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**Trends of the social protests
in Argentina from 1989 to 2003**

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STUDY GROUP ON SOCIAL PROTEST AND COLLECTIVE ACTION

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I. Introduction

This report shows the general results of a research project developed by the Study Group on Social Protest and Collective Action from the Research Institute "Gino Germani". The general purpose of this project was to conduct empirical research on social protest over a long enough period of time that, instead of simply studying some specific organizations or particular contentious situations, we could examine transformations in Argentinean social protest as a whole.

Our work started in 1998, when various studies on social protests and on collective action cases in Argentina aroused questions that required more extensive and systematic empirical research. Our interest was in detecting the ways that public forms of collective action are connected to the construction and expression of social demands.

The first objective we established was to conduct a secondary data survey that would enable us to compile an exhaustive map of the various protests. The universe of analysis comprised all protest actions in Argentina from 1989 to 1998. We used national newspapers as sources. The survey would, we expected, provide us with a complete list of protest actions as well as their classification under different aggregation criteria (type of organization, type of demand, location in time and space, etc.). We planned to select the most significant cases for deeper analysis. Three categories of cases were delineated:

- 1) protests of an *economic-labor* nature, linked to the world of work and production, including both union and corporative protests, such as "*puebladas*" (local uprisings) and protests by unemployed people and "*piqueteros*" (picketeers).
- 2) protests of a *territorial* nature, taking place at poor quarters and/or related to housing, environmental or other demands;
- 3) protests seeking *justice*, which involve a demand for rights and guarantees and a rejection of discrimination, etc.

A protest action was defined as a contentious event produced by a collective social actor and requiring the mobilization of resources. Therefore, we

considered a unitary action to be one that was derived from a sole effort of organization and mobilization of resources, independent of the continuity of the action. Here an important ideological contribution to our project was made by the school of American sociology that in the seventies started to analyze collective actions and social movements on the basis of the analysis of the contentious or oppositional policy, emphasizing the notions of rationality and organization as fundamental explanatory elements (Gamson, 1975, Tilly 1978).

This approach presupposed that the study of collective action was a good way of examining how individuals produce and express their needs, demands, and desires. A protest action is a complex organism whose analysis demands a complex approach, including several methodological strategies with long-term objectives. A comparison of different protests of course required us to work from a quantitative perspective.

We began our work with a series of hypotheses that we had derived from a cross-pollination of the most typical study perspectives on collective action and social movements and of other hypotheses that are typical of the contemporary debates on the concept of citizenship. We could verify that social protests, civil movements, and organizations were continuously appearing in the public sphere to demand from the State basic guarantees such as freedom, safety, equality, and non-discrimination. To these claims were added social demands such as the right to means of support, health, and education, as well as the right to basic environmental protection conditions. The research assumption, then, was that in these social protests two different configuration matrices could be distinguished: one, which we called *corporative*, emphasized the concept of interest as a factor to explain the emergence of protests, and another one, which we will call *civic*, was structured on the notion of regeneration of the public sphere.

Based on the approach suggested and the tentative results obtained by our team from their research (Schuster and Pereyra, 2001), we tried to address as exhaustively as possible the various forms taken on by the collective action of protest, considering it as the product in the public sphere of social subjectivities with political impact. In this sense, taking into account the increasingly civic nature of recent collective actions in Argentina, we intended to determine how the notion of citizenship was present in the various protest actions in democratic Argentina.

We formulated several hypotheses in order to join our questions regarding normalization (demands mainly oriented towards obtaining an answer from the State), fragmentation (defined as singularization of demands having a high localization, little continuity over time, and poor strength as to their identity), and the increasingly civic nature of protests. Based on these hypotheses, we decided to start with an empirical survey of protest actions carried out in the period 1989–1998. The starting date of the period was decided based on the importance attributed to the process of State reform, which we supposed had had an effect on which form or modality a group of protesters would select. For this reason, on the basis of secondary data we would try to organize protests based on these criteria: a. type of subject; b. nature of the demand; c. forms or modality of the protest; d. spatial (territorial) and temporal distribution of the actions. In this work we hope to analyze the incidence of the variable "citizenship" in each type of protest, on the basis of indicators constructed from the classic concept of citizenship (Marshall, 1965). Our goal was to support the hypothesis that protest actions tend to be governed by what we defined as a civic matrix.

The original survey, though initially delayed by various circumstances, was conducted between 1999 and 2001 using *La Nación* newspaper articles from that period. The survey was based on the theoretical work done up to that point on the notion of social protest and the distinctions among the major characteristics of protests considered in our study. These characteristics are as follows:

- 1) Identity: The protest participants' categories of common identification and their networks of mutual knowledge;
- 2) Structure: Conditions both external and internal to the constitution of a collective action agent;
- 3) Demand: What the subjects of the collective action request and how they request it;
- 4) Forms: The manner in which the protest appears in the public sphere;
- 5) Political performativity: The capacity inherent in any public enunciation to redefine rules and resources which constitute the symbolic field within which it is produced and recognized; and
- 6) Strategic-institutional consequences: This refers to the results of the protest in terms of its capacity to obtain the satisfaction of demands, either

totally or partially, or to produce transformations in the political and institutional system.

Two questions became immediately apparent during the first stage of the project. The first one, of a historical and political nature, compelled us to change the focus and some of the questions with which we had started our research. We thought it would be interesting to set aside, to some extent, the centrality of the questions related to the concept of citizenship and to try to focus on the study of socio-political transformations occurring during the period under analysis and their connection to social protest and mobilization. (At that moment, our period of analysis coincided almost exactly with both of Carlos Menem's administrations). In the period selected for our study, a dual consolidation movement was taking place: on the one hand a social regime of accumulation (SRA), which mediated between the civil society and the market, the first manifestations of which may be traced back to the economic policies implemented by the authoritarian government existing at the beginning of the eighties, and on the other hand a political regime of government (PRG), which mediated between the civil society and the State, the democratic regulation of which was consolidated through governmental alternation and dispersal of power and the consequent antisystem rebellions by the Armed Forces. As to the social regime of accumulation, with the advent of Menem's administration a deep transformation took place in the relationship between the State and the market and, consequently, among the social actors who assumed the functional representation of interests. As a consequence of the accelerated deregulation of the economy and the dismantling process of the Argentine welfare state, unions notoriously lost --at least in their traditional form-- their capacity to participate in the determination of public policies, while business corporations linked to transnational capitals gained still more influence in a social regime of accumulation characterized by a strongly regressive pattern in the distribution of income. During those years, this situation was unfortunately combined with a political system that allowed the government to concentrate its resources in order to make quicker decisions, which ultimately prevented the subsystem of political parties from developing a potent offense.

Taking into account this starting point, we thought it would be interesting to try to maximize the potentialities of a descriptive and long-term analysis of

social protest and, on the basis of such material, to study the links that might be found between social mobilization and some of the main elements of the transformations that occurred during that period. These transformations were characterized by: a) State reform: Unions' loss of relative power in the SRA entailed the dismemberment of the classic referents in the articulation of protests; b) Democratic consolidation: the guarantee of stability offered by the political alternation influenced the disarticulation of organized protests around the demand for the continuance of the democratic system; c) Crisis of classic mechanisms of political representation: political parties lost control over the symbolic and material resources that ensure integration into the political system and the formation of collective identities; d) Transformation of the forms of social integration: a disarticulation of social ties related to political and functional representations was produced. The civil society lost traditional referents, which were increasingly replaced by mass mediation processes of the public sphere.

Thus, we defined some reformulations of our three main hypotheses for the analysis of the period:

1) The changes that occurred in the Argentine social and political structures in the last ten years have generated the conditions that led to the transformations in both the appearance of protesters and in the political impact of their protests;

2) In the period analyzed, an increasing fragmentation of social protest can be observed. Four items of analysis were considered:

a) Singularization of the protest: the particularization of the contents of demands and the eruption of new demands,

b) High localization of protests: protests tended to resist territorial expansion,

c) Limited temporal continuity of protests: protests tended to search for a higher degree of expressivity in their demands over short periods of time,

d) Multiplication of actors: increase in the number and diversity of social protest actors,

e) Weakness in the configuration of identities: disarticulation of traditional identities and precariousness in the shaping of new ones.

3) In the period under analysis, the protests have the following dimensions in terms of political impact:

- a) A normalization of the protest: protests were not designed to challenge the democratic regulation of the political regime of government or the capitalist nature of the social regime of accumulation,
- b) Political impact: fragmentation of a protest does not imply a deflation in the political impact of that protest, but rather an increase in the emergence of new actors, the formulation of new problems and the elaboration of new discursive strategies in connection with pre-existing problems.

The second question to be considered, after the first stage of work, was of a methodological nature. Since it required a quantitative approach, our six dimensions of analysis did not have the same degree of operational versatility. Rather, we realized that the design and preparation of a database of protests for the period selected required us to concentrate on those dimensions which could be more directly surveyed --the organization and forms of the protest, as well as the protesters' demand(s)-- and to postpone the work on those which required us to access data that might exceed the sources selected and required a greater interpretative effort (that is, political performance and strategic-institutional consequences). The first stage had been focused on a group of thirteen variables that combined data on protest actions (date, place, number of participants, forms of the protest, participating organizations, demands of the protest, duration, and type of protest) and on the journalistic medium used as the source of information (news title, location in the newspaper, and date). For the survey of formats and types of protests, indicative lists from pilot surveys were elaborated.

Although conducting the survey was a very rich experience in several senses, we gradually realized that the survey took a very long time and that, in many cases, the source did not allow us to gather information on some of the variables we had defined. Consequently, we decided to simplify the survey as much as possible and devote our efforts to the description of the base and the project.

Between 2001 and 2003 we at last carried out the second stage of our project, which was to study the recent transformations in the idea of social

protest in Argentina, with special attention on the ways that the reconfiguration of the political field has influenced the nation's constitution as a consequence of structural reforms and the emergence of novel forms of political intervention which redefine the relationships among traditional political actors within the framework of this reconfiguration.

As planned, the source during this second stage was the newspaper *Clarín*. We took into account a simplified series of variables, which are described in the next paragraph so that both data and results are comprehensible. As in the first stage, the survey period began in 1989, however decided that the crisis of 2001 had to be addressed by any work intending to analyze the social protest occurring in Argentina at that time, so we extended the survey period to May 25, 2003. Developing an approach that incorporated the crisis in the long term but did not deal with it as an exceptional event seemed to us a complex but very interesting challenge. We incorporated those extra years into the project, even at the risk of delaying our work's completion.

In short, our database includes all the events of protest published by the newspaper *Clarín* between January 1989 and May 25, 2003. The protests recorded and published by the newspaper *La Nación* that had not been covered by *Clarín* and had been surveyed in the first stage of the work were also included.

After the conclusion of each survey stage came long discussions and much hard work. Consolidating both surveys into a single database was not easy, and the task of codifying the different variables into the version presented here required us to select only some of the available criteria. For the final presentation in this paper, we decided to follow the descriptive nature that the work gradually acquired over the years.

In the proceeding paragraphs of this introduction, we give some general definitions that are intended to clarify the data in the main body of this paper. Finally, we include some brief conclusions to introduce the reader to some of the important discussions that arose during the consideration of the data.

This research material is intended as a contribution to the deeper and more detailed discussion of the transformations of the social protest in Argentina over the past 13 years. It seeks to exhaustively analyze the relations among the different types of organizations, demands, and forms of intervention in the public sphere which marked the country's social mobilization within a context of

structural changes both in the political regime of government and in the social regime of accumulation.

A. Definition of the unit of analysis, main methodological aspects, and considerations on the sources of the survey

As we have mentioned above, our unit of analysis was the social protest. The notion of "social protest" refers to visible, contentious, public action events carried out by a collective, oriented toward the support of a demand which, in general, is directly or indirectly directed to the State. This definition makes special emphasis on the contentious and intentional nature of the protest on the one hand, and on its public visibility on the other hand.

In approaches focused on the notion of social mobilization --the most popular version of the studies on mobilization in our environment-- protest and direct action have a subsidiary importance in comparison to the identity or organizational dimensions of these phenomena. From the beginning, our interest was not to confront both viewpoints, but simply to underline the importance of the dimension of the action and to carry out a type of analysis in which the action becomes independent, to some extent, of the social processes which, all in all, make it possible.

Similar quantitative analyses of social mobilization have been made in other countries in recent years. Although in our case the research is focused on the analysis of protest actions, there is a plethora of statistical works on contentious politics having various subjects of study. A general perspective on the analyses based on events of protest may be found in Koopmans and Rucht, 2002.

In general, this type of work faces an unavoidable difficulty when defining the unit of analysis. It may be said that there are two available options for defining the unit of analysis: at one end, the unit may be defined by applying a thematic criterion close to the one which would make it possible to operationalize the notion of conflict; at the other end is the one which ideally defines the unit of analysis as every measure of direct action mentioned by the sources.

Within the Argentine context, there are some systematic survey studies of periods similar to those of this work. First is a project conducted several years ago by the Social Observatory of Latin America (OSAL), a program initiated by

CLACSO (Latin American Council of Social Sciences). OSAL kept records of the social mobilization but focused on the identification and follow-up of conflicts. The work done by OSAL consists in the survey of social conflicts in an impressive number of Latin American countries (Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Puerto Rico, Dominican Republic, Uruguay and Venezuela) based on national journalistic sources. Social conflict is defined as "any action which alters social order, temporarily breaking or interrupting the reproduction of dominant social relations" (OSAL, N° 2, September 2000). The results of the survey are periodically published in the form of a chronology (www.clacso.org).

In the second place, the Research Program on the Movement of the Argentine Society (PIMSA) records events of protest published by national newspapers, but with purposes and forms of categorization different from ours. The Program is focused on the analysis of three major types of events of protest during the nineties: riots, general strikes, and road blockades. One of the main objectives of the program is to analyze the transformations of the Argentine working class. This is the reason for their interest in identifying the social actors who participate in the events of protest, categorized as salary earners, non-salary earners, and others.

In the third place, there are surveys similar to the one we present here, but they are either temporally or spatially more restricted or are focused on a single modality or forms of protest¹ or on particular types of organizations or actors.

The Group of Rural Studies from the Research Institute "Gino Germani" created a database that included all collective actions of protest, defining such protests as "...a specific type of collective action which takes place within the public sphere and is a synthesis of a political act" (Giarracca and Bidaseca 2001: 19). The survey includes those actions carried out between December 15, 2001 and March 15, 2002, and the sources used for its elaboration were the following local newspapers: *La Gaceta* (Tucumán), *El Tribuno* (Salta), *El Liberal* (Santiago del Estero), *El Pregón* (Jujuy), *El Territorio* (Misiones), *Diario Norte* (Chaco), *El*

¹ This is the case of the exhaustive surveys of road blockades carried out by the consulting firm Nueva Mayoría on the basis of the information published by national newspapers. See: www.nuevamayoria.com.

Diario de Paraná (Entre Ríos), *La Voz del Interior* (Córdoba), *Los Andes* (Mendoza), and *Río Negro* (Río Negro and Neuquén).

