia). To illustrate this for future reference, I will be using his diagram on the three main regime types, seen below.

Table 1

*The Three Types of Regime Rule*

I	II	III	IV	V
A. Empowered body	-kratos root	-arche root	Other regime-name terms	Related political terms: persons, abstractions
B. One	<i>autocracy</i>	<b>monarchia</b>	<b>tyrannia</b> <b>basileia</b>	<b>tyrannos</b> <b>basileus</b> (king)
B. Few	<b>aristokratia</b>	<b>oligarchia</b>	<b>dynasteia</b>	<b>hoi oligoi</b> (few)
C. Many	<b>demokratia</b> <b>isokratia</b> <i>ochlokratia</i> (mob)	<i>polyarchy</i>	<b>isonomia</b> (law) <b>isegoria</b> (speech) <i>isopsephia</i> (vote)	<b>hoi polloi</b> (many) <b>to plethos</b> (majority) <b>to ochlos</b> (mob) <b>isopsephos</b> (voter)
D. Other (exempli gratia)	<i>timokratia</i> (honor) <i>gynaikokratia</i> (women) <i>technocracy</i>	<b>anarchia</b>	<b>isomoiria</b> (shares) <b>eunomia</b> (law) <i>politeia</i> (mix of democracy and oligarchy: as used by Aristotle)	<b>dynamis</b> (power) <b>ischus</b> (strength) <b>bia</b> (force) <b>kurios</b> (master) <b>exousia</b> (authority, license)

Table: Greek (and neo-Greek) terminology for regime types. Earlier (fifth-century attested) forms in **bold**, later (fourth-century) inventions in plain face, post-classical/modern inventions in *italic*.

(Source: Obers, 2007)

### Voices of Dissent—Problems of Misrepresentation

Conversely, within these three ideal types of regime rule, there are subgroups that fall under one, or an intersection of multiple, forms of rule, such as The *Democratic Republic of Congo* or China's *people's congressional system* (PRC). The Constitution of the PRC states that power belongs to the people. Yet, the local people's congress represents only one form of rule within its region, while the other consists of the communist party officials. The inevitable rule of the people falls within a centralized, single-party rule of communism. However, when alternatives of the people's voices express dissent, followed by an open discourse in creating alternate forms of government that truly represent their needs, the governing regime shows no interest in establishing an electoral democracy. This places the power directly in line with the non-democratically elected officials who represent the state, similar with ultimate despotic power to rule over all forms of life in an overt and purposive manner.

They, meaning the ruling body, give no pretense to the intentions to govern the way THEY see fit, verses that of the people, quite similar to what we see today regarding the American political system. The distinct difference between the former nation and America is the act of democracy with a vote. However, the final outcomes upon society are still similar. Therefore, we see the hegemonic influences of labeling as an intentional way to coerce and mislead the people who not only reside within its sovereign borders, but also through global representation. This has played a special role in creating support for the moral role of governance, concerning the United States, to justify their past and current actions. This is done through fear and the bastardized form of communism used to support the elite of the nation, while simultaneously establishing the representation of the people.

The true version of communism explained by Marx and Engels was an evolution of society, in which "the State" no longer exists, and people live and work together in harmony in a society based on equality. The results would be that labor would be shared with all members of society, where no individual is exploited (Marx & Engels, 1992). According to Marx and Engels, the state is merely a tool for those who are oppressed to oppress other people. Historically, according to Marx and Engels, the state has always been used as a means to support the wealthy and powerful, both within the political system and to support the capitalists who operate outside of it. This is why we need to examine democracy as it is used by the political and capitalist elite who claim representation of the majority of the citizens and their best interests. Once delineated, we can then examine the opposition as to its role within society, namely social movements. For a more detailed explanation, see Table 2.

Table 2

*Types of Government*

<u>Type of Govt</u>	<u>Head of State</u>	<u>Decision Maker(s)</u>	<u>Source of Power &amp; How it is Acquired</u>	<u>Length of Rule</u>	<u>Political Freedoms Determined By:</u>
<b>Military Dictatorship</b>	<b>Dictator (Military Officer)</b>	<b>Dictator</b>	<b>Military thru a Coup D'Etat</b>	<b>Death or Overthrow (Coup D'Etat)</b>	<b>Dictator</b>
<b>Absolute Monarchy</b>	<b>King/Queen</b>	<b>King/Queen</b>	<b>Divine Right thru Birth</b>	<b>Death, Overthrow or Abdication</b>	<b>King/Queen</b>
<b>Limited Monarchy</b>	<b>King/Queen or Prime Minister</b>	<b>King/Queen &amp; Representative Group</b>	<b>Divine Right thru Birth &amp; A Constitution thru Elections</b>	<b>Death, Overthrow, Abdication and End of Term</b>	<b>Bill of Rights</b>
<b>Oligarchy</b>	<b>Small group of Leaders</b>	<b>Small group of Leaders</b>	<b>Intelligence &amp; Wealth thru Coalition or Consensus</b>	<b>Death or Overthrow</b>	<b>Oligarchs</b>
<b>Representative Democracy (Republic)</b>	<b>President</b>	<b>President &amp; Representative Group</b>	<b>A Constitution thru Elections</b>	<b>End of Term</b>	<b>Bill of Rights</b>
<b>Direct Democracy</b>	<b>N/A</b>	<b>All Citizens</b>	<b>All Citizens thru Elections</b>	<b>N/A</b>	<b>All Citizens</b>
<b>Anarchy</b>	<b>N/A</b>	<b>N/A</b>	<b>No one has power over anyone else</b>	<b>Ends when a Government is Established</b>	<b>Each Individual (can do anything except organize)</b>

**Quality of Democracy Ranking and Measurement**

Based on the premise of democracy in the United States, there are three key dimensions that make up the totality of moral rule: 1) freedom, 2) equality, and 3) forms of control that we need to take into consideration. I use the “quality of democracy rating” to score the U.S. democratic regime because it is much broader than the historical ranking of the electoral forms of rule. This is especially important for those who would compare and contrast regimes in “global democracies” and “democratization measurement initiatives” (Campbell, 2008). This is to say, those global entities that are highly influenced by the moral majority of the U.S. which indirectly own and control the global economic market we call “neoliberalism.” However, when considering the quality of democracy, we must not forget that qualities of a government have “substantial effects” on a myriad of factors that are not

economically driven on both the “individual level...such as happiness...citizen support,” and from the macro social level, “war...and economic stability” (Rothstein & Teorell, 2008).

Moreover, other theorists on the subject, such as Putnam, Leonardo, and Nanetti (1993) in their work *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy*, call for more studies on the cultural aspects of social mobility with regards to global capitalism, social capital, as in the ability to move freely within a society, and how democracy creates systems of exclusion or inclusion.

Bo Rothstein and Jan Teorell (2008), in *What is a Quality Government*, illustrate three distinct issues when discussing the current state of affairs regarding a democratic authority.

The majority of the issue, according to Rothstein and Teorell, is that there is simply too many generalized definitions of what democracy is. More importantly, the status of a democracy, and the way it is defined, only serves the authority who wields the power over its people. For example, the World Bank defines a democracy as “the traditions and Institutions by which authority in the country is exercised” (Rothstein & Teorell, 2008). This definition gives little credence to the citizens of the country who are subjugated by it. Still, others claim that it rests purely on the ability of the country to generate a well-established economy, where “good governance” equals state development, and what is good for the state is good for the people (Rothstein & Teorell, 2008; LaPorta, Lopez-de-Silanes, & Shleifer, 1999). With that said, and for contemporary, practical purposes, I will use the following equation to demarcate what a quality of democracy can be, which is *Quality of Democracy = (freedom + other forms of the political system) + (performance + non-political dimensions)*, or simply put, democracy



should be considered the quality of both the political and the social, and if done correctly, would result in a measure that represents a true democracy (Campbell, 2008).

As we have seen through the development of society, the people have established the right to dictate who is in control, either through social contract or electoral vote. The basis of governing is to afford the citizens with human rights and freedoms that are protected by the legal limits of those that rule, and hold each accountable for their actions if violated. Conversely, to qualify as a democracy that meets the qualifications of offering both freedom and equality through state control, a governing body must be held accountable for their actions as well. If one is to look more deeply into the abyss of the democratic system, there are two types of democracy to take into consideration; this is in addition to the limited representative and direct systems most often used by the elite today. These types of democracy are *plebiscitary democracy* and *techno-democracy* (Buhlmann, Merkel, & Wessels, 2008; Sodaro, 2004). Wherein, a *plebiscitary democracy* refers to a political system that describes the process by which a leader is elected under the provisions of an electoral democracy, but once elected, holds all of the power over the people. Conversely, a *techno-democracy* is one in which technology is used to address the issues of space and time. Since our population has expanded greatly in the last 100 years, it is virtually impossible to fit each person within a geographic space to vote, therefore, individuals can participate in democracy via remote virtual platforms if that is what they want.

Critiques of this form of democracy are correct in establishing that “almost no one desires to be that actively political, or to replace representation with more direct political responsibility” (Arendt, 2014). When citizens are asked about their political views on key

social issues, “most citizens politely decline” (Arendt, 2014). Therefore, this line of thought falls lock-in-step with promoting the ruling elite by way of the decision to not want to govern themselves. In essence, it is a democracy as a symbol without a title, or action rendering it useless (unless this social virtual outlet is used as a revolutionary tool of resistance). In this light, it is not a null-vote of democracy, but a direct action of opposition to democracy, that equates to an anti-democracy.

### **Quality of Democracy—Continued**

Some of the quality control measures from the right, or right of center, often use the previous measurement to establish that democracy, as an ideology, prevails over the mass majority of the globe, such as the “Freedom of the World Initiative,” that states according to their recent survey (2007) of all global entities, 49% of the countries are now forms of democracy that equate to equality (Campbell, 2008). Yet, we have only seen an increase in social protest. If this sounds familiar, it is because the same ideological justification from the right, which states that neoliberal policies concerning our current capitalist system work and are self-evident. In fact, they work so well that there is nothing left to challenge. In response to this, Francis Fukuyama suggests that “there exists no more real alternatives or challenges to the concept of liberal democracy” (Ibid). The western democratic system has invaded all forms of political rule, both consciously and unconsciously. Moreover, the political ideology supports the economic ideology of control, called “neoliberalism.”

#### **Chapter 4: Historical Development of Neoliberalism**

How did this happen? According to Samuel Huntington (1993), there are four distinct historical epochs that assisted in the development of global democratic dominance. The first epoch happened in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century when the West indoctrinated the male right to vote. This created a male-dominated social system, which placed them in control of social life and governance versus that of the total population. This peaked in the 1920s until the retreat of “the inter-war period” (1918-1939), which assisted in the demise of most European democracies.

The second epoch was established post World War II during Truman’s era of economic expansionism and started to wane during the 1960s-1970s, of which I have discussed in the beginning of this paper. The intersection between these two epochs is of great importance, regarding the spread of democracy, because it includes two social consequences. First, the principles of democracy represented a new form of dominant ideology, and for those who demanded, placed them in a position of power. Second, it placed a significant amount of weight on trying to distinguish between the different qualities of democracies. Until post WWII, the global system of rule was polarized between the democratic West and that of pre-existing totalitarian and authoritative regimes, mostly in the European areas of the world. This dichotomy forced people to separate and reduce the world governance into two forms of leadership: democratic and non-democratic. For those who control capital (i.e. America), it was prudent then to attach a moral base to the political, thus, replacing the moral economic issues that had proceeded it.

Once the political ideology is replaced by the moral economy, it is free to move about. This is because the force of state is a moral one that can create and expand its boundaries. It is precisely because of this connection that people believe it to be just and can recognize it as common sense or a natural progression of human evolution. This connection clearly connects and validates two concepts previously discussed. First, the state, as Thomas Hobbes explained, can, and has, coerced the people into believing they are the legitimate ruler over the citizens. Second, it shows that the people's current circumstances of conscious reality are reduced to common-sense knowledge that leads them to believe their life is a natural progression.

Moving into the third epoch, I discuss the democratization of "Latin America" (Campbell, 2008, p. 8). With the *Monroe Doctrine* (1823), America looked towards the south for imperial expansion, just when Latin America was about to win its independence from Spanish control. So important was Latin America to the North that the United States considered it "its sphere of influence" throughout the world (Zinn, 1999).

Last, we see the spreading of democracy into what is called the fourth epoch of democracy and the convergence of a new economic system called "neoliberalism." It is at this point that we see firsthand the development of the *Panopticon*. Panopticism is a disciplinary movement that encompasses both internal and external mechanisms of the individual self, and thus, society (Foucault, 1984). It is with this new socially-constructed system of control that does so in absolute, and controls every geographic aspect of our lives. It controls all property, in all forms, from the physical person (internally, externally, and with labor), but

also the psychical landscape of all things, including the way we perceive them, thus, placing both moral and religious institutions obsolete.

The United States and its system of democracy has now perfected the operational power that has increased its ability to govern an increasing amount of people, who can be controlled by its hegemonic needs while simultaneously reducing the number needed to operate it into two fields: the state and the capitalists. It gives power over people's minds through architecture. As it can be inspected from outside, there is no danger of tyranny. No longer does the state need to hide its actions, but can operate openly as a central institution of policing power.

The rationality of control over all things will significantly restrict an individual's agency, and will reduce us to cog's in a machine "isolated within the confines of structures, and reduced to mechanized petrification" (Weber, 1992). We will be left devoid of any calling, other than the pursuit of wealth and a convulsive sense of "self-importance" (Weber, 1930). However, the interests of those who govern are not the same as those who are governed. Weber warns us that this new order of things is now "bound to technical...economic conditions of machine production..., and determines the lives of all individuals" (Weber, 1930). Anyone who controls the external forces "should only lie on the shoulders of the saint" which should be able to be thrown off at any time. With that said, our current system is imbedded in bureaucratic ritual, "rational ordained law," and administratively bound to a "written constitution" without the ability to change with the changing society that leads us to what Weber calls "the Iron Cage" of bureaucracy; with no hope of escape (Weber 1930).

## **History of Neoliberalism**

What really transpired after President Truman's famous speech was not a new economic development for egalitarianism within the global market, but an "expansion phase" of capital through which the underdeveloped country, not the material extracted, would become the-commodity through the consumer market (Fanon, 2004). This new global economic restructuring set into place a system that will forever hinder the progress of the people who reside within each nation. It is at this junction that we can clearly see the irony that nothing has changed, yet everything has changed. The U.S. had successfully created a new hegemonic empire built on seven principles provided to us from James Petras and Henry Veltmeyer's book *Social Movements in Latin America* (Petras & Veltmeyer, 2011).

First, America consolidates all imperial (liberal-capitalist) orders and renovates new neoliberal agendas when they become available. Second, America constructs strategic military bases to provide support and logistics to utilize at moment's notice when events offer themselves advantageous to an economic cause. Third, they install repressive regimes to destroy armed insurgence against the system, further suppressing or extinguishing class-based movement's altogether. Fourth, they provide financial support and technical assistance to those willing to support the new economic model (assisting in the dismantling of communism). Fifth, they implement structural reform of neoliberal policies, including financial adjustments, and in addition, dismantle welfare development. Sixth, they integrate economies into a global system designed to maximize the freedom to the operating units of the empire, and to provide ideological cover for economic and political interest. Finally, they establish emancipatory regulations which aid in establishing free-trade zones.

