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Sociological
Association

Grassroots

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The Newsletter of the Research Committee on
Social Movements, Collective Action and Social Change (RC48)
of the International Sociological Association

EDITORS

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

- 02 Note from the RC48 President
- 04 About RC48 and the ISA
- 06 Benefits associated to RC48 membership
- 08 2012: A prolific year for RC48!
- 08 RC48 and ISA international conferences
- 09 RC48 Publications
- 10 New RC48 website, and Facebook and Twitter accounts
- 10 Grassroots, new RC48 Newsletter
- 11 New RC48 projects and initiatives
- 11 Creation of a new journal
- 11 RC48 prize for the best paper written by a graduate student
- 11 Revision of RC48 Statutes
- 12 "Adopt a Graduate Student" membership drive
- 13 Reports from Buenos Aires.
Note published in Global Dialogues by the RC48 President
- 15 Research Notes, a new Grassroots section
 - Pilar Alzina, Challenges of public policies. Social economics in social movements
 - Ana Natalucci, The redevelopment of the social movement grammar of collective action: Social movements and new institutional characters
 - Melina Vázquez, The youth as a militant cause:
Some ideas about political activism during Kirchnerismo
- 37 Yokohama 2014. Everything you need to know!
- 41 Announcements
- 42 About Grassroots

Note from the RC48 President

Dear Colleagues and Friends:

We hope this new edition of Grassroots finds you well. The year 2013 has already begun, leaving behind a tremendously prolific 2012 for our RC48! In just one year, our Research Committee has:

- increased its membership by 29 new standing members;
- organized the International Conference “From Social to Political. New Forms of Mobilization and Democratization” (Bilbao, February 9-10, 2012);
- organized or co-organized an overall number of 20 sessions during the Second ISA Forum of Sociology (Buenos Aires, August 1-4, 2012);
- edited a *Current Sociology* monograph issue, forthcoming in 2013;
- published two edited volumes with conference proceedings;
- created our newsletter **Grassroots**;
- prepared a book proposal on the Spanish M15/Indignados movement;
- launched our new RC48 [website](#) (still under construction);
- created both [Facebook](#) and [Twitter](#) accounts; and, finally,
- begun to prepare for the XVIII ISA World Congress of Sociology, to take place in Yokohama (Japan), on July 13-19, 2014.

If you haven't done so yet, we would like to encourage you to join both the ISA and RC48. Combined ISA-RC membership (not ISA or RC membership alone) determines both the number of sessions each RC can hold in ISA Forums and World Congresses. Dual membership determines, as well, RC's budget to allocate grants to their members, and to continue to organize activities and initiatives such as the ones we just mentioned.

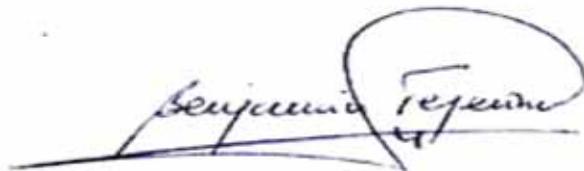
We have included links to the [individual membership form](#), and also to the [list of benefits associated to individual membership](#). Please, mind that regular RC48 membership is 30 USD, and discount membership (for both students and colleagues from [B and C countries](#)) is 10 USD for a 4-year period.

Finally, we would like to encourage each and all of you to collaborate in the organization of ongoing and future RC48 events and initiatives, detailed below.

Please, do not hesitate to contact me and my collaborator Ignacia Perugorría at isa.rc48@gmail.com should you have further queries about these or other issues. We look forward to hearing from you!

For those of you who joined us in Bilbao and/or Buenos Aires, thank you very much for contributing to build community by fostering a socially vibrant and an intellectually stimulating experience. For the rest of you, we hope we will be seeing you soon in Yokohama!

With best wishes,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read "Benjamín Tejerina". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a small circle drawn around the end of the last name.

Benjamín Tejerina

President

Research Committee on Social Movements,
Collective Action and Social Change (RC48)

International Sociological Association

[Mail](#) | [Web](#) | [Facebook](#) | [Twitter](#)

About RC48 and the ISA

The Research Committee on Social Movements, Collective Action and Social Change (RC48) is part of the [International Sociological Association](#) (ISA). It was founded as a Working Group in 1992, under the presidency of Prof. Bert Klandermans. In 1994 it was recognized as an ISA Research Committee.

The objective of RC48 is to foster intellectual, academic and scholarly exchanges between researchers of broadly defined social movements, collective action and social change. The RC48 is currently based at the [Collective Identity Research Center](#) (Department of Sociology 2, University of the Basque Country, Spain).

The ISA was founded in 1949 under the auspices of UNESCO. With more than 5,000 members coming from 167 countries, the ISA is currently the most important international professional association in the field of sociology. Its goal is to advance sociological knowledge throughout the world, and to represent sociologists everywhere, regardless of their school of thought, scientific approaches or ideological opinion. An account of the internal organization of the ISA can be found [here](#), and a history of the ISA written by Jennifer Platt is published [here](#).

The on-going scientific activities of the ISA are decentralised in 55 [Research Committees](#) (RC), 3 [Working Groups](#) (WG) and 5 [Thematic Groups](#) (TG), each dealing with a well-recognized specialty in sociology. These groups bring together scholars who wish to pursue comparative research on a transnational basis and they constitute basic networks of scientific research, intellectual debate and professional exchange. Although they must fulfill certain minimum requirements, RCs have complete autonomy to operate. Each

RC's governing body is the Board, formed by a President, a Secretary, and a variable number of board members.

RC48 participates in the organization of both the [ISA World Congresses](#), celebrated every 4 years since 1950 (Zurich), and the [ISA Forums of Sociology](#), also celebrated every 4 years since 2008 (Barcelona). In contrast to the ISA World Congress, which has a more professional and academic character, the Forum's original purpose was to establish an open dialogue with colleagues doing sociology in public institutions, social movements, and civil society organizations. This means that every two years, we are involved in the organization of a world-wide event.

In between ISA World Congresses and Forums, our committee organizes smaller scientific meetings called [RC48 international conferences](#). These meetings tend to be more narrowly focused than other ISA events and, on average, they gather between 30 and 60 scholars. As a consequence, colleagues can make longer presentations, and we can go hold deeper and more enriching debates. The last of these conferences was convened under the motto "*From Social to Political. New Forms of Mobilization and Democratization*" and took place in Bilbao, on February 9-10, 2012. You can find all the information regarding this conference in our [website](#).

RC48 Board 2010-2014

President: Benjamín TEJERINA, University of the Basque Country, Spain

Secretary/Treasurer: Debal SINGHAROY, Indira Gandhi National Open University, India

Board Members

Taghi AZADARMAKI, Iran

Tova BENSKI, College of Management Studies, Israel

Jorge CADENA ROA, UNAM, Mexico

Helena FLAM, Universität Leipzig, Germany

James GOODMAN, University of Technology, Australia

Lauren LANGMAN, Loyola University of Chicago, USA

Markus SCHULZ, University of Illinois-Urbana Champaign, USA

Benefits associated to RC48 membership

Subscription to ISA journals:

- **Current Sociology**, one of the oldest and most cited sociological journals in the world;
- **International Sociology**, a journal in which all regions, branches and schools of thought within sociology are represented;

Free on-line access to:

- **eSymposium**, a forum through which ISA members (only) are able to engage in debate, showcasing the diverse work, practices, ideas and voices within international sociology.
- **sociopedia.isa** an online database with state-of-the-art review articles in social sciences.

Each of the entries includes a debate section;

- **SAGE Collection**, which includes 37 journals with more than 12,500 articles.
- **Sage Studies in International Sociology**, these publications promote international debate and analyze dominant trends within sociology;

Access to ISA Digital Worlds:

- **Global Dialogue**, the electronic newsletter and magazine of the ISA. It appears 5 times a year, and in 14 languages. It attempts to keep readers up to-date with events in the ISA with reports from Research Committees and National Associations, reports on conferences and on meetings of the Executive Committee, and by announcing changes in journals, in the organization, and so forth. It is also a venue for debates, state of different sociologies, interviews, and much more. The latest issue in English (November 2012) can be found [here](#);
- **Universities in Crisis**, a [blog](#) of the ISA that reports on universities in crisis, aiming to build global communities of concerned academics;
- **Global Sociology, Live!** An experimental online course, born from the collaboration of the Global Sociology Seminar at the University of California, Berkeley, and the ISA. It involves conversations between sociology students at the University of California, Berkeley and scholars from around the world. Each week the conversation is recorded and then made available to a global audience through the International Sociological Association. The videos of weekly conversations can be viewed [here](#). There is also a blog associated with the course that can be found at <http://globalsociologylive.blogspot.com/>.
- **Sociotube**. Films and videos on the everyday lives of sociologists from different parts of the world -- teaching, conducting research, engaging publics, attending conferences, and so forth. The videos can be viewed [here](#).

