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Changing Social Movements in the Context of International Relations

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Abstract

With the industrialization movements and globalization, the technology has progressed very rapidly and caused the change in the structure of social movements leading the emergence of new social movements including women's rights, environment, peace and freedom. These movements have taken place instead of class-based social movements, which had economic base. The public's undertaking of the entire burden of the economic crisis in 2008 soon affected the whole world causing the public to mobilize. People, claimed that the rich became richer occupied New York, the heart of the popular financial system. By means of social media, participation in this movement increased rapidly. The movements of people from different cultures, struggled for their purposes in the direction of their common goals. In this context, new social movements including Wall Street movements heve explained social media's impact on international relations.

Keywords: International Relations, Social media, New Social Movements, Wall Street Movement, Economic Injustice.

Uluslararası İlişkiler Bağlamında Değişen Toplumsal Hareketler

Öz

Sanayileşme hareketleri, küreselleşme ve teknolojinin hızlı şekilde ilerlemesi sonucunda toplumsal hareketlerin yapısında değişmeler meydana gelmiş, geçmişteki ekonomik amaçlı sınıf bazlı toplumsal hareketlerin yerine kadın hakları, çevre, barış, özgürlük gibi konuları içeren yeni toplumsal hareketleri oluşmuştur. Sosyal medya da toplumsal hareketlerin amacının anlaşılması ve kitlelerin öğütlenmesi açısından işlevsel bir araca dönüşmüştür. 2008 yılına gelindiğinde, Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'nde meydana gelen ve kısa süre içerisinde etkisini tüm dünyaya hissettiren ekonomik krizin sonucunda halk hareketlenmesi başlamıştır. Devletin en zengin kesiminin servetine servet kattığını söyleyen ve kendisini %99 olarak tanımlayan halk finansal sistemin kalbi olarak anılan New York'u işgal etmeye başlamış, sosyal medya aracılığı ile çok kısa sürede dünyaya yayılan eylemin katılımcı sayısı çok hızlı şekilde artmıştır. Farklı kişilerin, kültürlerin bir araya geldiği eylemlerde kişiler ortak hedefleri doğrultusunda bu farklılıkları unutarak amaçları için mücadele içerisine girmiştir. Bu bağlamda Wall Street eylemlerini içeren bu yeni toplumsal hareketler, sosyal medyanın uluslararası ilişkiler üzerindeki etkisini açıklamaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Uluslararası İlişkiler, Sosyal Medya, Yeni Toplumsal Hareketler, Wall Street Eylemleri, Ekonomik Adaletsizlik.

Introduction

With the rapid development of technology and the widespread use of the internet, the power of social media has increased. These developments, which have a positive influence, have led to changes in the structure of social movements, leading to the emergence of new social movements. In recent years, by analyzing the reasons behind the Wall Street Movement, the response of USA to this kind of movements will be analyzed and the answer to what democracy is in these countries will be sought.

Taking into account the impact of globalization, the rapid development of technology and the widespread use of the Internet in the last decade has led to the emergence of a new structure through the transformation of social movements. The fact that technology is getting more centralized every day in our lives increases its power of determining social relations and brings up new definitions. Social media has evolved into a functional medium in terms of rapidly organizing the masses for social movements. These transformations, seen all around the world, have led to the emergence of new forms of social movement. The positive developments that took place in the field of Internet radically changed social movements. The rapid development of the internet, which allows the borders to be exceeded, has led to the creation of a new environment and has caused reinterpretation of individual and social life. In this process, non-governmental organizations, pressure groups, and civil society organizations have become active and have begun to tell their problems and desires with a louder voice. Against the injustices and problems caused by the state, people organized meetings and protests.

The movements that started with the motto "Occupy Wall Street" on September 17, 2011 in New York, the heart of the world financial system, spread the world in a very short period of time (Şen, 2012, p. 139). The main reason for the protests occurring in the United States has been introduced as the economic crisis in the USA and the subsequent debt crisis in Europe. Justifiably, the fact that the public was held responsible for the outcomes of the crisis escalated the issues to this point. That those who caused the crises did not surrender made the public angry and the movement gained support rapidly. 70% of those who did not participate in this protest was university students while 40% was graduate students and 80% were white collars. For these masses the main problems were; social and economic inequality, greed, corruption and so on. They emphasized the inequality of income and wealth distribution, stating that they were constituting the 99%.