For the past several years at the National University of Quilmes, a group of researchers coordinated by E. Villanueva has been working on a study of labor conflicts in Argentina in the nineties. One of the tasks has been the construction of a database containing a daily record of labor conflicts surveyed by the main newspapers in the country: *Clarín*, *Crónica*, *Diario Popular*, *Ámbito Financiero* and *Página 12*. At first, the survey covered the period June 1989 to December 1995; it was later extended to July 2000 (see Gómez, 2000). This work defines the labor conflict as "any type of declared action by which any workforce collective pursues the satisfaction of demands or interests of its own within the sphere of the social relations of production" (Gómez, Zeller and Palacios, 1996: 120). The main objective of the study is to analyze how the economic reconversion and the labor market deregulation have affected unions' strategies of action. When this report was being prepared, we did not have any information on the results of the aforementioned survey.

Finally, several official agencies also carried out similar surveys, although neither the characteristics of these works nor their scope and results can be easily accessed. The statistical report on labor conflictivity prepared by the Ministry of Labor of the Nation systematically records information about the labor conflicts throughout the whole country, information that is supplied by the nationwide agencies of the Ministry and by national and provincial graphic media. Here labor conflicts are defined as "disagreement situations regarding a question or a set of questions in relation to which there is a discrepancy between workers and employers or about which workers or employers express a demand or claim or give their support to the demands of other workers or employers". In order to be included in the survey, a conflict must include at least a measure of direct action as an indicator of its intensity, but at various points in its development it may include any number of measures. When the survey is carried out each month, the number of conflicts is recorded, taking into account the conflicts accumulated from the past months. Beyond certain data about the conflicts' characteristics (branch, type of business, etc.), the report is especially focused on the evaluation of the impact. Results may be consulted in: MTSS (1999) Statistical Report on Labor Conflictivity, July/December 1998 and MTSS (2001) Statistical Report on Labor Conflictivity, January/March 2001. In turn, the

Secretariat of Interior Security under the Ministry of Justice published in 2002 a report entitled "Social Conflictivity in the Republic of Argentina," covering the months of January through May of that year. Such report records a total of 11,000 demonstrations surveyed along the period, but it does not specify the unit of analysis with which they worked (*Clarín*, June 18, 2002, p. 12).

Our work, then, considers protest actions while trying not to include *a priori* any of the forms in which such actions may be lawfully aggregated (for instance, in conflicts, networks, movements, or mobilization campaigns). Our interest is similar to that of the works analyzing events of protest (Tilly, Tilly and Tilly 1997; Tilly 1995; McAdam 1982; Tarrow 1989; Kriesi et. al. 1992; Kriesi, Koopmans, Duyvendak and Giugni 1995), even though some of them are guided by a stricter consideration of the measures of direct action. At any rate, dilemmas faced in using these approaches are exactly the same as the ones we faced when we had to decide which criteria would enable us to identify and differentiate the actions from each other, evaluate general characteristics, and even in some circumstances discuss protests case by case.

What we consider here to be protest actions are ones that --like any other kind of social action-- acquire unity by virtue of the sense they carry. It is important to underline that protest actions are conceived and, fundamentally, are carried out, with this unity of sense; for this reason, we think that a protest action does not necessarily coincide with a measure of direct action, although this is what happens in most cases. It is important to emphasize that the criterion of unity of sense, following Weber's methodological prescription on the subjective sense of social action, refers to the elements which make it possible to answer who, how, what for or why an action is carried out.

For instance, in the case of a national strike, although analytically we found many ways to measure strikes directly, (number of strikes by branch of activity or by state agency or by company, or by province or by locality, etc.), inasmuch as these measures were coordinated and carried on with a sense of unity, we consider them as a sole protest action. Of course, this methodological decision implicitly left to the surveyors' interpretative competence a good part of the solution to the problem, but by careful discussion and consideration we attempted to give unity of criteria to the survey.

This work aims to contribute an analysis of the ways in which certain political events play into the nation's politics. An event's pertinence and

significance must be considered, not as an analysis of the organizations and movements which make up the social mobilization universe in the country, but as an analysis of the public record of the activity carried out by such an organization or movement. In this sense, the notion of social protest is conceptually productive and coincides with the way that daily language identifies social mobilization phenomena. At the same time, the existence of such a category prevents any reduction in the articulation and organization forms shown by the different methods of mobilization. For this reason, we decided when carrying out the survey to consider each protest action recorded in the newspapers as a distinct unit of analysis.

In proposing a study of social protest we do not argue about the existence or nonexistence of social actors or movements. On the contrary, various studies confirm the priority of organization as a fundamental criterion for understanding mobilization phenomena. However, from the viewpoint of national politics --i.e., the circulation of information on a national scale-- the public history of protests is relatively independent of the history of organizations. What gives public visibility to the mobilization --at least, this is what we have verified during the period analyzed-- are the actions of protest rather than the organizations' background. In other words, as we have already mentioned in stating the hypotheses behind our project's second stage, what we call the political impact of a given social mobilization seems to be linked more to the different forms of expression of the claim within the public sphere than to the relative weight of the organizations in the political system.

In Argentina in recent years, the importance ascribed to visible phenomena of mobilization seems to have increased to the point where protests have been one of the most important keys to reading such phenomena. It is necessary to consider that, in general, what helps to define this panorama is the fact that some of the actors more traditionally linked to social mobilization events, such as unions, which are stable and protest-independent organizations, were gradually prevented from taking this type of action, while new actors and collectives who protested during this period seemed to adopt identities or self-definitions more directly related to the actions they performed, their forms, or their demand(s). The case of the "picketeers" exemplifies this, inasmuch as the designation of the collective refers to what we call the forms of the protest. This does not mean that the analysis may be directly applied to changes or

transformations in the forms of organization of those who drive protest actions, but simply that the public scene of mobilization adopted such forms during the period analyzed. Within this context, it seems sensible to choose an approach that gives priority to the forms of public demonstration of the protest independently of the transformations in the organizational structures of the agents of protest.

After having defined our unit of analysis, it is important to emphasize that the same protest action may fit into more than one category for the variables "organization" and "demand". We categorized the various protests' organizations and demands as part of an effort to define types of protests based on the configuration of the different variables rather than on the mere arithmetical sum of particular direct-action events. In the section where we describe the variables we specify and clarify this decision in each case.

Finally, some words about the sources used in this study. As in most research projects of this kind, the source for the survey was the national press. Together with police or governmental records (Giugni and Wisler 1998; Oliver and Maney 1998) when they are available, the press is usually the main source relied upon in this kind of study, one that seeks to analyze national politics over long periods of time (McCarthy, McPhail and Smith 1996; Muller 1997; Earl, Martin, McCarthy and Soule 2004).

For this project, we started from the premise that newspapers are the most suitable source available to record the history of social mobilization. This first premise means that information is mainly disseminated on a national scale by the press even if it sometimes over-simplifies the complex information in comparison with other information vehicles that are addressed to other, more specialized groups and that deal with other levels of politics (provincial and/or local) (Snyder and Kelly 1977; Oliver and Myers 1999). However, our approach enabled us to meet our two main objectives: to carry out a global analysis of the forms of demonstration of the collective action in the national politics and in, doing so, to concentrate on the long term.

For the purposes of this project, we considered the newspapers we used to be operators in the dissemination of information. From a sociological perspective, mass media must be considered both as vehicles and as agents in the dissemination of information, subject to certain rules imposed by the expectations generated by communication at national level. They cannot --at the

risk of not fulfilling one of their specific functions-- ignore a logic of "information" about reality and the current situation which, together with other logics (such as a business or a political and state logic) defines the direction of their actions.

From a socio-semiotic perspective, as several analysts point out, the complexity of public opinion in contemporary societies notoriously reduces the possibility of information manipulation by mass media. The public has been diversified in two ways: through the gradual freeing of the sphere of opinion from political powers and through the subjection of mass media to a business logic that compels media officials to develop an attractive way of offering information to a choosy public. And so media such as national newspapers become the site where social conflicts are expressed in search of public approval, replacing in influence politicians with defined political interests. In this sense, using national newspapers as sources for this project does not necessarily mean that a partial and/or distorted account is given of the development of the protest; rather, it ensures that the area of study is the main public arena where the various contentious actions are expressed and transformed.

As other studies show (McCarthy, McPhail and Smith 1996; Oliver and Myers 2003; Koopmans and Rucht, 2002), it is possible to exercise controls over the biases of sources by comparing surveys from other sources. This makes it possible to characterize and control the quality of the sources more exhaustively; however, the sources do not represent a more faithful approximation to the object. For instance, a survey made on the basis of information from a local or provincial newspaper in the same period as our database will surely show a number of protests that national newspapers did not cover. This means that national newspapers do not include all the protests made in the various local contexts. However, it cannot be affirmed that such a local source is necessarily more exhaustive, but rather that it has a different bias. In a recent work, Earl, Martin, McCarthy and Soule (2004) affirm that "hard" information of an event, if reported, tends to be relatively accurate. They show that the decision of a newspaper to cover an event is influenced by the type of event, the news agency, and the topic involved.

Any research of this kind presupposes that the work is done not on the universe of protests or mobilizations, but on those that were registered by one of the sources for the research. Of course, the multiplication of sources makes it possible to move in the direction of a wider universe, but this universe is

practically infinite and, as in any research, it is necessary to know whether the addition of more information would be really useful and what the cost of such addition would be. As of now, we do not know of any survey that has used alternative mass media as its main source of information.

B. Variables and categories

Taking into account our unit of analysis, we define a series of variables with which the survey was carried out and which were later codified as follows:

b.1 Demand

The constitution of the demand, that is, what the subjects of the collective action request and how they request it, is a central element of the protest. It is important not only to define the type of action and its relationship to the identity of the group or to the structural conditions, but also to define the range of alternatives the participants allow for negotiation and the type of conflictivity they present. In order to survey this variable, we recorded as literally as possible the forms used by the actors to define the contents of the demands they presented. Starting from this diversity, we built a series of categories that reflect, in our opinion, an exhaustive and sufficiently disaggregated map of the main contents of the demands of the period. Below we list the totality of the categories used for the codification of the variable "demand":

1. Salaries 1: Increases, equal salaries, increase in back payments, salary recomposition.
2. Salaries 2: Payment of salaries owed or non-remunerative payments, year-end bonuses, claims for reimbursement of 13% deduction from salaries, methods of payment.
3. Other salary-related demands.
4. Labor 1: Working conditions, decrease in the number of work hours, personal safety.
5. Labor 2: Job preservation, threats of dismissal, demand for reinstatement, hierarchization, legalization, change from temporary to permanent

positions. Requests for the recovery of factories. This category includes the demands of artisans and peddlers.

6. Labor 3: Compliance with collective bargaining agreements, work contracts, regulations, holidays, payment for strike days, severance pay, and call to bargaining agreement.
7. Other labor-related demands.
8. Consumers: Related to the supply of goods and services for private consumption, price increase.
9. Human rights: Pardon, Due Obedience, Full Stop, crimes against humanity, prisoners' living conditions, rejection of death penalty.
10. Justice administration: clarification of crimes, crimes against private individuals, impunity of crimes, acceleration of prosecutions (prisoners, legal cases; AMIA Jewish Community), cases of violence by police officers. This refers not only to criminal justice, but also to commercial, civil, and other areas. Cases related to orders of judicial sales of property are included.
11. Ecology and the environment: Demands about mining activities, cases of protests in defense of animals, and any other cases having to do with the environment.
12. Sexual and reproductive rights: Free election, right to sexual freedom.
13. Equal opportunities and non-discrimination: non-discrimination, equal opportunities, gender quota in Congress.
14. Security: Claim for an increase in the intervention of security forces, tougher security laws against criminals, increase in penalties, and decrease in the age of indictability.
15. Educational policy: Access to public education, rejection of the Federal Education Law, decentralization of education, FONID (National Teachers' Incentive Fund financing law), representation mechanisms, autonomy of universities.
16. Operation of the education system: Resources, building conditions, materials, budget, contents, human resources, modification of contents, creation of localized educational programs, conflicts in schools, occupation of the rector's office, teachers' ticket, and students' ticket.

17. Health policy: Access to public health, decentralization of public health, laws related to organ donation, personal consumption of drugs, increases in health sector funding.
18. Operation of the health system: Services and benefits to guarantee public health, quality improvement in public health services.
19. Social security: Medical coverage and social welfare benefits increase in retirement and/or pension benefits for the disabled, for veterans, and for the elderly. Also those demands related to legal frameworks are included (PAMI, the National Institute of Social Services for Retirees and Pensioners).
20. Direct social assistance: Increase in the number, amount and methods of assignment of employment plans, broader social assistance and protection. Creation of plans, aid programs, universal allowances, request for food and other basic consumption products (e.g., clothes). This does not refer only to the State's action.
21. Housing: Satisfaction of the need for housing, creation of programs and/or channels for the distribution of houses, granting of land, opposition to dispossession of real property, against auction of dwellings and lands.
22. Employment: Creation of jobs, genuine employment.
23. Habitat and infrastructure: Supply of services such as water, electricity, sewage networks, drainages, road surfacing, transport network, urban development, traffic lights, improvement of highways.
24. Political regime: Ways of exercising public participation and/or accessing political representation rights, such as in relation to decision-making process (increase in the transparency of decisions, police repression, freedom of expression, political reform, participatory budget, challenge to elections, obstruction to republic procedures, abuse of the decree of need and urgency). This category includes demands for the resignation of politicians and members of government and requests for popular consultations.
25. Government: Performance of duties by public officers and the political class (challenge of governors, candidates, etc.) Privileged retirements.
26. Sectorial politics: Sectorial claims for tariffs, taxes, regulation or deregulation of specific markets. Sectorial claims for reduction of tolls.

27. Economic policy: Against privatizations, employment flexibilization, adjustment, deregulation, all matters related to the "*corralito*" (frozen bank accounts), taxes, derogation, decrease or imposition of new taxes, co-participation, reimbursement of reductions, claims for reimbursement of 13% salary deduction, rejection of salary cuts, claims against hunger, against MERCOSUR and ALCA.
28. International politics: Demands related to foreign politics and the international order.
29. Testimonial: Claims for and/or remembrance of persons and/or events.
30. Other.

In the charts and tables shown below, we have grouped several categories. Categories 1 through 3 are grouped under the new category 'salary demands'; categories 4 through 7 are grouped under 'labor demands'; categories 9 and 10 under 'human rights and justice administration demands' (Human Rights and Justice Administration); categories 15 through 19 under 'social security demands'; categories 20 and 22 under 'employment and direct social assistance demands'; categories 21 and 23 under 'housing service demands'; categories 24 and 25 under 'political demands'; categories 26 and 27 under 'economic demands.'

b.2 Predominant Forms

We refer to the form that the protest takes in the public sphere; that is, a strike, a demonstration, a road blockade, or some other modality. The forms of a protest are key to understanding the identity of the protest, its organization, its internal divisions, etc. In the case of this variable; we also conducted an open survey of every incident identified by our sources as components of that protest. Then we made a codification taking into account the multifarious of components but grouping those that did not show any substantial difference from one another or else simply designating the same component in more than one way. Unlike the variable 'demand', in the case of the variable 'forms' we decided to record only the main forms of the protest in order to prevent repetition of the information; we assumed that, unlike a demand, a protest has only one forms,

and, when several formats coexist, a distinction between the main forms and subsidiary formats may generally be made.