Reception of *Isagram*,

an electronic newsletter containing announcements of the forthcoming conferences, calls for papers and manuscripts, prizes, competitions, job offers, etc.

Important discounts:

- A 45% discount on **SAGE Publications books**;
- Special subscription rates to journals offered by various publishers.
- A reduction in registration fees at ISA World Congress and Forum of Sociology.

Special benefits derived from **RC48 membership**:

INFORMATION:

- Reception of our newsletter **Grassroots**, including information regarding events and developments related to our area of study around the globe, and also short essays, thought-pieces or other materials written by RC48 members. **Grassroots** provides, as well, all relevant information regarding ISA Forums and World Congresses: conference programs, timetables, logistic information for travelers, etc. The first issue of **Grassroots** was published in July 2012 and can be found [here](#). **Grassroots** is edited twice a year by Benjamín Tejerina and Ignacia Perugorría.
- Immediate access to this information through our **RC48 website**, **Facebook page** and **Twitter account**. In addition, the section “Resources” within our RC48 website includes information on other research networks specialized in the study of social movements around the world, non-ISA conferences, calls for articles, journals, book series, recent publications, blogs, newsletters, job openings, fellowships, grants and prizes.

PRIZES AND GRANTS:

- All RC48 members residing in B and C countries are eligible for **ISA travel grants** to attend ISA Forums of Sociology or World Congresses.
- Starting in 2013, all RC48 members undergoing MA or PhD studies and presenting a paper at ISA Forums of Sociology or World Congresses will be eligible for an **RC48 Best Graduate Student Paper Award**.

- All PhD students who are RC48 members are also eligible to participate in the annual **International Laboratories for PhD Students in Sociology**. This year, the laboratory will be celebrated in Sydney, Australia, under the theme “Towards a Global Sociology.” For further information, go to: http://www.isa-sociology.org/isa_lab.htm

PARTICIPATION IN ISA CONGRESSES:

In addition to presenting papers, all RC48 members are welcome to organize sessions, panels, etc., and to act as chair or discussants at ISA Forums and World Congresses, and RC48 international conferences.

PARTICIPATION IN RC48 BOARD AND BUSINESS MEETINGS:

RC48 members are eligible to integrate the board, or to run for president or secretary of our research committee. Every RC48 member is also welcome and encouraged to participate in our periodic business meetings, celebrated in the context of ISA Forums and World Congresses.

CONTRIBUTION TO RC48 PUBLICATIONS:

In 2012, and thanks to an agreement with the Collective Identity Research Center and the University of the Basque Country Press, RC48 began to publish the proceedings of RC48 international conferences and ISA World Forums in both electronic and paper format. It is our intention to continue with this effort in future ISA events.

2012: A Prolific Year for RC48!

RC48 and ISA international conferences

“FROM SOCIAL TO POLITICAL. NEW FORMS OF MOBILIZATION AND DEMOCRATIZATION” (BILBAO, FEBRUARY 9-10, 2012)

The conference was organized by ISA's Research Committees on Social Movements, Collective Action and Social Change (RC48) and Social Classes and Social Movements (RC47).

The event was sponsored by the Collective Identity Research Center (Department of Sociology 2, University of the Basque Country, Spain), the base of our Committee since 2010. The conference's objective was to foster theoretical reflections and present empirical evidence on the mobilizations that began in 2011 all around the world. The meeting provided, as well, an opportunity to engage in a necessary and enriching debate about the continuities and discontinuities established between these mobilizations and previous social movements in terms of their contexts, organization, repertoires, and identity work. Recordings of the presentations can be found [here](#).

ISA FORUM OF SOCIOLOGY “SOCIAL JUSTICE AND DEMOCRATIZATION” (BUENOS AIRES, AUGUST 1-4, 2012)

The Second ISA Forum of Sociology was celebrated in Buenos Aires (Argentina), on August 1-4, 2012. RC48 convened its program under the motto *“Global Movements, National Grievances. Mobilizing for ‘Real Democracy’ and Social Justice.”* The slogan intended to connect the

Forum's overall theme with the research committee's specific focus on social movements, collective action and social change.

The RC48 organized or co-organized an overall number of twenty sessions during the Forum. Out of the 379 papers that were submitted, only 103 papers were accepted for oral presentation or as distributed papers; this means we rejected 276 papers due to time and space restrictions. Below you can find the number of sessions organized or co-organized by RC48 and the number of papers presented in them.

Type of Session	Sessions	Papers
Organized by RC48	12	56
Co-organized by RC48 and...		
Alienation Theory and Research (RC36)	2	9
Futures Research (RC07)	3	13
Social Classes and Social Movements (RC47)	1	7
Sociology of Science and Technology (RC23)	1	8
Visual Sociology (TG05)	1	10
TOTAL	20	103

Two grants were allocated for the Second ISA Forum, one of 65 USD to cover registration fees, and one of 900 USD to cover travel and accommodation. The applicants were selected by the ISA Grants Committee in consultation with RC48.

Publications

EDITED VOLUMES WITH CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS

In 2012, RC48 published two edited volumes with conference proceedings. Funding for the design and publication of these volumes has come from the **Collective Identity Research Center** (Department of Sociology 2, University of the Basque Country, Spain), where RC48 is currently based.

Tejerina, Benjamín & Ignacia Perugorría (Eds.), 2012, *Global Movements, National Grievances. Mobilizing for “Real Democracy” and Social Justice*, Bilbao: Servicio Editorial de la Universidad del País Vasco, ISBN: 978-84-9860-768-0, DL: BI-2244-2012, 712 pp.

The volume includes a total of 33 papers, in both Spanish and English, presented at the Second ISA Forum of Sociology “Social Justice and Democratization” (Buenos Aires, August 1-4, 2012). All papers submitted in due time and format were accepted for publication; no papers were submitted in French. The volume has been published in both paper and electronic formats, both of which can be purchased at the University of the Basque Country Press [webpage](#). Each contributing author will receive a free copy by mid-March, 2013.

Tejerina, Benjamín & Ignacia Perugorría (Eds.), 2012, *From Social to Political. New Forms of Mobilization and Democratization*, Bilbao: Servicio Editorial de la Universidad del País Vasco, ISBN 978-84-9860-595-2, 373 pp.

This second edited volume includes a total of 23 papers, in both Spanish and English, presented at the RC48 International Conference “From Social to Political. New Forms of Mobilization and Democratization” (Bilbao, February 9-10, 2012). The volume has been printed in electronic format, and is available [here](#).

We would like to thank the authors for their intellectual contribution, and the Collective Identity Research Center for funding these publications.

CURRENT SOCIOLOGY MONOGRAPH ISSUE

In April 2012, members of RC48 submitted a monograph issue proposal to **Current Sociology**. We are proud to announce that the proposal was accepted in July 2012, and will be coming out as a 2013 issue (Volume 61, Number 4, July). The issue is entitled “From Indignation to Occupation: A New Wave of Global Mobilization,” and Tova Benski, Lauren Langman, Ignacia Perugorría and Benjamín Tejerina are the guest editors. Please, find the Table of Contents below.

The monograph issue is the offspring of the international conference “From Social to Political. New Forms of Mobilization and Democratization” (Bilbao, February 9-10, 2012). This conference brought together different academic networks and orientations around the study of mobilization, expressed by the Research Committees on Social Movements, Collective Action and Social Change (RC48) and Social Movements and Social Classes (RC47).

Current Sociology is an official journal of the ISA. It is published by SAGE, and it is “one of the oldest sociology and most widely cited journals in the world. It is a fully peer-reviewed, international journal that publishes original research and innovative critical commentary both on current debates within sociology as a developing discipline, and the contribution that sociologists can make to modern societies in a globalizing world.” It is ranked 59 out of 137 journals in Sociology, and according to the 2011 Journal Citation Reports its impact factor is 0.896 (Thomson Reuters, 2012).