**How did this happen?** As we had discussed previously, President Truman implemented two systems shortly after his eloquent speech, and those were the *Bretton Woods Program* and the *Marshall Plan*. The Bretton Woods Program was first held in 1944 and involved several global elites. Wherein, the collective majority gathered in mass to establish the first universal commercial and financial relations intended to be governed by each nation-state. The entities included the United States, Canada, Western Europe, Australia, and Japan. However, the U.S. would claim that they should be the beneficiary and overseer of the new economic global market with the development of the World Bank (WB) and International Monetary Fund (IMF). The goal for the Bretton Woods Program was to disburse global funds to those who needed money to compete in the market through the WB. The head of the WB would be appointed by the United States President, and the leader of the IMF would be appointed by the European Nations (participating). Whereas, all trade and expansion of the world market could then be controlled by first-world nations, coincidentally the most powerful and influential. The World Bank would dole out funds to countries that needed energy, infrastructures, agriculture, and social investments. This lending would be controlled by the IMF, which its main function was to approve countries based on credit; contingent that each country followed “conditionality requirements” (McMichael, 2012).

Here, we have aligned all three suspects of exacting globalization and inequality. While the United States leads the world in economic exchange, the IMF controls conditions, and the WB can assist or refrain, depending on the latter’s suggestions, and conditions of loan and economic rescheduling. All facilitated by the adjoining nations, which earlier we called the state that controls the fate of its body. At this point, we can clearly see that the system is

structured in a way that seeks to exploit, oppress, and keep subjugated every individual, at every level. This new stage of neoliberalism reduces state functions into an institution with two main goals: to create and preserve the current economic system and its perpetuation of exploitative practices for the sake of money. The citizens within the state adhere to the ad hoc governmental policies because they have given up their personal freedom, not for humanitarian rights of egalitarianism, but for financial security, in whatever measure. However, when such moments of disequilibrium surface, it is the state's duty to reinforce its power through political, institutional, ideological, "military, defense, police, and juridical functions" (Harvey, 2007). The machine that facilitates the Truman message of equal development is called the "secular priesthood" (Bricmont, 2006). The secular priesthood had been the mediator between the people and the divine power.

With the development of capital and its growing expansion, the traditional priesthood is replaced by "democracy and human rights," yet further socio-structural advancements have reduced this post to "opinion makers, news media, stars, academics and journalists" (Bricmont, 2006). With these entities, the message can constantly be controlled, redirected, and contained within a narrow public sphere, called "super mechanisms."

### **Methods of Control: The Super Mechanisms**

We know that neoliberalism has created uneven development for countries, class structures, and even sectors within the state, such as social welfare, educational systems, and healthcare. Therefore, it is prudent that we understand how they are created and who supports them. We start with the 1970s and the "anti-business and anti-imperialist" movements that were generated through the 1960s (Harvey, 2007).



According to Harvey, a memo from Lewis Powell urged then-U.S. President Richard Nixon to wage a campaign which would sell the American public on the idea that “what was good for business was good for America” (Harvey, 2007). Shortly thereafter, private roundtable committees were developed and supported by the Republican Party. In these roundtable committees, individuals discussed how they could implement new strategies to bring back to center the collective behavior of the American citizens to support corporate ideology. What transpired was an ingenious plan to prick the interests of the Christian Right (moral majority) in supporting the business elites, and it worked. By utilizing the Christian right to appeal to what was a predominately white middle-class America that was feeling “disaffected...insecure,” the Republican Party was able to persuade them to vote consistently against their own “material interests on culture” (Harvey, 2007). The basic idea was to frame a general appeal to the white middle class in dredging up and utilizing their orthodox “bigoted leanings” (anti-black, anti-gay, anti-liberal, and anti-feminist) to transform their religious views into political and corporate “partnerships and subservience” (Adorno, 2000). Over time, the liberal component of the Republican Party was eliminated, and the connection between the moral right and the financial sector became synonymous with one another.

Secondly, around this time, the global economy went into a recession, which created massive deficits and fiscal crisis within the state apparatus. In order to maintain the momentum of the elite’s ability to maintain power, the state argued that it would need to issue mass layoffs, curb unionization, freeze wages, and cut social welfare programs. The reasoning was to create new institutions for both individual entrepreneurship and private company expansion. This was sold to the public as individual freedom, and an essential ingredient in

supporting big business. However, what the citizens were really doing was bailing out the economy on their hard earned wages, at the same time, reducing their civil liberties. In turn, this created a guiding principle that we use today, that is, when there is a conflict between the financial market and the well-being of the citizens, the former will always take precedence.

### **Methods of Control: The Super Mechanisms–Concluded**

This new system of ideological control would soon infiltrate every system, institution, and level of society, such as educational systems, moral systems, corporate leadership, church leaders, media, and the list continues. With every facet of the objective world being created and dominated by “upper-class interests,” the myth could be propagated within every sphere of human cognition by placing the individuals who reside within each state, limited to their national rights, and restricted from their “universal human rights” (Perrenas, 2001). This reduced individual power into two distinct areas: self-control and empowerment.

First, it reduced the individual’s power to a mere symbolic vote within the so-called democratic system. Second, and if conditions are right, the option is to revolt or to participate in the only power they have left, their voice and body. That is to say, they can empower themselves and others to stand in resistance in a geographical place, and within that place, exercise their legal right to protest. Therefore, globalization and neoliberalism “should not be romanticized” as some form of unifying global village, where all of us are equal and the liberties we have are due to the freeing of the global economy (Aguilar & Lacsamma, 2004). The fact of the matter is, neoliberalism acts only to privatize, deregulate, and liberalize national and transnational companies that are supported by state policies. In so doing, they create “unemployment, hunger, disease, and the threat” of all inhabitants which acts as the

equalization of the individual, just as Adam Smith had predicted it would (Aguilar & Lacsamma, 2004).

**Transition from right to left.** According to *hegemonic stability theory*, the world should have a single global-governing agent which will dominate international and economic processes over all states in the international system (Beyer, 2012; Snidal, 1985; Webb & Krasner, 1989). The argument goes that a global governance brings stability in both political and economic order to world systems. Supporters of this argue that “international economic stability is for the collective good” since everyone benefits (Kindleberger, 1970; Webb & Krasner, 1989). Conversely, the world only sees instability and inequality when it is not hegemonic. Proponents will go so far as to state that “small and medium-sized countries” are more unlikely to be major contributors to the global production and participation of the economic and political production of equality (Webb & Krasner, 1989). If they did decide to participate, there would be little, if any, discernable impact on the larger picture. What would most likely happen, if there were no hegemon, would be the enabling of those countries to “free ride,” seeking personal interests in relying on others to produce the global public good.

We know through the development of civil society that with the inception of the economic capitalist system, replacing capital exchange for capital gains, instead of needs, further corrupts both micro- and macro-level governance, regardless of political party and epoch. More importantly, since the United States has laid the ground work for this very position within the global market, we have only seen more and more creative ways to destroy.

Clearly, President Truman’s message had some validity. We have seen that not all nations have wanted to participate in the global landscape of free trade. If we mean free trade,

as in freely giving up one's land, its resources, and services to a dominate force that claims to be a global benefactor with higher moral authority, then yes, it is free. The hegemon of sloganeering in this way only proves that the individuals wanting to gain and sustain power do so out of self-interest. The free trade mantra is a political policy acted out and upon the weakest nations by the capitalists that have the most power.

So it seems, through the historical development of civil society to polity, and the emergence of a global economy, we have confirmed that Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, and Adam Smith were right. Without a polity that will properly govern both civil society and the economic market, the capitalists will only seek to deceive and oppress the public for profit. The only thing the hegemon of the West has accomplished is to develop globalization, which is the acceleration to produce more and more social inequality. Once this has been achieved, the intensification of socially-constructed forces reinforces the historical narrative of colonialism and creates an even greater divide between all people.

**From the bottom up.** As Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels (1992) stated, we have reached that stage of collective consciousness out of the development of productive forces, which are now in conflict with the existing relations of production, "with the property relations within which they have previously operated" (p. 25). This new societal shift changes the form of the of development between individual hegemon, state, and citizen into the development of social unrest that forever binds them together until such time as there becomes a separation brought on by a "forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions" (Marx & Engels, 1992). "Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communistic revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains" (Marx & Engels, 1992).

### **Assimilationists (*Opportunists*)**

Through collective action, we can change our current condition of inequality and create a more sustainable and egalitarian model of living. But what is a social movement? According to Charles Tilly and Lesley Wood (2009), a social movement can be defined as an inclusive organization that is made up of “interest groups” (p. 1). They will hold within themselves the collective strata of our society that includes women’s groups, students, workers, youth, gays/ lesbians, other forms of sexual identification, and minorities of all realms, as intellectual components of the collective. The organisms within this collective are bound to one another by one “common grievance... in most cases will be commonly perceived as a lack of democracy in a specific social setting” (Tilly & Wood, 2009). However, this definition of a social movement has often divided movements into two distinct camps. As stated above, there is a Right-based (top-down) approach to creating social change or what modern social movement theorists call “assimilationists.” Assimilationists typically adhere to a rights-based approach that argues one must work within the framework of a liberal, “pluralist democracy that seems to fight only for a seat at the table” in hopes of a crumb on the floor (Fitzgerald & Rodgers, 2000; Rimmerman, 2001).

The word “assimilationists” seems cosmopolitan by some. Kathleen Fitzgerald, Diane Rodgers, and Craig Rimmerman explain that, lest forgotten, this term was used extensively by Vladimir Lenin (1898-1924) in his works *State and Revolution* originally published in 1917, and *What is to be done?* published in 1902, and commonly referred to as “opportunism.” Conversely, Rosa Luxemburg used the term “revolutionary romanticists’ with regard to individuals viewing social unrest and revolutionary solutions from the top-down as

practitioners of “the police-like theory” (Luxemburg, 2008). What they and many other Marxists theorists of the time were referring to was the theory brought to the forefront by Eduard Bernstein in his seminal articles on the *Problems of Socialism* (1897-1898) and his book *Die Voraussetzungen Des Sozialismus Und Die Aufgaben Der Sozialdemokratie* (1899). Bernstein’s overarching argument during this critical period of time was one that argued for the renouncement of social revolution through transformation by way of the proletariat, the final goal of social democracy. Instead, Bernstein argued that the proletariat should prioritize “social reform” as the new aim of the resistance (Luxemburg, 2008).

According to Rosa Luxemburg (1898) in her two-part article entitled *Social Reform or Social Revolution*, Bernstein did nothing more than “declare war on Marxist doctrine” in developing the Democratic Socialist Reform Party (cited in Luxemburg, 2008). Bernstein argues against Marx and Engels hypothesis that the disruption of the capitalist economy will only get sharper over time. Instead, Bernstein argued that the capitalist economic system “shows a greater capacity of adaptation...while capitalist production becomes more and more varied” (Luxemburg, 2008). Bernstein would go on to argue that the capacity of the economic system to regulate itself can be directly associated with the credit system (cartels and monopolies). Furthermore, Bernstein explained that social inequalities also become lessened through methods of increased communication, employer’s organizations, and international services. It is through these diversified social forces that allow the proletariat to elevate him or herself to the middle class, and thus, emancipating themselves from economic oppression.

Countering Bernstein, Luxemburg argues that capitalist monopolies not only DO NOT equal out the economic system or social inequalities, but in fact deepen them. In her retort,

Luxemburg states that cartels and monopolies are a “determined phase of capitalist development” that only serves to agitate the disorder of capitalism and “ripens its internal contradictions” (Luxemburg, 2008). She points out the relationships of cartels do this by “sharpening the struggle between the producer and consumer” by working against the current economic relations between methods of production and “appropriation by opposing, in the most brutal fashion” the proletariat, and therefore, cause greater divisions between capital and those who generate it.

According to Luxemburg, regarding international economic affairs, the above manifestation when applied to international economic relationships, by way of capitalism, will only create anger between the international entity and the domestic state, and will inevitably always result in a “tariff war” (Luxemburg, 2008). Luxemburg goes on to say that this social economic strain on relations will cause cartels to concentrate their methods of production and technical progress. Therefore, not only does this relationship not establish harmony, it creates further division or imbalance within the market, but also has increases the negative effects on the working class.

As far as the credit system argument of Bernstein, Luxemburg points out the two main functions of credit. First, it functions to extend production, and second, it facilitates capital exchange. This exchange combines both capital and capitalist, that leads to shareholding opportunities that one can borrow against to re-invest in other forms of capital production. This perpetuates a rapid acceleration of overproduction and exchange of commodities, in turn, creates more aggravation within the market, not equalization. It does serve to elevate entrepreneurial opportunities through property investments, and it also drives future

speculations that lead to over investment. Therefore, credit works twofold. It allows for the creation and exchange of commodities, but once it reaches a state of aggravation, credit as a motive of exchange “destroys the very productive forces it itself created,” and at the first sign of crisis, all “credit melts away. And abandons” all those who participate within the market (Luxemburg, 2008). So, instead of credit being the great equalizer, Bernstein had postulated one of the greatest tools in the arsenal of capital to cause insecurity.

As we can see, instead of working within the capitalist system through trade unionization, unions serve only as a defense of labor power against the vicious assault from profit. With the advent of greater and more technically advanced production, this only leads to ever greater increased armies of surplus labor. This increase in surplus labor also serves to divide the workers, not bring them together or elevate them into middle class. Simply put, increased individuals competing with one another for ever-increasing production decreases the level of pay, and increases commodities exchanged in the market through surplus labor. The end result is the support of the capitalist system. Not only does it support it, but the system of capital depends on it. Put more succinctly, Luxemburg states, “the present state is not society’ representing the rising working class... It is in fact...itself the representative of capitalist society” that equates to a class state (Luxemburg, 2008).

For Bernstein, he developed the idea that if more individuals within social movements involved themselves as actors in the political system, we could then breach the divide between fighting for better wages, and move on to transform the government as a whole, thus, liberate the working classes of their oppression. However, he failed to realize this forces a social movement to work within the very system that not only dominates them, but also creates the



very inequality that they are fighting against. The inherent issue with this approach is that it only asks for a seat, instead of offering a new perspective on conceiving what the world could be, verses what currently is. Assimilationists believe that working within the system is the only way to create social change. Change must occur through a slow tedious process of hierarchical leadership within the political organism that seeks reform rather than complete change. This is usually done through non-violent, non-destructive social collectives that aim to speak rather than shout. More importantly, these social movements aim only for resource management, and generally receive small concessions that move freedoms and equality around, often at the expense of another group.

Simply put, social movement organizations with assimilationist goals wish to accept that power exists, because common people chose them through the democratic voting system. With that said, citizens are a passive group, and the collectives of these individuals will also remain docile. The very sentiment of this approach suggests, as James Scott (1990) states, “the absence of ...protest or radical opposition ...must be taken as a sign of satisfaction” or the very least the system works.

## Chapter 5: Liberationists (*Revolutionists*)

The second type of movement, called the “liberationists movement,” or what I will refer to moving forward as “revolutionists,” because this is a more accurate historical portrayal in its delivery and method of social change. For revolutionists, change occurs through cultural change, not within the political realm, rather outside of the circle of control. Their chief concern is that power operates within one system, and it is simply not feasible to just “sit at the table” (Scott, 1990). What is required, according Rosa Luxemburg (1871-1919), Ellen Meiksins Wood (1942-2016), Karl Marx (1818-1893), Friedrich Engels (1820-1895), Vladimir Lenin (1870-1894), and many others theorists from the Left, is not “ a movement of workers, or a movement of intellectuals, or the combination of the two,” rather it must be a group of radical professional revolutionaries ( Lenin,1987). They must utilize strategies which embrace new radical reforms that break from traditionalist, opportunist, and constitutionalist perspectives that not only keep historical traditions of oppression in place, but also reinforce them through their actions working within. True revolutionaries understand that positions from Right and Left are “saturated through and through with purely petty-bourgeois” theorists and social movement leaders who seek only philistine reconciliations (Lenin, 2016).