The main categories used are detailed below:

1. March/demonstration
2. Work stoppage/strike
3. Road blockade
4. Occupation
5. Other: prisoners' riot, hunger strike, sit-in, human chain, artistic exhibition, "*cacerolazo*" (pot banging), lockout, camping, "*escrache*" (uncovering of unpunished criminals in public), others.
6. Indeterminate/no data

b.3 Organization

In order to analyze the organizations that drove, staged, or participated in the protests we surveyed, we established a series of variables intended to specify the information we obtained. In the first place, we defined a variable to distinguish the general type of organization. Then, we disaggregated some of the main types of organizations in order to consider them in greater detail.

Type of Organization

- 1 Self-summoned: When participants spontaneously define themselves as members or when they are so defined by the information source.
- 2 Multisectorial: When participants spontaneously define themselves in this way or when they are so defined by the source of information. They are designated as follows: "mutisectorial", "union and social multipartisan", "multisectorial of trade unions."
- 3 Trade union: When they are labor or trade unions and the organization is specified. Those cases in which only the branch of activity appears were also codified. Cases for which we suppose there is an organization are as follows: workers, employees, teachers, court employees, Legislature's employees, state employees, municipal employees, port workers, road

workers. The following groups were not codified as trade unions: peddlers, CONICET's (National Council of Scientific and Technical Research) employees and researchers, actors, musicians.

- 4 Business association: When they are producers, carriers, entrepreneurs, merchants, or industrialists, whether small, medium or large. When no federation, association or chamber is specified, we suppose that there is an organization anyway.
- 5 Partisan: When they are national or provincial political parties; when political authorities are present (mayors, governors, political leaders); also partisan groups from students' unions.
- 6 Picketeers/Unemployed: For the organizations of employed people. Also the reference to "*fogoneros*" (stokers), "unemployed", and "ex-workers" was included.
- 7 Civil: In the case of civil organizations.
- 8 Too indeterminate to be codified: When the actor is identified but not precisely, as, for instance, "citizens", "demonstrators", "people", or "persons".
- 9 Other: Religious entities or groups; military groups; farmers; police officers; firemen; prison wardens; park rangers; central market operators; cowhands; peddlers; musicians and actors; CONICET's researchers; resident doctors; graduates (without making any reference to an organization of professionals); NGOs; sundry institutions (clubs, hospitals, universities, schools, radio stations, rectors' offices, information centers, libraries, embassies); authorities from different institutions (those just mentioned); sick people or hospital interns; young people or fans (without making reference to any organization); social or cultural associations; junkmen; motorcyclists.

In the charts and tables shown below, we designate *union protests*, *civil protests*, and *picketeer protests* as those protests in which at least one trade union or civil or picketeer organization participates, respectively.

Type of Civil Organization

1. Students: High school and university students' groups. We have considered as groups of students those who call themselves "pupils" or "students" with or without specification as to the institution or school to which they belong.
2. Natives: Entities or organizations of native peoples.
3. Human Rights: Organizations that defend the right to life and the right of each individual as a person, and ask for justice for the crimes committed by individuals and by State terrorists during the last military dictatorship. For instance, Mothers and Grandmothers of the Plaza de Mayo, CELS (Center for Legal and Social Studies), APDDHH (Permanent Human Rights Assembly), CORREPI (Coordinator Against Police and Institutional Repression), Memoria Activa (Active Memory), AMMAR (Argentine Sexual Workers Union), María Soledad murder case, victims of police violence ("gatillo fácil").
4. Savers/Debtors: This group comprises persons and organizations of savers affected by bank restrictions ("*corralito bancario*"), as well as mortgagors and persons who applied for credits and could not pay them after the devaluation.
5. Retirees: When the organization of retirees is specified or when it says "retirees", "Norma Pla" and so on.
6. Sexual minorities: For gender organizations and sexual minorities, or groups demanding legislation for reproductive rights.
7. Neighbors/Inhabitants: Neighbors' assemblies, popular assemblies, and promotion associations.
8. Professionals: Associations, councils, or federations of professionals, such as judges, lawyers and physicians.
9. Environmentalists: Groups devoted to the defense and preservation of the environment, and/or to the defense of animals' rights.
10. Prisoners/Inmates: Prisoners, inmates, persons under arrest and correction centers inmates.
11. Students' parents.
12. Victims' families and friends.
13. Too indeterminate to be codified.
14. Other: Users/consumers (tourists, passengers), sundry civil associations (friends' clubs, cyclists' club), cooperatives of schools, communities or

residents, blind persons, tenants, ex-combatants, DAIA, AMIA, evicted tenants, "Mujeres en Lucha" (Struggling Women), "Movimiento de Chicos del Pueblo" (National Movement of the Children of the People).

Type of Workers' Organizations

1. Education: When the teachers' union is specified; also, whenever "teachers", "professors", and "non-teachers" (administrative personnel from universities and schools) are involved. People linked to the White Tent are also included.
2. Health: When the health care workers' union is specified; also, whenever hospital workers or employees are involved.
3. Public administration: When their union is specified; also, when the article cites "Perro Santillán" or state, municipal, provincial or administrative agencies.
4. Court: When the article refers to the union or to judicial employees.
5. Industry: When the article refers to the workers' union or to sectors linked to the industrial activity (metallurgy, construction, chemical or oil industries, for example). Also when the article refers to "workers of..." a given industry.
6. Commerce: When the article specifies the union or the sectors linked to any commercial activity, including newsboys.
7. Other services: When the union or the persons linked to the sector of services are specified. We included Luz y Fuerza (electric company workers), Gas del Estado (gas company workers), bank workers, drivers, truckers, taxi drivers, private car chauffeurs, bus drivers (in these five cases we refer to the demand and to the owner in order to be sure that it is not a protest by a business association), mechanics, mass media workers (for television channels or for the press), port workers, signalmen, and road workers.
8. Unions (CGT, CTA, MTA). From this sub-variable we have created two more: Trade Unions (when the article specifies which union is making the protest) and Combined Trade Unions (when the article shows how unions have combined to protest).

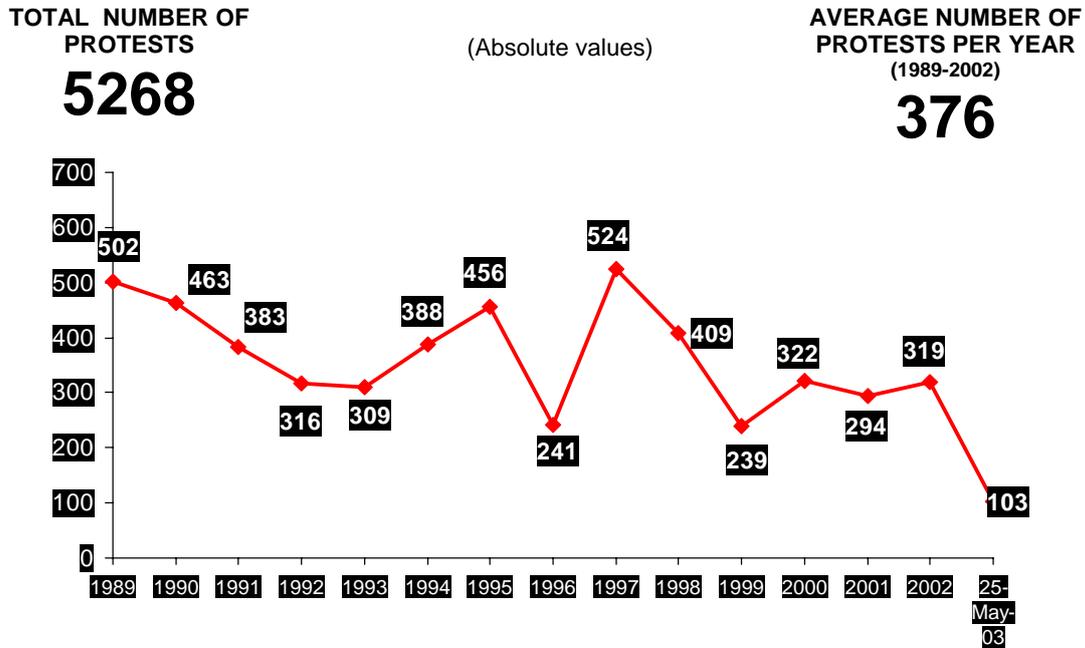
9. Too indeterminate: When the article only refers to "unions", "base delegates", "workers' assembly", "workers" or "employees."
10. Other: Legislature, mining, referees, civil personnel from the Armed Forces, MOAS.

Types of Employers' Organization

1. Industry: Those linked to the sector.
2. Commerce: Those linked to the sector.
3. Services: Those linked to the sector (tourism, clinics, and communication companies).
4. Agricultural and livestock: Those linked to the sector.
5. Too indeterminate.
6. Other: When they are mixed.

II. Main Aspects of the Protests in the Period under Analysis

CHART 1: NUMBER OF PROTESTS 1989-2003



Base: Total number of protests (n=5268)

The total number of protests registered in the period of January 1989 to May 25, 2003² is 5268, and the average number of protests per year is 376. The highest number of protests occurred in 1997, 17% more than in 1989, the first year in the survey. From 1998 on, the number of protests per year is below the mean for the period. The high number of protests registered in the year 1989 seems to contradict the notion that hyperinflationary processes make collective action more difficult by bringing about a sort of prisoner's dilemma.

² Our survey covers only up to May 25, 2003. Therefore, the 1989-2003 period mentioned throughout this project covers up to that date. For the same reason, most line charts include data only up to 2002.

CHART 2: NUMBER OF PROTESTS 1989-2003 (by quarters)

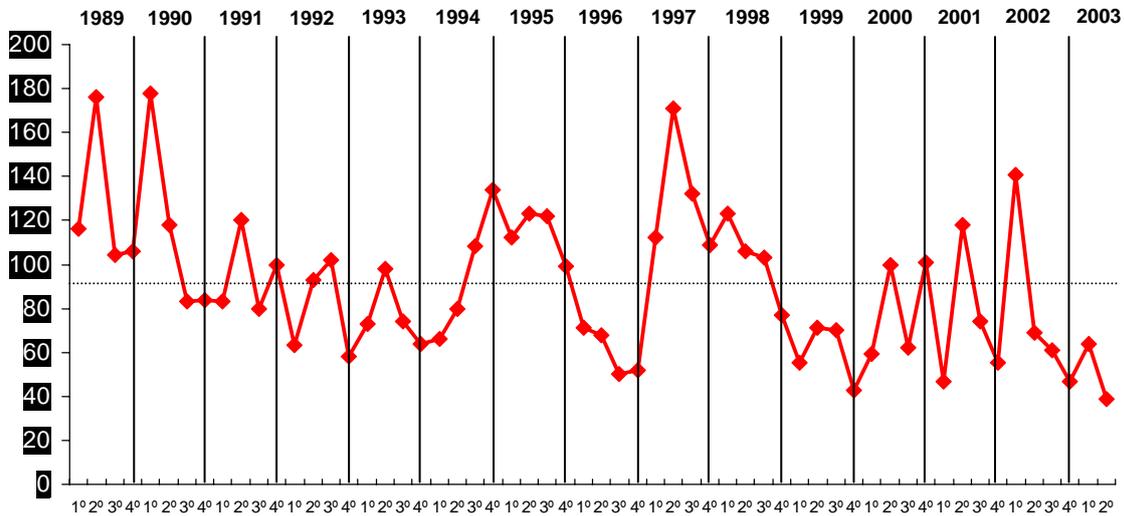
TOTAL NUMBER
OF PROTESTS

5268

(Absolute values)

AVERAGE NUMBER OF
PROTESTS PER
QUARTER

91



Base: Total number of protests (n=5268)

Sydney Tarrow refers to a “protest cycle” as “a phase of heightened conflict and contention across the social system”, which includes “a rapid diffusion of collective action from more mobilized to less mobilized sectors; a rapid pace of innovation in the forms of contention; the creation of new or transformed collective action frames; a combination of organized and non-organized participants; and sequences of intensified interaction between challengers and authorities which can end in reform, repression and sometimes revolution” (Tarrow, 1997: 263-264). The distribution of the total number of protests by quarters makes it possible to distinguish two protest cycles.

The first cycle starts in the fourth quarter of 1993, reaches its highest point a year later, and then systematically drops until the third quarter of 1996. The second cycle starts in the fourth quarter of 1996, reaches its highest point in the second quarter of 1997, and then starts to decline until reaching its lowest point in the fourth quarter of 1999. If the first cycle shows a gradual intensification of conflicts along a whole year (1994), the second cycle shows a markedly greater rise instead: when the number of protests during the fourth quarter of 1996 is compared to the number of protests in the second quarter of

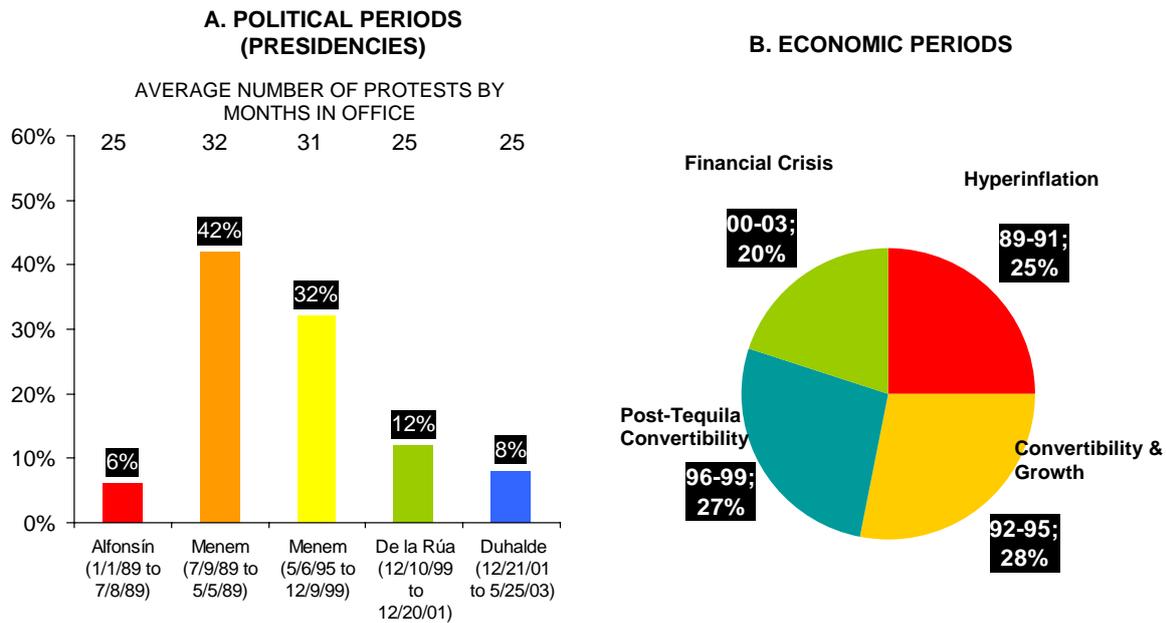
1997 (the highest point in the cycle), it can be observed that, in six months, the number of protests grew by 328%.