Table of Contents

- From Indignation to Occupation:
A New Wave of Global Mobilization
Benjamín Tejerina, Ignacia Perugorría, Tova Benski and Lauren Langman
- Politics of the Encounter. Cognition, Emotions and Networks in the Spanish 15M
Ignacia Perugorría and Benjamín Tejerina
- Occupy: A New “New Social Movement”
Lauren Langman
- “Direct Democracy now!”: the Greek Indignados and the present cycle of struggles
Nikos Sotirakopoulos and George Sotiropoulos
- Geraçāo à Rasca and Beyond. Mobilizations in Portugal after March 12, 2011
Britta Baumgarten
- Public Reasoning Around Social Contention: A Case Study of Twitter Use in the Italian Mobilization for Global Change
Stefania Vicari
- What is Democracy? Promises and Perils of the Arab Spring
Valentine Moghadam
- Mobilizations in a hybrid regime. The “20th February Movement” and the Moroccan regime
Thierry Desrues
- The J14 Resistance Mo(ve)ment: The Israeli Mix of Tahrir and Puerta Del Sol
Lev Luis Grinberg
- The Effects of Affects: The Place of Emotions in the Mobilizations of 2011
Lauren Langman and Tova Benski
- From the Streets and Squares to Social Movement Studies: What have we Learned?
Tova Benski, Lauren Langman, Ignacia Perugorría and Benjamín Tejerina

BOOK PROPOSAL ON THE SPANISH 15M/ INDIGNADOS MOVEMENT

In addition to the edited volume with conference proceedings, the international conference “From Social to Political. New Forms of Mobilization and Democratization” (Bilbao, February 9-10, 2012) had a second offspring: a book proposal concentrated in the Spanish 15M/Indignados movement. The volume will be edited by Benjamín Tejerina and Ignacia Perugorría, and it will gather eleven scholars currently studying the 15M from different perspectives.

New RC48 website, and Facebook and Twitter accounts

On August 1, 2012 the RC48 launched its new website. The development and design were funded by the Collective Identity Research Center. The webmasters are Benjamín Tejerina and Ignacia Perugorría. Please, e-mail us at isa.rc48@gmail.com with news about conferences,

publications, call for articles, etc. related to our area of study. We will be happy to announce them in our web.

In addition, we have created a [Facebook page](#) and [Twitter account](#). Please, join and stay in touch!

Grassroots, new RC48 Newsletter

In July 2012 the RC48 published the first issue of Grassroots, The Newsletter of the Research Committee on Social Movements, Collective Action and Social Change (RC48) of the ISA. Grassroots is edited by Benjamín Tejerina and Ignacia Perugorría. The design and publication are

funded by the Collective Identity Research Center. The first issue of Grassroots concentrated on the Second ISA Forum of Sociology. It was published entirely in English, but future editions will include contributions in Spanish and French as well.

New RC48 projects and initiatives

During the business meeting held during the ISA Forum of Sociology “Social Justice and Democratization” (Buenos Aires, August 1-4, 2012), RC48 members discussed a number of ongoing and future initiatives. Among them are:

Creation of a new journal

For the last few years, the ISA has had an agreement with SAGE covering the publication of its official journals (e.g. Current Sociology, International Sociology). In early 2012, RC Presidents were encouraged to create their own journals. During the following months, members of the RC48 Board will begin to evaluate the academic need, but also the convenience and feasibility of creating a new journal concentrated on the topics of social movements, collective action and social change. The conclusions of this process will be discussed in Yokohama in 2014. If you are interested in participating, please e-mail us at isa.rc48@gmail.com and include the following in the subject line: “new journal.”

RC48 prize for the best paper written by a graduate student

This award is intended to encourage promising young scholars in the field of social movements, collective action and social change. The prize will recognize the best paper written by one or more graduate students and submitted to the ensuing editions of the ISA World Congress. A committee will be formed to draft the bylaws associated to the award. We will then submit the document to an online vote. The initiative was accepted during the RC48 business meeting held in Buenos Aires. If you are interested in participating in the committee, please e-mail us at isa.rc48@gmail.com and include the following in the subject line: “graduate student paper award.”

Revision of RC48 Statutes

Benjamín Tejerina (RC48 President) and Markus Schulz (RC48 Board Member and RC07 President) are currently revising our Statutes. We plan to have a draft in the next few months. We will then submit the statutes to an online vote. The initiative was accepted during the RC48 business meeting held in Buenos Aires. If you are interested in collaborating in the revision, please e-mail us at isa.rc48@gmail.com and include the following in the subject line: “statutes”.

“Adopt a Graduate Student” membership drive

In early 2013 we will be launching a membership drive under the motto “Adopt a Graduate Student.” The campaign intends to boost RC48 membership by encouraging full and associate professors to cover both the ISA and RC48 membership costs of at least one of their graduate students. Combined ISA-RC membership (not RC membership alone) determines the number of sessions each research committee can hold in ISA Forums and World Congresses, and also their budget to organize events and allocate grants to their members.

Currently, the RC48 counts with 179 members. In 2012, this membership allowed us to organize twenty sessions (including our Business Meeting) amidst the Second ISA Forum of Sociology; it also entitled us to a 1,050 USD-budget for registration and travel grants. The initiative was accepted during the RC48 business meeting held in Buenos Aires. If you are interested in collaborating in the organization of the membership drive, please e-mail us at isa.rc48@gmail.com and include the following in the subject line: “membership drive”.

Reports from Buenos Aires

Note published in Global Dialogues by Benjamín Tejerina, RC48 President and Member of the ISA Executive Committee, 2010-2014.

Global Movements, National Grievances

Studies of collective action and social movements have received considerable impetus in recent decades, expanding our knowledge of their emergence, consolidation, impact and decline. Facing their chameleon-like character, sociology has developed new tools for their investigation.

Beginning in December 2010, we have witnessed a continuous series of protests, peacefully occupying public spaces and targeting regimes either of dubious democratic, or clearly authoritarian character. Countries such as Tunisia, Egypt, Morocco, Yemen, Bahrain, Israel, Spain and USA, have had the most intense experience of this wave of “occupy social movements.” In some cases, the force of peaceful mobilization has been sufficient to produce substantial social change, whereas in other cases the recurrent and escalating use of violence has prevailed. Everywhere the outcomes are uncertain and are being subjected to scrutiny by numerous experts. The movements have spread like a virus from country to country via social networks that amplify their impact through the worldwide dissemination of images on the Internet. Manuel Castells has rightly spoken of “networked social movements.”

To examine this wave of social mobilization, the Research Committee RC48 (Social Movements, Collective Action and Social Change), in collaboration with RC47 (Social Classes and Social Movements), organized the International Conference “From the Social to the Political: New Forms of Mobilization and Democratization,” in Bilbao in February 2012. Essays on the mobilizations in North Africa, Arab countries and Southern Europe have been published by the RC48 and the University of the Basque Country [ISBN: 978-84-9860-595-2], edited by Benjamín Tejerina and Ignacia Perugorría, and they can be downloaded from http://www.identidadcolectiva.es/ISA_RC48/.

During the last year, the most important activity of RC48, from all points of view, has been the organization of almost 20 sessions of presentations, discussions and roundtables at the ISA's Second Forum of Sociology, August 1-4 in Buenos Aires. These sessions created the opportunity to:

- a) learn about new trends and theoretical approaches in the field of mobilization and social change;
- b) explore the role of creativity, emotions and body in acts of protest;
- c) analyze the visual representation of injustice and exclusion;
- d) understand the relationship between science,

technology and social mobilization; and, above all, e) hear the voices of the Latin American streets. Here I want to stress the theoretical contributions of the papers that dealt with social movements in Argentina, Chile, Brazil, Colombia, Mexico, Bolivia and Ecuador. These included movements of the *piqueteros* and of students, people with disabilities, family members of victims of political violence, young blacks, landless workers, homeless people, as well as struggles in working-class neighbourhoods, struggles for the recovery of abandoned factories, struggles by indigenous communities, and around human trafficking. The Buenos Aires meeting allowed us to listen to and discuss, on a face-to-face basis,

little known movements beyond Latin America but that have had important influences on democratization processes and the fight against social injustice. In addition, thanks to colleagues at the University of Buenos Aires and the Gino Germani Institute we were able to make direct contact with recovered factories and grassroots community organizations. Many of the papers presented in sessions organized by the RC48 in the Buenos Aires Forum can be found in the book edited by B. Tejerina and I. Perugorría *Global Movements, National Grievances. Mobilizing for 'Real Democracy' and Social Justice* [ISBN: 978-84-9860-768-0].

Research Notes, a new Grassroots section

Inspired by the enriching dialogues held in the context of the Second ISA Forum of Sociology celebrated in Buenos Aires in August 2012, Research Notes is born as a new Grassroots section aiming to showcase novel and exciting lines of research being developed by RC48 members around the globe. Research Notes is devised as an inclusive forum for young and senior scholars to discuss ideas and share knowledge. In doing so, we expect to explore and learn from the different ways in which social movement studies are conducted across national borders, and to help build new research networks or expand the boundaries of those already in place.

In this first edition of Research Notes we have gathered three young and talented scholars specialized in the study of social movements in Argentina. They reflect on the changes observed in the social movement field since the arrival of Néstor Kirchner to the Argentine presidency back in 2003. Pilar Alzina delves in the challenges posed by the implementation of “social economy” initiatives by worker cooperatives and social movements, and also in the difficulties attached to the public policies developed by the ensuing Kirchner administrations.

