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The social movements in Arab societies between the hammer of reality and the bonds of the future

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Abstract

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Where it is known that neo-liberal policies lead to a clear attack on the interests of large segments of the population, especially the poorest and marginalized in the marginalized countries of the global system, the question arises whether this deterioration affects negatively or positively on the energies of these groups in the resistance and defend Its main interests. As growing populations in the Arab region are experiencing increasing social, economic, political and cultural pressures, while the social context does not reflect the effective role of these groups in addressing their own protection, this raises the importance of studying social movements in Arab societies. The first thing to draw attention to is the question of the characteristics that social movements may acquire in the context of social composition developed through a specific course in the Arab region. This focus calls on the emergence of social movements, their way of expressing themselves, the dynamics they seek to interact with their surroundings and their movements, their overall implications for change, their future effectiveness and interactions, and the extent to which the different external factors affect the world.

To our goal of studying social movements in the Arab world, the research was divided into three parts as well as the introduction and the conclusion. The first part concerns the emergence of social movements in the context of the social composition of Arab societies. In the second part, we focused on the socio-economic and political background surrounding social movements now. We considered that the third part is the main part of the research, and we reviewed the most important social movements seeking to act in the Arab region. The conclusion is a summary that discusses the energies and challenges of social movements in resisting neo-liberal policies

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**Introduction**

The concept of “Social Movements” arose from the beginning to express a state of political, cultural, and social alienation, which prevailed among specific groups of workers, youth, and students since the 1950s, and then increased in intensity during the 1960’s, until it culminated in 1968 with the outbreak of the youth revolution and that invaded most of the

capitalist western countries, and moved And it has proven the western experience in the field of social movements. from them to extend to some developing and Arab countries.

**Social Movements:**

Anti-globalization movements are seen as one of the patterns of new social movements, which have emerged as a result of the cosmic transitions associated with the globalization process.

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In general, social movements are seen as organized efforts by a number of influential people aimed at changing or resisting change of one or more fundamental aspects of society ... Today, the concept of social movements is used to refer to groups and organizations that fall outside the basic line of the political system. NSMs New Social Movements have become an increasingly important source of political change in the last decades of the twentieth century.( Marshall, Gordon, Scott, John. 2011).

Social movements are also known as: "groups that operate outside the scope of formal institutional channels, in order to promote or resist change, whether within an institution, system, or society, or at the level of the global system as a whole." (Smelser, Neil J. & Baltes, Paul B.2001).

There is another definition of social movements that he sees as: "Free loosely organized group activities, working through non-institutional patterns, in order to bring about change within society." Thus, it can be said that social movements are characterized by four basic elements: (Collectivity: it is a phrase Unit goals and means: It unifies visions about the common goal of teamwork, to bring about change within their community. Informal organization: There is a relative proliferation of the group with a low level of formal organization. Work methods and verbs are relatively high Spontaneity and spontaneity, as they take a non-institutional nature, along with non-traditional and innovative forms of action). (Sztompka, Piotr.1993).

Finally, there is the definition given by Charles Tilly in his book on social movements, in which he sees that the "social movement" is based on the combination of three basic elements:

1. Campaign: It is a sustained and organized public effort, which dictates collective demands on targeted authorities.
2. Social Movement Repertoire: Charles Tilly sees it as a recruitment for possible methods from among the forms of political action, such as: (establishing associations and alliances with special goals, holding public meetings, marching in demonstrations and demonstrations, organizing sit-ins, and advocacy campaigns , Media and press releases, and the publication of leaflets or political pamphlets); then "Repertoire" means: the sum of performances and activities involved in the social movement, including demonstrations, marches, sit-ins, statements ... and other methods.( Charles Tilly.2011).
3. Waqf Shows, defined by the following acronym (WUNC): It is the representation of participants in the social movement for a set of general characteristics, namely: (Worthiness, Unity, Numbers, and finally Commitment towards themselves or towards the grassroots they represent in the movement) (Charles Tilly.2005).

#### **New Social Movements:**

It is a distinct form of social movements that emerged after the Second World War to express the narrow interests of

small organized groups of people who joined to achieve a common goal to change some of their prevailing conditions that they are not satisfied with, for example: (Extremist student movements that emerged in the sixth decade of the twentieth century - movements Multiple political movements, such as black Negro movements, women's liberation movements, and environmental movements, the new social movements have four main characteristics that distinguish them from traditional social movements, as follows:

1. Objectives: As these movements aimed to change cultural and social values at the individual level more than to change them at the level of social structures as was prevalent in traditional social movements.( Maan Khalil Al-Omar.2000).
2. The social base: the social classes represented the basic social base of traditional social movements, while the social base of the new social movements was built on multiple groups.
3. Means of action: The new social movements depend on mobilizing and moving the masses in a specific direction as modern political means to influence the state.
4. Organization: The new social movements have refused to rely on formal bureaucratic organization models and have preferred to rely on more flexible organizational models that allow their members flexibility and effectiveness in participation.