Between the end of 1999 and the end of 2002 it is more difficult to identify a cycle of protests. Our data indicate that ascending and descending contention phases are much shorter in these years. Throughout virtually this entire period, the direction of the phase changes completely from one quarter to the next. However, despite the discontinuous pace, from the second quarter of 2000 until the first quarter of 2002, each of the intensification phases of contention is more important than the previous one in terms of the number of protests.

Survey data show that political crises are not necessarily produced as a result of an increase in the number of protests. In other words, the number or volume of protests is not directly related to their political impact. As we have specified above (in the Introduction), the dimensions of a protest's political impact are two-fold. First is the political effect: that is, the capacity of the protest to redefine rules and resources of the symbolic field where it is produced and acknowledged. Second is the strategic-institutional consequences; that is, the results of the protest, either in terms of satisfaction of demands or in terms of transformations of the institutional political system. It is important, therefore, to distinguish the concept of "protest cycle" from the "political impact of the protest" dimension, since they refer to different issues.

In fact, in 1997, the number of protests was 56% higher than in 2001; however, the strategic-institutional consequences brought about by the former were significantly less than those brought about by the latter. Considering the whole period, 2001 is one of the three years with the lowest number of protests. During 2001, even more protests were registered in the second quarter than in the fourth quarter, when Fernando de la Rúa's administration abruptly terminated. However, the political impact of the protests in 2001 in general, and in the last quarter in particular, was outstanding, due both to the protests' political effect and to their strategic and institutional consequences.

CHART 3: DISTRIBUTION OF PROTESTS according to POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC PERIODS

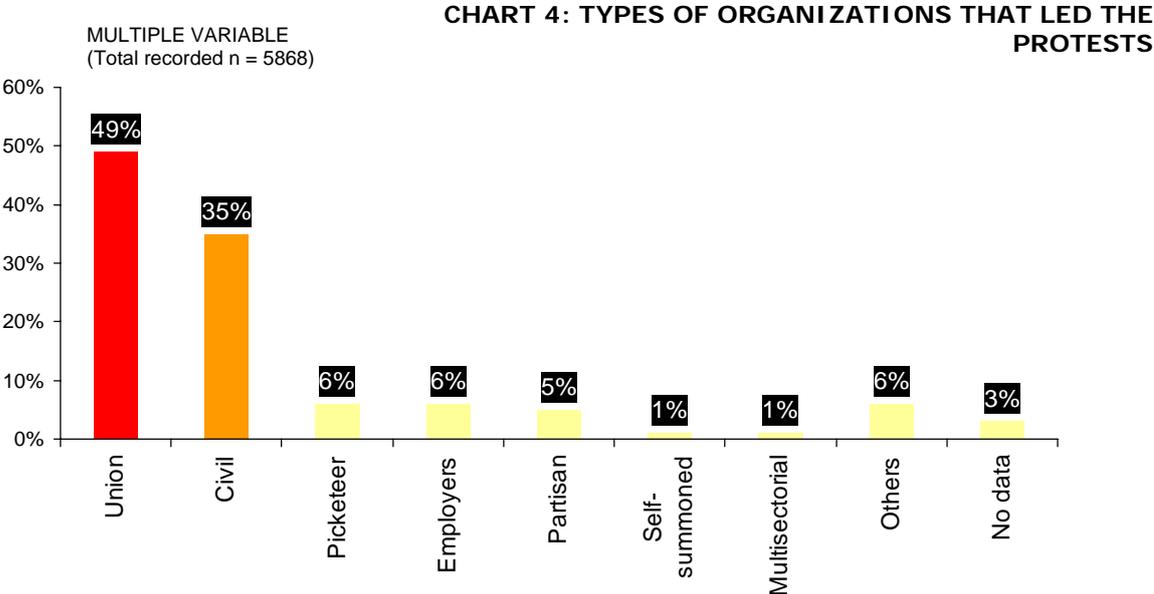


Base: Total number of protests (n=5268)

In order to differentiate the political periods, we took into account the presidential terms between 1989 and May 2003. Chart 3 A shows the distribution of social protests according to this criterion. The greatest proportion of protests is distributed along the two presidential terms of Carlos Menem (42% and 32% respectively). The average number of protests in each term of office shows that there were more protests during Menem’s administrations than during De la Rúa’s and Eduardo Duhalde’s administrations.

On the other hand, we distinguish a series of economic periods. The first one is designated the “hyperinflation” period, and it includes the years 1989, 1990 and 1991; the second period is from 1992 to 1995, characterized by the enactment and enforcement of the Convertibility Law and the improvement of macroeconomic indexes; the third period encompasses the years following the “Tequila Effect” from 1996 to 1999; and finally, the fourth period comprises the years 2000 to May 2003, during which the Argentine financial crisis predominated. If the economic periods are taken into account, no appreciable alteration can be observed in the distribution of the number of protests. That is, although many protests include economic demands, as we shall see below, there is no direct relationship between economic crisis and number of protests. Non-

correspondence between economic crisis and number of protests is also related to the fact that the economic period where the highest percentage of protests occurred is that of sustained economic growth (1992-1995).



Base: Total number of protests n=5268)

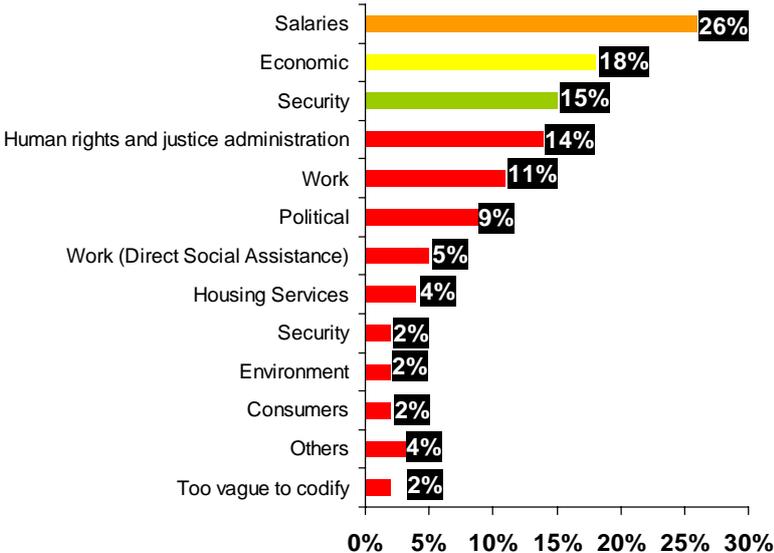
Which types of organizations played leading roles in social protests? Chart four shows that between 1989 and May 2003, trade unions staged protests more than any other type of organization. From the total number of protests registered in the surveyed period, almost half of them were made by trade unions. The second place is occupied by the protests staged by civil organizations³, with 35% of the total. The other types of organizations total less than 7% of all protests. One example in this category would be a picketeer organization that is identified only by its distinctive acronym (such as MTD or FTV) or by the designation “picketeers”, “unemployed people” or “ex-workers.” Of all the protests in this period, such organizations participated in only 6 percent; that is the same proportion of protests staged by employers’ organizations. Once again, we have to point out the difference between number of protests and political impact. Even though there was registered between 1989 and May 2003 a similar number of

³ As to the type of organization included in this category, see chart n° 12 below.

protests summoned by organizations of picketeers, employers and partisans, the political impact of the first group of protests was clearly greater, particularly those in the second half of the period.

CHART 5: DEMANDS (Arranged by categories)

MULTIPLE VARIABLE
(Total number recorded n = 6284)



Base: Total number of protests (n=5268)

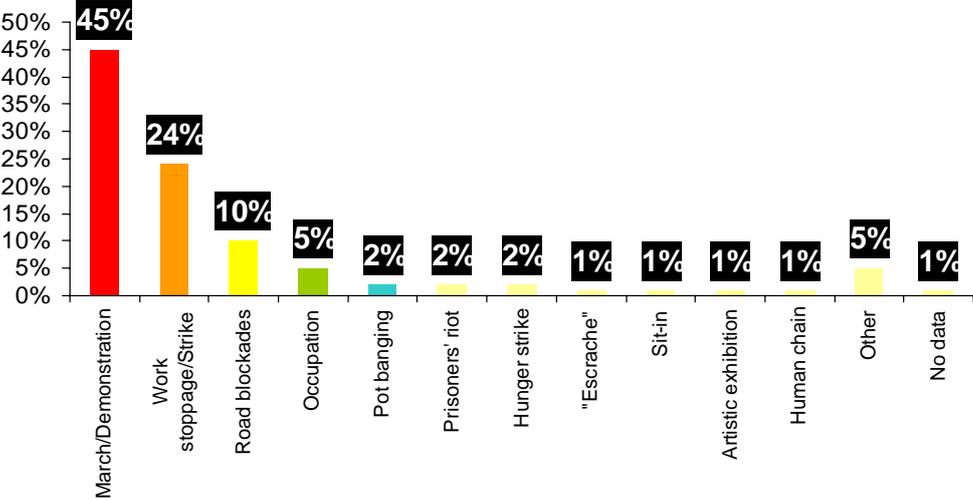
The demand of a social protest is a central element of it. We may ask of a protest: What were the main demands? What did protesters *ask for* between 1989 and May 2003? When the demands of all the protests of the period are analyzed, it can be observed that one out of four demands was related to salaries. If labor-related demands are added, it can be seen that 37% of the demands made during the period were made by employed workers. Demands for jobs and direct social assistance represent only 5% of the demands made between 1989 and May 2003.

Economic demands (18%) are most important after salary demands. After that follow demands for social security, and in equal importance after that are human rights and justice administration demands. The category of demands entitled "Social Security" (15%) includes the categories *education policy* (7%), *educational system operation* (3%), *health policy* (1%), *health system operation* (1%), and claims for *social security* (3%).

Finally, protests including security, environmental or consumers' demands never exceed 2%. This percentage, in the case of demands for security, also shows the complexity of the link between number of protests and political impact. Although this subject was a central item in the public agenda at several times throughout the period, including a time of important law reforms, the incidence of related demands is negligible.

CHART 6: PREDOMINANT FORMS OF PROTESTS

MULTIPLE VARIABLE
(Total number of registrations n = 5276)



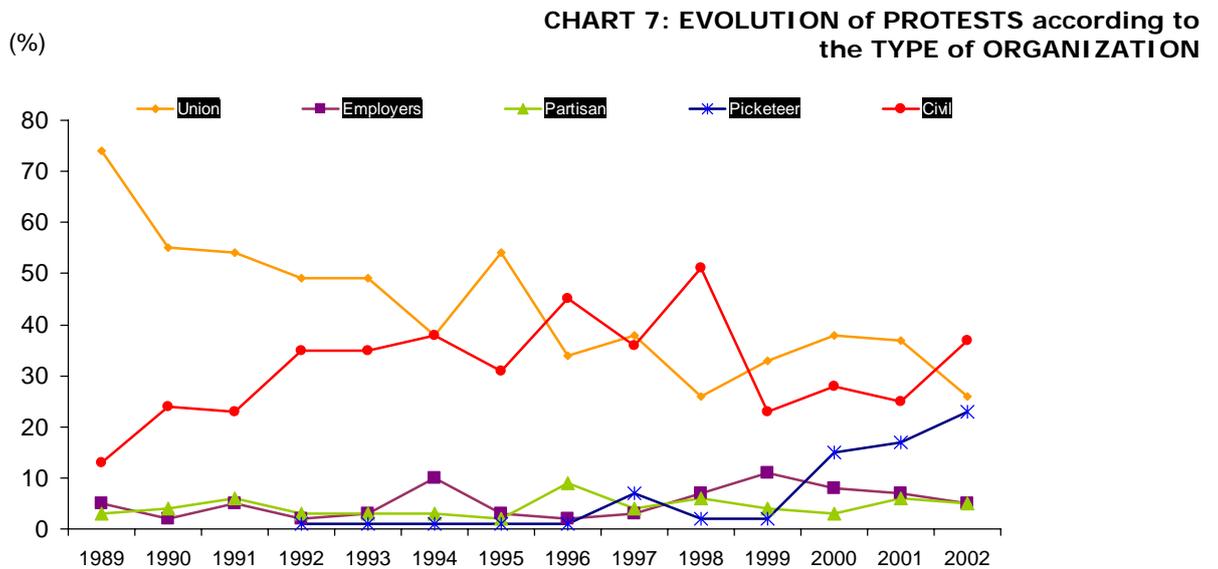
Base: Total number of protests (n=5268)

To be considered a social protest a collective action must have 'visibility'. The 'forms' of a protest is the analytical dimension referring to the way in which the collective action appears and becomes visible in the public sphere (Schuster and Pereyra, 2001). The variable 'forms' shows *how* the social protest is made and describes *what* people do when they protest.

In the period analyzed, the forms most frequently used were demonstration: 45% of the protests used this forms, which includes marches and mass meetings. On the other hand, almost one out of four protests resorted to the work stoppage/strike forms (24%), the second forms in terms of its relative importance. If the proportion of demonstrations is compared to the proportion of strikes, it may be inferred that, in the survey period, the protest was more

oriented to the public sphere than to corporative struggle and representation of interests. Finally, considering that road blockade was a consolidated forms during the second half of the period analyzed, its total incidence is relatively high (10%).

Organizations



Base: Total number of protests (n=5268)

Note: In order to make reading easier, the chart does not include the categories "Other", "Too indeterminate to be codified", "No data", "Multisectorial" and "Self-summoned"

Chart 7 shows that during the years surveyed, unions and civil organizations experienced opposite trends. While civil organizations had a sustained growth up to 1998 (51%), unions reached their lowest point (26%) in the same year. Such contrary trends show the disconnection between, on the one hand, the mobilization of classic actors in a political system linked to the representation of interests and, on the other hand, the mobilization of organizations arising from a struggle for the regeneration of the public sphere and for the defense of rights. It is also interesting to note that these trends reversed only between 1999 and 2001.

In turn, social protests staged by organizations of picketeers and unemployed people in 1997 had a first point of growth and, two years later, started a sustained rise until reaching 23% of the protests in 2002. The increase in the number of this type of protest is strongly linked to the organization of a movement of unemployed people. In 1997, 5 out of 10 protests that are categorized as the protests of "picketeers/unemployed people" were in fact

staged by “non-organized unemployed people”, but in 2001 that proportion decreased to 40% (and in 2002 to 23%). In 2002, the percentage of protests by picketeer organizations was similar to that shown by a “classic actor” such as unions in the same year.