Ana Natalucci analyzes the redevelopment of the “grammar of collective action” by concentrating both in social movement organizations and new institutional actors within the self-defined Kirchnerist multi-organizational space. Finally, Melina Vázquez explores the sociological conditions under which “the youth” became both a politically relevant category, and a “public cause” generating support and mobilization during the Kirchner years.

16 PILAR ALZINA

Challenges of public policies. Social economics in social movements
(in [Spanish](#))

21 ANA NATALUCCI

**The redevelopment of the social movement grammar of collective action:
Social movements and new institutional characters**
(in [English](#) and [Spanish](#))

27 MELINA VÁZQUEZ

Youth as a militant cause: Some ideas about political activism during Kirchnerismo
(in [English](#) and [Spanish](#))

Spanish version

Challenges of public policies.
Social economics in social movements
Pilar Alzina

Los desafíos de las políticas sociales. La economía social en los movimientos sociales

Pilar Alzina

El propósito fundamental de este trabajo es pensar la problemática de la economía social que implementan los movimientos sociales y cooperativas para resolver sus necesidades materiales de existencia en la Argentina. Se describen algunas de las políticas públicas implementadas por los gobiernos de Néstor Kirchner (2003-2007) y de Cristina Fernández de Kirchner (2008-2011) en respuesta a la crisis socioeconómica, con el fin de reflexionar sobre el alcance de las mismas, sus limitaciones y los desafíos que nos compete a los técnicos de programas sociales, la INAES [Instituto Nacional de Asociativismo y Economía Social], los movimientos sociales, ONGs, cooperativas de trabajo y Bancos cooperativos.

En el marco de las políticas de ajuste estructural implementadas por el Consenso de Washington en América Latina, en Argentina el proceso de transición entre el modelo de industrialización por sustitución de importaciones y el modelo de apertura a las reformas estructurales, modernización y reestructuración productiva, ocasionó la reducción de personal en muchas empresas. En este período, el desequilibrio en el mercado de trabajo se manifestó por la preponderancia del sector informal en América Latina y la desocupación pasó a ser el indicador más preocupante del mercado laboral regional (ver cuadro Nº 1). Desde la década de 1970 al 2000, en América Latina, los procesos de modernización y reestructuración fueron deteriorando el trabajo formal, estable, regulado por leyes y convenios colectivos y transformando las relaciones laborales en precarias, temporales e inseguras (Muñiz Terra, 2009). Según las estadísticas de la CEPAL los altos índices de desocupación en América Latina y en particular en Argentina comienzan a aumentar a partir de la década de 1980. Por dicha razón también comienzan a crecer los índices de sub-ocupación, informalidad y aumento de la precarización laboral.

Spanish version

Challenges of public policies.
 Social economics in social movements
 Pilar Alzina

AMÉRICA LATINA Y EL CARIBE (22 PAÍSES): DESEMPLEO URBANO
 (Tasas anuales medias)

	1980	1985	1990	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999 ^a
América Latina y el Caribe ^b	6.2	7.3	5.8	6.5	6.5	6.6	7.5	7.9	7.5	8.1	8.7
Argentina -Áreas urbanas ^c	2.6	6.1	7.4	7.0	9.6	11.5	17.5	17.2	14.9	12.9	14.3
Barbados -Total nacional ^d	...	...	14.7	23.0	24.3	21.9	19.7	15.6	14.5	12.3	9.8
Bolivia -Capitales departamentales	...	5.8	7.3	5.4	5.8	3.1	3.6	3.8	4.4	4.1	6.1
Brasil -Seis áreas metropolitanas	6.3	5.3	4.3	5.8	5.4	5.1	4.6	5.4	5.7	7.6	7.6
Chile -Total nacional ^e	10.4	15.3	7.8	6.7	6.5	7.8	7.4	6.4	6.1	6.4	9.8
Colombia ^d -Siete áreas metropolitanas	10.0	13.9	10.5	10.2	8.6	8.9	8.8	11.2	12.4	15.3	19.4
Costa Rica -Total urbano	6.0	6.7	5.4	4.3	4.0	4.3	5.7	6.6	5.9	5.4	6.2
Cuba -Total nacional	...	...	...	6.1	6.2	6.7	7.9	7.6	7.0	6.6	6.0
Ecuador ^d -Total urbano	5.7	10.4	6.1	8.9	8.9	7.8	7.7	10.4	9.3	11.5	14.4
El Salvador -Total urbano	...	...	10.0	8.2	8.1	7.0	7.0	7.5	7.5	7.6	6.9
Guatemala ^f -Total nacional	2.2	12.1	6.0	1.5	2.5	3.3	3.7	3.7	5.0	5.9	...
Honduras -Total urbano	8.8	11.7	7.8	6.0	7.0	4.0	5.6	6.5	5.8	5.2	5.3
Jamaica ^d -Total nacional	...	...	15.3	15.7	16.3	15.4	16.2	16.0	16.5	15.5	15.7
México -Áreas urbanas ^c	4.5	4.4	2.7	2.8	3.4	3.7	6.2	5.5	3.7	3.2	2.5
Nicaragua -Total nacional	...	3.2	7.6	14.4	17.8	17.1	16.9	16.0	14.3	13.2	10.7
Panamá ^d -Región metropolitana	9.9	15.6	20.0	17.5	15.6	16.0	16.6	16.9	15.5	15.2	14.0
Paraguay - Total urbano ^g	4.1	5.2	6.6	5.3	5.1	4.4	5.3	8.2	7.1	6.6	9.4
Perú -Lima	7.1	10.1	8.3	9.4	9.9	8.8	8.2	8.0	9.2	8.4	9.2
República Dominicana ^d -Total nacional	...	...	...	20.3	19.9	16.0	15.8	16.5	15.9	14.3	13.8
Trinidad y Tobago -Total nacional ^d	...	...	20.1	19.6	19.8	18.4	17.2	16.2	15.0	14.2	13.1
Uruguay -Total urbano ^h	...	...	8.5	9.0	8.3	9.2	10.3	11.9	11.5	10.1	11.3
Venezuela -Total nacional	6.0	13.1	10.4	7.8	6.6	8.7	10.3	11.8	11.4	11.3	14.9

Fuente: CEPAL, sobre la base de cifras oficiales. a Cifras preliminares. b Hasta 1990 no incluyen El Caribe. c Representa un alto y creciente número de áreas urbanas. d Incluye el desempleo oculto. e La cifra de la columna para 1985 corresponde a 1984. f Estimaciones oficiales. g Hasta 1993, las cifras corresponden a Asunción Metropolitana. h En 1980 y 1985, las cifras corresponden a Montevideo.

Cuadro N° 1: Desempleo, economía informal y políticas de transferencia de ingresos en Argentina

En el 2003, cuando Néstor Kirchner asume la presidencia, el 17,8% de la población económicamente activa argentina (personas que tienen entre 18 y 65 años)¹ buscaba trabajo de forma persistente². En esa coyuntura se implementaron diversas políticas públicas con el objetivo de generar ingresos en la población vulnerable. El énfasis de inclusión social y “transferencia de ingresos condicionada” distingue las políticas desde el 2003 en adelante. De acuerdo a las estadísticas suministradas por el Ministerio de Trabajo, a continuación se detalla la evolución anual de cantidad de beneficiarios por cada uno de los planes.

Spanish version

Challenges of public policies.
Social economics in social movements
Pilar Alzina

Beneficiarios de Políticas de Transferencia de ingresos. Por plan. Evolución anual

Plan	Mes actual (Nov-2011)	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	Total histórico
Programa Jefes de Hogar	11.220	2.067.210	1.844.590	1.615.491	1.452.121	1.107.649	749.019	500.354	93.945	13.687	2.099.005
Seguro de Capacitación y Empleo	199.521	-	-	-	20.803	75.226	103.018	132.954	247.123	258.481	408.329
Jóvenes con Más y Mejor Trabajo*	232.633	-	-	-	-	9.440	74.625	123.122	307.789	368.556	
Otros Programas Nacionales de Empleo	127.315	-	307.888	333.374	318.390	338.637	484.818	796.932	731.310	479.321	1.534.139
PEC	23.107	-	298.272	299.020	285.971	297.565	429.390	585.466	508.384	291.933	1.118.809
Recuperación Productiva	47.458	-	6.973	6.768	7.950	12.853	16.910	129.411	143.837	95.895	229.310
Internazafra y otros estacionales	20.657	-	13.929	18.819	22.099	21.407	31.709	66.048	56.044	61.058	122.054
PROMOVER	18.580	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	26.831	26.831
Otros	17.495	-	1.136	7.040	2.431	6.916	7.287	19.106	25.826	31.833	64.258
Plan Mayores	232	70.178	70.751	58.053	52.116	29.401	4.270	1.759	813	465	75.132
Total en Planes de Empleo**	570.921	2.127.388	2.220.457	2.005.130	1.834.452	1.501.763	1.317.875	1.473.810	1.093.349	960.353	3.962.326
Becas e Incentivos	25.483	-	2.639	38.523	111.190	203.960	251.742	308.459	266.332	123.286	723.509
Total en Políticas de Transferencia de Ingreso	585.681	2.127.388	2.220.927	2.014.386	1.847.684	1.588.376	1.450.009	1.671.197	1.296.034	1.039.854	326.235
										0	

Cuadro Nº 2: Beneficiarios de políticas de transferencia de ingresos, por plan, evolución anual.