However, many scholars see that these characteristics are not real and exaggerated, they see that there is nothing that distinguishes the new social movements from their old counterparts and still depends on traditional political measures to achieve their goals, as it does not represent only the middle class and not the various social groups, and finally they found Its organization tends to be formal bureaucracy.

Then a number of scholars resorted to developing a set of other distinctive features of the new social movements, including the following:

1. It is not determined within the framework of a specific class, but rather adopts various class-based identities.
2. Depends on informal, unrestricted regulation.
3. Its aims are cultural, social in the first place, not directly political, as it is characterized by a high level of awareness.
4. She is less concerned with citizenship and therefore does not care for political power, but at the same time she is interested in increasing the size of civil society and increasing the area of autonomy.
5. Assumes that there are differences in advance within society, the state and the economy, and then its policies and goals are based on the reality of those differences and work to expand social spaces.

Despite the criticisms leveled at the new social movements, the increasing prevalence of their global reach confirms the desire of citizens worldwide to achieve effective participation in political action within their societies despite their

reluctance to participate in politics through traditional methods such as casting votes in general political elections, And their tendency to direct political participation through non-traditional methods of sit-ins, protests and demonstrations, and the formation of new social movements represent a revival of democratic principles and practices in their country.

### **Social movements and political change:**

As a result of the increase in the risks faced by the global risk community, the concept of a global civil society "appeared in return to express a global phenomenon that crosses borders, where citizens of all races and beliefs organize to defend global issues and values there are consensus, such as the defense of democracy and human rights, sustainable development, Women, the environment, and social justice."Therefore, the global civil society expresses a global movement based on the influence of the average citizen in global policies and values, and this is through the functioning of that society, which includes: (Contributing to forming a global public opinion on global issues, no In addition to creating the political and legislative climate for a deeper action by civil society and its organizations, it also provides human services to humanity, and provides real opportunities for horizontal international cooperation between citizens, and finally supports development and social justice, and encourages giving and volunteer work).( Azza Khalil.2006).

In this context, some scholars have attempted to clarify the close relationship between the phenomenon of global civil society, and between both (globalization and social movements), as they saw that the definition of the phenomenon of global civil society is not complete only through an understanding of social movements, which are active locally or nationally or Internationally, they called the global civil society the name "the international social movement", to express that part of the new social movements, which works internationally in solidarity with organized or disorganized groups of believers in the same cause, and they tried to certify the validity of that relationship by saying that social movements are organic Flexible Open, and they are active through global civil institutions.

As for the relationship of this phenomenon with globalization, it is clear through the essence of the globalization process, which revolves around three basic processes: (the spread of information, dissolving borders between countries, and increasing rates of similarity between groups, societies and institutions), and looking at these processes we notice that they affect and are affected by civil society Global, if global civil society is a manifestation of globalization, it is at the same time active in it, and represents a mechanism to achieve its goals. In sum, there is an interactive, dialectical relationship between the two phenomena that we notice through a set of processes: (While the spread of information and the advancement of communication technology contributed to the formation of

civil society, on the understanding that the transmission of knowledge and information represents the backbone of any global network and an NGO, the society The global civil is a mechanism for the spread of information in the universe, which contributes to dissolving borders between countries. Looking at the third process, we find that the similarity of institutions is one of the most important manifestations of globalization, and we find that the phenomenon of global civil society is originally composed of similar institutions in their interests, which go beyond Dod nationalism, and it has a flexible membership open globally, as it addresses issues and concerns of global affairs).

### **New social movements and the formation of social systems and structures:**

Anthony Giddens sees in his study of class classes in his book, "The Class Structure of the Advanced Societies", published in 1973, that class layouts provide the structural foundations and organizational rules for individuals 'affiliation with a class, and at the same time, individuals' awareness of their belonging to a class determines The main features of that layer, in a continuous constructive duality between Class Awareness as a verb, and (Class Structure) as construction; hence the interest in the theory of structural formation is not related to society or individuals, but to social practices and the resulting transformations, Giddens' term "structure" relates to resources and resources Promising included in the building and the formation of social formats, with the imposition of the continuity of social reproduction through time and space, as is A structure being an intermediary through which the construction process, is also the final product of that process.( Giddens, Anthony and Birdsall, Karen.2005).