Simply put, unlike opportunists, revolutionists tend to “represent the middle-class” and generally have a single defining leader or cause” (Rimmerman, 2001). They work more within a non-hierarchical structure, which adheres to an anti-bureaucratic system and are considered anti-capitalist or anti-globalist. Composed mostly of individuals who are on the margins of misrepresented people, the proletariats. This places them more in line with the

Left's bottom-up social movement that seeks to emancipate themselves from the current systems of control in order to create a new world. For most modern social movements, that falls in line with the revolutionists' perspectives. These vulnerable groups reside on the margins of society, and are the ones most misrepresented and disenfranchised by the current political system. Therefore, it would stand to reason that their strategies come from bottom-up organizing that perceives the changing of the world can only happen by applying strategies which meets both their current needs, while challenging the systems that exploit and oppress them. These strategies include, but are not limited to, the development of resources or alternate resources, creating alternate ideological frames, institutions, and structures through mass organization, assent, and collective voice.

It is because revolutionists act outside of the purview of traditional methods of resistance that they are always deemed illegitimate institutional structures that “appear to be simultaneously spontaneous...strategic, expressive, instrumental, unruly, unorganized, political and cultural social movements” (Rimmerman, 2001). This message is often used by the petit-bourgeois and Right Wing ideologues who feel compelled to twist historical facts in an attempt to minimize, or refute altogether, that class struggle exists. More often than not, the message from the Right is that the State is here only to serve as mediator in times of social disruption, similar to that of Jean Locke's interpretation of civil society. This is a very important shift in the modern psyche, from both the Right and Left perspectives. For, the overarching argument is that, first, a true revolution could never happen, and second, that if the worst case scenario did happen, we could not survive without a government, which is the agitator of true Marxist theorists. This misinterpretation of the “withering away of the state”

as an argument is, as Lenin would say, “an adulteration” by certain social movement leaders from both the Right and Left (opportunists), regarding Marxist revolutionary ideas (Lenin, 2016).

Yes, Engels did state that after the proletariat revolution had succeeded and assumed state power that by this very action, the pre-existing state would end as a state. However, as Lenin will point out, “Engels speaks here of destruction of the bourgeoisies’ state” by the proletariat (Lenin, 2016). Simply stated, the state does wither away, but it is replaced by another state; a state ran by the oppressed, the proletariat. It stands to reason that so few people in control can oppress so many, that a “special repressive force” would act as the replacement in order to create a more egalitarian society (Lenin, 2016). As the political party of the state at the time was a democracy, it would further stand to reason that the only thing removed were the hegemonic individuals who used the state as a weapon against the people. However, the political position of the state would still remain, only it would manifest itself into a socialist-democracy, or classless society.

However apparent the above information may seem to the reader, this line of inquiry into replacing the state still holds much contention within the anarchist movements of today, as it did during the turn of the century. No more apparent does this show its face than in Marx’s *The Poverty of Philosophy: Answer to the Philosophy of Poverty by M. Proudhon* (1955), wherein Marx criticizes “Proudhonists,” and refutes the anarchist’s position that the state within his and Engels theory should simply be dismantled. No, Marx argues that he is against the idea that the workers should “deny themselves the use of arms” or organized force in utilizing the state to “break down the resistance of the bourgeoisie” (Marx, 1955).

This exploitation from fact to fiction is a direct result of the state's need to "hold class antagonisms in check," because the state was not only created by conflict between classes, but as a rule, must maintain its power over others as the dominant class itself (Engels, 1933). The state must, on all accounts, acquire new means of "holding down and exploiting the oppressed class" through its hegemonic power (Engels, 1933). The mere fact that the so-called radical social movements of today still use this argument in justifying their opportunistic views shows just how strong the hegemon is, regarding social control and behavior. This system of exploitation is no more apparent than in the voting system itself. For to decide every four years which member of the bourgeois class will "repress and oppress the people" through the state voting system, this is the true nature of hegemonic control, through the constitution, which is most effectively deployed in democratic systems of government, where all who participate are engaged in political prostitution (Lenin, 2016).

**Catastrophic theories from the left and right.** Based on both the Right and Left perspectives regarding social movement activity, and the withering away of the state, there is little wonder why both systems perpetuate social psychological states of paranoia concerning end-of-days scenarios based on catastrophic social issues, otherwise known as "Catastrophism." Catastrophism, according to Shashy Lilley, David McNally, Eddie Yuen, and James Davis in their book *Catastrophism: The Apocalyptic Politics of the Collapse and Rebirth* (2012), can be defined as a "political orientation" that basis its assumptions that society is on a collision course with "economic, environmental, social, or spiritual collapse," due to external and internal forces that will inevitably emerge (Lilley et al., 2012).

First and foremost, the fear from the Right is that Leftist social movements will overthrow the government and catapult society into a state of ungoverned mayhem. For the Right, if the proletariat were to take its place, the fear, naturally, is that they, in power, would lose their social position and everything that it comes with. Second, the Right loves to use as its current propagandized message that war, and specifically a spiritual war, war of races, or all out biblical rapture, is coming, and coming soon. The argument goes that the moral majority must survive if society is to have a chance. Therefore, within each category, the cure to societal ills from the Right is brought on by political governance, and all actions justified under the guise that it is the defender of the people. This message is brought to the general public by intensifying the strain between “out” groups, such as immigrants, welfare recipients, terrorist cells, financial disruptions, social agitators, and crimes which are predominately shown on television being committed by persons of color. It is through the state and private media that the Right exercises its authority through fear to gain support as a reactionary tool to mediate social unrest.

As we have seen through the ages, from Christianity to the “Red Scare” during the 1920s, wherein, the U.S. Government waged a domestic war by rounding up and deporting thousands of immigrants and radical social movement leaders. The Red Scare was brought to the American people as an immediate threat to democracy through communism. At that time, communism was seen, much like socialism is today, evil, which was perfect, because the fusion of both Christian and political ideology garnered almost full participation in its attempt to remove this evil from the America.

Conversely, the Leftist ideal of catastrophism postulates that the Right's capitalist economy is sure to eventually fail, or that it will subjugate the masses to such a degree that social unrest will soon follow, and then the Marxist revolution will ensue. As stated above, "Marx is often remembered as a prophet of capitalisms demise" (Lilley et al., 2012). Yet, as we have discovered, Marx's theory of social revolution was not hinged on the breakdown of capitalism itself, nor did he consider capital crisis a total collapse of society. Marx believed that the revolution was a class struggle, brought on by exploitive forces, and that in order to change these forces, it would take a collective action to replace the pre-existing hegemon with a more egalitarian system.

We again have to discuss Bernstein, because he was significant in actually changing the entire system of how a social movement functions, both historically and today. Bernstein considered himself as a Leftist, but promoted the Right's ideologies, and states that capital was not simply "crisis-prone," and would indeed collapse under its own weight (Lilley et al., 2012). However, Antonio Gramsci ensured us that "while capitalism might enter into economic crisis," they are not life threatening (Lilley et al., 2012). The "collapse model" of the economy seems to be the slogan of the Leftist approach today, even though they steer their activities towards peripheral forces that exact no significant social change, as we shall soon discover.

While catastrophe and fatalism from the Left does not serve any true purpose in emancipating the proletariat, it does serve to deracialize it. As stated by Sasha Lilley in her chapter entitled *Great Chaos under Heaven: Catastrophism and the Left*, "No amount of fire and brimstone can substitute...the often protracted...frequently unrewarding work of building

radical mass movements” (p. 76). In light of that remark, catastrophism from the Right has the opposite effect. While social movements from the Left and other agitators create social unrest, the Right uses it to its advantage by garnering further support to perpetuate the system of control. From this perspective, any social movement activity, especially when it falls within the opportunists’ perspective, is not only welcomed, it can also be created by the Right to increase evermore unrest that supports their messages of fear for the white middle class.

Regardless of both camps fetishizing about social chaos and the proposed cures, one thing is certain. By focusing on the peripheral items at its disposal as an explanation of their positions in life, such as religion, equality, healthcare reform, and myriad of other items, it takes the focus off of the true perpetrator, capital. Therefore, it is no small wonder trade unions, television evangelists, and even politically elected officials are stupefied by their current plight. It is because the themes portrayed within this chapter are the only things discussed as practical measures to social reform. To give a better idea of the two camps, Left and Right are bifurcated. See Table 3.



Table 3

*Archetypes of Moderate Opportunist and Radical/Revolutionaries*

	<b>Moderate/ Opportunist</b>	<b>Radical/ Revolutionaries</b>
<b>Context</b>	** Political	**Cultural
<b>Internal Structure</b>	Hierarchical Leadership (entrepreneur or business related) : Formal Bureaucratic Organization, Development of large membership base for resource generation and mobilization	Non-Hierarchical, multiple leaders: Participatory democratic organization, Egalitarian: Membership is based on involvement-supports indigenous leadership
<b>Ideology</b>	Reform agenda ( <b>lifestyle-haves</b> ), Predominately middle class-Emphasis on being involved within the political system, national and state focused, Support government military and local police force activity- <b>** (established social movement)</b>	Radical change ( <b>have-nots</b> ): Predominately lower-class: Emphasis on structural changes, flexible ideology: radical networks, socially global, national, and state level conciseness and connectivity. Anti-military, and police activity <b>** (established or not established)</b>
<b>Tactics</b>	Non-violent, legal and procedural action; focused on and working within the current system of power	Violent, and non-violent direct action; mass action, and innovation
<b>Communication</b>	Often times accepted by mainstream media, and other forms of communication such as, online media and communication (Twitter, Facebook, Blog, web sites, etc.)	Ignored, misrepresented by media, reliance on alternate forms of communication (music, theater, poetry, pamphlets, performance art) web based applications via internet, and tagging) informal networks
<b>Assessment of Success</b>	Potential for ongoing resources within and through external sources from self-interest groups (NGO's), Longevity, formal and rational-success measured in existing political and economic systems.	Limited resources: may be purposively short lived, substantive rationality, contribute to larger radical ideology and agendas: subject to intense opposition and government surveillance. No such instrument exists -
<b>Inherent Risks</b>	Cooptation, conforming, dismantling after consolation, or when legislative action has taken place, or formal recognition as an institution such as an extension of political sphere or party positions.	Attrition, , lack of support, lack of resources and mobilization, may have negative affect and support oppositions cause
<b>Framing</b>	Fixed identity and rigid group issue positions	Fluid group consciousness and flexible, diversity

## Chapter 6: Seven Criteria for Social Movement Survival

How do they remain movements within an ever-changing society which seems to manufacture more and more inequalities that outgrow even their own current ideological frame? According to Darnovsky, Epstein, and Flacks (1995), as cited in Craig A.

Rimmerman's book *From Identity Politics: The Lesbian and Gay movements of the United States* (2001), there are seven key elements that assist in sustaining social movements through time, and they are: 1) mature communication networks, 2) media attention, 3) series of crisis or social change, 4) movement resources, 5) movement activity, 6) support of public opinion, and 7) framing of their narrative.

Framing is the most crucial factor in maintaining momentum and stability for social movements, especially radical social movement organizations. The framing around current social and economic issues is crucial, but so is organizational memberships that support them. In addition, the framing around key issues assists in the development of political and social strategies that aid in resistance. Framing also allows social movements the flexibility they need in adjusting to the modern climate of political, judicial, environmental, and economic shocks that happen in real time.

As an example, a recent social movement marched on the streets of Washington to boycott the sales of weaponry, to what they may consider developing countries, in an effort to garnish support from that country in defending corporate transnational companies that are currently building an illegally obtained deforestation project on public land. However, recently there was a terrorist attack such as the one on 9/11 (World Trade Centers, Pentagon, and United Airlines Flight 93). Now, one can see that an anti-weapons march during or after

this time will only cause a negative association within the framing of the current social movement. It could very well end the social movement if it is considered by the media to have an anti-American sentiment. Therefore, we can see that a “successfully constructed frame” must always appeal to a wide demographic of people that hold similar values and cultural mores. As we reflect back on the development of civil society, this is the cornerstone of what makes us a collective (Haider-Merkel, 1999; Rimmerman, 2001). This is even more important since social movements themselves compete within the same public frame. Most often times, social movements, like economic and political institutions, also compete for power. The more power you have, the more likely the social movement can establish itself as a legitimate institution within society. Once this is accomplished, a social movement can “invoke government response” in relation to the frame and eventual outcome of the movement itself (Rimmerman, 2001).

### **Social Movements**

Despite the current cosmopolitan reflex to label everything around us that has to do with social unrest a social movement, it can be quite daunting to define what a movement is, verses what it is not. Contrary to populist belief, some social movements, namely radical social movements, are not considered a “political party.” They may be considered an interest group, but may not be socially recognized and accepted to be stable institutions, nor are they a fad that is fashionable and temporary (Tilly & Wood, 2009). Social movements can be seen as relationships of conflict between inclusive organizations, made up of stratified individuals, such as “women’s groups, students, youth and intellectuals” who are opposed to a clearly definable institution of power with specific goals to address cultural, political, social, and

financial issues (Tilly & Wood, 2009). Although, recent global attention and activity has reached the mass populace concerning issues of globalization, inequality, and political unrest. We need to remind ourselves that uprisings have occurred for thousands of years, and the trumpet call for social change is merely an echo of the past.

### **The Individual Dilemma**

For obvious reasons, modern sociologists and philosophers have fixated on political, democratic, union, and social alternatives to analyzing social movements and their tactics to change society, primarily because they view these as “primitive stages,” such as journeyman societies, “luddism, radicalism, Jacobinism, and Utopian socialisms” (Hobsbawm, 1959). These movements eventually would develop toward more modern patterns of social unrest, such as labor unionism, trade unionism, and collective organizations against the state and industrial owners. They are correct in their analysis that collective unrest has vastly sped up with frequency and intensity since the turn of the century. However, they seem to marginalize and dismiss social unrest within movements that have preceded them by hundreds of years. This may be partly due to their “modernist bias” brought on by their educational attainment and predisposition to political allegiance that makes them quite conservative in their historical analysis; however, this causes two issues to surface (Hobsbawm, 1959).

First, this approach in analyzing social movements makes no effort to understand people who are unlike themselves. Whereas, all social phenomena belong to “the world of people,” who may neither have the capacity to read or write, who are rarely known by name, and lack the complexity to express themselves, known as the pre-political people. Additionally, although they may not have been recognized as social scholars or tacticians of

major revolutions to usurp those in power, they are “neither unimportant nor marginal” (Hobsbawm, 1959). Second, for material change to occur, social ideas have to be expressed in both “creative and destructive” ways (Beyer, 2012). For it is with every “non-material” object of the state and the world which is the outcome of preceding ideas that have resulted in creating a social historical fact (Beyer, 2012).

These same facts are accumulated over an expanse of time and result in actualized ideas. Just as we had seen with the development of civil society, it in turn developed a concept of state that led to capital, which caused exploitive and oppressive epochs, where we now see social movements. These social things continue to exist only because we created them, and believe it to be rational way of living and seeing the world. Therefore, social movements of today are a manifestation of historical facts which promoted the ideas we consider to be radical today. Without them, we would have no political consciousness, which is the very essence of revolution.