The people in the group started out with work on the banking and financial system that first, and then focused on exchanging ideas on how to deal with this situation. The main problem was that the 1% was getting richer while the rest was struggling. "Occupy Wall Street" movement, which was largely constituted by young and unemployed Americans, clearly points out the unfairness in the income distribution



(http://www.aksam.com.tr/dunya/wall-streeti-isgal-eylemlerinde-nelerolmustu/haber-213669).

The common point of people who are together in the Wall Street Acts was the restriction to their freedom, the growing authority of the government and the inadequacies in the parliamentary system. The next step is the query of what to do if their demands were met. This situation is a period of answering certain questions.

The Wall Street events took the form of a youth movement and were initially ignored by the media. Again in America, the activists have faced very harsh interventions, which has led to a rapid spread of hatred in the society and increased mass of actions. Thus, media actions have begun to take the incidents into account, NGOs, professional organizations and celebrities were also involved.

1. New Social Movements Theory

Concept of social movement was first used by Lorenz Van Stein within the scope of political struggle. This concept meant a unification process determining to show working class's self consciousness and continuity of having power those years. In the following years, political analysts often began to talk about social movements. From the end of the nineteenth century, the concept of social movements expanded to include the organized working class as well as all the segments of women, peasants, farmers and rights seekers (Bozkurt and Bayansar, 2016, p. 276-293). The concept of "New Social Movement Theory" around this historical conjuncture emerged in France in the early 1960s under the leadership of Alain Touraine. Touraine and those who have the same idea have put forward a single focus of social action for every society and stated that this movement should have the thesis to change and transform that society in order to be accepted as a social movement. It has also been argued that short-term movements can not be expressed as social movements even if they have a target. This precisely at this stage the theory of new social movements has been put forward and it has been suggested that existing ecological movements will take the place of the workers' movements in the future (Uncu, 2012, p. 175).

In the globalized world where radical and rapid changes are experienced, the reflection of these changes is also felt in economic, social and political contexts. In the process of rapid industrialization, after the globalization was added to this process, the changes that took place in the societies had also affected the other regions by means of communication tools very rapidly. These changes in society have also changed the forms of social movement. Student and left movements in the 1960s, LGBT in the 1980s, environment, peace, women's movements, global justice movements after the 1990s have



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Sayı: 2 Issue: 2 2018 emerged. These new social movements are described as movements in which opposition to the existing system does not come from a certain ideology and class consciousness, where social participation is desired to be promoted to the maximum level, and in the long run, the change and transformation of the cultural field is desired (Çolak, 2016, p. 530).

Tarrow defines the social movements as collective actions that are carried out in the direction of common objectives in solidarity with the authorities, the elites and other groups, by those who are in general engaged in social movements against elites and other groups (Demiroğlu, 2014, p. 134). In order for a collective movement to acquire the quality of a social movement, it must include three elements: being based on solidarity, involving a conflict, pushing the boundaries of the system in which it is involved (Önder, 2008, p. 593).

Historically, social movements are essentially movements that come together around economic interests and aim at seizing the power with people of a single class. Nothing exemplifies this better than labor movements. But later, in parallel with the changes and transformations that began with globalization they needed to be explained in accordance with the time and type of post industrial society (Çolak, 2016, p. 531). D'Anieri expressed the collective actions seen in the political life of developed industrial countries in the late 1960s and early 1970s, presenting a new series of values to the literature of social movements. From the 1960s onwards, there have been two approaches to social movements. These are; Source Mobilization Theory and New Social Movement Theory. New social theorists state that there is no continuity relation between the old and the new, while the theoreticians of resource mobilization describe no differentiation between the old and the new. According to Beuchier, the theory of new social movements has emerged as a reaction to the inadequacies of classical Marxism.

New social movements, along with the influence of globalization, have developed in the 1960s and 1970s. First of all, these movements come from women, peace and environmental movements. These movements are made by young, well educated people questioning the quality of life problems seen in the society. These mentioned movements have a global approach. These movements are not limited to specific geographies or values. With the widespread use of technology and internet, large masses have also become under influence in a very short time. These movements carry out their struggle in a different way they from they did in the past. These movements, starting from flexible, decentralized and local, are separated from old movements. New social movements not only criticize power but also criticize social order and established politics.