Fuente: Estadísticas del Ministerio de Trabajo

Ayudas económicas a personas. Importes liquidados por plan. Por año

Plan	Acumulado (2003-Actual)	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
Total ayudas económicas a personas	22.541.090.321	2.397.399.540	3.594.482.591	3.163.345.973	2.792.085.094	2.265.314.607	2.054.645.956	2.392.712.983	1.707.642.051	2.173.461.526
Programa Jefes de Hogar	14.278.225.253	2.397.399.540	3.190.270.291	2.730.516.658	2.319.043.173	1.635.385.558	1.165.698.118	767.313.865	51.479.077	21.118.974
Seguro de Capacitación y Empleo	1.527.082.365	-	-	-	14.768.800	157.350.984	229.613.206	237.253.563	318.754.041	589.341.771
Jóvenes con Más y Mejor Trabajo	942.311.446	-	-	-	-	-	2.192.950	55.410.975	120.681.731	764.025.790
Programas Nacionales de Empleo	5.267.045.436	-	403.961.375	427.918.215	430.652.061	426.678.510	590.358.548	1.221.929.718	1.105.987.633	659.559.378
Becas de Capacitación	332.269.090	-	250.925	4.897.000	27.212.610	40.636.880	55.428.900	74.587.000	68.437.125	60.818.650
Becas de Inserción Laboral	194.156.730	-	-	14.100	408.450	5.262.675	11.354.235	36.217.862	42.302.445	98.596.963

Cuadro Nº 3: Ayudas económicas a personas, importes liquidados por plan, por año.

Fuente: Estadísticas del Ministerio de Trabajo (el mes actual hace referencia a noviembre de 2011).

Si se compara la tasa de desocupación media de la población de la Argentina -detalladas por la Comisión Económica para América Latina y el Caribe (CEPAL) - durante el 2000 y el 2004, se observa que la misma representó en el 2000 el 15,1% de la población y en el 2004 el 13,6%, cifra que fue disminuyendo progresivamente hasta el 2010, que alcanzó el 7,7% de la población de ambos sexos³.

Las estadísticas mencionadas en el cuadro Nº 2 por el Ministerio de Trabajo, referentes a los programas gubernamentales de transferencia de ingresos por plan dan cuenta de la intención del gobierno Kirchnerista de reintegrar al mercado a los trabajadores expulsados por las políticas neoliberales de la década de 1990. A pesar de los fuertes impuestos a los grandes productores del campo, de la existencia de diversas políticas públicas y de los esfuerzos por mejorar el nivel de vida,

Spanish version

Challenges of public policies.
Social economics in social movements
Pilar Alzina

la distribución del ingreso entre la población más pobre y la más rica no ha sufrido grandes cambios desde el período 1999 y 2010, ha pasado de un 40,7 % en 1999 a un 38,5% en 2010⁴.

Las políticas sociales diseñadas e implementadas durante los gobiernos de Néstor y Cristina Kirchner se plantean como objetivo el desarrollo local, regional y nacional a partir de las capacidades territoriales, sociales, humanas, técnicas, institucionales y culturales que están presentes en los movimientos sociales, organizaciones civiles, mutuales, etc. En el análisis que emprendieron diversos investigadores sobre las formas productivas llevadas a cabo por cooperativas y emprendimientos se presentan diversas problemáticas, entre ellas se encuentran: limitaciones para adecuar los espacios físicos de los emprendimientos a los requerimientos legales; falta de buenas instalaciones de gas, electricidad, transporte; necesidades de capacitación en comercialización y los obstáculos que imponen las normativas vigentes para gestionar y acceder a créditos. La simplificación para el acceso a programas sociales, capacitaciones y financiamientos podrían facilitar los mercados alternativos y el intercambio de experiencias entre cooperativas (Elgue, 2006; Coraggio, 2009; Alzina, 2012). Otros investigadores señalan la falta de vinculación entre organizaciones no gubernamentales, cámaras empresariales, cooperativas, mutuales, universidades que contribuyan en el análisis, capacitación, que permitiría optimizar la sustentabilidad de los mismos. Del mismo modo, la profundización de la implementación de microcréditos destinados al desarrollo de los micro emprendimientos y cooperativas con plazos de devolución a corto y mediano plazo y su monitoreo permitiría consolidar los emprendimientos desarrollados hasta la actualidad. Para ello, las normativas bancarias deberían contemplar las características patrimoniales de los emprendimientos y junto al INAES atender a sus demandas. Del mismo modo, las universidades públicas, a través de sus equipos interdisciplinarios podrían asistir tanto en el asesoramiento técnico como en la elaboración y seguimiento de políticas públicas (Elgue, 2006; Coraggio, 2011). En esta perspectiva, es necesario que los grupos que se conforman a partir de las diferencias locales y por la búsqueda de intereses particulares prioricen el desarrollo de las economías sociales y solidarias en escala provincial, nacional y regional. Pero también es ineludible que aquellos actores del gobierno que las diseñan y que afirman aspirar a la construcción de una economía social y solidaria dejen de concebirla como una economía de supervivencia.

Por otro lado, también es indispensable que el proceso de incorporación de los movimientos sociales en el Estado siga colaborando en la construcción de políticas sociales y fundamentalmente en la construcción de normas jurídicas más acordes con la realidad de las experiencias de economía social e informal. De esta forma, profundizando el diálogo y la acción conjunta entre los técnicos de programas sociales, la INAES, los movimientos sociales, ONGs, Cooperativas de trabajos, Bancos cooperativos y otros actores sociales protagonistas de estas experiencias, se lograría incluir éstas limitaciones en los puntos centrales en la agenda gubernamental.

Spanish version

Challenges of public policies.
Social economics in social movements
Pilar Alzina

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NOTAS

- 1 Información suministrada en el "Balance Preliminar de las Economías de América Latina y el Caribe 2008". Éste indicador no incluye a la población rural ni a la porción de la PEA [Población Económicamente Activa] que no busca trabajo porque piensa que no lo va a conseguir, pero que, en un nuevo escenario más positivo estaría dispuesta a hacerlo.
- 2 Anuario Estadístico de América Latina y el Caribe, 2011.
- 3 La tasa de desempleo abierto urbano, según sexo y años de estudio, proviene de la Encuesta Permanente de Hogares. Según información provista por las Estadísticas sociales del Anuario de la CEPAL, el indicador resulta del cociente entre la población desocupada urbana de 15 años y más, por cada grupo de años de escolaridad y sexo determinado y la PEA urbana de 15 años y más, por cada grupo de años de escolaridad y sexo respectivamente.
- 4 Anuario Estadístico de América Latina y el Caribe, 2011. CEPAL.

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The redevelopment of the social movement grammar of collective action: Social movements and new institutional characters

Ana Natalucci

As of 2003, there have been shifts in the political dynamics that have affected the mutation of the multi-organizational space which, in turn, has disrupted the relationship it had with the political regime. The manner in which politics is conducted has changed, as well as traditions and grammars; organizations, demands and public issues have emerged, and inter-organizational realignments have taken place. Nevertheless, could we conclude that this mutation had an effect on the redevelopment of social movement grammar? Had the changes in social movements generated the conditions of possibility for new institutional frameworks expressed in the means of participation, the representational apparatus and the dispositives for the legitimacy of order and political authority? In order to answer these questions, an exhaustive field study has been carried out between 2008 and 2011 analyzing the self-defined Kirchnerist multi-organizational space. Likewise, a systematic study for theoretical formulation and revision has been completed focusing on two key concepts: the one concerning political grammars and that of institutional frameworks.