Accordingly, anti-globalization movements can be seen as actions and practices, while looking at human rights as building based on the fulfillment of a set of human demands, and this building works at the same time to produce a set of rules and behavioral norms that govern the actions and practices that constitute them; The "formation of the structure" is that social structures are established through human action, and at the same time they represent the mediator through which this action or establishment is effected, and Giddens expresses this issue with the term "duality of structure," through which he tries to avoid saying dualism and structure Dualism agen cy and structure, which expresses the complete separation between construction and verb, as two distinct things, but Giddens emphasizes the lack of separation between construction and verb, by confirming that the building is established through the verb; and in exchange the verb is constructively constructed, as they are mutually dependent.( Said Laundry.2006).

By Anthony Giddens' definition of "structure" as a "virtual order" is not something in himself, but characteristics that reveal themselves in tangible material moments of social practices, as memory remnants that direct the actions of

efficient actors. We see that the structure appears as a condition and as a result of the reaction production process at the same time, hence we say that all organizations or groups consist of patterns of interaction, which can be analyzed in light of their structural properties, but their existence as patterns depends on the existence of patterns of structural formulation that reproduce them. Building is not conceptually formulated as if it imposes limits on human action, but rather it should be seen as an essential component for achieving this action; for this, Giddens is concerned with studying social practices to explain how the structure is formulated through these actions and practices, and at the same time to explain how those things are formulated Structurally. Hence, it can be said that structural drafting processes involve the interaction of: (meanings, criteria, strength) that exist within social construction.

#### **New social movements and the decline of the public sphere:**

"Habermas" confirms that the idea of the public sphere began to decline starting from the second half of the nineteenth century, coinciding with many global transformations. Hence, Habermas set for us the features of the decline of the public sphere represented in: (Fading difference and separation between society and the state - that difference The one who initially worked to create a space for the emergence of the public domain in the first place - and with the mixing between the public and private domains, as the political authorities have jobs in the field of social work, and social problems have political implications, as a result of which the state's increased interference in the economic process due to the severity of the capital's crises The mechanism of the matter that necessitated the intervention of the state, as well as the responsibilities incurred by the state and then increased its interference in the social life of its citizens, in addition to the vanishing of the organizations that were in the past representing a field for the public domain and diminishing their importance. For example, the media became an area for cultural consumption after it was an arena Critical, rational discussion, as newspapers, magazines, and periodicals have become part of large media organizations whose goal is profit and is governed by many economic considerations, which has caused the media to lose their primary functions with this commercial transformation that has afflicted them. The public sphere, as Habermas sees it, has moved to isolate the masses from the public debate and decision-making processes, as the masses have been treated as a source of political applause and parties merely applauding and cheering.).( Crepe, Ian.1999).

Many criticisms have been made of the "Habermas" theory as a result of its neglect of the role of the modern media and communication on our social life, and its neglect of the nature of the transfer of the public sphere from the real world to the virtual world, as some believe that the communication media revolution can contribute significantly to the development of

democratic trends and practices. Although television, the press, and the Internet, for example, are subject to commercial considerations and interests, much of their activity opens up wide areas for developing group discussions and open dialogues. By applying to the Egyptian society, we find that there is a set of studies that attempted to provide multiple explanations for the weak political participation in the Arab countries, and concluded that the absence and limited civil society institutions weakens the possibilities of crystallizing a modern style of pluralist political organization, and therefore democratic political systems encourage active participation. It also became clear that there are other factors that control the size and effectiveness of political participation in Arab countries, on top of which: (The decline of political and social forces throughout history as a result of intellectual and political conflicts dominating Islamic and Arab societies, in addition to the influence of those countries during the historical period of colonialism, military occupation, and the continuation of guardian democracy trends, In addition to the influence of the military establishment on the potential for democratic development in Arab countries, and the weak and fragile partisan structure of most Arab political parties). (Ali Abdul Razek Chalabi.2010).

#### **New social movements as a form of unconventional political participation:**

Political participation means: the process by which an individual plays a role in the political life of his community, and he has the opportunity to participate in setting and formulating general goals for that community, as well as finding the best means to achieve and accomplish these goals. There is another definition of political participation that he knows: as those political activities in which the members of a society participate in choosing its rulers, and in formulating public policy directly or indirectly, meaning that it means the participation of the individual in the various levels of the political system.( Ahmed Zayed.1996).

Political participation is also embodied in all voluntary or voluntary activities through which members of society contribute in choosing their rulers and political representatives, and in public policy making ... Political participation varies between traditional forms represented in: participation in voting processes, discussions, gathering supporters, attending public meetings and contacting representatives Parliamentarians, among other more effective forms such as: forming social movements, joining political parties, participating in election campaigning, and undertaking partisan and public tasks in society.( Ritzer, George.2000).

Based on the foregoing, we can distinguish between two basic forms of political participation: (Official political participation: that any politician holding an official position in the state performs, and who are trying to support the stability of the political systems they control from the reality of preserving their own interests, then the second type, which

is Informal political participation: represented by interest, pressure, and minority groups. The opposition in any political system expresses a form of informal political participation).(Prakash, Aseem and Hart, Jeffrey A.2000).