According to Castells, the city is a social event that is the result of conflicting social interests. Castells argues that social movements have three pillars and without them the social movements are impossible to explain. Accordingly,



it is necessary to consider three basic criteria, which are the common identity of movement, the anti-movement and the social goal (Demiroğlu, 2014, p. 137). While the old social movements were labor class based, new ones are considered to be have a different base.

As Offe points out, the basis of new social movements is based on the new middle class. Offe says that the emerging social movement's base is composed of three elements. These are the public and service workers, the unemployed and the former middle class. As Habermans said, these actors who resist colonization.

Melucci argues that the actors in the movement are not just pursuing a material gain, but they are fighting in cultural interests. Rather than a political organization, new social movements bring together people with different views. Within the framework of this movement, the groups take different actions in order to publicize their actions and to reach the agenda of the government. Within the framework of these actions, they can establish associations, organize rallies, establish camps, and carry out occupation actions.

According to Vehbi Bayhan; The Wall Street actions that caused the 2008 Global Economic Crisis to cause public reaction only to the public in America, the student uprisings that began to raise university tuition in London, youth activism in Spain and Greece, the impact of the entire Arab world on Tunisia Arap Baharı, and Gezi Park movement, which started in Istanbul Taksim, can be analyzed in the context of new social movements (Bayhan, 2014, p. 24). Again, Vehbi Bayhan evaluated the Gezi Park movements based on the theory of relative deprivation, the theory of new social movements and the theory of resource mobilization and the discourse within the framework of social paradigms.

> "According to Hardt and Negri, contemporary social movements reverse order, make manifestos and prophets unnecessary, change agents are already on the streets and occupy city squares; they threaten not only the rulers but also create a vision of a new world at the same time, perhaps even more important, with their logic and practices, their slogans and their desires, these multitudes present a new set of principles and truths (Bayhan, 2014, p. 27)".

Here the protests of the Wall Street and Gezi Protests are similar. According to Melucci, the new social movements are different from the previous movements, which stem from previously unprecedented contradictions such as age, gender differences, environmental movements, women's rights, health and human rights (Melucci, 1999, p. 81). New social movements emerge with the development of communication tools and information

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technologies. According to Çopuroğlu and Çetin, new social movements have emerged as activist unions with the principle of voluntarism and equal rights in the management process, instead of unification under heroic leadership (Çopuroğlu & Çetin, 2000, p. 73). The best examples that can be given to these movements that are centerless and leaderless are the Gezi Protest and Wall Street movements. As Mevlana said, not the people with the same language but the people with the same feelings can come together. Just like Gezi protests in Turkey, concerts and conferences bring people together and create friendly environments that would keep them together (Bayhan, 2014, p. 29). The most prominent feature of all of these post modern movements is the effective use of the Internet. During the first day of Gezi Protests, there were approximately 3000 tweets per minute. The presence of young people who come together in organized social networking events in Gezi park event, whose backgrounds are very different from one another, make new comprehensions necessary in the context of social movements (Babacan, 2014, p. 150).

Wall Street's actions have not simply raised economic injustices under the slogan of Occupy Wall Street. At the same time, because of the people expressing their problems and wishes, it has echoed throughout the country and has spread all over the world in a very short time. These movements, which reached very wide mass in a short period of time, increased hatred in the society by basically expressing the injustices that had already existed. The main problem here arises from the fact that politics is not well managed. People agreed that what is good for the financial institutions in Wall Street is not good for themselves. Thus, the movements got more crowded day by day. Wallerstein described the movement Occupy Wall Street as the most important movement happened in the USA since the year 1968. The Wall Street movement is a move that can be taken as an example in the US in the 1968 movement, Wallerstein said. Similar movements in the world (Arab Spring, movements in Spain, student movements in Chile), coupled with the greed of 1% in the US and the increase in exploitation of the remaining 99%, increased the courage of the people and caused the rebellion to begin (Şen, 2012, p. 140). Since Wall Street incidents have a model of no leadership, decentralized and flexible organization, it is possible to evaluate them in the theory of new social movements. These actions have reached wide masses by social media in a very short time. Class-based groups are not considered as the main subject in new social movements. Here the main subject is formed by the unification of different identities and values under the existing problem.