### **Social Bandits**

“Social banditry” is one of the most primitive forms of organized social unrest. For a large portion of society, this form of socially-organized resistance is identified by the poor, who are the individuals who usually protect the bandit. Often times, the bandit is the hero advocating for the majority through robbing from the rich and giving to the poor, such as Robin Hood, Janousek in Poland, or Diego Corrientes in Andalusia. The people traditionally support the bandit, because the bandits themselves are from the same geographic place or have the same income level as them. However, for some reason, the bandits could no longer bear the social burdens and exploitation within a class society, so they broke from tradition

and acted out against the systems of power. As Karl Marx would say, they have become conscious of their current position, and more often than not, common people tend to join them in resistance. In any peasant society, there are three distinct archetypes of the bandit: 1) landlord bandits, 2) peasant bandits, and 3) state bandits, but only peasant bandits receive ballads of glory.

According to E. J. Hobsbawm, “retainers, policeman, and soldiers” are often recruited from local rural bosses, or local persons in power (Hobsbawm, 1959). Such is the case of Southern Spain, regarding a noble robber turned *Bandelaro* (highway robber). We must remember that individual resistance is a neutral social phenomenon, and only mirrors the reflection between divisions of society and the struggles within them. Bandits are very standardized, regardless of geographic region or period in time. This applies to both the myths of the bandits and their actual behaviors. For example, the local population will always protect the bandit from the authority, such was the case in Sicilian villages in the 1940s and compared to that of the Muscovites in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The demise of the bandit is as old as Jesus and Judas.

Once the bandit has achieved enough social unrest to cause the law to feel inadequate and out of control, they will be betrayed. The police will often take credit for their “capture or death,” often times shooting the dead body in order to claim they killed them first, and not the one that betrayed them (Hobsbawm, 1959). This became so common in Croatia that they described it as “killed after death, like a bandit by the police” (Ibid). One becomes a bandit because they do something which is considered socially acceptable by local convention, but is illegal by state or government rules. The state manufactures the deviant bandit persona only

after it has broken some minor social infraction, which generally causes them to run. The most important thing about banditry is that they must be recognized as honorable and moral benefactors of the poor.

Like modern social movements, the framing of the individual, whether by cause or by the individual themselves, they must never lose social acceptability. Once the support is lost, both parties will be cut off from their supply source, at which time they will be forced to act beyond the noble persona and become common criminals. With regards to social movements today, they would be considered a social nuisance, rebels, or anarchists. Interestingly enough, social bandits are usually single and young. This makes sense, since it can become tremendously difficult to commit to a resistance against an apparatus of power when you have a family to worry about, but can also become victims by proxy. It was a common method of the power elite to use family members as bait to catch the bandit. If not caught in a reasonable amount of time, or if the bandit did not give themselves up willingly, it was not uncommon for the family to be tortured.

If the bandit forms a collective rebellion, and is economically committed to rob for their survival, the collective's very survival depends not on the funds accumulated, but by the prestige of the leader; once removed, the rebel band falls apart. In certain revolutionary times, such as Southern Italy, several bands may join together in resistance. Yet, if dominated by an average leader with limited capacity to organize and control, the collective will often separate into smaller groups which will eventually get rid of their competition within through in-group tactics. In the end, small village bandits or laborers rise only to a "modest admiration" (Hobsbawm, 1959). Even in traditional bandit societies, the bandit only appears before the

community has reached political consciousness or has created more effective methods of resistance. This makes the bandit a “pre-political” actor and places them in a position of inverse relations to an organized mass collective.

As far as banditry as a social movement, it is an extremely inefficient way to create mass social change. First, it lacks the ability to organize and sustain itself as a structure against those in power. Second, their ideological frame precludes them from being effective, because old and new oppressions often merge into something altogether different, and once this happens, the bandit is often left as a backdrop. The bandit is good at one thing; to give hope to the collective, which can lead to mass consciousness, which can prepare the groundwork for developing into actualized movement.

### **The Social Collective**

Unlike the bandit, who may create a singular movement towards a “declaration, or a mass meeting,” a formal campaign extends beyond any single event (Tilly & Wood, 2009). A campaign against a specific institution of power will always link three distinct parties, and these are: 1) a group of self-identified claimants, 2) some objects of claims, and 3) and a public claim, of some kind. The claims of the group may be against a political or legal authority, but can also be against “property owners, religious functionaries,” and other entities whose actions or inactions have negatively affected the welfare of the majority (Tilly & Wood, 2009). No singular claim can be construed as a movement; it takes all three to validate a social movement. However, there is a fourth, and this has more to do with social function within a geographic local, and that is when an individual or group moves from claim-making to the actual contribution to the movement itself.



A claimant (social movement) will have three main characteristics that it uses as its defense. First, each movement rejects the present form of power or structure and seeks positive change. Second, they will have an ideology. Third, they generally hold with them a “fundamental vagueness” about the way in which they will invoke the positive change (Hobsbawm, 1959). The latter has been the chief concern among both critiques of social movements, and those who participate within them. If we remember, the overarching critique of modern social movements is their inability to create a plan of change. With this understood, we may begin the collective historical analysis of social movement activity and how it has moved through time.

Beginning in the 1760s, both in Europe and America, we see secondhand the differences in social movement tactics and activities. During this time, social movement activity was far more tenacious, and had often taken an anarchist approach to dealing with the exploitive practices of the governance. For example, they still went on strike, as evident with the tailors and weavers in 1776 to “demand the exclusion of foreign competition” based on high food prices (Tilly, 1977). However, once the government chose to do nothing to stop the elevated prices of local food commodities, they simply removed themselves from participating within the government system by creating their own market and setting their own prices. If the tax collectors representing the government attempted to collect tax money on their food products, the townspeople simply ran them off, sometimes by physical force. In retaliation, the local government went to the town squares and read aloud the “Riot Proclamation Act,” which stated what the people were doing was in fact illegal, and that they should cease and desist their current actions of sedition (Tilly, 1977). This reading of the riot

act did little to sway the townspeople. In fact, they descended on the police with a vengeance of violence, for which seven were arrested out of the hundreds who had attacked.

However, during the year of 1768 we see a progression of social movement tactics. Prior to this time, it was common practice to use destruction as a means to an end concerning social unrest. For example, weavers would literally cut fabric from their looms in a destructive protest against the masters and journeyman who created massive wage reductions within the regional area. More dramatically, in Sutton Common near England, some of the audience members who were forced to witness a public execution stole the corpses of the victims and shouted at the top of their lungs against the common practice of the state to take them for dissection, and then discard their bodies like chattel. In addition, looting (stealing) and burning down political and capitalist businesses became even more commonplace as a tactic to disrupt those in power.

**Innovation 1.** During this same time, we see a significant social shift, from the slash and burn methods previously used to convey social radical protest, moving social movements into the socio-political and media forum. A gentleman by the name of John Wilkes (1725-1797), a middle-class Englishman, had entered Parliament in 1757. While there, he started a paper called *The North Briton*, and in 1762, wrote a now infamous “Issue 45.” The issue number itself suffered criticism because of its synonymous representation of the *Jacobite Rising of 1745*. The Jacobite Rising had unique features, in that, its conflicts themselves were part of a large cluster of military campaigns who sought to restore kings to both Scotland and England.

Wilkes faced a charge of seditious libel over attacks on George III's speech endorsing the *Paris Peace Treaty of 1763* at the opening of Parliament on April 23, 1763. John Wilkes' outspoken words called out the King, and up until this time, George III was recognized as being a friend of the country. With a single act, he defiled his name and country through hypocrisy, so said Wilkes. Thoroughly inflamed by these accusations, the Ministry "charged Wilkes with seditious libel" (Tilly & Wood, 2009).

As we can imagine, King George III felt personally insulted and issued warrants for not only John Wilkes' arrest, but 49 others whom he felt coalesced with Wilkes. All were arrested and Wilkes was placed in a tower. Shortly after, Wilkes gained considerable popular support, because he stood up to the court by calling his arrest unconstitutional. He understood what the King did not; that he was protected to speak his mind under parliamentary law. Wilkes continued to challenge the Ministry's decision during his multiple appearances in court, and on his way to each court proceeding would shout, "Is English Liberty, a reality or a shadow?" (Tilly & Wood, 2009). Meaning, are all people free to speak candidly, or only those in power?

When the issue finally made its way to a public hearing, the presiding judge ruled in John Wilkes' favor. As a result of this victory, and Wilkes' ability to fight the system within the system, soon people started chanting in the streets, "Wilkes, liberty and number 45" (Tilly & Wood, 2009). Shortly after, the Parliament, in an act of counter resistance, immediately removed this protection. John Wilkes would receive much public praise by moving against the despotic rule, and as his popularity grew. From then on, the people would cry out, "Wilkes and Liberty," as a slogan for resistance whenever a new social disparity occurred.

Here we see a separation between commoner to politician as an acting bandit who used the media to voice contestation against the ruling class. What manifested through this was mass public support. What is most interesting is that the bandit not only became the hero, but also stayed within the public frame of resistance. By proxy, Wilkes himself was the symbol of resistance. This transcended the old persona of the bandit into a socially accepted and recognized person of authority from the Left. Wilkes would eventually be kicked out of Parliament, exiled, only to return and be voted back by the people through popular vote. This connects both the public sphere with a political position of power. The vote seemed to work, and although this was not suggested as a social movement at the time, its development and foundation would be used to elevate other social issues through collectives within the public sphere. Over time, John Wilkes movement not only pushed the boundaries of collective redress, but also expanded the idea of the electoral process, and mass declaration.

Why is this significant? Because this new class formation allowed people to see that another way is possible to fight the hegemonic power, by thinking beyond what their current world was, to what it could be. This is a perfect example of counter-hegemony. This new type of resistance assisted in the development of workers' unions and allowed community leaders to develop specialized groups whose actions could be taken against other forms of oppression, such as businesses, individuals, local elites, and politicians.

From the British perspective, the characteristics of "public politics" during this time were functioning within legalized public bodies, such as guilds, communities, and religious groups. Wherein, the law not only acknowledged, but recognized, that it has an obligation to protect their citizen's through collective rights (Tilly & Wood, 2009). More importantly, the

governing body has an obligation to hear the opposition, and act on them when they support a just cause. Furthermore, anyone who advocates or presumes to speak for a group of people outside of these limits “infringes illegally on the prerogatives of parliament” (Tilly & Wood, 2009). This meant that social movements went from being blatant social disruptors, who were regarded as social deviants, into innovators. Through this conversion, and social expansion of consciousness, social unrest became a ritualized format of communal dissent. In turn, this dissent was recognized as an appropriate way to act in times of oppression. This could be deemed the creation of “traditional diplomacy,” which is the process of settling a dispute through “workable compromises, and finding solutions” that leave both sides, for the most part, satisfied (Parentis, 2011).

**Innovation 2.** Although the *Seven-Years War* provided much social protest growth in England, it was also a time of British expansionism. With the British fighting against America, France, and Asia, they found themselves virtually bankrupt. As with all expansionist wars, this had a tremendous negative effect on the global economic market. Similar to the revolt in England concerning food prices, the developing nation of America also had seen revolts in Boston, Massachusetts.

Like John Wilkes, Samuel Adams (1722-1803) was a leader in America at the time and proposed open communication between merchants in each colony to respond to the *Townshend Act* (1766), which imposed high levies on business owners by then-ruling King George III. Adams drafted a letter of protest against the governing political body in hopes of garnering support from local manufacturers. Britain, wanting to use the current manufactures to fund its ongoing battle with Canada and other areas of interest throughout the globe, did not

take this act lightly, while merchants under King George's rule tried to establish programs through legal judicial processes. Local patriotic citizens of the colonies took to blocking soldiers, attacking agents, and burning effigies of British authorities in protest. Soon, Adams supporters started to grow, and with it, the expansion of allies, which in turn used public politics, proclamations, resolutions, and collective gathering in geographic spaces of contention. This innovation not only bonded collective bodies of resistance within public and political forums, such as England, but it also bonded elites with other elites, causing a split between the capitalists and the proletariat. Although the proletariat would play an important part in the merchants' emancipation, it did so at its own peril.

**Innovation 3.** With imperial expansionism came economic interests and divisions of power. With the separation between parliamentary powers into state powers of the Americas, we see a defining moment between moral protest into economic protest, leading to elitist manifestations of collective political positioning, and a separation between worker and owner. Like civil society, we have now seen that the evolution of society, government, and economy is most often times generated by war. This shift placed a disproportionate amount of weight upon the worker to fight not only the governing political body, but also the owners of capital. It would seem as though the critical components of opposition are the four prongs of imperialism and social control, which are war (crisis), democratization (in its many forms), capitalization, and Proletarianization, or the creation of an ever-increasing army of surplus labor.

As pointed out by Tilly and Wood (2009) in the second edition of *Social Movements: 1768-2008*, the act of war or violent conflict increases the influence of governments, at the

same time, negatively affecting the people's welfare. Simultaneously, it can negotiate national support, coupled with mercantile contributions. This shift in power was still very much a large part of social control from the top-down by the state. Although merchants and landlords still had significant power, they lacked the ability to regulate the market and civil society simultaneously. As predicted, financial dependence no longer cleaved to land owners, and freed individuals to pursue political office on their own, as well as move into middle-class positions. This social shift aligned relationships to form between worker and business owner through collective bargaining. For the new owners of capital, it gave them the significant numbers needed to overcome the political elite, and for the commoner, it gave specific credence and protection to those who did not have the power to wield protest on their own. This combination facilitated a multitude of specialized groups, committees, and organizations that made it possible to expand and appropriate social authority back to the bulk of citizens, as De Tocqueville had suggested. It also legitimized mass agitation as a civil form of negotiating for human rights. However, major social movements, in the latter part of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, developed into split factions of the original relationship and manifested themselves through organized religion back into a moral agenda of rights. Yet, this time it was against a new economic system that cared little for human rights, versus that of capital gain. The apex of social movement activity during this time reached its crescendo during the French revolution.

According to the classic interpretation of the French Revolution, civil social society reached its ultimate "turning point in the birth of capitalism" through the vindication of the enlightenment that assisted in overthrowing the feudal order by way of radical revolution brought on by the bourgeoisie (Calhoun, 2012; Martin, 2008). However, as modern critiques

of this era have pointed out, aside from shifting power from one hand to the other, it made few, if any, egalitarian changes within the “subordinate classes,” and made even less change for those exploited in America (Ibid). It did, however, solidify the two dominate forms of protest today: social movement assembly and political discourse.

**Innovation 4.** Close to two decades had passed when the state permitted public meetings in order for people to express themselves for advocating political reform, and at the same time, implemented the *Seditious Meetings Act*, which prohibited people from gathering in secret to plan meetings which may be against the state. The state argued that as long as they knew what they were doing, the groups met formal democratic discourse (Tilly & Wood, 2009).

Due to the ever-increasing manufacturing of social inequality through the new capitalist system, the government would increase public surveillance exponentially. As the governments became more paranoid of activity, they implemented more acts such as the *Coercion and Seditious Meetings Act of 1817*, another six acts in 1819, and the *Malicious Trespass Act of 1820*. Each act prohibited every action by the public, including protesting, unless addressed through the halls of power. Some movements did fight back, and won. For example, the state repealed some acts which pertained to unions and union organizing. Certainly, workers’ rights movements were instrumental in creating better working conditions, better pay, and socially-recognized institutionalization, but is that a good thing? It will now mean that even the events of social protest fall under bureaucratization, thus, limiting it within a spatial form of contention.