Some argue that one of the most unconventional methods of political participation is what is called (New Social Movements), which are basically a type of pressure group or interest group, but they express different interests and operate in ways that are different from those that are usually associated with pressure groups.

There are many forms of expression of opinion and the diversity of the forms of political participation on which the new social movements depend. The democratic societies give their citizens the right to political participation, whether through official legal channels such as elections and referendums, or through non-traditional channels such as strikes, demonstrations, protest, and opposition to existing systems. These actions are a way to express Opinion and will be based on guaranteeing freedom and the rule of democracy, but there are many reasons for citizens to resort to such actions, including the following: (In the event that the prevailing political system does not represent all sects of the people, and then not His embodiment of the public will of citizens, or when a large segment of the people is not represented in Parliament, this sector resorted to making its voice heard directly to the authority and the government, bypassing Parliament, and finally citizens may resort to these means and methods to recover by force some of their rights that the parliamentary system which the people delegated neglected, and among the most prominent Examples of this are the demonstrations that took place in France in 1995 in protest against the Education Act promulgated by Parliament until the law was repealed under public pressure, demonstrations and street protests).( Ashraf Mansour.2003).

### **The following are some pictures and forms of political participation pursued by members and**

#### **representatives of the new social movements:**

Demonstration Manifestation / Demonstrations: It is a collective, public and organized statement of opinion or will that takes the form of a collective march that declares itself and its goals in terms of slogans or chants. As for Protest: it is a declaration against what is considered unlawful and unjust ... made on an individual or collective basis.

The protest is also defined as a collective action that uses unfamiliar means to pressure the authorities and official institutions to achieve specific demands and to change the prevailing conditions and to address grievances and collective complaints.

As for the political opposition position: it is the activity or countermeasures or anti-government behavior by one or more forces within the political community ... and the exposure may be positive if it is intended to amend the behavior of the government, and it may be negative if it is not intended to

bring about such an amendment, as The opposition may be legitimate and organized when it is practiced by party organizations, and it may be unlawful and unlawful when it takes the form of demonstrations, strikes, assassinations, coups, revolution, or other forms of violent protest.

The orientation towards the opposition differs on the basis of the different systems of government as follows: (There are the dominant despotic regimes that prohibit the existence of opposition of any kind, in addition to the democratic systems that guarantee freedom of expression, assembly and objection to their citizens, and finally mixed systems that combine tyranny and democracy and their interaction with the opposition is different according to the degree of their tolerance And how much freedom you give to the opposition). The most prominent example here is what we find in developing countries, as political opposition in the countries of the third world is either prohibited or besieged. The opposition in these countries is usually subjected to various forms of oppression and repression, and the ruling authority justifies that repression, either because their countries do not need the opposition forces because there is complete integration and total congruence between the government and the people Or, that the opposition is only a means of wasting the energies of the educated opponents in a futile and futile debate behind it, or that the opposition is the main reason for igniting political strife and the existence of a state of political instability in the country.

Strike: An industrial sociology (strike action) within an industrial organization is defined as the collective refusal of employees to continue to work, such as what happens in a conflict situation within an industrial organization.

Civil disobedience: It is a kind of negative resistance represented in refusing obedience and discipline, without going beyond that to the use of weapons or violence, but rather resorting to other aspects such as: strike - negativity - lack of cooperation ...), and civil disobedience represents a force to be reckoned with It paralyzes the possibility of confronting it with violence because it robs the other party of the justification of violence, and civil disobedience may occur in an imperceptible way such as slackness, indifference and laziness, but in order to be civil disobedience, this phenomenon must occur at a more general level than what happens to a few individuals.

### **Conclusion**

The desire for emancipation grows in the issuance of many groups, including the educated elite, because the horizon is open to consolidating democratic relations, through which the horizon is opened through teamwork and dialogue, acceptance of the other by cutting with the inheritance of obstacles, and launching towards a role for social actors seeking to take up challenges facing its effectiveness. Focusing at this moment on launching this collective social action is not called social movements or other names, but the main thing is to open the horizon of solidarity between the

marginalized from the global system at the local or global level.

### Recommendations

From the foregoing, the following recommendations have been made.

- 1- Work to provide the opportunity for social movements to participate effectively in building and developing society, as it represents a form of political practice, through which citizens can participate in building society, and exercise their political rights in complete freedom.
- 2- The necessity of working to broaden the base of active public participation in social movements in general, and anti-globalization movements in particular, and not confine them to political and educated elites in society.
- 3- Work to raise political awareness of citizens to introduce them to their rights, encourage them to participate effectively in building their society in all possible ways, and clarify the societal importance of such social movements.

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