2. Wall Street Movements

After the terrorist attacks on September 11 in the US, the Federal Reserve (Federal Reserve) lowered interest rates to 1 percent. With interest rates down to 1%, investors no longer wanted to buy treasury bills. Investors



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started to find new investment areas. The mortgage system has begun to show itself as a high-profit area. Banks wanting to make more profits with home sales began to distribute loans to everyone. In the short term, the banks that earned great profits were unable to calculate the return of these debts as they thought they were profitable. There was a decline in the value of houses when unsecured people could not pay their loan installments and put their houses for sale. With the value of the house being lower than its real value, the banks had to own these houses and have to go bankrupt. Thus, the 2008 Global Crisis, which affected the whole world, occurred. At the same time, confidence in Obama started to decrease as Obama began to meet with the banks rather than fixing the financial sector, and to convene meetings on how to recover them. In this context, the public started to perceive politicians as a part of the corruption. Apart from the 2008 Global Crisis, the fact that the psychological and economic costs of the Iraq War are alive in memory, the social and income distribution as well as the tiredness of the inequalities of the justice system, as well as the pressure to produce policies on the interests of the corporations from politics, the public's reaction began to be heard with a louder voice.

With the 2008 Economic Crisis, the American economy began to collapse and soon spread to Europe, thus affecting the whole world. The fact that the burden of the economic crisis started to be laid on to the public caused many protests to take place in the world. In addition to all these economic problems, the Arab Spring, which spread very rapidly in 2011, occurred. These actions first spread to Europe and America and then to the whole world. People who live under dictatorship, who cannot participate in politics in any way, can not be organized, and have no union rights, have revolted in response to these dictatorships. At this point we can characterize the actions of the Arab Spring as the turning point of history. But the Wall Street Movements, unlike the Arab Spring Acts, appeared not for dictatorial systems but for injustice in the economy.

The movement beginning with the motive of occupying Wall Street in New York, the center of the world financial system on September 17,2011 spread the world in a short span of time (Şen, 2012, p. 139). Thousands of protestors have been influenced by the Arab Spring movements and many others in Europe and especially the indignation of Spain (indignados), they occupied the former Liberty Plaza near the financial center of America and the world's financial center and these movements have been named (Occupy Wall Street!) ever since (Akbiyik, 2012, p. 1021). The main reason for the protests occurring in the United States has been introduced as the economic crisis and the debt crisis in Europe. Justifiably, the fact that the public was held responsible for the outcomes of the crisis escalated the issues to this point.



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That those who caused the crises did not surrender made the public angry and the movement gained support rapidly.

The masses gathered on the call of the cultural magazine Adburstas came together from the rhetoric of "when will we show our reaction, if not now". At this point, the actions of Arab Spring and Indignados have matured the substructure of OWS. In New York City, hundreds of youngsters and demonstrators protesting 'money ambition, corruption and social budget cuts near Wall Street, the activists that young people making up the majority of the system, reported that their voice was not heard in favor of the 1% and they started to occupy the city where the center of the stock market was located, and tried to establish the provincial camps (http://www.hurrivet.com.tr/20-bin-kisi-wall-street-te-eylem-yapti-zengineek-vergi-yola-cikti-18764806) "We are the 99%". Thousands of people gathered to protest the unfairness of income distribution with the slogans and the effects of banks and firms on democratic institutions, and they walked on Wall Street, the financial center of the world (Akbıyık, 2012, p. 1020-1021). However, the police, who closed all the streets of Wall Street and the neighboring streets where the centers of the largest American banks were located, did not allow it (http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/20-bin-kisi-wallstreet-te-eylem-yapti-zengine-ek-vergi-yola-cikti-18764806).

Protesters who published the reasons behind the protests explained their demands as; the end of the corporate state, the end of personal benefits in state services, the need for fair management, the structuring of debts. They used slogans like "We are the %99, so is the police", "Banks are saved and we are sold", "Democracy is like this", "Occupy Wall Street all day, all week, all winter, all spring.", "Who owns these streets?" "How the budget deficit is closed: rich taxation, end the battles", "Control the banks", "The whole world



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is watching us (http://t24.com.tr/haber/protestocular-times-meydanini-isgaletti-new-york-aa,175231)."