Moving from the early 18<sup>th</sup> century onward, we see social movements not as solo or micro group performances, but as interactive campaigns, sometimes outlasting a campaign, while campaigns always involve multiple social movements. In America, the 19<sup>th</sup> century marked a shift from differences to dualism, “from representation towards bureaucracy, citizenry towards tax base,” and from voluntary associations towards social movements. Sadly, we still see the proletariat emancipated from either domination (Tilly & Wood, 2009). It would seem as though the inherent danger for all social movements is the pursuit of “acquiring state power as a primary” objective (Martin, 2008). For example, see Table 4; the remarkable and accelerated evolution of historical social movements from 1880- 1958.

Table 4

*William Gamson's Nineteenth-century Challenging Groups*

Years	Program Claims	Group
1816-1834	NC-Manumission Society	Promotion of voluntary manumission of slaves
1825-1830	Prison Discipline Society	Prison reform
1831-1833	Society for the Promotion of Manual Labor in Literary Inst.	Physical fitness
1832-1840	National Female Anti-slavery Soc.	Abolition of slavery
1833-1836	United Trade Society of Journeyman Tailors	Professional benefits
1833-1840	American Anti-slavery Soc.	Abolition of slavery
1843-1847	American Republican Party (Native American Party)	Protestant anti-Catholic
1858-1873	United Sons of Vulcan	Benefits for iron workers
1865-1872	Grand Eight Hour Leagues	Legislation for 8-hour day
1869-1872	American Free Trade League	Tariff repeal
1869-1876	International Workingmen's Association (First International)	Social politics
1880-1887	Social Revolutionary Clubs (Anarchy-Communists)	Economic reorganization
1880-1905	League of American Wheelmen	Remove rd. restrictions for bicyclists
1881-1935	American Federation of Labor	Legal and political support for labor movement
1882-	League of Deliverance	Opposition to Chinese labor
1885-1891	National Brotherhood of Baseball Players	Professional benefits
1885-1934	Order of Railway Conductors	Professional benefits
1886-1888	American Party	Anti-immigration
1887-	Progressive Labor Party	Socialist political candidates
1888-1910	United Hebrew Trades	Benefits for Jewish immigrant workers
1888-1910	International Association of Mechanics	Professional benefits
1892-1915	Brotherhood of the Kingdom	Religion and social benefits
1892-1921	Amalgamated Association of Street and Electrical Railway Workers	Professional benefits
1892-1933	International Longshoreman's Assoc. (EAST)	
1893-1932	American Proportional Representational League	PR against urban political machines
1896-1914	Brotherhood of the Cooperative Commonwealth	Cooperatives and electrical power

(Source: Gamson, 1990; Tilly & Wood, 2009, p. 49)

**Innovation 4 continued.** Keep in mind that of the preliminary 27 organizations started in 1880, only 7 began acting as social organizations prior to 1850, and most after 1875. Even more astonishing, during the year of 1937, there were approximately “4, 740 strikes,” compared to that of 21 in 2007 (Whitecross & Winterbottom, 2012). In addition, between the years of 1900-1958, there were approximately 147 revolts and riots that also occurred in the United States. This shows a mathematical connection between the increases in material production to consumption are directly correlated to the manufacturing of social protests. As capitalists increase production for consumption, it increases exploitation which manifests itself in social unrest.

One final observation must be noted before we move forward, and that is the international connection. Certainly by now, we have witnessed that “timing and character” of social movements depend primarily on the changes due to structural politics, and the economy. Moreover, we have seen the interconnections between Britain and America, and how these countries have fused themselves together, regarding the anti-slavery movement.

There were three discernable international connections that transpired. First, social movements became reflexive to changes that occurred through internationalism, immigration, and migration patterns. Second, social movements were able to mobilize across international boundaries, such as the International Workingmen’s Association from 1860-1870 and the Irish Nationalist Movements. Third, there existed a new relationship between political and economic powers.

More importantly, we saw a separation between the state and economy, which marked the beginning of society, wherein, civilians were now pitted against both parties

simultaneously. This created a shift in the social psyche, in which individuals and collectives alike now laid claims that the system was no longer a democracy that represented the people, but the economic system. All the while, the political democracies were trying to validate their own existence through the common vote, claiming the majority gave power of authority by participation in the system they created, or what some call the social contract. As we reflect back on Thomas Hobbes concerning the creation of civil society, the state of nature and human life would be a perilous leviathan where each man and woman would need to fend for themselves if it were not for political order and law. Therefore, in order to avoid such a violent fate, free men and women would need to develop a contract with each other to the established political community—civil society. From then on, through ritual and the expanse of time, people have reflexively accepted that a political system is a necessary element of a society, and the first point of entry for activist movements.

### **1960-Present**

Since the 1960s, scholars have been fascinated with what they call the “new social movement” phenomenon that tends to work outside the purview of formalized institutions, and does not place a specific emphasis on “economic goals” (Calhoun, 2012). More particular were the reactions concerning social movement activity in the United States leading up to 1968. To be sure, the United States and the world looked remarkably different civilly, economically, and politically in the late 1960s than it did at the turn of the century. The turn of the century marked the “emergence of clear opposition processes” against world capitalism (Calhoun, 2012). However, social movements of that time faced two profound difficulties. First, they embraced “the state power as the avenue for change,” thus, trapping themselves

within the halls, rooms, and tables of bureaucratic dominance (Martin, 2008; Tilly & Wood, 2009). Second, social movements, particularly those within the social justice and civil rights movements, bounded themselves in solidarity by their own unique identities, while using their ideology as the binding agent. The rights of self-determination were predicated on both *me* and *them* identities, while simultaneously working together in the fight against the state.

### **Identity as Politics during the 1960s**

The politics of identity is one of the fundamental differences that separates the '60s onward, versus that of other historical social movements. It is with the impetus of politics as identity that demarcates this time from traditional politics and places a “politicization on everyday life” (Calhoun, 2012). However, as Craig Calhoun (2012) in his book *The Roots of Radicalism* has pointed out, these generalizable differences in observation are somewhat misleading in that they point to the old politics of societal disobedience, at least during modern social movement activity (p. 249). This account of social disobedience, Calhoun would state, is most likely due to “hegemonic ideologies” that tend to differentiate between proper “political” dealings, and by doing so, dismisses the true work of radical movements that work against the hegemonic power, in other realms of life (Calhoun, 2012).

While popular social movement participation may have been entrenched in republicanism, there were those who worked outside of the norm that were stigmatized by both political and social groups, namely the anarchist movements. Anarchist movements have long been misunderstood as “haphazard, chaotic products of unregulated interests” (Mason, 1928). In fact, the ideology of the anarchist is to emancipate liberty from chaos itself. Anarchism is a belief in the abolition of empowered and abusive governments and controlling

economic entities by way of collective rationality for the greater good of all people. If this sounds familiar, this was the original context of a civil society, minus the two dividing agents that have oppressed people for hundreds of years. This is of particular importance; people who are drawn into mobilizing under the discourse of legitimacy, “politics must involve struggle over salient identities...as is manifest in the ideology” of citizenship within civil society (Calhoun, 2012). When we use term identities like “citizen” which are in contention with others, such as workers, women, or theological leaders, each are largely ambiguous and “equally subject to struggle” (Calhoun, 2012). Therefore, class struggle regarding politics is, in essence, identity politics, just more divided.

**Three signifying social movements that defined a world of resistance, 1968.** By 1968, America had seen its fair share of social movement activity. However, this seemed only to serve as the momentum into a larger shift in social change. During this time, groups largely marginalized by white, middle-class Americans began to speak, and speak loudly. However, in view of a larger perspective, we see three fundamental social events that acted in a way which merged all other movements of resistance into a collective world of resistance: “the Chinese Cultural Revolution, The Cuban Revolution, and the Vietnam War” (Martin, 2008).

The Chinese Cultural Revolution emerged between 1966 and 1967, as the Chinese Red Guard relentlessly attacked the People’s Liberation Army, and the Communist Party. However, in 1968, local bandits, peasants, and laborers formed a class resistance against the oppressive regime in an effort to improve their own lives. What ensued was mass peasant violence and destruction that not only disrupted the current regime, but resonated “throughout

the globe” (Martin, 2008). People again started to awaken from their social inoculation, and began to revolt against the political systems throughout the world.

Similar to the beginning of social movement activity, armed insurrection seemed like the most likely alternative in reaching the attention of those in power. This class-established warfare was aimed at self-determining the future of the civilian people outside the purview of the government. In essence, let the house of bureaucracy burn to the ground, and we the people will build another to take its place. This activity spread like a fire in the psyche of people in the world who suffered the same fate. People became starkly aware that working within the system of politics gets you nowhere if you want complete societal change. They now saw a potential alternative to the hegemonic power of the state, called “guerilla warfare” (Martin, 2008). This form of warfare entails the use of small group combatants or paramilitary personnel that include armed citizens. The tactics used may involve ambushing your opponent, sabotaging material goods, buildings, governmental offices, primarily through hit-and-run tactics.

Acting in the same fashion, Fidel Castro and Ernesto Che Guevara would do the same in Cuba, between the years of 1959-1965. At this time, Latin Americans were fighting for their own emancipation from a despotic government. Shortly before Ernesto Che Guevara was killed in Bolivia in 1968, he wrote a seminal piece of work called *Against Bureaucracy* (Guevara, 1968). Wherein, he discussed a form of resistance through re-education, and invigoration of nationalism. This form of resistance acted as a medium between class warfare and the *junta central de planificacion* (Guevara, 1968).

What resulted from both these nationalist cultural movements was an awakening of a new sociologist ideology specifically aimed against imperialism from the West (America). The people's victory of the oppressed would split the difference between the bourgeoisie and political elites. The people no longer needed the aid of the middleman as a legitimate source of revolution. What they needed was armed insurrection, and power through the gun. This is an incredible historical intersection, one that connects the bandit with communal resistance, which manifests itself in the older forms of resistance through destruction. More incredible, it shows that social resistance has evolved from an emotional moral response into a calculated rational response to political and economic oppression.

**American dissent—third historical social movement.** From 1964-1972, the American government waged an illegal war in Vietnam, and what followed was the “greatest anti-war movement” the world had never seen (Zinn, 1999). I say illegal because President Lyndon B. Johnson launched an attack in the Gulf of Tonkin outside of North Vietnam to initiate the war based on a false premise that the Vietnamese had attacked American ships first. Coincidentally, two months prior to this event, U.S. officials met in Hawaii to pass a congressional resolution called the *Tonkin Resolution*, which gave President Johnson complete authority over the people of the United States to take actions as he saw fit, devoid of any other authority (Zinn, 1999). Thus, President Johnson had initiated a new form of democracy in America, called a *plebiscitary democracy*. Wherein, the president is voted into office democratically through the electoral voting system, but once in office, has no restriction in making decisions as he/she sees fit, devoid of social or constitutional accountability. As mentioned previously with



regards to the comparison of China and the American political system, democracy is a relative and subjective term when we see the actual process in motion.

In response to this action, the *Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee* declared in 1966 that the United States has issued an aggressive policy that is in direct violation of international law, calling for an immediate withdrawal from the Vietnam Conflict. Soon after, young men began to refuse to register for the draft. Middle-class Americans, unaccustomed to social protest, started to question whether or not the war would eventually hurt their bank accountants. As the war raged on, it became more and more unpopular with the middle class, and if the middle class is not happy, nobody is happy. The middle class were so upset that it breached the divide between moral, cultural, and political wronging, and gained the support of theological entities, such as the Catholic Church. One great example of radical protest regarding the faith-based leaders was when Father “Philip Berrigan...joined an artist by the name of Tom Lewis...and friends” went to a local draft board and drenched it in blood, then waited to be arrested as political resisters (Zinn, 1999).

To show just how large the psychological shift was, if we compare a 1965 survey of the American people asking them if they believed we should be in the war, 61% said “yes.” By 1971, a duplicate survey showed that 61% wanted an immediate withdraw from it. In an attempt to counter the public’s sentiments, the media at the time, “largely controlled by higher education,” had both means and influence over the public sphere and became more aggressively supportive in their foreign policies statements. This action was meant to give middle-class Americans the impression that we should still support the war in Vietnam (Zinn, 1999). Yet, it seemed to be too late, because even the soldiers fighting in Vietnam began to

resist and started their own movement called *Vietnam Veterans against the War*, and traveled the United States speaking about the atrocities committed in the name of the United States (Zinn, 1999). The growing unrest within and abroad soon resonated with the collective psyche of most American citizens, linking both the war beyond its borders to the “poverty at home” (Zinn, 1999, p. 501). This marked a significant period within the era, one that connected the identities movements such as the women’s movement, Black Panthers, Latino movements, Martin Luther King’s Civil Rights Movement, and American Indian Movement (AIM).

Historically, the latter 1960s was a period that exacerbated the public psyche through the assassinations of some of the most prolific leaders from both the Right and Left. Examples are the assassinations of President Kennedy (1963), Malcom X (1965), Martin Luther King (1968), and Fred Hampton, the leader of the Black Panther movement in 1969. This only served to increase the negative social effects that had been plaguing the American people for so long.

The Federal Government found that it could no longer garner the moral support for the Vietnam Conflict. This effect on the social psychological identities of the American citizens illuminated a chink in the armor of the hegemon. It showed the Government that there was a definitive limit to their hegemonic control that surpassed moral justifications, democracy, or no democracy. This effect would later be called the *Vietnam Syndrome*. The Vietnam Syndrome occurs when the public no longer sees the validity and purpose of top-down justifications, and actively goes against imperial interests. At the same time, the American people started to show they also had a threshold for media manipulation, commonly known as the “reality principal.”

The reality principal was originally used in Sigmund Freud's psychoanalysis. Freud postulated that the psychological-self in the early developmental stages of human life would seek out stimulus that was based on instant gratification. In this case, the hegemonic media, largely controlled by the educational institutions, private corporations, and government, would feed controlled messages to the public in an attempt to create logic within an illogical justification, regarding Vietnam. However, as the psychological-self starts to develop and become conscious of its own reality, it no longer desires immediate stimulus, and the "ego," thus educated, has become "reasonable," and at that point, it no longer lets itself be governed by the pleasure principle, but obeys the reality principle (Freud, 1991; Parentis, 2011).

The reality principal showed us that regardless of the apparatus used to control people, given enough time, the people will learn and become inoculated to the hegemon. Like the fallibility of the government's ability to self-control through the military, so too is its ability to hide the inequalities it creates. This suggests there are limits to what they can actually control. For example, when wars are fought under the guise of democracy and humanitarianism, and the images leaked to the public by alternative media sources suggest otherwise, this creates a circumstance that either leads to direct intervention to stop the negative action of the military effort, or to stop the individuals leaking the information. This has two dimensions worth noting. First, every time another story, photo, or streaming video surfaces, it awakens and educates the masses to the hegemonic discourse the government uses to control them. Second, it offers opportunities for the hegemon of imperialism to create more systems that suppress reality, and gain further control. This system creates a constant state of tension between those

in control and those seeking truth, which places a significant amount of interest from those who seek to hold power.