Regarding the first concept, three possible meanings have been identified: a) the political performance of action, b) the motivational structure of the subjects involved, and c) the organizational structure (Natalucci, 2010). According to the nature of the approach of this research, the first meaning has been emphasized, since it allows defining the political grammar as a system of unwritten action rules that link the space and timeframe of subjects, establishing valid forms to solve authority and allocation issues (Giddens, 1994). This notion defines the conditions of actions to coordinate, organize and drive public intervention efforts intended to question, transform or ratify social order. Complementarily, in later works (Natalucci, 2012; Pérez and Natalucci, 2012), three types of political grammars have been identified: autonomist, classist and movementist. Those organizations that embrace the latter understand history in the stage of resistance and offensive action; while, in the first part, popular sectors are fragmented, in the second, coordination is encouraged in order to overcome seditious stances and reach unity in the popular field. In the case of Argentina, this grammar was built directly related to the integration of popular sectors to the Federal Government and, for that reason, it combines corporate representation with the language of rights. The goal is to build a national movement that, exceeding partisan limitations, can promote a multi-class popular project. Within this framework, organizations consider themselves as a 'bridge' between the people or the popular sectors they represent and the State, which is considered the main agent of social change.

As regards the second concept, the notion of institutional frameworks, it became necessary to develop a new model insofar the theory of mobilization of resources and the theory of new social movements did not help to understand the case in its full complexity. The former states that movements are institutionalized if their demands can be inserted within the sphere of the political institutions belonging to the representative government; the latter considers that those movements that are institutionalized have failed, since they are captured by the system of social relationships

The redevelopment of the social movement grammar of collective action:
Social movements and new institutional characters
Ana Natalucci

they intended to challenge (Pérez and Natalucci, 2008; Natalucci, 2012). Conversely, a pragmatic concept of institutional frameworks has been devised, it is understood as a process that gives rise to the emergence of a new pattern of interaction known, used and accepted –even if it is not necessarily approved– by actors that intend to continue to interact according to the rules sanctioned and supported by that same pattern (O`Donnell, 1997). Understood as such, institutionalization does not refer to the integration to the machinery of the State or the statute of an organization, but rather it is oriented to the systems of regulation of participation, representation and legitimacy of a political order in a process of transformation through the means of political mobilization (Natalucci, 2012; Pérez and Natalucci, 2012).

Finally, I would like to highlight two conclusions. The first one is that Kirchnerism built an identity bridge associated to the experiences of Peronism in the seventies and the government of Alfonsín as two instances of expansion of rights, differentiating itself with the dictatorship and Menemism. The second conclusion to be drawn is that, regarding the modes of participation, organizations reassessed their purely dissenting strategies regarding the sustained questioning of the political order and they incorporated a conforming orientation to their practices, tied to the possibility to outline new action guidelines. The debate regarding this issue focused in the necessary steps to overcome regional matters and move to key State spheres to define public policies. The issues of representation can be represented by the metaphor of a 'bridge', the aim of organizations to rise as platforms for the negotiation between popular sectors and the State to channel its demands. This calls for a debate to define the object of representation and under which modes it is represented. This idea can be expressed by the premise of 'jumping into politics' used by the different organizations to communicate their goal of becoming the representative of popular sectors. Lastly, regarding the mechanisms used to achieve the legitimacy of political order, Kirchnerism brought about a mainly plebiscite-based exercise, where support and criticism were expressed outside the political system, generally in demonstrations or public ceremonies.

In brief, from 2003 onwards, the changes in the regime of political dominance generated a redevelopment of the movement grammar; however, these changes did not affect all instances, but its most significant transformation in the area of the different modes of participation and, to a lesser degree, the strategies to achieve legitimacy. Undoubtedly, the area of the mechanisms of representation remains unsettled.

Lastly, it is worth mentioning that this research favored a systematic reflection regarding Kirchnerism, making it possible to put the actions of social and political subjects into context, giving clues to the understanding of its relationships and the recent transformations of Argentine democracy.

The redevelopment of the social movement grammar of collective action:
Social movements and new institutional characters
Ana Natalucci

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Spanish version

The redevelopment of the social movement grammar of collective action:
Social movements and new institutional characters
Ana Natalucci

La recreación de la gramática movimentista de acción colectiva: movimientos sociales y nuevas institucionalidades

Ana Natalucci

A partir de 2003, se produjeron cambios en la dinámica política que incidieron en la mutación del espacio multiorganizacional trastocando la relación que había mantenido con el régimen político. Se transformaron las formas de hacer política, las tradiciones y las gramáticas; emergieron organizaciones, demandas y problemas públicos y se produjeron reajustes interorganizacionales. Ahora bien, ¿podíamos concluir que esta mutación incidió en la recreación de la gramática movimentista? ¿Los cambios en la movilización habían generado las condiciones de posibilidad de nuevas institucionalidades en el régimen político expresadas en las formas de participación, los mecanismos de representación y los dispositivos de legitimidad del orden y la autoridad política? Para responder estos interrogantes, se realizó entre 2008 y 2011 un exhaustivo trabajo de campo sobre el espacio multiorganizacional autodefinido kirchnerista. Asimismo, se realizó un trabajo sistemático de revisión y formulación teórica en torno a dos conceptos fundamentales: el de gramáticas políticas y el de institucionalización.

Respecto del primer concepto, se identificaron tres acepciones: a) performatividad política de la acción; b) estructura motivacional de los sujetos implicados; y c) estructura organizativa (Natalucci, 2010). Por el enfoque de la investigación se priorizó la primera acepción ya que permitía definir la gramática política como un sistema de reglas de acción no escritas que ligan el tiempo y espacio de la experiencia de los sujetos, definiendo formas válidas de resolver problemas de autoridad y asignación (Giddens, 1994). Esta noción delimita las pautas de interacción de los sujetos como las combinaciones de acciones para coordinar, articular e impulsar intervenciones públicas, dirigidas a cuestionar, transformar o ratificar el orden social. Complementariamente, en trabajos posteriores (Natalucci, 2012; Pérez y Natalucci, 2012) se diferenciaron tres tipos de gramáticas políticas: autonomista, clasista y movimentista. Las organizaciones que adoptan esta última conciben a la historia en la etapa de resistencia y ofensiva; mientras en la primera se produce la fragmentación de los sectores populares, en la segunda se alienta la articulación con el fin de superar las posturas facciosas y alcanzar la unidad del campo popular. En el caso argentino, esta gramática se constituyó en directa relación con la integración de los sectores populares al Estado nacional por lo que combina la representación corporativa con la apelación a un lenguaje de derechos. La expectativa es construir un movimiento nacional que, desbordando los límites partidarios, impulse un proyecto popular policlasista. En este esquema, las organizaciones se piensan a sí mismas como puentes entre el pueblo o los sectores populares a los que representan y el Estado, al que conciben como principal agente del cambio social.

Sobre el segundo concepto, el de institucionalización, era necesario elaborar un concepto en tanto la teoría de la movilización de recursos y la de los nuevos movimientos sociales no permitían comprender el caso en su complejidad. Para la primera, los movimientos se institucionalizan si logran incorporar sus demandas a las instituciones políticas del gobierno representativo; para la segunda, si los movimientos se institucionalizan fracasan, dado que quedan capturados por el

Spanish version

The redevelopment of the social movement grammar of collective action:
Social movements and new institutional characters
Ana Natalucci

sistema de relaciones sociales que vienen a impugnar (Pérez y Natalucci, 2008; Natalucci, 2012). Contrariamente, se formuló un concepto pragmático de institucionalidad, entendiendo por tal un proceso del cual derivan un nuevo patrón de interacción, conocido, practicado y aceptado –aunque no necesariamente aprobado– por actores que tienen como expectativa seguir interactuando bajo las reglas sancionadas y sostenidas por ese patrón (O'Donnell, 1997). Entendida de esta manera, la institucionalización no alude a la integración en el aparato del estado ni al estatuto jurídico de una organización, más bien se orienta a las formas de regulación de la participación, la representación y la legitimidad de un orden político en proceso de transformación por la vía de la movilización política (Natalucci, 2012; Pérez y Natalucci, 2012).

Para finalizar me interesa destacar dos conclusiones. La primera es que el kirchnerismo construyó un puente identitario con respecto a las experiencias del peronismo setentista y el alfonsinismo como dos momentos de ampliación de derechos, marcando su frontera de exclusión con la dictadura y el menemismo. La segunda es que en torno a las modalidades de participación las organizaciones revisaron su estrategia netamente destituyente en el sentido de un sostenido cuestionamiento al orden político e incorporaron a su práctica una orientación instituyente, vinculada con la posibilidad de conformar nuevas pautas de acción. La discusión respecto de este punto se concentró en cómo superar lo territorial e inmiscuirse en áreas estatales centrales para la definición de políticas públicas. La problemática de la representación puede ser pensada bajo la metáfora de *puente*, la intención de las organizaciones de erigirse como instancias de mediación entre los sectores populares y el Estado de modo de canalizar sus demandas. Esto supuso discutir cuál es el objeto de la representación y bajo qué modalidades se representa. Esta idea puede ser sintetizada en la premisa el *salto a la política* utilizada por las organizaciones para expresar su intención de conformarse en representante de los sectores populares. Por último, en relación con los dispositivos de legitimación del orden político, con el kirchnerismo se puso en escena un ejercicio eminentemente plebiscitario, donde los avales y críticas se plasmaron por fuera del sistema político, en general en manifestaciones callejeras o en actos públicos.