At the beginning of Wall Street Movements, there were hardly enough people to create a soccer team. In New York, they chose Zurocti Park as their venue for their actions and then they named it Liberty Park. In the first stage of the action, the majority of the people were young ones. At first, media ignored these incidents. However, with the use of violence by the police and the spread of these images to the social media, many people saw the actions. However, media still did not pay enough attention, thinking that the incidents would not last long. But the movements spread to other cities, then to the whole country. From middle age groups to artists, many people supported the action. Later, these events quickly spread to the world and started to be mentioned by the world press. As the actions began to be taken up in the world press, the central media began to change their narrative. In an editorial published in the New York Times on October 8th, one of the leading newspapers in the United States, the activists pointed out that they wanted certain changes publicly, while at the same time claimed that this was not a simple youth movement and it was beyond that (http://bianet.org/bianet/dunya/133474-wall-street-isgali-nin-muazzambasarisi). Thus, the actions that the media initially ignored began to attract attention by the world press.

These events began to spread all over the world in a very short time. Hundreds of people have come to the streets to protest those who are responsible for the crisis. The most violent protests took place in the Giovanni Square of Rome. The protesters fought with the cops and set a lot of vehicles on fire. The group broke the windows of the shops and the banks.

Although the intervention of the police against the activists was tough, the activists did not leave the streets. Another country where Wall Street acts spread was Portugal. In Lisbon, 20,000 activists are gathered to walk to the parliament building. The reactions in Spain, Greece and France have also aggregated rapidly. Wall Street actions spread throughout Asia and Oceania. In Taiwan, Japan and Australia, activists came together to protest with slogans.

These protests without a leader, institution and hierarchy have stated that they will no longer be able to tolerate greediness the 1% and they met on a common point, saying that they were constituting the 99&. What kept these different masses together was that they were under the burden of the crisis because of the greediness of the corporates, they expressed that they could not even meet their basic needs and that they were worried about themselves. Common feature of fast-spreading actions was the idea of "We are the %99 who cannot tolerate the corruption of the %1 anymore." Most of

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the participants in the actions were in economic hardship, the majority being unemployed and in debt. The blame of the crisis was on them. Another common feature of actions that have a disorganized, decentralized, and flexible structure is that they find democracy inadequate and ineffective. The effort to implement liberal democracy in a broader, non-hierarchical and participatory radical democracy has been the common stake of this broad coalition (Şen, 2012, p. 141). Movements have been organized and brought together with social media, not through civil society organizations like the previous ones were.

Wall Street, which was responsible for the crisis that started in the United States in 2008 and felt its impact in the world in a short time. The disturbances in the Wall Street auditing system and the high level of access to the financial information of the companies have enabled them to earn big amounts of money from stock exchange. This has caused tens of thousands of people to lose their jobs, their savings and their homes. Moreover, it has caused Wall Street's actions to take place as a reaction to the injustice that has been caused by the state's protection of those who support it.

As the protestors began to spread, people's hatred of corporations, banks and politicians began to increase. It was mentioned that the politicians were in fact supporting the 1%. According to Hardt and Negri, the WS movement has given the message that bankers and the financial industry in no way represent "us," what is good for Wall Street is certainly not good for the country or the world, the most visible failure of representation, the representation of the interests of politicians and political parties, it is in fact explicitly representing banks and credit institutions (Şen, 2012, p. 140).

Considering the way things are done, it has been seen that the established tents, guarding the gates at the banks and preventing them from entering, seizing seats in the bank rest rooms. Moreover, the movements, having a flexible structure, did not have leadership. The decisions were taken in the general assemblies. Everything was in order and planned. There were moderators and note-takers present. In the first part of the conversations, the oppressed people were given priority to talk. After the speaker gives a speech, people behind repeated it and made sure that it was heard from everywhere. Legal decisions from the assembly were turned into documents and published on the internet. In short, the movement was planned and structured. In addition to this, campers have continuously broadcasted with social media tools such as Facebook, blogs and Twitter on the internet (Charles & Vento, 2011, p. 1).