### **1980s-1990s**

In the 1980s, Margarete Thatcher and Ronald Reagan were “unleashing their blind fury” of economic imperialism, justified by the moral judgement of democracy against the evil socialist and communist countries of the world (Martin, 2008). The economic policies brought on by the far Right’s Washington Consensus (WC), along with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and other financial forces, had a significantly negative impact felt throughout the world. Under this new global regime, we see the intensification of manufactured exploitation through “external regulations, trade manipulations, foreign currencies, tariffs,” and the wide spread of debt rescheduling programs finally forced upon what we mistakenly call developing countries, created the collapse of power into just a few hands, namely America, Europe and China (Martin, 2008). At the height of global oppression during this time, we saw a ripple effect transnationally regarding conflict and war, such as these examples in the Middle East:

- \* **March 1980:** The Iraqi National Assembly is formed.
- \* **April 8, 1980:** Muhammad Baqir al-Sadr, an Islamist and a key figure in the Iraqi Dawa Party, is executed by the Iraqi government.
- \* **September 12, 1980:** Turkey undergoes a third military coup.
- \* **September 22, 1980:** Iraq invades Iran.
- \* **October 6, 1981:** Islamists assassinate President Anwar al-Sadat of Egypt
- \* **February 1982:** Syrian forces suppress a Muslim Brotherhood uprising in Hama, killing 10,000 to 30,000 people.
- \* **June 6, 1982:** Israel invades Lebanon, cutting off food and water in Beirut.
- \* **September 16, 1982:** Christian militiamen massacre hundreds at the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps in Lebanon.
- \* **May 1983:** An Israeli-Lebanese peace deal calls for Israel to make a phased withdrawal from Lebanon.
- \* **May 1983:** Gen. Kenan Evren returns Turkey to democratic rule following three years of military rule.

- \* **September 15, 1983:** Menachem Begin resigns as prime minister of Israel.
  - \* **October 23, 1983:** The U.S. Marine barracks in Lebanon is attacked by a suicide bomber.
  - \* **1984:** Kurdish terrorists in Turkey begin a bloody campaign for independence.
  - \* Mid-1980s: Yemen and Saudi Arabia clash over the discovery of oil in the Empty Quarter.
  - \* **1986:** Commercial extraction of Yemen's natural oil reserves begin.
  - \* **January 1986:** Civil war breaks out in Southern Yemen. A Marxist clash with the government of Southern Yemen results in civil war.
  - \* **November 1986:** The arms-for-hostages deal that comes to be known as the Iran-Contra Affair comes to light. After denying any covert activities, U.S. president Ronald Reagan publicly confirms that the U.S. secretly sold arms to Iran, using Israel as an intermediary.
  - \* **December 9, 1987:** The Palestinian intifada, a spontaneous popular uprising against Israeli occupation, starts in the West Bank and Gaza.
  - \* **March 16, 1988:** Iraq uses chemical weapons against the Kurds.
  - \* **July 1988:** King Hussein of Jordan severs political links with the PLO and orders its main offices closed.
  - \* **July 3, 1988:** A U.S. Navy ship shoots down an Iranian passenger plane carrying 290 people.
  - \* **August 8, 1988:** UN secretary-general Javier Perez de Cuellar announces a cease-fire between Iran and Iraq, ending the Iran-Iraq War.
  - \* **November 15, 1988:** A Palestine National Council meeting in Algiers proclaims the State of Palestine.
  - \* **December 21, 1988:** Terrorists believed to be sponsored by Libya blow up Pan Am flight 103 over Lockerbie, Scotland.
  - \* **1989:** Osama bin Laden founds the al-Qaeda network.
- (Source: PBS, 2016)

Keep in mind that this was just the Middle East. According to [www.globalpolicy.org](http://www.globalpolicy.org), the United States military machine occupied nearly 50 countries, acting in various roles, from direct or indirect conflict through arms sales to countries that sought participation within the new capitalist system.

**Intro to the Anti-Globalization Movement.** This new and increased level of global disparity touched nearly all geographical areas of the world in different forms of creative destruction. In an effort to combat this new social phenomenon, we see the emergence of the anti-globalization movement during the 1990s. The framing of such a movement placed significant weight upon the rise of the global economy, and the negative impact it had on an individual's quality of life and environment. More specifically, the *Anti-Globalization*

*Movement* sees “economic globalization” as one that severely weakens the national and international labor force and environmental standards that only serve to “encourage a race to the bottom” (Brecher & Costello, 1994; Gould & Lewis, 2015). This means, in a competitive global economic market, each nation willing to subject itself to capitalism must reduce all commodities to the lowest price. When this happens, private transnational companies create and take advantage in gaining capital surplus increases, while at the same time, the countries which are being exploited through this competition have to decrease environmental protections, reduce wages, decrease welfare systems, and limit funding to educational programs. If the country fails to abide by these new rules, they will no longer be able to create jobs for their people and feed their families.

Knowing this situation places a greater risk of failure upon the state, transnational companies often use this as leverage against the country it is doing business in by threatening to leave the country if they do not participate within their stipulated economic rules. For example, if Korea “restricts environmental pollution” and allows unions to form within its companies with an attempt to raise wages, healthcare protections, and educational attainment for their children, the contract company can just leave and find another lower bidder with a cheaper labor force in another province or country (Brecher & Costello, 1994, p. 74). However, to give a better understanding between social movements against neoliberalism versus that of globalization, I would like to take a moment to define and clarify that these two terms are distinctly different.

### **Global Justice vs. Globalization Defined**

In order to define global justice, one must first discern what its opposition is – globalization. As the world changes, so too does the way we theorize it. Not so long ago, social theorists were grappling with ideas concerning phenomena called “modernity, post modernity” and “Postcoloniality” (Callinicos, 2007). Yet, these labels do not seem to fit the current shift in world events and have been replaced by what we now know as globalization.

As stated above, with the advent of a new economic restructuring of the global financial market came new technological innovations that allowed for increased global competition. According to Thomas Friedman of the New York Times, and staunch supporter, neoliberalism’s benefits of globalization have provided the world with a new level of democracy, one that will allow us to achieve our true “egalitarian potential” (Ibid). Most notably, Friedman was considered the voice that labeled protesters against globalization as the “anti-globalization” movement (McNally, 2002; Pinsky, 2010). Others, such as David Held and Anthony McGrew, define globalization as a process or combination of processes which personifies a transformation in the geographical organization of social relations. These social transactions are addressed in terms of “extensity, intensity, velocity and impact...generating transcontinental or interregional flows of networks of activity and interaction” (Callinicos, 2007).

The three types of ideologies that exist during this period are known as “hyper-globalizers” (Callinicos, 2007). First, the individuals who believe in a borderless world, where sovereign nations only serve as puppets within the global economic landscape. Second, there are those who believe that globalization is just a myth. Third, those who have embraced the

fact that globalization is a long-term historical process that is filled with contradictions via the language we use to inscribe reality, the hegemon.

Conversely, globalism is the belief that we collectively share one planet “whose survival requires mutual respect and careful treatment of all its people and its environments” (Ritchie, 1996). In addition, globalism is the ideological standing that there are certain universal core values and ethical requirements that we must all adhere to. When comparing the two, one quickly sees the discrepancy in how each one is used interchangeably in our everyday vernacular. Yet, as stated above, this is a linguistic misconception and interpretation of the world we currently reside in. While globalism believes that the world is a shared planet with responsibility, globalization is the process by which supranational or international entities exploit the world for economic means, environmental material, and labor.

### **Anti-Globalization**

Similar to the polar views of globalization and globalism, so too are the labels we place on social movements to summon a sense of identity and authority. Similar to the two mentioned above, the anti-globalization movement is a highly disputed term that refers to an international linkage between other social movements around the world. Both “activists and scholars” debate whether it constitutes a single social movement, represents a collection of allied groups, or a “movement of movements” (DemocracyUprising.com, April, 2007).

In truth, the anti-globalization movement is a movement centered on countering what globalization is. That is to say, anti-globalization movements seek to confront corporations and militaries through solidarity of the community structures, or what Karl Polanyi calls “re-embedding” of globalism into communal structures within a framework of social and political



ideological principles (Polanyi, 1944; Starr & Adams, 2003). They reject the approach of neoliberal economic restructuring as a plausible way to create an egalitarian society, and call for a more democratic way of holding states accountable for their actions. That is not to say they are not interested in going beyond their local region. They would like to achieve a new global democracy which is embedded in the economic system. Again, the slogan of the anti-globalization movement is “Another World Is Possible” (McNally, 2011). Yet, they seem to forget that this requires centralization from the collective. Anti-globalization also becomes vulnerable to globalization itself by denying themselves critical resources they need to sustain their cause, while trying to create social change, and places them in a perilous position of attrition. Not only do they have to sustain the movement and its ideology, but they also need to sustain themselves with resources that are not unlimited, such as media coverage, food, lodging, and the list goes on.

### **The Alter-Globalization Movement**

The Alter-Globalization is a “continuation of cross-class anticolonial struggle” that are also against neoliberal ideologies (Pleyers, 2010; Starr et al., 2011). Similar to anti-globalizers, alter-globalizers believe in a democratic approach to change through rationality. More often than not, the movement attempts to open up lines of communication concerning the irrationality of the current economy by sloganizing “people over profits.” Their tactics involve transnational activism with an aim of pointing out the hegemonic practices the Right uses as leverage to condone their ongoing behavior within the market that creates globalization.

In addition, another similar tactic is “civil disobedience.” Civil disobedience is based on the refusal to obey laws seen by the dominate state to be rational and legitimate, similar to anarchism (Starr et al., 2011). This direct form of action has been absent since the pre-modern age, according to Charles Tilly (1977). This is based on the assumption that that collective actions taken up within a state only serves to mediate the influence of governmental practices. This may be true, because we see throughout Starr et al.’s book, *Shutting Down the Streets* (2011), that the use of the physical body as a form of resistance has only exacted change for the worse. By taking to the streets, this reduces social movement activity and counter hegemony into a form of spatial management and local procedural processes that limit social engagement.

### **The Global Justice Movement**

Similar to the Alter-Globalization Movement, the *Global Justice Movement* approach relies heavily on the democratic perspective. However, they seem to have evolved from the combination of the former two. The Global Justice Movement is a highly advanced network of existing organizations that establish simultaneous protests throughout the globe on various issues caused by the market, such as the “North American Free trade Agreement (NAFTA)...Multilateral agreements on investment...” and call for a more unified social system (Porta, 2007).

What is most strikingly different about the Global Justice Movement is its claim of representing all global citizens who do not have a voice. This is strikingly familiar to the global advocacy of the rights justification for economic restructuring. The collective transnational struggle has allowed the opportunity for mass gatherings of other social

movement protesters to communicate via in person or other means to exchange ideas, ideologies, and tactics in fighting the opposition. As mentioned in the methods section, it seems on a preliminary investigation that the Global Justice Movement has established a globally-recognized ideology, but has it matured enough to exact social change globally, or even locally? Moreover, each cause does in fact focus their attention on similar flaws within globalization, yet, they all have different levels of resistance, framing, and different protest ideologies which are decentralized. However, this does show us that historically, social movements have largely depended on themselves as identity movements, working both within and outside the global movement. This does suggest that there are limitations within each collective, regarding the effectiveness of exhausting one's resources. This is of grave concern, because not all social movements have the resources available to fight on multiple fronts.

### **Militant Particularisms**

Social movement research has spanned the gamut that ranges from “strategies and tactics” (Appaduri, 2000). The challenges establishing “networks of resistance” in local geographical areas of contention” (Starr et al., 2011), or what it means to fight against a capitalist system of economy in what is considered a “democratic” society (Wood, 1995). However, what we do know of bottom-up social movement organizing is that it involves highly creative communication networks, and solidarity both internally and externally, which garners mutual support. The common threads that bind these movements together are the ideologies they share regarding the anti-globalization perspective. A large part of their function is to produce and exchange vital information concerning social movement strategies

and narratives that will assist not only themselves, but other social movements in remote geographical areas.

Even though the common denominator remains within a singular ideology, the difference in a social movement's physical terrain and their struggles are distinctly different. To complicate matters, within these social movements, other differences start to surface, such as cultural, ethnic, gender, religious, and political views. It is because these new forms of protest have emerged, combining domestic and transnational entities, that little attention has been focused on the movements that are still within a fixed geographical area of contention when dissent occurs. Manuel Castells (1997), in his book *The Power of Identity*, postulates that domestically-based struggles "develop, or become part of, geographically flexible networks" that in essence, become entrenched in different levels of geographical scale. These geographical locations are represented in the form of global, national, or local linkages between all other networks. Whereas, territories are embedded in networks and territories with intermediary agents that work within and throughout the expanse of one or more areas. Therefore, when you have a transnational corporation working within a free trade zone, or an oppressive company like Coca-Cola which has taken over the water rights to a specific area, a localized social movement can act as proxy for another social movement that has exchanged information regarding further exploitative practices or policies. This makes these types of social movements quite powerful, in theory.

Unfortunately, Castells does not address the elephant in the room, which are the individual differences that make up the overall collective movement. In order to address this issue, we must look at David Harvey's (2001) chapter on militant particularisms, from his

book *Spaces of Capital: Towards a Critical Geography*. Harvey borrows the term “militant particularisms” from a gentleman by the name of Raymond Williams (1989). According to Harvey, “placed-based resistances frequently” create expressive militant particularisms (Harvey, 2001). Militant particularism manifests itself when “ideals are forged out of affirmative experience of solidarities in one place...and get generalized and universalized,” as a new form of social relations that benefit the whole of humanity (Harvey, 2001). Harvey takes it upon himself to point out that particularisms are largely based in conservatism. Wherein, the essence of an individual identity, whether it be gender, culturally, or age based, tends to follow, even when solidarities within a community are met. Harvey starts to question if these particularisms fall within a micro scale which prevents complete grounding from the individual within the movement itself. Therefore, it stands to reason that individuals within social movements struggle themselves with internal and external solidarities.

Harvey goes on to give examples of specific movements, such as the “anti-capitalist movements.” They are better at organizing, but dominating places of contention, or domestic and regional social movements, are excellent at obtaining local specialized places. However, when left to their own devices, soon become overrun by hegemonic forces, such as the leadership of the local town or state government (Harvey, 2001). Simply put, Harvey argues that if global justice organizations are to be successful in bridging geographical space, they must be able to accomplish this without sacrificing the individual’s militant particularisms. Yet, Harvey warns that even if this is accomplished, there still remains a “differential power relation” within the collective movements, both within and throughout. Different groups are placed into different dynamic situations, even within their locality. For example, a visiting

social movement collective joins the local collective in fighting against an exploitive transnational company. However, the visiting group might be a set of Americans that have access to technology and money, along with a national identity, that places an inversion of power relation over the local collective. This happens, regardless of acknowledgement or acceptance; it just is.

Antonio Gramsci (1917), in his work entitled *The Revolution against Capital*, had pointed this factor out quite succinctly when he stated “this thought sees as the dominant factor in history, not raw economic facts, but man, men in societies...men in relation” with others in reaching collective agreements with one another, it is through these contacts as a collective, or “social will,” that men become aware and understand economic facts (cited in Gramsci, 1988). Social movements can then judge themselves, and adapt according to his or her will until it becomes “the driving force of the economy that” creates a new reality (Gramsci, 1988). Gramsci goes on to say in normal times, a “gradual fusion through society” is needed for such a collective will to manifest itself. It entails a wide range of what Harvey calls “militant particularisms” and experience to cultivate such a class-based social movement (Gramsci, 1988). Gramsci says men are inherently lazy, and need to be organized first “externally” into social movements, and then internally, within their own unique thought and will in a continuous and complex set of external stimulus. Gramsci argues this is why Marxists, in normal times, truly “grasp reality, and clarify it” (Gramsci, 1988). It is the revolutionaries themselves who create conditions that will achieve the ultimate end.