Resumiendo, a partir de 2003 con los cambios en el régimen de dominación política se produjo una recreación de la gramática movimentista; sin embargo, los cambios no afectaron a todas sus dimensiones, sino que más bien encontró su mayor transformación en la dimensión de las modalidades de participación y, en menor medida, en los dispositivos de legitimación. Sin duda, un tema pendiente sigue siendo la dimensión de los mecanismos de representación. Para finalizar, cabe agregar que esta investigación propició una reflexión sistemática sobre el kirchnerismo permitiendo contextualizar la acción de los sujetos sociales y políticos proporcionando claves de inteligibilidad tanto de sus relaciones como de las transformaciones recientes de la democracia argentina.

Spanish version

The redevelopment of the social movement grammar of collective action:
Social movements and new institutional characters
Ana Natalucci

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The youth as a militant cause: Some ideas about political activism during Kirchnerismo

Melina Vázquez

This article aims to analyze under what sociological conditions *the youth*¹ becomes a relevant category in the study of socio-political context and the ways that political commitment is assumed now a day. Specifically, the analysis is focused on the different ways in which youth becomes a public cause that produces adhesions and political mobilization since Cristina Fernandez de Kirchner first presidential term.

This type of analysis requires going back in time and analyzing the beginning of Nestor Kirchner first term (2003-2007), who built a legitimate exercise recovery based on a set of demands and slogans that were characteristic of the highest mobilization process that occurred before his inauguration as president. This meant, on one hand, claiming part of the demands that were part of the agenda of the mobilized sectors during and after the crisis of 2001 and, on the other hand, bringing together a group of leaders with a strong role in that period through its inclusion in the electoral rolls of the *Frente para la Victoria*² and in jobs belonging to different areas of the government. This was seen as an opportunity for some of the movements and also a form of recognition for their activist role: they were invited to perform in state areas closely related to the actions of their respective groups of origin³. This way, participation in government spaces expanded the repertoire of actions and the State is seen as another space for activism, as well as their job performance is redefined as a form of activism in the State (Perelmutter 2010, 2012).

With the first government of Cristina Fernández (2007-2011) there is a change in the types of groups that become a sustaining and legitimated base for the government, specifically, it records the creation and revitalization of groups that, among other distinctive features, recognized themselves as *youngers* and are pro-government.

These groups include activism youth in rhetoric of novelty, meaning that youth is presented as a political value by which a tension is symbolized between the ways of doing politics or the management of State policy which is considered old⁴. On the other hand, the narrative of return to politics coexists with a repertoire of actions and meanings that invoke to activism of the past. This is the way that different groups participate in building a selective tradition (Williams, 1980), through which some facts and meanings are accentuated and recovered while others are excluded or suffer a degree of dispute⁵. This is why the participation regarding young people in the present is analyzed by the own activists appealing to the idea of *trasvasamiento generacional* –generational replacement–, notion used by Juan D. Perón himself to encourage youth participation in the mid-'60s⁶.

The construction of a narrative about youth leadership is also sustained by adult leaders: old activist and officials argue the importance of youth activism as a condition of continuity and, at the same time, turnover. This means that the condition of youth –usually interpreted as a sign of inexperience or lack of political credentials– becomes an important capital within this universe of relationships.

The youth as a militant cause: Some ideas about political activism during Kirchnerismo
Melina Vázquez

The relationship between youth groups, or of those that enroll themselves in the narrative of the return of the youth into politics, and adult leaders is so strong that in many cases their existence occurs within the official state areas in which officials with hierarchical positions are recognized as political leaders⁷. The organization groups are closely linked to the State, more precisely in workspaces where their leaders and many activists converge⁸.

The construction of *the youth* as a militant cause is observed also in the development of state devices that aim in encouraging participation and organization of young people. According to this, 25% of youth public policies recognize in its main objectives the need of promoting social and civic participation, doubling these policies related to issues considered classics in the field of youth, such as social inclusion (Vazquez and Nuñez, 2013).

Regardless of their quantitative weight, these policies are paradigmatic to understand the construction of the category *youth*, understood as a mobilized political actor. We can mention the creation, between 2010 and 2011, of the device “Organize to Transform”, under the National Youth Department⁹. It consists of meetings and workshops with high school students in order to train and advise them on the creation of student centers in their respective educational institutions.

Furthermore, analysis of documents related to the design and implementation of those public policies reveal how the own discourse of the State incorporates a vocabulary and describes itself as part of a militant project. In a document prepared by the Social Development Ministry they summarize the main achievements they aim to obtain in the design of public policies for the youth, describing the main features of what they defined as a *Militant State* and emphasizing that the main objective to achieve has to do with the promotion of youth participation. To obtain this objective, the document highlights the main idea of promoting the consolidation of “political youth organizations to accompany and nourish the definition and implementation of policies for the construction of ‘the public’ (as it is understood that it belongs to everybody and is common to all of us) with the Government and the State”¹⁰.

In this line it is also possible to analyze the creation of public agencies –such as the Federal Youth Council, created in 2007¹¹ under the National Youth orbit –that recognizes similar objectives. This Council recognizes that their main mission is to “coordinate the interjurisdictional work of youth policies and to strengthen and expand the participation of youth and youth organizations”¹².

It is relevant to underline that the agencies responsible for designing and implementing these policies are those in which there is a strong presence of young activists who understand that working in the State-and the way they do it- is an expression of political commitment¹³. If before Kirchner, the leaders and members of social movements described their presence in the State as an extension of an earlier form of activism; the youth and groups called *kirchneristas* claim their double condition as *activists and workers*, equating their work with a *militant attitude in, from and for the State*. This overlap between work and activism shows, as well, the value that the expert knowledge has in the construction of these forms of membership, since the activist knowledge itself integrates with the technical knowledge specifically related to the design and implementation of participating mechanisms.

The youth as a militant cause: Some ideas
about political activism during Kirchnerismo
Melina Vázquez

The main point to highlight is the widening of the boundaries and meanings of activism. This way the term *militant* can be used to describe the development of diverse activities, such as tasks regarding teaching how to write or read in a settlement or ghetto, work in a government area or even the performance as a president: both Néstor Kirchner and Cristina Fernández recognized themselves, and are recognized, as *activists*¹⁴.

Finally, it is important to mention the creation of *the youth* as a cause promoted from the *Kirchnerismo* during the context of the election campaign of 2011¹⁵, when over thirty television spots were launched, in which there were a set of facts and values that were objectified and exhibited, such as the main achievements of the first administration of Cristina Fernández¹⁶. Three of these spots –two of them titled “Strength of Youth” and “The Strength of militancy”– show, once again, the consecration and characterization of youth¹⁷ regarding a number of attributes: it is a youth that is activist, the activism is political, which is known for being festive, celebrating being part of the *Argentine nation*, and that –in contrast to the ways of entering in politics by young people in the past– this youth has left behind the fact of “*throwing rocks and fighting against the establishment*”, to start being activists by “supporting the policies that the State promotes”. This way, youth activism is objectivized, as it is associated with and active, mobilized support for the State.

Summarizing, the various issues developed in this short article shows how during Kirchnerismo *the youth* is a relevant category developed in the political field. The interrelated analysis of the properties of some youth groups, the ways of handling commitments, the involvement of official agencies, state and political parties in the disputes of meaning and in the consecration of *the youth*, allows us to understand the complex way in which the militant cause is developed¹⁸.

To finish, it is important to add, that a set of events that occurred in recent years, including the death of Néstor Kirchner in 2010 as one of the most important happenings for the own Kirchnerismo, began to make visible the process described, at the same time that they became political milestones that increased the mobilizing potential of *the youth* as a public cause.