Partisan protests were few during the whole period and business associations’ protests were mainly staged in 1994 and 1999. Political parties participated in social protests at a relatively stable rate between 1989 and 2003. In 1998 and 1999, political parties and business associations participated in more protests than picketeer organizations. Business associations’ protests grew steadily from 1996 onwards, but started a decreasing trend in 1999. It is important to underline that in most cases, the category “business associations” refers to the protests staged by small and medium-sized business associations rather than to the actions of large business associations such as the UIA (Argentine Industrial Union) or SRA (Argentine Rural Society). Also, as indicated above, up until 1998, the category “unemployed people/picketeers” mainly included sectors of non-organized unemployed people.

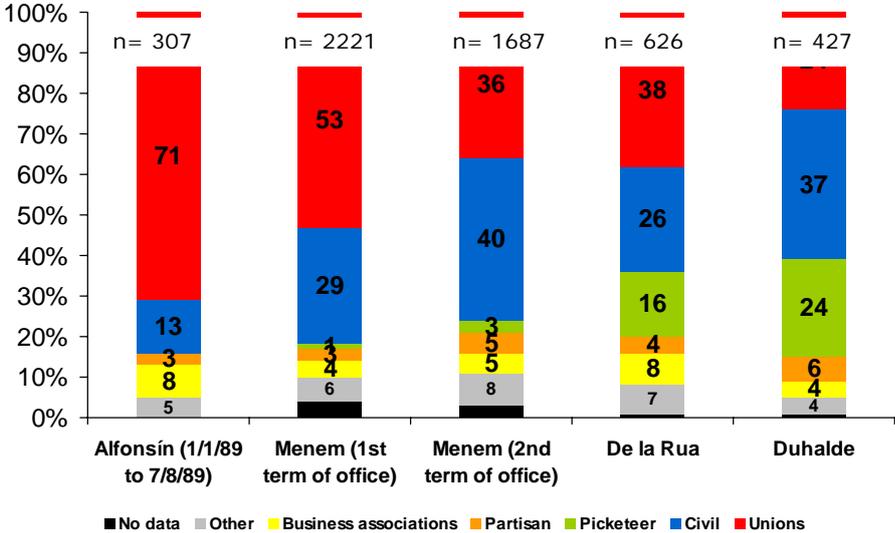
Trade unions’ protests predominated over the whole period. Only in the years 1996, 1998 and 2002 was there another type of organization that participated in more social protests than trade unions. However, between 1989 and 2003, trade unions’ protests decreased in absolute and relative terms. If we consider the percentage of trade unions' protests, we observe that in 1989 trade unions staged 74% of all protests, while in 1998 or 2002 they organized only 26% of them. Anyway, we must point out that even in the years with a lower protest activity by trade unions, at least one of them participated in one fourth of all protests.

During the last six months of Alfonsín’s administration (January-July 1989), trade unions participated in 7 out of 10 protests (chart N° 8). This proportion decreased by half during Menem’s second term of office (36%). The difference between the two administrations led to a relative increase in protests by civil organizations, from only 13% during the last six months of Alfonsín’s administration to a significant 40% during Menem’s second term of office.

De la Rúa’s administration did not bring significant changes to trade unions’ participation in social protests. Instead, the strong emergence of the “picketeer protest” (which rose from 3% to 16%) accompanied an almost equivalent decrease in the “civil protest” (which dropped from 40% to 26%).

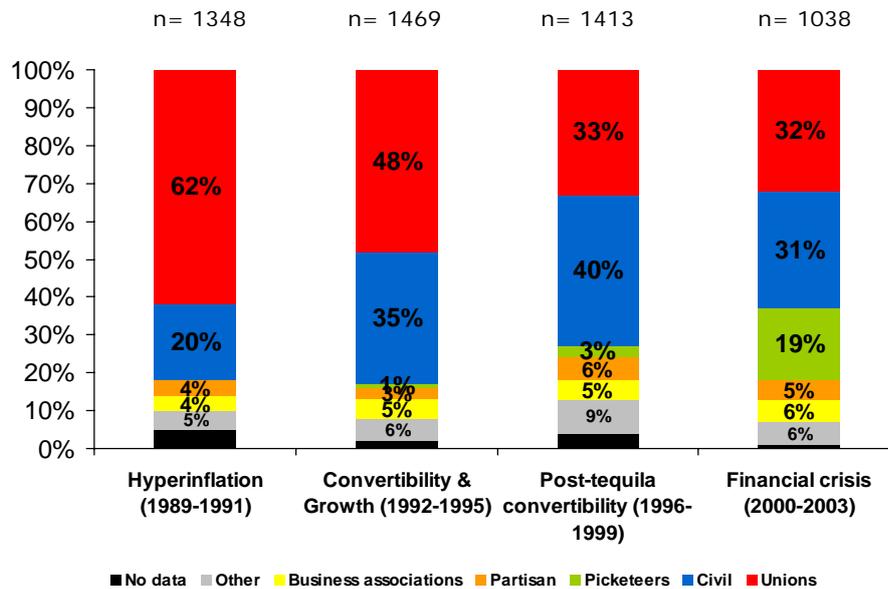
During Duhalde’s administration, the proportion of trade unions’ protests was equivalent to that of picketeers’ protests (1 out of 4) and both were below those carried out by civil organizations (37%).

CHART 8: TYPE of ORGANIZATION according to POLITICAL PERIODS



Base: Total number of protests (n=5268)

CHART 9: TYPE OF ORGANIZATION according to ECONOMIC PERIODS



Base: Total number of protests (n=5268)

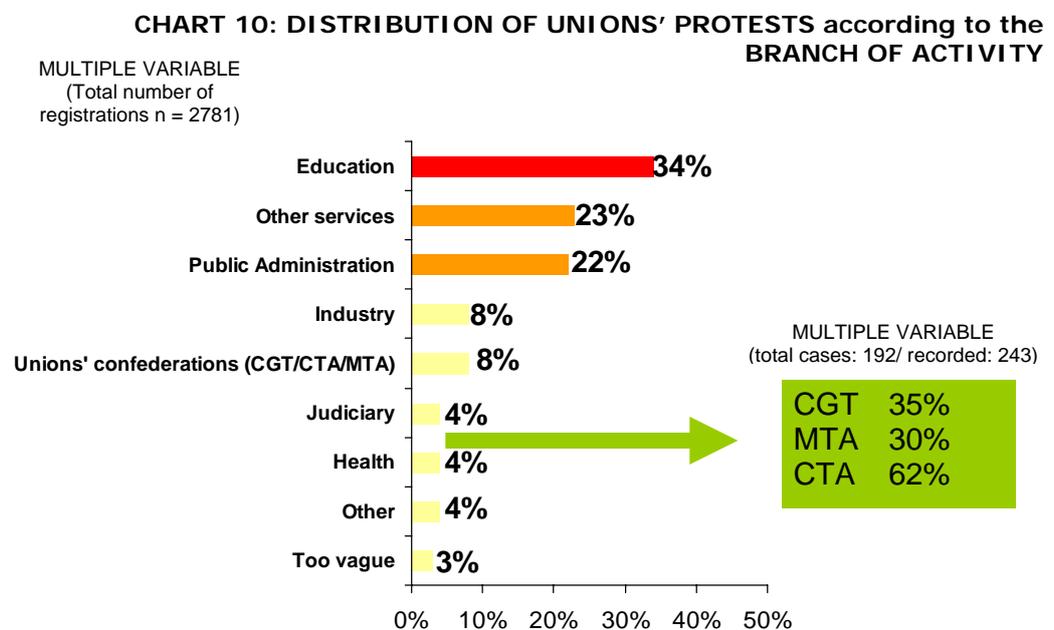
If we compare the distribution of unions' protests according to political periods (chart 8) to the distribution according to economic periods (chart 9), we can conclude that unions' activity of protest is more linked to political situations than to economic situations. At least, this seems to be the case if we compare unions' activity of protest in the period 1992-1995 to the period 2000-2003.

Data in chart 10 show that union sectors that promoted the highest number of protests in the nineties were teachers (34%), public administration employees, (22%) and workers in other services (23%), while protests staged by unions in the industry sector did not exceed 8%. It should be noted that the sector of services includes, among others, public and private services. Therefore, it includes public administration employees and teachers as well. In this survey, protests by public administration employees' and teachers' unions stood out, since actions carried out by the organizations representing such branches was unmistakably greater than those promoted by other unions in this sector.

Likewise, from the total number of protests in which trade unions participated, 8% corresponds to protests organized by a confederation of unions (CGT, CTA or MTA). Protest activity carried out by union confederations shows a systematic growth from one economic period to the next one: while in the period

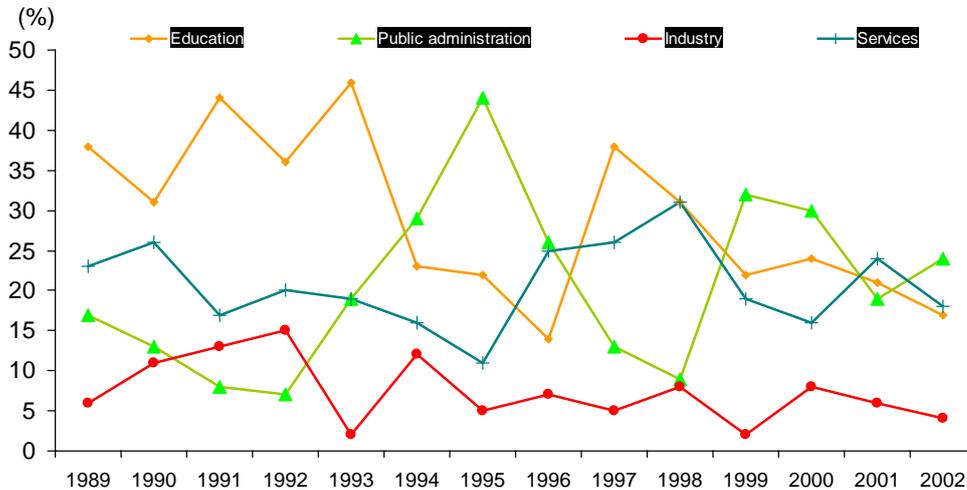
1989-1991 such activity reached 2.5%, during the financial crisis it grew to 19.2%.

Although significant throughout the whole period, protests by unions in the education sector were predominant, particularly between 1989 and 1993. In 1993, the federal education law was enacted. This law exerted a decisive influence on both the salary policy and the education policy. Between 1993 and 1996 and after the heightening of conflicts in 1997, protest activity by teachers' unions gradually decreased. In 1992, the public administration sector started a series of protests and ended them in 1998. The highest point in this cycle was 1995, when 44% of unions' protests were driven by this sector (chart 11).



Base: Total number of protests where trade unions participated (n=2568)

CHART 11: EVOLUTION OF UNIONS' PROTESTS according to the BRANCH OF ACTIVITY



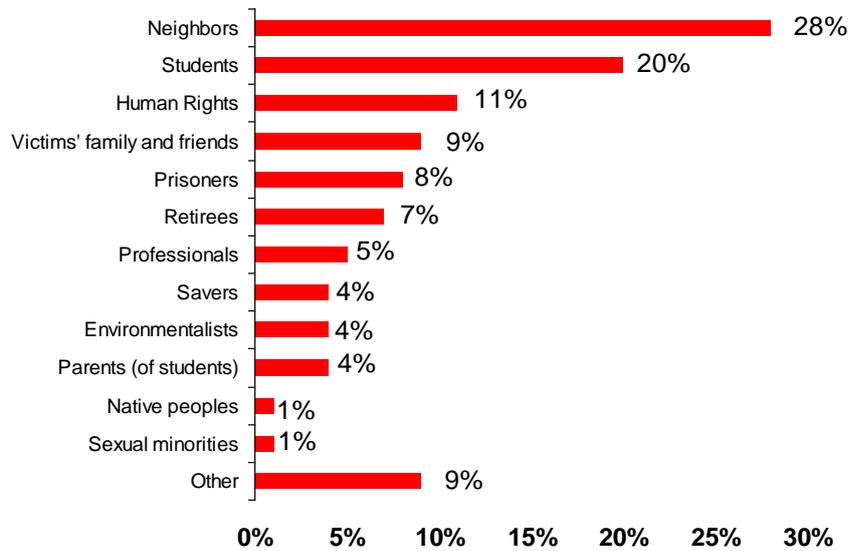
Base: Total number of protests where unions participated (n=2568)

Note: In order to make reading easier, this chart does not include the values for the categories "Judiciary", "Health", "Commerce", "Too indeterminate to be codified", and "Other".

Globally considered, data show a sharp contrast between the trend of the protests staged by the unions of teachers, public administration employees, and other services and the trend followed by unions in the industry sector. Practically from the beginning of the nineties, industrial unions not only saw a lower proportion of protests than the other sectors, but also, since 1994, the proportion of protests where it participated gradually decreased. The records of trade unions' protests per branch of activity seem to be linked to the impact of the demand and to structural economic transformations.

CHART 12: DISTRIBUTION of CIVIL PROTESTS according to the TYPE of CIVIL ORGANIZATION

MULTIPLE VARIABLE
(Total recorded n = 2030)



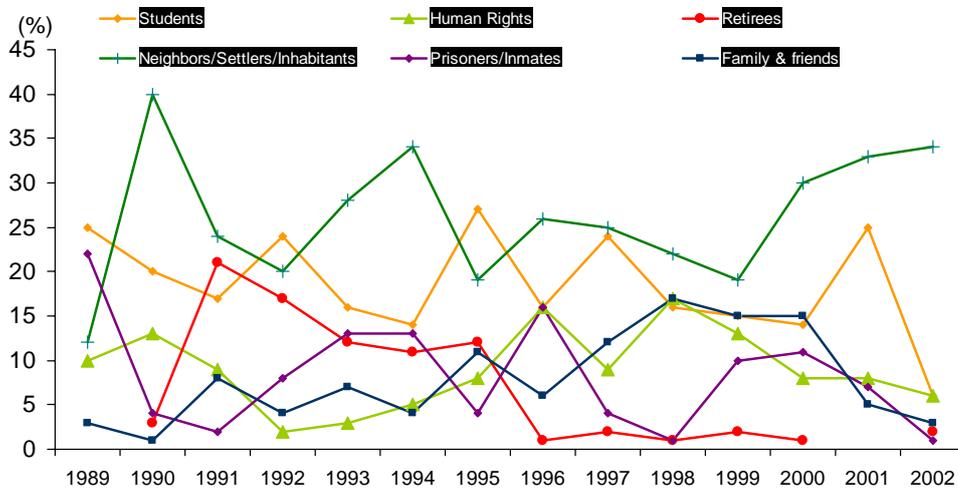
Base: Total number of protests where civil organizations participated (n=1858)

We have mentioned above that throughout the period under consideration, protests carried out by civil organizations had a sustained growth until 1998. Civil organizations make up a heterogeneous group. Predominant organizations in this group, in terms of their participation in social protests, are those made up of neighbors and/or inhabitants (28%) --including those collectives which in the sources of data appeared as neighbors, inhabitants, etc.-- and of students (20%), followed by human rights organizations (11%) and victims' family and friends (9%).