### **Physical Locations of Resistance**

All three social movements work within contested geographical spaces as a way to show a collective allegiance against the hegemon through dissent, both in person and within the digital community, but how do social movements really fare when applying counter-hegemonic practices to change both domestically and transnationally? One of the primary tools and tactics of global justice movements is to participate in the collective action of dissent, which according to Starr et al. (2011), is the “last word of those condemned.” Dissent allows the discourse of social movements and society to make clear and rational decisions regarding their reaction to their current reality. Dissent is often a protected practice in democratic societies (used loosely), primarily based on the principle that those in power may be seen as a danger, morally unjust, or make unwise decisions, often justified and hidden behind the democratic voting system. Finally, dissent is a show of counter-hegemonic force in which disagreement lies between the political, economic, and community, and is usually done through the action of speech within a location of contention, such as outside of a government complex. This is done through the belief that “democratic governments should be responsive to the demands of the citizen” (Starr et al., 2011). However, let us not forget that the state permitted public meetings during the 1700-1800s to express themselves for political reform, at the same time implemented the *Seditious Meetings Act*, which prohibited people from gathering in secret to plan meetings that may be against the state. As long as the state knows what you are doing, it falls within the formal democratic discourse created. Therefore, dissenters can be silenced by tactics of the state, which can result in social movements feeling

helpless, powerless, and without complete control of their social movement activities; this does not seem democratic at all.

Theorists such as Pierre Bourdieu, Henri Lefebvre, and David Harvey have long studied the dynamics between social space and social dissent. Henri Lefebvre states that social space always involves the political and ideological. Furthermore, social geographic space is never “fixed, given, or even obvious” (Starr et al., 2011). Therefore, social space is a relationship between those in power and those oppressed.

### **Geographical Spaces of Contention Continued**

Henri Lefebvre states there is a three-point distinction regarding social geographical space that may allow for a better understanding of why geographical space is so important, and they are *perceived space*, *conceived space*, and *lived space*. For Lefebvre (1991), “perceived space” relates to our “social production” and reproduction of space in daily life (p. 68). “Conceived space” is the space of the hegemon, and it contains the dominant representations such as a symbolic building, map, or courthouse. As I have discussed earlier in the paper, the owners of production also own the means to mental production, and therefore, create the dominant reality we reside in. “Lived space” is the diametric relationship between the two other spaces mentioned previously.

The idea of mass mobilization into a contended social geographic space is to establish control on the terms of one of the two parties involved, those oppressed or those in control. For example, when there is a large summit meeting in a specific town, social protesters will take over the geographical space as a form of counter-hegemony. This activity can be violent, but most often times involves speeches, artistic performances, marches, and even



puppeteering. The disruption of space through mass mobilization creates contradictions within the boundaries of the space previously controlled, mutating what the hegemon thought they controlled as legitimate power, into a place of resistance, which delegitimizes their power. It also shows the public just how far the hegemon of the state will do to protect its space. This, in turn, shows the reality of violence exacted by the state to protect its real citizens, the owners of capital. However, this historically reflexive tactic of mass mobilization into geographic places of contention poses some serious problems within today's social movement activity. Namely, the hegemonic development of "no protest zones," which are usually fenced off perimeters protecting the very space the dissenters would like to control (Starr et al., 2011).

Some aspects included within these new protected zones often includes a police presence, accompanied by mobile blockades, and undercover officers that channel dissenters into de-territorialized areas, based on the scales of danger predetermined by authorities. These will be marked off in a similar fashion to that of a terrorist threat level used by the media today, such as a numerical order or color, where a high indicator or a violent color (red) means danger.

### **Geographical Spaces of Contention Conclusion**

The police themselves act as barriers, similar to those who protest against them, by forging a line of resistance the dissenters cannot breach. In fact, an entire cornucopia of tools regarding social movement control are used even before the event can take place, such as "band orders, travel bans" for local and foreign protesters, forced registration policies, and makeshift mass detention centers (Starr et al., 2011). In addition, we have seen an increase in

the militarization of social spaces of contention. Over the last few decades we have seen an entire business grow out of the social protest movements.

The use of military tactics, and equipment they use, has fast become a normal sight among street protests. If deemed appropriate, these military, or military style units, may use non-lethal methods of control through the use of pepper spray, rubber bullets, and water cannons, all in the name of peacekeeping. More importantly, these social acts of resistance could be seen as *domestic terrorism*, simply because they are carried out by U.S. citizens on American soil. Let us not forget the risk if you are a person of color or have a Latino last name, such was the case with Jacinta Gonzales, who was recently arrested in March, 2016, in Arizona, after protesting a Donald Trump rally. Gonzales is a U.S. citizen with all the rights to assemble and exercise her rights as an American, yet she was taken into custody by the Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) agency, where she was finger printed and jailed until they could clarify her residency. None the less, it does not remove the trauma she experienced by being profiled and detained, which is in direct violation of Gonzales's Civil Liberties. More insulting, the costs of policing and militarizing these protected zones are subsidized by the taxpayers. For example, the cost of supplying coverage for anti-protest policing during the G8 Summit in Genoa, Italy, 2001, was estimated to have cost the taxpayers 40 million dollars (Starr et al., 2011). In the United States, during the 2009 G20 Summit in Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, the cost of security was estimated to cost the taxpayers 98.7 million dollars.

If we remember back, one of the chief concerns regarding social movement activity was the ability to legitimate the very system they oppose. Given the above examples only

proves that this indeed is the case. Social unrest disrupts social spaces, agitates those in power, and collectively opens up a public discourse concerning the current human climate. It would also seem that with every counter resistance, the state and capitalists not only gain more knowledge about countering social resistance, but have managed to commodify all aspects of it in return. Like the 1700-1800s, we still see an increased manufacturing of social inequality which is delivered through the capitalist system. In addition, we continue to see an increase in public and communal surveillance, and although the legislatively passed anti-sedition acts have changed names, the results still remain the same.

## **Chapter 7: The Test of Resource Mobilization**

Until now, I have listed an exhaustive historical analysis pertaining to the development of society, polity, and the economy. Within it, I have discussed both individual and collective actions which have been both rational and irrational, successful and failed, and for some, succeeding in preserving social movements' hard fought recognition. Furthermore, social movements have garnered a collective consciousness that cannot be easily undone. However, the central theme thus far, and what is listed as a crucial element in sustaining a social movement, is the resources available to achieve all the above. "Resource mobilization theory" has dominated the field of study regarding social movement activity for decades. However, with the advent of the technological advances and multi-media outlets, such as Google, Yahoo, Twitter, and Instagram, these things may not be as hindered.

There is very little, if no, attention given to the role of the internet as a qualitative guide to gather information regarding the content of activity provided by each social movement, and its ability to be garnered as a quantitative instrument to verify if it indeed has the resources available to sustain the highs and lows of social movement activity. Therefore, I will be using a multi-prong approach in my analysis of the anti-globalization movement, alter-globalization movement, and the social justice movement within the United States. This will be done by elaborating on their historical development, strategy, and political ideologies. I will utilize the internet as my primary data collection method in discovering if these movements actually seem to thrive or not. This will be done by allocating both the news sections and first-page web search portals to calculate how events have occurred. In addition, I should be able to discern whether or not social movements exist within the digital

infrastructure of online communities. This will allow me to calculate the traditional forms of media attention, as well as introduce a new source of investigation not yet used in social movement analysis, and that is the use of Search Engine Optimization (SEO) and Search Engine Marketing (SEM). These social platforms will allow me to gather information on how they communicate, advertise, recruit, and maintain internet visibility that so many social movements count on for sustainability, finances, and communication. More importantly, this will allow for a more in-depth look into the effectiveness of counter-hegemony from the top-down. If done correctly, the top-down method of the hegemon will hypothetically yield limited results. However, if the social movements have the available resources, they should be able to counter the hegemon's ability to suppress information.

The media is a critical, if not the most critical institution that intersects all forms of symbolic information which produces public reality. In addition, this area of the hegemon directly impacts the remaining five criteria of social movement survival, which are the following: 1) Series of Crisis or social change 2) movement resources, 3) movement activity, 4) support of public opinion, and 5) framing of their narrative. Therefore, it is crucial to delineate between these intersections, if in fact our current social movements are effective. With that said, the bulk of both U.S. national and transnational media outlets are owned by six private institutions, and they are "Comcast/ NBC Universal, 21<sup>st</sup> Century Fox/ News Corporation, Walt Disney Company, CBS Corporation/Viacom, Time Warner, and Sony Corporation of America (Gould & Lewis, 2009). It is important to understand that during the 1980s, there were 50 corporate owners, and out of those, these top six corporations are the result of privatization and accumulation through monopoly.

**Search Engine Optimization (SEO).** Predominately, all social movements rely heavily on “virtual petitions, online money-bombs, and forums to debate issues,” and the use of multiple platforms of social media, including emails to schedule meetings or update rallies that may occur at any time (Rohlinger, Kail, & Taylor, 2012). All of these processes are used in a way to engage, recruit, and educate common citizens concerning the negative impact neoliberalism has on local, national, and transnational groups of people, regardless of the political affiliation from both Right and Left perspectives.

The use of the internet can be used as an effective tool to in countering hegemonic obstacles from the Right. This is done through the creation of online communities that do not have the obstacles historical social movements have had to contend with previously, such as geographical space, technical skills, income, and ability to get to and from the location. Online communities allow the internet user to participate in a multitude of levels that include, but are not limited to, news and updates, ability to donate dollars, share opinions, tactics, and sign petitions if it is a local community alliance. In addition, these websites are a great way to educate other potential or manufactured social movements to decimate new and practical skills in countering anti-protesters, police, and sometimes a military presence that is there in a show of force from state or national government.

Successful internet sites from social movements get their message out without dividing their supporters. As we may remember, framing is everything. Yet, hegemonic forces from the top-down model of social control have a particular interest in, and ownership of, the bulk of internet use, and are in every way trying to remove those from the bottom-up in getting those messages out. Therefore, more technically advanced and creative social

movements use “advertising, earned media, and viral campaigns” to harness support for their social issues. This is why I will be using part of my analysis regarding social movement resource mobilization as a point of entry into seeing, if indeed, anti-globalization, alter-globalization, and social justice movements have the capacity to compete within the digital communities in countering digital hegemony.

**Search engine marketing.** All major search engines such as Yahoo, MSN, and Google, rank the information on their systems based on what the search engine considers most relevant to users, called search engine optimization (SEO). Search engine optimization is a method “of strategies, techniques and tactics that are utilized as a way to increase the visibility to individuals searching the web by obtaining a placement, generally within the top 3-5 search results a viewer sees when the web browser opens” (Sillars, 2015). For example, if one were searching for a specific product, usually if the product is popular, it will immediately fall within the top three choices to select from when the search page generates. All of this is based on a per-click model, where the most frequented websites are the ones that float to the top based on how many clicks it receives from unique users.

The reason this is so powerful is because most users of the internet never go beyond the first page of an inquiry, or rarely go to the bottom of the page when searching for information they feel is pertinent to their specific search. So, where a site ranks in a search is critical for directing traffic to a specific website. Hence, the higher a website naturally ranks in the initial search result, the greater the odds it will be visited by a user. This would seem to be rather important for a social movement if it wanted to direct traffic and information to the

general public. However, there is another way a website can yield greater results, and that is through purchasing key words which are unique to users searching the internet.

The alternative is called “search engine marketing” (SEM). SEM’s are a form of marketing, in that you must buy the words used to manufacture results by unique users searching the internet. For example, if I were a student searching the internet for information related to social movements, you may type in the search engine window: social movements. However, a business, or in this case a social movement, can also buy a word like “social movements,” or the misspelling of the words “social movements.” Quite frequently, people commonly miss certain letters when typing, therefore, the buyer can purchase these as well. This is important from an economic standpoint, because misspelled words are often times cheaper than correctly spelt ones. The end goal of this type of marketing is to achieve the maximum amount of visibility by unique users on the internet via key word purchase. Therefore, both models, it could be hypothesized, would increase a social movement’s ability to show that they are counter-hegemonic, and have the resources available to reach a mass audience.

### **Digital Communities as Anti-Hegemons**

To be thorough, I used all three socially-recognized search engines as my base, and they are Yahoo.com, Google.com, and MSN.com. Search queries were based on an average user’s language which looked at two distinct web-based searches, First, I did a search query only within the front, web-based page of each search engine to see what results I would see. This was done to see if the actual social movements themselves were (or had participated) in either formats of search engine optimization or search engine marketing. The validation of the technique provides additional analysis on a multitude of spectrums. For example, entering the



front page of the search engine allows me to see: 1) If the optimization of the social movement exists, based on a per-click analysis. A per-click analysis shows how popular the movement is from the search ability of the average user. 2) If we consider resource mobilization, a social movement needs money, participation, communication, and other resources to survive.

I selected five key word phrases that I thought would generate the best outcomes relating to social movement results. I then cross-referenced each key word/phrase into the news section of each search engine. This allows me an opportunity to analyze the hegemon's ability to suppress information regarding social movement activity within each organization, as well as gauge how active each social movement has been most recently. Below is the format of my internet queries.

**Social justice movements (web, and news).**

1. Global Justice Protests
2. Global Justice Activists
3. Global Justice
4. Global Justice Movements
5. Who are Global Justice Movement groups

**Anti-globalization (web and news).**

1. Anti-Globalization Protests
2. Anti-Globalization Activists
3. Anti-Globalization
4. Anti-Globalization Movements

## 5. Who are Anti-Globalization Groups

### **Alter-globalization (web and news).**

1. Alter-Globalization Protests
2. Alter-Globalization Activists
3. Alter-Globalization
4. Alter-Globalization Movements
5. Who are Alter-Globalization groups

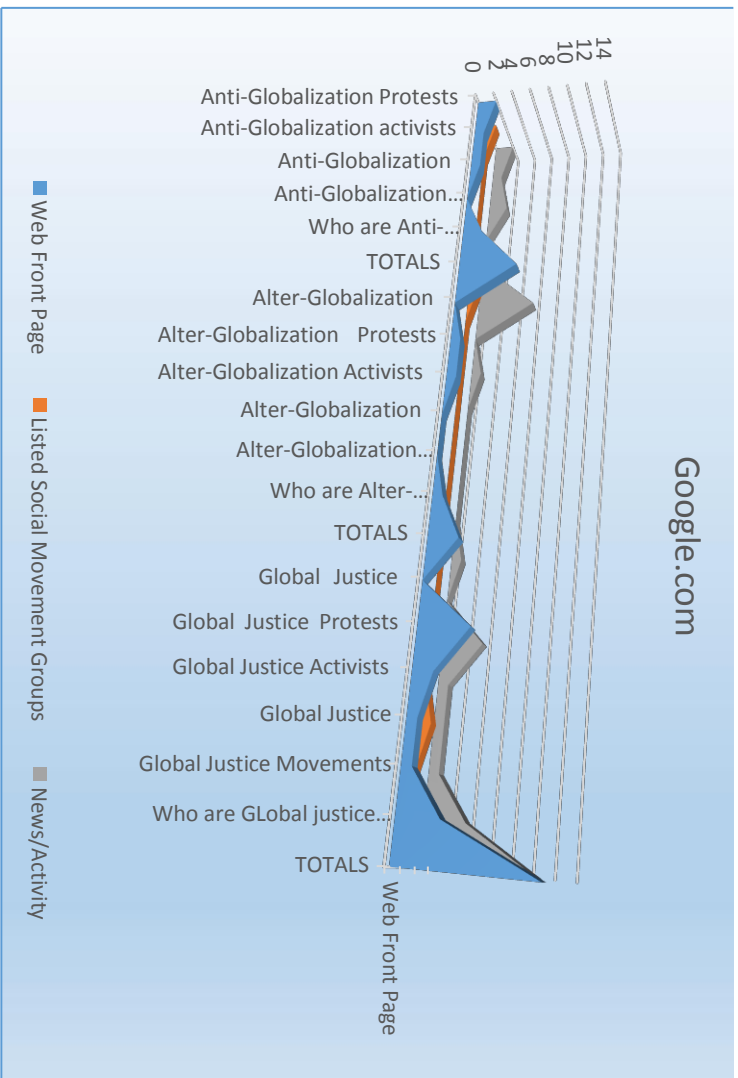
### **Internet Search Results**

My search yielded approximately 240 unique web pages where I could analyze the volatility, social access, and social movement activity results from both SEO and SEM perspectives, using the three primary search engines as the vehicle. I then queried each unique key word/phrase with the same process in both the news and front pages of each engine using each of the three social movements: anti-globalization, alter-globalization, and global justice movements. Based on these results, I was able to delineate if any social movements surfaced within each search, what ranking they fell in, and the most recent activity of the social movement in the news section.