As in other acts in the world, in Wall Street actions the police have made harsh interventions. It was seen that people were being hurt by the close range tear gas. Hundreds of people have been unfairly detained. It was even seen that police officers were taking people under custody even with the reason that the traffic rules were not obeyed. Broadcasting of images that the police use extensively on YouTube caused the US Government to mobilize



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and apply to YouTube for the deletion of videos. However, YouTube has rejected this request because they believed that people's freedom of communication was limited at that point. In the Wall Street, the police attacked the tents of the protestors and used violence against them, harming their personal belongings. Two mothers saying the police was especially racist towards the black and Latin Americans, told that their sons were shot by the police many times behind their backs even when they were not carrying any weapons (http://marksist.net/marksist_tutum/wall_street_isgalleri_ve_abd_de_polis_t_eroru.htm. At this point, the right to live, the most fundamental right of the people, was violated in the Wall Street actions.

However, the Wall Street incidents have not ended without reaching their goals like many others in the world. It ended in a democratic way. Government's rhetoric was not as stiff as in undeveloped countries In fact, the 1% actually started to argue about the new tax laws to rights to the activists. Warren Buffet, investment guru and one of the richest, said that the tax cuts imposed by former US President George W. Bush should be finalized in December and the rich should pay more taxes (http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/buffet-zenginlerden-daha-fazla-vergi-alinmali-16346694). Buffett expressed that the tax rate is less than his employees, according to his income, saying that this should be the structure of the area, in fact, the activists at one point were right.

Wall Street incidents, which lasted for about two months, ended with the final intervention of the police. Although there were some tense moments, no big problems were seen during the last police intervention. Because the activists have become less relaxed, the support given to actions diminished, and the health problems of those who protest diminished, the impact of the movement lost its initial effect in time. Another reason for the loss of the initial effect was that the politicians explained that they understood what the demands were. Obama, the president of the United States, did not take a harsh stand against the activists since the beginning of the protests, but he tried to understand them. Even Republican Romney, who initially criticized the protestors at first, changed his tone later on and said "We need to understand this anger (http://www.radikal.com.tr/yazarlar/eyup-can/kimhakli-1136767/,)." The Wall Street actions ended in a bloodless, democratic diplomatic way, without excessive police intervention and and disproportionate use of force.

Conclusion

In the globalized world where radical and rapid changes are experienced, the reflection of these changes is felt in economic, social and political contexts. As a result of the rapid progress in the field of globalization

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process and technology after the process of industrialization, the events that take place in one country have spread to the whole world in a very short time. All these developments have also changed the structure of social movements, leading to the emergence of new social movements. These new social movements are described as movements in which opposition to the existing system does not come from a certain ideology and class consciousness, where social participation is desired to be promoted to the maximum level, and in the long run, the change and transformation of the cultural field is desired. Economic-based class-based movements in the past have left their place to issues such as peace, the environment, women, human rights. As a result, the new social movements have certain original features that differentiate it from the old social movements. New social movements are separated from classical social movements in terms of their lack of a political base, the lack of class and economic background, and their heterogeneous organization with being educated and inclining to the cultural area (Sentürk, p. 41). In this respect, actions and thoughts that we can accept as new social movements have not become an aim to be a political power by overthrowing the power. New social movements express the deficiencies in the society and the mistakes in the applied politics, revealing the existence of different thoughts and perspectives.

Wall Street acts spread out very quickly through social media and were regarded within the context of new social movements in the sense that they are movements that bring together different identities without hierarchy, centerlessly, without being bound to any leadership or organization. Wall Street actions occurred after the 2008 Global Crisis with the collapse of the American economy and the attempt of making the public pay for it. In addition to all these economic problems, the Arab Spring, which spread very rapidly in 2011, occurred. In order to say no to the injustices in the economic arena, the American people affected by the Arab Spring and the Indignados in Spain, came together under the slogan, "we are the 99%". Protestors, who initially were not a lot of people, organized through social media. The incident of the Wall Street was concluded with reconciliation and they were able to make their voices heard.

The Occupy movements, which started in the United States and the United Kingdom, are characterized by new social movements because of their different demands and the self-organized and hierarchical structure. Again, the Wall Street actions took the form of a youth movement and were not initially taken into consideration by media. Later on, however, with the harsh interventions of the police, the events spread through the social media in a very short period of time and began to be taken into consideration by the media. After this process, actions have started to be supported by NGOs, professional associations and art communities. The movement came to an end with the extravagance and tiredness of the protestors, and the last intervention of the police against them. As a result, corporate owners who caused the protests responded to the demands of the people.



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