Chart 13 shows how protests staged by neighbors and/or inhabitants were significant, although with varying intensities, throughout the whole period: in proportional terms, the year 1990 and the period 1992-1994, as well as their systematic growth from 1999 onward, stand out. In fact, it is the only type of civil organization that increased its protest activity from 2001 onward; all the other organizations show a lower proportion. Retiree organizations show a descending curve starting after 1991 and disappearing completely ten years later.

CHART 13: EVOLUTION OF CIVIL ORGANIZATIONS' PROTESTS

Organizations selected



Base: Total number of protests where civil organizations participated (n=1858)

Note: In order to make reading easier, this chart includes the categories showing a higher number of cases. The categories 'natives', 'savers', 'sexual minorities', 'professionals', 'environmentalists' and 'students' parents' are not included.

Students' organizations, however, followed a more sporadic course, with moments of intense activity of social protest (1992, 1995, 2001) followed by years of moderate activity (1993-1994, 1996, 1998-2000). In any case, the students' movement staged more protests than any other type of civil organization.

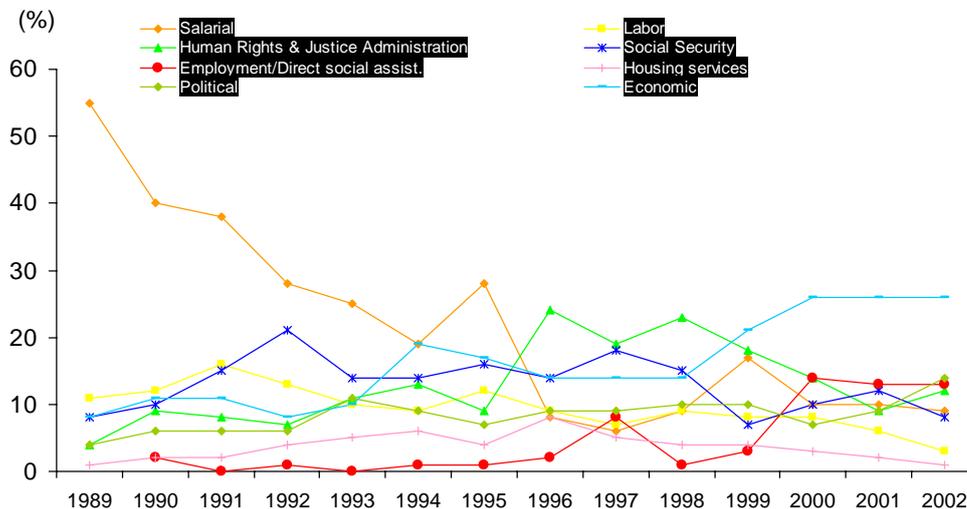
Human rights organizations and organizations made up of the families and friends of crime victims followed a similar curve of protests: the former started a cycle of protests in 1992, became more intense in 1996 and 1998, and systematically fell up to 2002. A similar situation occurred with the organizations of victims' families and friends, with a cycle that started in 1996.

Demands

**CHART 14: EVOLUTION of THE MAIN DEMANDS
(arranged by categories)**

MULTIPLE VARIABLE

Total number of demands (n= 6284)



Base: Total number of protests (n=5268)

Note: In order to make reading easier, this chart includes the categories with a higher number of cases. It does not include the following categories: 'consumers', 'environmentalists', 'testimonial', 'international politics', 'sexual and reproductive rights', 'equal opportunities and non-discrimination' and 'security'.

The data showing the evolution of the types of demands over time allows us to see a set of important transformations. In the first place, we see a decrease in social protests over salary demands. More than half of the social protests occurring in the first quarter of 1989 included salary demands; although they gradually decreased, still in 1995 this type of demand was proportionally the most important one. However, in 2002, they did not reach 10%. The decrease in protests over salary demands followed a curve similar to that of protests where trade unions participated. Nevertheless, in the case of labor demands, which constitute another category of demand that is typical of unions, these numbers show a greater stability throughout the whole period. In terms of the composition of salary demands (26%), claims for salary increases reached 14%; claims for unpaid salaries, 10%; and other salary related claims, 2%. As to labor demands (11%), claims for job preservation reached 7%; for compliance with collective bargaining agreements, 2%; and for better working conditions, 1%, the same as for other labor-related demands.

In the second place, from 1998 onward, social protests over both economic demands and over more general demands related to the rejection of

the economic model became more preponderant, while protests over other, more specific economic demands (e.g., salary or labor demands) decreased.

TABLE 1: DEMANDS according to POLITICAL PERIODS
(Arranged by categories)

	Alfonsín (n=307)	Menem 1 st term of office (n=2221)	Menem 2 nd term of office (n=1687)	De la Rúa (n=626)	Duhalde (n=427)
SALARY	54%	33%	12%	10%	9%
LABOR	12%	12%	9%	7%	5%
HUMAN RIGHTS & JUSTICE ADMINISTRATION	2%	10%	19%	11%	13%
SECURITY	1%	2%	3%	2%	2%
SOCIAL SERVICES	8%	14%	15%	11%	8%
DIRECT SOCIAL ASSISTANCE & EMPLOYMENT	-	1%	4%	13%	13%
HOUSING SERVICES	2%	4%	5%	3%	2%
POLITICAL	5%	7%	9%	8%	13%
ECONOMIC	9%	12%	15%	26%	22%
OTHER	3%	3%	8%	6%	11%
TOO INDETERMINATE TO BE CODIFIED	4%	2%	1%	3%	2%
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Base: Total number of protests (n=5268)

Demands for direct social assistance and employment, almost non-existent during the first half of the period, reached a first peak in 1997 and grew at a sustained pace from 1998 to become, along with economic demands, one of the most common types of demands by the end of the period (see Table 1). As to the composition of this type of demand, 3% corresponds to direct social assistance claims and 2% to demands for jobs.

Table 1 also shows a relevant data: the importance of the protests related to human rights and justice administration demands during Menem's second term of office (19%).

When comparing the most important types of demands in the two crisis periods with the backdrop of convertibility, 1989-1991 and 2000-2003, two general transformations can be observed in the social protest (Table 2).

TABLE 2: DEMANDS according to ECONOMIC PERIODS
(Arranged by categories)

	Hyperinflation (1989-91) n=1348	Convertibility & Growth (1992-95) n=1469	Post- Tequila Convertibility (1996-99) n=1413	Financial Crisis (2000-03) n=1038
SALARY	45%	25%	9%	10%
LABOR	13%	11%	8%	6%
HUMAN RIGHTS & JUSTICE ADMINISTRATION	7%	10%	21%	12%
SECURITY	2%	2%	3%	2%
SOCIAL SERVICES	10%	16%	15%	10%
SOCIAL ASSISTANCE / EMPLOYMENT	1%	1%	4%	13%
HOUSING SERVICES	2%	5%	5%	2%
POLITICAL	5%	8%	9%	10%
ECONOMIC	10%	14%	15%	24%
OTHER	2%	7%	10%	8%
Too indeterminate to be codified	3%	1%	1%	3%
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%

Base: Total number of protests (n=5268)

The first transformation is the heterogenization of demands: in the period of “hyperinflationary crisis” only two types of demands accounted for 58% of the total (salary and employment), while in the period of “financial crisis” the two most important types of demands only add up to 37% (economic and direct social assistance/ employment). The second transformation refers to demand orientation: in the first economic period, they are “micro” demands, while in the second period, we find “macro” demands, i.e., opposition and challenge to the model. For instance, if we consider the difference between protests with sectorial economic demands and protests with economic policy demands, we find that in the hyperinflationary crisis period, 3% are related to the former and 9% to the latter, while in the financial crisis period, the former represent 4% and the latter 23% of all demands.

TABLE 3: DEMANDS according to TYPE of ORGANIZATION

	UNION (49%) (n=2568)	CIVIL (35%) (n=1858)	PICKETEER (6%) (n=305)	PARTISAN (5%) (n=249)
SALARY	40%	4%	3%	2%
LABOR	16%	2%	5%	2%
HUMAN RIGHTS & JUSTICE ADMIN.	3%	29%	6%	18%
SAFETY	1%	4%	-	1%
SOCIAL SERVICES	14%	19%	5%	12%
SOCIAL ASSISTANCE / EMPLOYMENT	1%	2%	48%	3%
HOUSING SERVICES	-	9%	1%	-
POLITICAL	6%	9%	13%	28%
ECONOMIC	15%	9%	12%	17%
ENVIRONMENTAL	-	5%	-	1%
CONSUMERS	-	3%	1%	4%
OTHER	2%	4%	2%	11%
Too indeterminate to be codified	2%	1%	4%	1%
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%

Base: Total number of protests (n=5268)

The relationship between organization and demand is, as tables 3 and 4 show, relatively foreseeable. For instance, 4 out of 10 demands by union organizations are related to salaries, or, reversing the relationship between the variables, from the total of salary or labor-related demands, those made by union organizations represent 85% and 76%, respectively. A similar situation occurs with picketeer organizations: from the total of protests in which they participated, almost half of their demands were related to direct social assistance and employment. Table 3, however, shows that the main organizations to protest during the period under analysis presented a relatively wide variety of demands. In this sense, it is worthwhile to underline that 52% of the demands made by picketeer organizations are not ones that can be readily linked to their claims. Beyond the predominance of direct assistance demands (48%), picketeers participated in demands typical of trade unions in 8% of the cases, while trade unions participated in demands typical of picketeers in 1% of the cases. If we continue analyzing the types of demands made by picketeer organizations, we also find an important participation of picketeers in the challenge to the

legitimacy of the social regime of accumulation and the political regime of government (25%).

TABLE 4: TYPE of ORGANIZATION according to PROTEST DEMAND

	SALARY (26%) (n=139)	ECONOMIC (18%) (n=923)	SOCIAL SERVICES (15%) (n=788)	HUMAN RIGHTS & JUSTICE ADM. (14%) (n=757)	LABOR (11%) (n=594)	POLITICAL (9%) (n=489)	DIRECT SOCIAL ASSIST. / EMPLOYMENT (5%) (n=247)
UNION	85%	43%	44%	11%	76%	32%	14%
CIVIL	6%	17%	41%	70%	7%	33%	13%
EMPLOYERS	-	21%	1%	1%	1%	3%	2%
PARTISAN	-	4%	4%	6%	1%	14%	3%
PICKETEERS	1%	4%	2%	3%	3%	8%	61%
OTHER	5%	8%	6%	5%	10%	8%	2%
NO DATA	3%	3%	2%	4%	2%	2%	5%
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Base: Total number of protests (n=5268)

TABLE 5: TYPE of FORMS according to the DEMAND

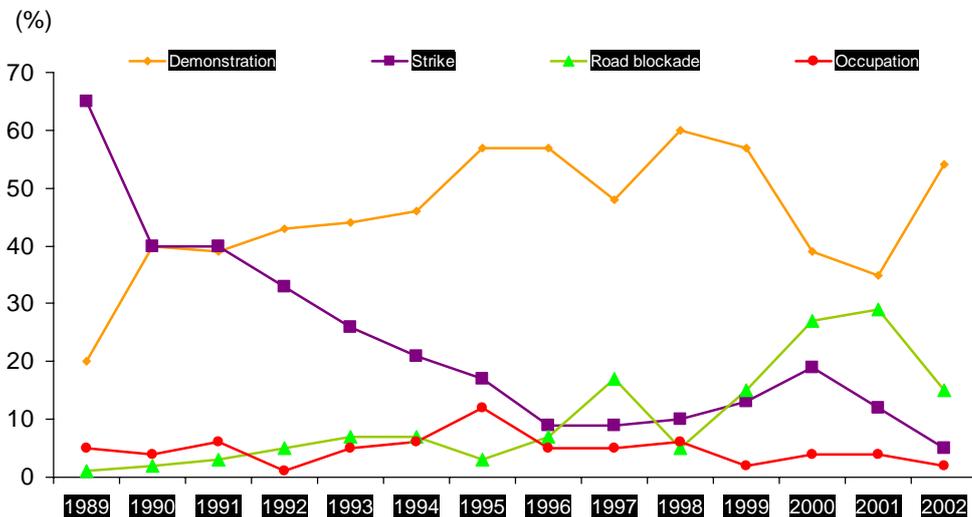
	SALARY (26%) (n=139)	ECONOMIC (18%) (n=923)	SOCIAL SERVICES (15%) (n=788)	HUMAN RIGHTS & JUSTICE ADMIN. (14%) (n=757)	LABOR (11%) (n=594)	POLITICAL (9%) (n=489)	DIRECT SOCIAL ASSIST. / EMPLOYMENT (5%) (n=247)
DEMONSTRATION	26%	53%	48%	64%	38%	55%	22%
WORK STOPPAGE / STRIKE	58%	19%	23%	3%	34%	9%	2%
ROAD BLOCKADE	4%	10%	5%	3%	9%	10%	62%
OCCUPATION	4%	3%	9%	1%	8%	6%	6%
OTHER	7%	14%	14%	27%	11%	19%	7%
NO DATA	1%	1%	1%	2%	0%	1%	1%
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Base: Total number of protests (n=5268)

Forms

CHART 15: EVOLUTION of the MAIN FORMATS

MJLTIPLE VARIABLE
(Total recorded n = 5276)



Base: Total number of protests (n=5268)

Note: This chart does not include the values of the category 'Other'.

Demonstration was the forms of social protest most frequently resorted to during the period we analyzed. Although at the beginning of the period, the percentage of demonstrations was lower than the percentage of strikes, from 1992 on, marches were the predominant forms. In that year, while strikes amounted to 26% of the protests, marches comprised 34%.

Work stoppages and strikes, which are a characteristic form of union protest, decreased considerably in importance during the nineties. It is interesting to note that this drop is not correlated to the fluctuations in salary demands, which registered a growth in 1994 and 1995. On the other hand, the 'road blockade' forms, which were almost insignificant at the beginning of the period, underwent a systematic increase to the point of becoming one of the main formats in the first years of the new century. As can be observed in chart 15, in 1997 and then from 1999 on, there were more road blockades than strikes, at least according to the sources we used. This is one of the most interesting general transformations of the period. By way of illustration, while in 1992 there was one road blockade for every seven strikes, in 2001, by the end of the period, there were twice as many road blockades as strikes.

On the other hand, if we compare the forms 'demonstration' to that of 'road blockades', we observe that the two formats' respective evolutions have been opposite from 1997 on. From that year until 2001, road blockades increased, while marches decreased until their percentage was almost identical to that of road blockades. At the same time, in that year, protests tended to take on one of these two formats, 6 out of 10 protests to be exact.