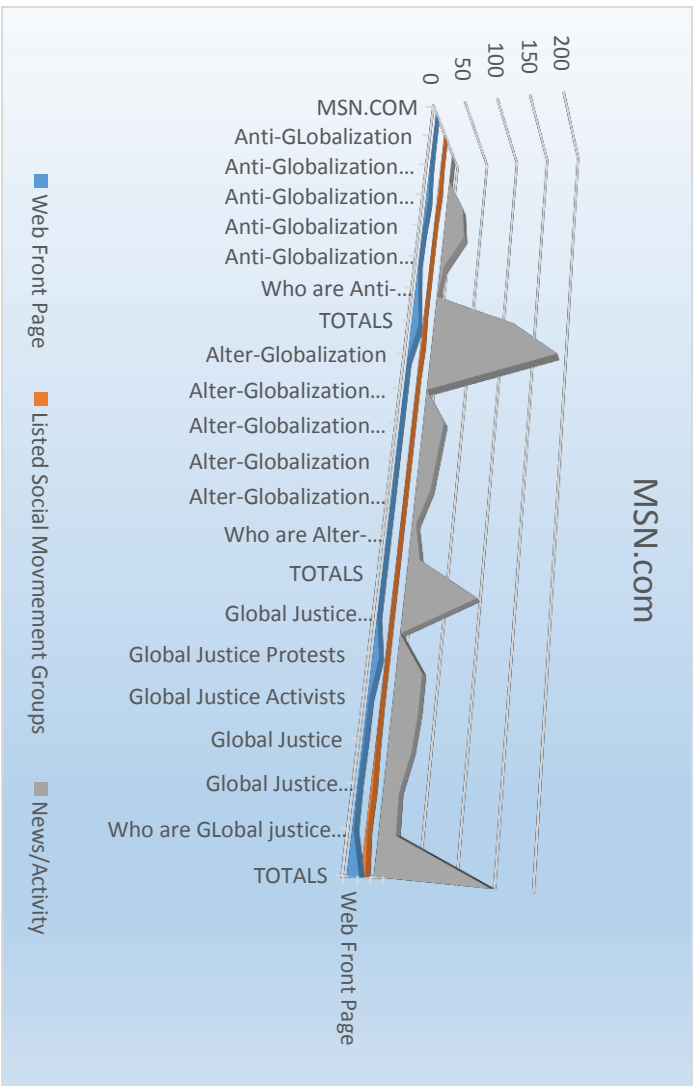
I hypothesized that that “social movements,” given the current political climate, would emerge in abundance. More importantly, I would be exhausted from the data itself. However, it turns out that there were not any. Based on the graphical data below, which is in actual numerical order (i.e., 1, 2, 3, 4, and so on), versus most statistical data that is comparative to every 10 represents 100, they simply had no presence at all.

All three indicated limited, but fruitful, indications that the “Global Justice Movement” was the key phrase when getting any form of results. This has more to do with the historical development of identity groups participating in the Global Justice Movement versus the actual movement itself. Hence, it would stand to reason that this garnered larger numbers. This is of great concern, because it limits and suppresses the very knowledge people seek on the internet. It may also show that social movements have moved to different platforms regarding social movement activity, such as Instagram, Twitter, and Facebook. However, it still does not explain the sheer lack of information regarding any of the social movements themselves.

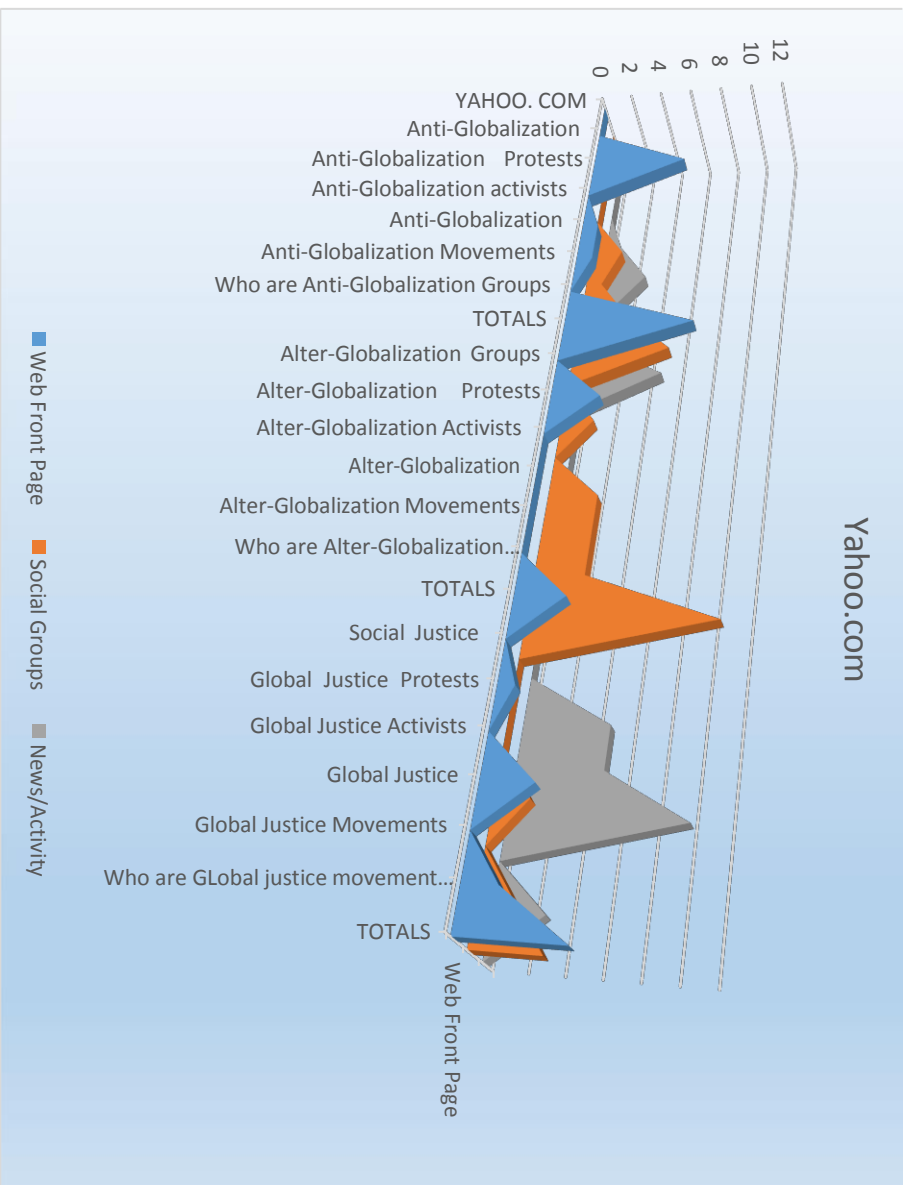
Other than Yahoo.com, all of the news reported by Google.com and MSN.com fell into a consistent path concerning social movement news that was reported during the 1990s. Only a few results had shown anything close to our current date, Google being the most repressive. Yahoo, on the other hand, yielded the most information and up to date news regarding social protests and web activity or presence. Even these results are dismal. Certainly this is a small-scale search. Yet, it seems as if the anti/alter-globalization and global justice movements have all but disappeared, based on this preliminary study.



Graph 1. Google.com



Graph 2: MSN.com



Graph 3. Yahoo.com

## Chapter 8: Social Movements and Democracy

So, what does this information mean? While social movements, in particular the three mentioned thus far, have consistently moved towards the government to exact social change, does this mean they are participating in democracy or the act of democratization? As a matter of fact, “social movements and democratization remain logically, empirically, and causally distinct” (Tilly & Wood, 2009). In large part because the actions, performances, and tactics used by these social movements can be exclusionary to many more people from both the Right and the Left perspectives. Moreover, we have seen that social movements themselves are diametrically opposed to one another based on the identity of the movements themselves. Certainly, they may participate in likeminded ideological movements for a common goal, as long as they meet their own demands over those fighting for something that may be important to their own individual needs. However, we have yet to achieve the harmony that both David Harvey and Antonio Gramsci have hoped for, in relation to a unified system of collective identities against one system—capital.

In addition, I continually see the use of language pertaining to “representative politics” as being democratic, or that the very system in which we currently find ourselves opposed, is at the same time, democratic (McNally, 2002; Martin, 2008; Porta & Diani, 2009; Starr et al., 2011; Stekelenburg et al., 2013; Tilly & Wood, 2009). While in the same breath, scholars are saying that the state itself is in a state of retreat, and the displacement of its “former power vis-a-vis, capital” is the emerging set of supra-national institutional powers “at the service of capital” (Tabb, 1997; Veltmeyer, 2004). Ellen Meiksins Wood explained it best when she stated, “Just when capitalism is achieving worldwide domination...theoretical tendencies still

abound from the left” (Wood, 1995). It would seem by all accounts that American politics, and the social movements that work within its borders, have both adopted and perpetuated the idea of liberal democracy. Liberalism, as a political theory and practice, places a special distinction between public and private realms, which compromises how people view the “relationships between law, state, economy, and the individual (D’Souza, 2008). Its function allows private transnational companies to undermine decisions made from the public sphere through the practice of voting rights, and “then only on those issues which had no bearing on socio-economic life” (Wood, 1995). Wood goes on to say, through the current economic system, “large segments of human experience and activity, and the myriad varieties of human inequality and oppression, are often untouched by political equality.” She then states, “Political equality and voting” may be considered a necessity to fulfill the conditions of a so called free life, but they are no means sufficient enough (Wood, 1995).

As far as the anti-globalization, alter-globalization, and global justice movements, they have it right to attack the state apparatus. It is because the state plays such an integral role in monitoring and regulating the market, itself, that this must be the main objective. It is quite apparent that the system of capital must change, but by no means can we rely on the capitalists to give up their power. Even if we penalize the individuals who have perpetuated systems of oppression through their companies, it will still not stop the capitalist’s insatiable need to acquire more surplus.

In critique of the three social movements, based on Patrick Bonds five typologies of social movements, only the alter-globalization and anti-globalization movements fall in line with the far-Left perspective of being close to a revolutionary level. Global justice movements

can fall as far Left as socialism and anarchism, but may also fall anywhere in between national capitalism and liberal democracy. I condense all three social movements into the two types of social movement types: political opportunist or cultural revolutionary. All three do fall in line with the revolutionary perspective. Yet, aside from ideological frames and tactics, all three fall within the opportunist perspective. All three at some point do want radical systemic change, but none of them are radical to the point of being radical to achieve it.

If we take into account the ideologies, geographical locations, and the levels of individual and collective political agitators, there can be little doubt that they have raised the level of awareness concerning the devastating human and environmental consequences the neoliberal economy has had on the world. However, all three arguments are centered on the rights-based argument, and offers little in the way of creating a radical political proletariat revolution. The social movements of today seem so entrenched in exacting political and social change by way of constitutional law, and forget that it only promises the possibility of due process to change, and it never creates a plausible solution to fulfill the true needs of all the people, nevertheless those who reside in one state. It seems that the unification of each social movement “has less to do with our conclusions than our means of reaching them” (Wood, 1995). Karl Marx (1977) states in his work entitled *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, *In Fernback*, that the “ends to a means argument,” regarding bourgeois democracy, may indeed free the proletariat from the feudal system of oppression. It does not emancipate them from capital exploitation, and those in power will certainly limit the participation of the proletariat in attempting to remove themselves from it. Therefore, the Bernstein argument of “within” politics as a form to change society is a moot point.



It is true that the collectivity of all peoples must consolidate their internal to external selves into one collective, *vis-a-vis*, toward a class-based struggle of stakeholders. It is precisely because there remains a disillusionment, that participating in a liberal democracy can exact change, that we continue to give ourselves freely to those who own both private property and who control the means to productive forces. What this does tell me is that the hegemonic control of society within, and throughout social movement activity, has “drank the cool aid.”

By giving credence to the state as a means to mediate the rights of the people through state policy, devoid of the capitalist system itself, only means that we continue to “reproduce the mystifications of liberalism...and obscuring the ways in which the state, under the guise of democracy, participate in the coercive relations we currently find ourselves in” (Wood, 1995). Furthermore, Wood states, “at the very moment when critical understanding” is needed the most, the Left, instead of developing clarity, have only lent themselves to willing participation in the system of oppression itself (Wood, 1995). The Left’s tendency does show that the art of the hegemon to create more and more systems of oppression makes the new social movements more prone to reflexivity while participating in this system of power. It is through this modern “diffusion of economic power among many capitals” that we see the state far removed the capitalist system, as to present itself as a neutral power, which has rendered modern social movements ineffective (Wood, 1995). As Antonio Gramsci had stated earlier, it is in normative times when the proletariat gathers clarity and understanding of their current situation. However, these social times of historical development are far from normal. Wood points out, that we currently find ourselves in the integration of global economies that

have made “corporation’s more vulnerable to local, regional, and national struggles,” and it has also rendered the state in the same position (Wood, 1995). Therefore, at this time, there seems to be an opportunity for the social movements that stand on the clearly defined leftist perspective of revolution to make a stand against the state.

### **Discussion**

First, it would pay to do more exhaustive data analysis on more diverse social media communities. This would allow for more concrete results on where and how social movements counter the hegemon. In the end, I see little difference from historical social movements, minus the advancement of technology that exacts true and lasting change since Bernstein. It would seem that they have less social currency in democratic countries that work through more passive activities, like public marches and performances versus the more radical movements in Europe and Latin America.

Second, it would be prudent to revisit Emile Durkheim’s (1995) *The Elementary Forms of Everyday Life*, in regards his explanation of collective effervescence. Wherein, Durkheim explains how emotional arousal can emerge out of ritualized behavior, and how the individual experiences divination from the shared experiences of group interaction. The reason I pose this this argument is to seek a better understanding between the comparative rate of productive exploitation and social movement activity. One where the collective social movement now finds itself part of a ritualized opportunist objective that gives it a sense of pride through social interaction as an identity, yet conflicts with internal militant particularisms.

My hypothesis is that, particularity in American social movements, there is a propensity to participate in social movements because it meets their external identity, yet conflicts with their external identity of accumulation. This specific internal/external conflict may entail the inoculation of modern social movement participants simply because they do not wish to sacrifice their homes, cars, and professional practices, or want to adorn animal-friendly clothing and pose as a representative of the leftists' movements, or what we call middle-income advocates, which seems to be one of the significant ailments plaguing our current struggle.

Finally, with the dismantling of American unions and other legitimized historical movements, we have seen a definitive lack in local and political representation that brings us to the table. Other than political shocks brought on by certain charismatic leaders who argue for better human conditions, the inevitability is that we are still encumbered by the very table we are forced to sit at. With that said, it would seem that Rosa Luxemburg was correct; we still suffer from the Greek story of Sisyphus.

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