TABLE 6: FORMS according to POLITICAL PERIODS

	Alfonsín (n=307)	Menem 1 st term of office (n=2221)	Menem 2 nd term of office (n=1687)	De la Rúa (n=626)	Duhalde (n=427)	TOTAL (n=5268)
DEMONSTRATION	20%	41%	56%	37%	52%	45%
WORK STOPPAGE / STRIKE	62%	35%	10%	15%	5%	24%
ROAD BLOCKADE	1%	4%	10%	28%	16%	10%
OCCUPATION	7%	4%	6%	4%	1%	5%
OTHER	9%	14%	16%	15%	22%	15%
NO DATA	1%	1%	1%	1%	3%	1%
TOO INDETERMINATE TO BE CODIFIED	-	1%	1%	-	1%	-
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Category OTHER	Prisoners' riot 2%	Category OTHER	Prisoners' riot 3%	Category OTHER	Prisoners' riot 2%	Category OTHER	Prisoners' riot 2%	Category OTHER	Prisoners' riot 2%	Category OTHER	Pot banging 12%
	Hunger strike 1%		Hunger strike 2%		"Escrache" 2%		Human chain 2%		"Escrache" 5%		Human chain 1%
	Pot banging 1%		Sit-in 2%		Artistic exhibition 2%		Sit-in 2%		"Escrache" 1%		
	Artistic exhibition 1%		Pot banging 1%		Hunger strike 2%		"Escrache" 1%		Artistic exhibition 1%		
	Lockout 1%		Human chain 1%		Pot banging 1%		Artistic exhibition 1%				
			Artistic exhibition 1%		Human chain 1%		Sit-in 1%				

Base: Total number of protests (n=5268)

Table 6 shows the proportion of protests of each form during each of the presidential terms. A first reading indicates a decrease in demonstrations between Carlos Menem's second term of office and Fernando de la Rúa's administration that is practically equivalent to the growth in road and street blockades. In this same table, we can see that the category "Other" maintains a significant proportion of the protests during each of the presidencies. For this reason, we decided to disaggregate the data. We observe, then, that during each of the periods the composition of the "Other" category is more or less similar, except during Duhalde's administration, when pot-banging (12%) and "escraches" (5%) show a considerably higher percentage than the other formats. In this period, the proportion of pot-banging is identical to that of work stoppages and strikes.

TABLE 7: FORMS according to the ECONOMIC PERIOD

	Hyperinflation (1989-91) (n=1348)	Convertibility & Growth (1992-95) (n=1469)	Post-Tequila Convertibility (1996-99) (n=1413)	Financial Crisis (2000-03) (n=1038)
DEMONSTRATION	32%	48%	55%	43%
WORK STOPPAGE / STRIKE	49%	24%	10%	11%
ROAD BLOCKADE	2%	5%	11%	23%
OCCUPATION	5%	6%	5%	3%
OTHER	11%	15%	18%	18%
NO DATA / TOO INDETERMINATE	1%	2%	1%	2%
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%

Category **OTHER**
 Prisoners' riot 2%
 Hunger strike 2%
 Sit-in 1%
 Human chain 1%
 Artistic exhibition 1%

Category **OTHER**
 Prisoners' riot 3%
 Sit-in 2%
 Artistic exhibition 1%
 Hunger strike 1%
 Pot banging 1%
 Human chain 1%
 Lockout 1%

Category **OTHER**
 Artistic exhibition 3%
 Prisoners' riot 2%
 "Escrache" 2%
 Hunger strike 2%
 Sit-in 1%
 Pot banging 1%
 Human chain 1%
 Camping 1%

Category **OTHER**
 Pot banging 5%
 "Escrache" 3%
 Sit-in 2%
 Prisoners' riot 2%
 Human chain 2%

Base: Total number of protests (n=5268)

Analysis of protest formats by economic period (Table 7) does not seem to yield any interesting data and the conclusions that may be drawn are very similar to those reached for presidential periods.

Table 8 shows that the relationship between forms and type of organization is more complex than expected. Forty-nine percent of road blockades were carried out not by picketeer organizations but by unions and/or civil organizations (among which the proportion of neighbor and/or inhabitant organizations stands out); surprisingly, business associations carried out 9% of road blockades in the period. It is necessary to consider, however, that such a category is relatively heterogeneous and includes not only large business associations, but also small producers' associations. In fact, 60% of road blockades made by business associations correspond to rural and agricultural-livestock organizations.

TABLE 8: TYPE of ORGANIZATION according to the FORMS of the PROTEST

	DEMONSTRATION (45%) (n=2367)	WORK STOPPAGE / STRIKE (24%) (n=1266)	ROAD BLOCKADE (10%) (n=503)	OCCUPATION (5%) (n=255)
UNION	34%	88%	25%	46%
CIVIL	40%	4%	24%	37%
EMPLOYERS	5%	4%	9%	2%
PARTISAN	6%	-	2%	4%
PICKETEER	4%	-	30%	4%
OTHER	8%	3%	6%	4%
NO DATA	3%	1%	4%	3%
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%

Neighbors/Inhabitants	65%
Students	18%
Parents	6%
Natives	2%
Professionals	2%
Retirees	1%
Other	6%
Total	100

Base: Total number of protests (n=5268)

This does not mean that road blockades were the main forms of protest by unions and civil organizations. Significant differences may be appreciated among the different types of organizations if we compare the importance that the use of the different protest formats has (Table 9)⁴. From the total number of union and civil protests, the proportion that took the forms of “road blockade” is significantly smaller than the proportion of picketeer protests that used this forms: less than 8% versus 55%. There are also significant differences between union organizations and civil and partisan organizations as to the use of the “demonstration” forms (37% vs. 59% and 69%), and even greater differences as to the use of the “work stoppage/strike” forms (44% vs. 3% and 2%).

⁴ We thank the comments and remarks made by Darío Cantón on this point.

TABLE 9: FORMS according to the TYPE of ORGANIZATION

	UNION (49%) (n=2568)	CIVIL (35%) (n=1858)	PICKETEER (6%) (n=305)	PARTISAN (5%) (n=249)
DEMONSTRATION	37%	59%	33%	69%
WORK STOPPAGE / STRIKE	44%	3%	1%	2%
ROAD BLOCKADE	5%	7%	55%	5%
OCCUPATION	5%	6%	3%	5%
OTHER	8%	23%	6%	19%
NO DATA	1%	1%	1%	-
TOO INDETERMINATE TO BE CODIFIED	-	1%	1%	-
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%

Base: Total number of protests (n=5268)

As regards the type of demand according to the forms (Table 10), one third of work stoppages/strikes were not produced by typical union demands. In turn, the demands posed in demonstrations (the most frequently used forms) were linked to economic (19%), human rights and justice administration (18%), social security (14%), and salary (13%) questions.

TABLE 10: TYPE OF DEMAND and PROTEST FORMS

	DEMONSTRATION (45%) (n=2367)	WORK STOPPAGE/ STRIKE/ (24%) (n=1266)	ROAD BLOCKADE (10%) (n=503)	OCCUPATION (5%) (n=255)
SALARY	13%	53%	10%	20%
LABOR	8%	13%	9%	17%
HUMAN RIGHTS & JUSTICE ADMIN.	18%	1%	4%	3%
SECURITY	3%	2%	3%	1%
SOCIAL ASSISTANCE	14%	12%	7%	26%
SOCIAL ASSIST. / EMPLOYMENT	2%	-	26%	5%
HOUSING SERVICES	4%	-	8%	5%
POLITICAL	10%	3%	9%	9%
ECONOMIC	19%	11%	16%	10%
OTHER	8%	2%	5%	2%
TOO INDETERMINATE TO BE CODIFIED	1%	3%	3%	2%
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%

Base: Total number of protests (n=5268)

On the other hand, of all road blockades, only one-fourth involved demands for direct social assistance and employment, a demand typical of picketeer picketeers. Almost the same proportion (one-fourth) of road blockades were made for generally economic or political demands and a surprising 20% of these protests were made over salary and labor demands. On the other hand, we can say that road blockades, with their modular nature, are more similar to marches than to strikes. Our research shows that this form, which is used by many different types of organizations, leaves room for a heterogeneous group of demands. For this reason, we consider the modularity of road blockades to be forms of protest.

We have heretofore referred only to the protest formats showing percentages higher than 5%. However, it is also important to consider those formats that, although not statistically relevant, drew the attention of public opinion. Among them are the following: pot banging, prisoners' riots, hunger strikes (each of these constituted 2% of protests); "*escraches*", sit-ins, artistic exhibitions, and human chains (each these constituted 1% of the total protests).

If these formats are added to the category "Other", along with telephone cuts, cyber protests, tents, public denunciations, alerts, trash throwing ("*basurazo*"), submission of petitions, lockouts, camping, soup kitchens, whistles, boycotts, and assemblies, we can see that the organizations that used these formats were mostly civil (23%) and partisan (18%) organizations.

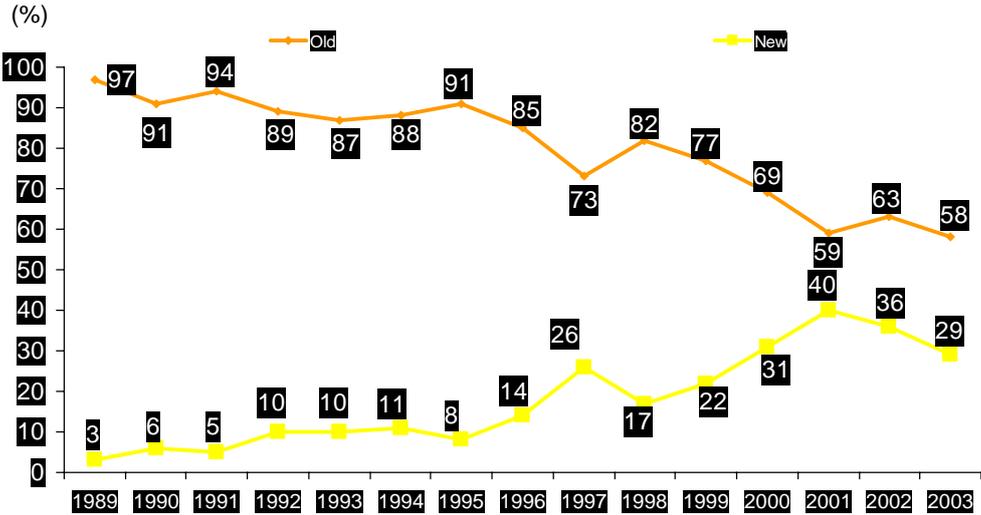
Finally, it is possible to group the various protest formats into the categories of *old* and *new*. Here it is essential to clarify that by old and new formats we do not refer to the history of a given form as such, but to its use in the repertoire of confrontations during the period analyzed. It should also be taken into account that innovation and change over time regarding which protest formats groups choose is a relevant indicator of the existence of protest cycles, as defined by Tarrow and mentioned above. Among the *old* formats are boycotts, mass meetings, hunger strikes, lockouts, alerts, marches, work stoppages/strikes, occupations, sit-ins, and prisoners' riots. Among the *new* formats are artistic exhibitions, soup kitchens, camping, pot-banging, trash-throwing, human chains, "*escraches*", tents, cyber protests, and telephone cuts, as well as road, street, and railway blockades.

In the period analyzed, traditional formats represented 82% of total protests, while new formats represented 16%. Considering the formats' evolution

over the years, one sees the old formats decreasing in frequency and the new formats increasing, with some moments of peaking popularity. In this way, the growth in popularity of the new formats is inversely proportional to the decreasingly popular traditional formats, even though the traditional formats still represented a greater proportion of the total protests. In 2001, four out of ten protests used new formats (chart 16).

Both union organizations and civil and partisan organizations used in greater numbers formats that in this paper we have referred to as “old”. In the case of trade unions, for instance, in 90% of cases they resorted to traditional formats and used new formats in only 9% of cases (chart 17).

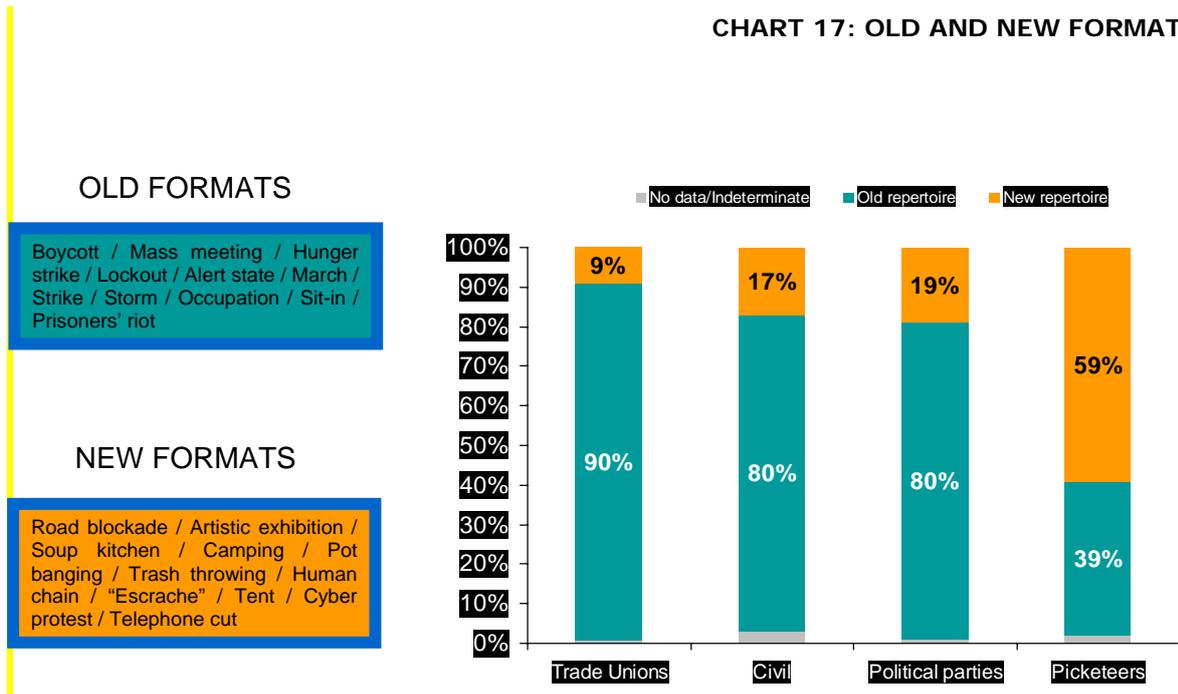
CHART 16: EVOLUTION of COLLECTIVE ACTION FORMATS



Base: Total number of protests (n=5268)

For civil organizations, the proportions are 80% and 17% respectively. The situation is very similar with political parties, who only record a 19% usage of new formats. Picketeer organizations are the exception, as they used the new formats to a greater extent (59%) than traditional formats (39%). It is logical to conclude, then, that the new types of organizations that appeared during the period under consideration are those that introduced modifications into the forms of contentious collective expression. Compared to other types of organizations, trade unions have adopted the new formats of collective action to a lesser extent.

CHART 17: OLD AND NEW FORMATS



OLD FORMATS
 Boycott / Mass meeting / Hunger strike / Lockout / Alert state / March / Strike / Storm / Occupation / Sit-in / Prisoners' riot

NEW FORMATS
 Road blockade / Artistic exhibition / Soup kitchen / Camping / Pot banging / Trash throwing / Human chain / "Escrache" / Tent / Cyber protest / Telephone cut

Base: Total number of protests (n=5268)

III. General conclusions

As we indicated at the beginning of this report, the main purpose of our research was to contribute empirical evidence on the transformations of the social protest in Argentina in recent times. We believe that in this way we contribute to an analysis of this phenomenon not limited to specific situations or to determined actors. A general perspective about a long period such as the one we analyzed makes it possible to broaden the horizons of the debate on protests in our country.

Our main concern is to foster a deeper understanding of the changes that have occurred in the Argentine social and political structure over the past ten years, changes that have created the conditions for transformation in the constitution of protest subjects. We are also concerned with the political impact of these changes.

Our approach assumes that the analysis of the social protest may, and for certain purposes must, focus on the way in which certain actions influence national politics. Our interest in studying the public record of organizations' activities and of protest movements, which we see as linked to social

mobilization processes, stems from there. This approach is especially appropriate in light of the new importance of visible mobilization phenomena.

In contradistinction to the works that have proposed a reading of 1990s social mobilization centered on depolitization, apathy, and impotence, our work demonstrates that social protest has in fact had a significant role in national politics and has actually engendered a privileged environment for the emergence of new actors, demands, and forms of confrontation.

We shall review, in the first place, some of the main conclusions and speculations we have made based on our data.

a) Based on the period surveyed, data show two different protest cycles: the first one developed between 1993 and 1996 and the second one between 1996 and 1999. Between the late 1995 and early 1996 was an important decrease in the number of protests, but the trend rapidly reversed and gave rise to a new growth of protests. Later this growth in turn slowed down, and the numbers settled into a plateau in 2001. This was a particularly significant year in terms of the political impact of mobilizations, but it was not so significant in terms of the number of protests recorded. We have asserted above that the number of protests in a given period is not a good indicator of the protests' political impact, and perhaps this case is the best example. This may be due in part to the fact that the type of protests staged in 2001 --and perhaps also the next year-- were mass protests that involved a greater number of direct-action measures, although the total number of protests did not increase. On the other hand, an increasingly organized protest process or a greater level of articulation in the protest may also explain a lower global number of protests. In order to illustrate this conjecture, we can refer to an important fact revealed by the data: in 1997, half of all protests included in the category "picketeers/unemployed people" corresponded to "non-organized unemployed people", but in 2001, that proportion fell to 40%, and in 2002 to 23%. The same argument may also be considered from another point of view: while in 1997 only one out of four protests by unemployed people had a picketeer organization as the driving force of the action, in 2001 that proportion rose to almost half of the total and reached 61% in 2002. It should also be taken into account that in 2002 the number of protests staged by picketeer organizations was similar to those promoted by trade unions.

On the other hand, it is more difficult to identify a cycle of protests between the end of 1999 and the end of 2002. As we have seen, our data show that ascending and descending phases of confrontations were much shorter in those years. During that period the direction of the phase changed from one quarter to another. However, in spite of such discontinuity, from the second quarter of 2000 until the first quarter of 2002, each phase of increasing confrontations saw still more confrontations than the previous phase of increasing confrontations.

b) Neither political nor economic periods notably alter the distribution of the protests. The data obtained from the survey show that political crises are not necessarily produced within the context of an increase in the number of protests. In other words, we affirm that the number of protests is not directly related to their political impact. However, there is an exception: consider the organization that carried out the most protests in the period, comparing the distribution of union protests according to political periods to the distribution according to economic periods. We can conclude, in this case, that unions' protest activity is linked more closely to political situations than to economic situations. Charts 8 and 9 show this comparison in the protest activity carried out by trade unions. The dynamics in the 1992-1995 and 2000-2003 sub-periods are particularly pertinent. We should note, for instance, the growth in activity just before the 1995 election.

c) Most of the demands (37%) made by protesters in the period under analysis can be linked to the regulation of the labor market. Within this context, some of them, like salary demands, suffered a significant decrease. In this sense, we must point out that the decrease in salary-related protests follows a curve similar to that of protests in which trade unions participate. However, this is not the case with the other type of demand typically made by unions: labor-related demands, which remained much more stable throughout the whole period.

It is necessary to distinguish between demands about work remuneration (salary demands) and demands about labor regulation (labor demands). Remarkable, in a way, is the preeminence of salary demands within a context of deep transformation in working conditions. It seems proper to affirm that when large-scale social reforms were implemented, the legitimacy of the reforms, as well as unemployment pressure, had a bearing on unions' capacity to respond.

The incidence of demands for direct social assistance and employment, which is the demand most characteristic of organizations of the unemployed, is low (5%). This may be due to their late appearance, to the difficulty of organizing unemployed people, and to the resistance met with by trade unions (and other organizations) in their attempts to articulate this type of demand.

Finally, although the issue of security has figured prominently in the public agenda in recent years, it was not a characteristic social protest demand during the period.

d) Forty-five percent of the protests used the "demonstration" forms. Between 1999 and 2001, the proportion of other confrontation formats, such as strikes and road blockades, increased, while marches and mass meetings decreased. During 2001, the year when the two national picketeer assemblies were made, 29% of protests were road blockades. In the following year, the trend of road blockades and marches reversed: the proportion of the former decreased notably, while the proportion of the latter was 39% higher than road blockades. In proportional terms, the "road blockades" forms grew significantly if we take into account that at the beginning of the period it was very seldom used and at the end of the period, forty percent of protests used this method.

At the same time, it is necessary to point out that one of the most interesting general transformations of the period is the trend in the relationship between road blockades and strikes. While at the beginning of the decade (1992), there was only one road blockade for every seven strikes, by the end of the period (2001) we find twice as many road blockades as strikes. If we consider that the road blockade is a form that consolidated during the second half of the period, its total incidence is relatively high (10%). At the same time, we must remember that the blockade of roads, streets or railways, as a method of protest, was used by a wide variety of organizations to support several types of demands.

In more general terms, we can observe that 82% of the protests made in the period under analysis used old formats, while new formats were used in only 16% of cases. If we analyze their evolution over the years, old formats showed a trend of decreasing frequency, while new formats showed an increasing trend with some quite important peaks.

In preparing this paper, we as researchers made a methodological decision to display a descriptive vocation in order to capture the various transformations of the period, transformations in the relationships among organizations, demands and formats of protest. Such transformations in the social protest were initially considered in terms of their increasingly fragmented nature. We shall see now what this work contributes to the evaluation of this characteristic.

In the first place, our intention was to evaluate the notion of the "singularization" of the protest. When we compared how demands were formulated at the beginning and at the end of the period, we noticed a dual transformation. The first transformation we designated "heterogenization of the demands"; that is, a greater diversity in the content of their demands, which resulted in the lower relative weight of the main demands. Thus, while between 1989 and 1991 the two main demands (salary and labor) constitute almost 60% of the demands formulated, between 2001 and 2003 the main demands (economic and direct social assistance and employment) only constitute 37%. We must note, however, that the increasingly heterogeneous nature of demands does not reflect a strict singularization process, since there was at the same time a generalization of demands. That is, there was a trend away from making demands linked to more particular claims (referred to as "micro") and toward making another type of more general demand (referred to as "macro"). It is important to point out that social protest demands at the end of the period reflect an increase in what we could call a legitimacy crisis. This is reflected in the important relative weight of the demands challenging the political regime of government (10%) and those challenging the social regime of accumulation (24%).

In the second place, we have referred to the high localization of protests. This feature may be attributed to the increasing importance in the period of protests staged by neighbors and/or inhabitants of the area. It is not advisable, however, to link this analysis to the geographic distribution of protests in view of the characteristics of the sources.

In the third place, our aim was to evaluate to what extent a multiplication of actors was evident throughout the period. We must point out that union protests predominated throughout the whole period. Only in the years 1996, 1998 and 2002 was there another type of organization that participated in more social protests than unions. However, between 1989 and 2003, union protests

decreased both in absolute and relative terms. If we consider the range of union protests, we can observe that in 1989, trade unions led 74% of the protests, while in 1998 or 2002, they staged only 26%. At the beginning of the period, unions' protests were clearly prevalent (54%) as compared to the rest of the protests; however, in the last years surveyed, their incidence was similar to that of civil protests (31%) and it was considerably lower than the sum of the latter plus picketeer protests (50%). While picketeers had a sustained growth up to 1998 (51%), union protests reached their lowest point (26%) in the same year. This trend shows the disconnect between the mobilization of classic actors within the political system linked to the representation of interests and the mobilization of organizations arising from the struggle for the regeneration of the public sphere and the defense of rights.

Two remarks are imperative in regard to these affirmations: first, that the disarticulation of the relationship between trade unions and protests should not be linked to a loss of power by union leaders; second, it is necessary to bear in mind that unions' situation during the period became more complex. Thus, while some sectors protested much less, others intensified or maintained their level of action. (This was analyzed on the basis of available data, differentiating among the various activities of the trade unions that drove protests during the decade).

Political parties, as formal practitioners of conflict articulation, do not seem to have had a particular relevance during the period either. In this sense, the hypothesis of decorporativization may be widened so as to lead us to the conclusion that there is a rift between the worlds of protest and the formal regulations of the political regime; that is, that there is a systemic or legitimacy crisis.

If we focus on the activity of leftist parties, the analysis becomes particularly complex, as they have undoubtedly had an intense and sustained role in the organization processes of various types of protest collectives. However, their prominence in the staging of protests is considerably less significant.

In contraposition to the withdrawal of some union and political sectors from the social protest stage, new subjects have acquired a fundamental significance. Some of them have a long history linked to social mobilization, as in the case of neighbors, human rights organizations and students; but others are newer, as in the case of victims' family members and picketeers.

It is necessary to consider that, in general, this panorama is defined by the fact that some of the actors more traditionally linked to social mobilization phenomena --such as unions, which have stable identities and forms of organization independent of the protest-- appear to gradually separate from this type of action, while new actors and collectives who protested during this period seemed to have adopted identities or forms of self-definition more directly related to either the actions they carried out, their forms, or their demand.

Taking into account the questions with which we began our work, we find that fragmentation implies not a deflation in the political impact of the protest, but an emergence of new actors, the formulation of new problems and the elaboration of new discursive strategies in connection with pre-existing problems. However, though we expected our research to uncover an increasingly normalized nature of protest phenomena during the period we studied, the research does not in fact bear this out. We must remember, once more, that the term "normalization" refers to the fact that protests are not aimed at challenging the democratic regulation of the political regime of government or the capitalist nature of the social regime of accumulation.

Considering the economic transformations of 1990s Argentina, we might have supposed that unions would have led the confrontation with the reform process. And yet, the structural reforms carried out during Menem's first administration seem to have had a significant degree of legitimacy within the union sector. The protest concentrated in the public sector unions, but the marked preeminence of work remuneration (salary) demands over labor demands (which amount to less than half of the former) is quite significant within a context of such dramatic transformations in the labor relationship. The protest against the economic model and the effects of the reforms grew only after the 1997 peak that incorporated new subjects and forms of mobilization.

This issue compels us to focus again our attention on the singularities of the union protests. If these protests are added to salary and labor demands and are linked to the political periods, they jointly represented 46% of the total number of demands between 1989 and 1995, 17% between 1996 and 1999, and 16% between 2000 and 2003. These two types of demands show a decreasing trend that may be thought of as a part of the same process. The close relationship between these demands, a trade union or similar organization, and a forms like a work stoppage/strike, prompts us to speculate that what we once

designated the “union matrix of protests” (Schuster and Pereyra, 2001) has suffered some transformations in the period under analysis.

However, taking into account, a relationship like the one between organization and demand, the decrease in demands is much more noticeable than the participation of trade unions in the protests: if the whole period analyzed is considered, unions’ traditional demands amounted to 37% while they came to represent 49 % of organizations. In other words, labor and salary demands represented only 56% of unions’ demands. This relationship is still more notable if we compare the participation of union organizations to the steep decrease in frequency of their trademark protest forms, the strike. We could suggest that the transformations of the period were not caused simply by the emergence of a new set of actors who brought with them a new set of characteristic demands and formats, but that the situation seems to be more complex. We might venture to say that from 1996 on, a process we could term the “**de-corporativization** of the protest” took place and that this process influenced even the demands and protest formats of unions by incorporating other types of claims and forms of mobilization. The demands related to issues of political legitimacy (trade unions produced almost the same number of political demands as civil organizations) or social security (44%, the highest proportion supported by union organizations) may be considered good illustrations of this argument. It is also interesting to consider that although union organizations had a leading role in protests involving political and social security demands, they did not participate in protests for jobs and direct social assistance in the same proportion.

On the other hand, in terms of formats, we must consider that road blockades in the year 1998 involved trade unions that did not belong to those sectors traditionally opposed to Menemism (public administration, education and health). We have to emphasize once more the modularity of the road blockade forms, but also, and more importantly, the strongly contentious and disruptive component of this forms, since one fourth of them challenged issues of a political and/or economic nature. At the same time, we must highlight the use of road blockades as a way of expressing typical union demands, while the relationship between union organizations, strikes and demands typical of unemployed people was insignificant. This shows the difficulty that trade unions encounter when trying to incorporate the demands and claims of the unemployed.

We think it is very important, then, to propose a discussion on the concept of the de-corporativization of the protest. Despite our first intuitions, this does not require us to think of the consolidation of a new civic matrix in the sense of, say, a decisive predominance of demands linked to the protection of individual rights. We believe it is more productive to think of decorporativization in the sense of a disarticulation between social belligerence and the political system; the passage from a representation in power to a representation and constitution of actors and demands against the power.

It is interesting to compare this idea of decorporativization to the Castelian model of disaffiliation, which is almost ubiquitous in works analyzing the period. If disaffiliation means that the crisis in industrial citizenship and the protection of the salary relationship cause individuation, risk, and demobilization, this does not seem to be the case. The high levels of civil protest during the whole period and picketeers' protest after 1997 represent a base mobilization process that is predominantly territorial and that gradually begins to dominate the scenario of protests (Merklen, 2005). At the same time, we must consider that this transformation process is produced in relation to changes in the institutional structure to the extent that, even though the State does not comply with its social integration and economy-regulation duties, it does multiply the control and local domination by means of social plans, jobs in the public administration, and repression.

We insist on a definition of the concept of de-corporativization in hopes that the concept will lead to a new way of understanding collective actions that make demands to the State for guarantees of basic equity and the power to fully exercise citizenship without following the channel of classic corporativism (unions and "movimentist" parties). If the populist model legitimized the generalization of the effective exercise of citizenship, the above-described process (particularly from 1997 onwards) seems to show a new convergence between the persistence of demands related to the regulatory content of democracy (political, economic, justice administration, social security, and other demands) and a democratic legitimization which emphasizes questions linked to the forms of participation and representation. It is not so interesting to pose the question starting from the opposition between citizenship matrix and corporative matrix, since the result of the process does not seem to be so much the traditional liberal model of negative freedom in terms of protection of individual rights, but rather what B.

Manin calls a "democracy of the public": a combination of novel deliberative and participatory forms and plebiscitarian political links. The latter point would make it possible to understand, in turn, the coexistence of a process of protest reorientation toward the public sphere (marches, road blockades, claims for the recognition of rights, etc.) with the unstable, yet permanent, political leadership in a weak institution.

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