The youth as a militant cause: Some ideas
about political activism during Kirchnerismo
Melina Vázquez

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NOTES

- 1 The use of native terms will be indicated through the use of italics.
- 2 It is a political space that emerged in 2003 to support the candidacy of Néstor Kirchner. This space gathers different political parties, such as the *Justicialista, de la Victoria, Frente Grande, el Partido Intransigente*, among others.
- 3 This process makes intelligible the legitimizing of their militants capitals and their conversion into bureaucratic and political capitals. This is reflected in the fact that the entrance in state areas of leaders and activists from organizations defined as *piqueteras* occurs mainly in the Social Development Ministry's Office; in areas in which they are recognized as competent workers according to their prior activist experience.
- 4 This does not mean that there isn't any participating in political spaces that are classified as traditional-such as the *Justicialista* party-but that through the category of *youth* there is an intention of achieving a differentiation in the way of integrating the space described as traditional. This analysis belongs to the kirchnerismo. Since Néstor Kirchner's first term, the kirchnerismo has developed different criticism towards what is called *pejotismo* – in a pejorative meaning.
- 5 In this line, we can understand the proliferation of groups whose names contain the initials JP in allusion to the *Juventud Peronista* (Peronist Youth); the recovery of slogans and chants and including variations alluding to the present ("Cristina heart, here you have the kids for the liberation") and the creation of a collective youth group with the most public visibility, whose name refers to the figure of Héctor Cámpora, who joined the electoral formula that allowed the return of Peronism to the government in 1973, when J. D. Perón remained banned. A few days after becoming president, Cámpora resigns to allow new elections in which Perón is not banned, and in which he is finally elected. This is why the figure of Cámpora, for the activists, is a symbol of loyalty to Perón.
- 6 The term was used in a message sent to the Peronist Youth Congress in 1967. He appealed to it to express the need to create an abrupt –revolutionary– change within Peronism in a context of internal conflicts and divisions, as well as the importance of differentiating themselves from the leaders who led the movement until then.
- 7 Among these we can mention *La Cámpora*, who identifies Néstor Kirchner and Cristina Fernández as their main guides, even Cristina Fernández is claimed as *the chief*; as well as the *Corriente de Liberacion Nacional* (Kolina), led by the Social Development Minister of the Nation, as well as the *GraN Makro*, created in 2011 by the Vice minister of Economy and current Deputy of the *Frente para la Victoria*, and the *Juventud de Obras Publicas* (JOP), a group that emerged in the National Planning Ministry and recognizes as their main leader the Secretary of that Ministry.
- 8 It is important to highlight that several of the political groups described do not define their militant tasks related exclusively to their public government employee. Groups such as *La Cámpora* or *Kolina* have different forms of integration in neighborhood-student spaces, among others. However militants share a way of understanding the personal commitment closely linked to their job in the State in order to strengthen the government.
- 9 The National Youth Department represents the maximum youth area which is under the orbit of the Organization and Com-

**The youth as a militant cause: Some ideas
about political activism during Kirchnerismo**
Melina Vázquez

munity Communication Secretary of the Social Development Ministry of the Nation.

- 10** Source: “*Guidelines for a comprehensive youth policy in the actual Argentina*”, 2011, p. 25.
- 11** It is important to highlight that the creation of such area is before Cristina Fernández became president, however it may be analyzed in conjunction with the successive changes in the youth issue that are developed during her two presidential terms.
- 12** Source: Law No. 26,227, Article 1, 28.03.2007.
- 13** Indeed it is common that the own officials appeal to the term *activist* to describe their work in the public administration. Permanent references to the idea that they work with “every thing they got”, “long hours” and that you have to be “efficient” show a way of giving a new meaning to work among those who were already activists and entered the public administration or between State workers who begin recognizing themselves as activists because of the development of certain convictions and coincidences with the guidelines or the type of work performed. For a deeper analysis on this point, see Vázquez (2012).
- 14** This view also allows an alternative approach to the narrative of the *return to politics*. Rather than speak in favor or against it, I seek to understand the narrative under the language used by the own actors to describe this broadening of meaning and forms that activism takes place now a day.
- 15** Elections in which Cristina Fernández was re-elected as president until 2015.
- 16** All spots were likewise entitled: “The Strength of ”, followed by a word alluding to a fact or slogan. As an example we can mention “The Strength of dignity”, which rescues the enactment of the new Mobility Retirement Law, “The Strength of Equality”, focused on the passage of the Equal Marriage Law; “The Strength of the Truth ”, which highlights the progress of the actions of Nestor Kirchner and Cristina Fernandez government regarding the social rights reflected in the slogan “ memory, truth and justice ” used by the human rights movement in the search for justice against humanity crimes committed by the last dictatorship, among others.
- 17** The formalization of youth in the context of the election campaign can also be seen in the public release of a list of 27 candidates, basically Deputies and Senators which are recognized by the *Frente para la Victoria* as an expression of young people in the Kirchnerismo political party.
- 18** It is important to underline that the effects of militant cause is beyond spaces regarding Kirchnerismo. Indeed, one can see an impact on proliferation of youth spaces within political parties and social movements of different ideological orientation, beyond the position that they assume regarding the Kirchnerismo or the way of conceptualizing the value of politics and forms of activism.

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Spanish version

The youth as a militant cause: Some ideas
about political activism during Kirchnerismo
Melina Vázquez

La juventud como causa militante: algunas ideas sobre el activismo político durante el kirchnerismo

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El presente artículo propone analizar bajo qué condiciones sociológicas *la juventud*¹ se convierte en una categoría relevante para el estudio del contexto sociopolítico y de las formas que asume el compromiso político en el presente. Concretamente, se analizan diferentes maneras por medio de las cuales a partir del primer mandato de Cristina Fernández de Kirchner *la juventud* se convierte en una causa pública que produce adhesiones y movilización política.

Para ello es preciso retrotraerse un poco más en el tiempo y analizar el inicio del mandato de Néstor Kirchner (2003-2007), quien construyó una legitimidad de ejercicio basada en la recuperación de un conjunto de demandas y consignas que fueron propias del álgido proceso de movilización anterior a su asunción como primer mandatario. Esto supuso, por un lado, reivindicar parte de las consignas que formaban parte de la agenda de los sectores movilizados durante y posteriormente a la crisis del año 2001 y, por otro, convocar a la integración a un conjunto de dirigentes con marcado protagonismo en dicho período a través de su incorporación en las listas electorales del Frente para la Victoria² y en cargos de gestión pública. Esto fue visto como una oportunidad para algunos de los movimientos y también una forma de reconocimiento a su quehacer militante: eran convocados a desempeñarse en áreas estatales estrechamente relacionadas con las acciones de sus respectivos colectivos de origen³. De ese modo, la participación en espacios de la gestión pública amplió el repertorio de acciones y el Estado pasa a ser visto como un espacio más de activismo, a la vez que su desempeño laboral es resignificado como una forma de *militancia en el Estado* (Perelmiter, 2010 y 2012).

Con el primer gobierno de Cristina Fernández (2007-2011) se observa una modificación en el tipo de grupos que pasan a ser base sustentación y legitimación del gobierno; concretamente, se registra la creación y revitalización de grupos que, entre otros rasgos distintivos, se autodefinen como *juveniles* y se reconocen *oficialistas*.

Estas agrupaciones enmarcan el activismo juvenil en una retórica de la *novedad*, es decir que la juventud es presentada como un valor político por medio del cual se simboliza una tensión con las formas de hacer política o gestionar el Estado consideradas *viejas*⁴. La narrativa del *regreso a la política* convive, por otra parte, con un repertorio de acciones y sentidos que invocan a la militancia del pasado. Es así como las mencionadas agrupaciones participan del trabajo de construcción de una *tradición selectiva* (Williams, 1980), por medio de la cual se acentúan y recuperan algunos hechos y significados a la vez que otros son disputados o excluidos⁵. Tal es así que la participación juvenil en el presente es analizada por los propios activistas apelando a la idea del *trasvasamiento generacional*, noción utilizada por Juan D. Perón para alentar la participación de los jóvenes a mediados de la década de 1960⁶.

La construcción de una narrativa acerca del protagonismo juvenil es sostenida además por dirigentes adultos: funcionarios y viejos militantes sostienen la importancia del activismo juvenil como

Spanish version

The youth as a militant cause: Some ideas about political activism during Kirchnerismo
Melina Vázquez

condición de la *continuidad* y, a la vez, del *recambio*. Es decir que la condición juvenil –habitualmente interpretada como signo de la inexperiencia o de la falta de credenciales políticas– se convierte en un capital al interior de este universo de relaciones.

La relación entre las agrupaciones juveniles –o que se inscriben en la narrativa de la *vuelta de los jóvenes a la política*– y los dirigentes adultos es tan fuerte que en muchos casos su surgimiento se produce al interior de ámbitos estatales en los cuales funcionarios con posiciones jerárquicas son reconocidos, a la vez, como líderes políticos⁷. Las agrupaciones surgen estrecha relación con el Estado, más precisamente en espacios de trabajo en los que convergen sus líderes y buena parte de los activistas⁸.

La construcción de *la juventud* como causa militante se observa, además, en la elaboración de dispositivos estatales que buscan incentivar la participación y la organización de los jóvenes. De acuerdo con esto, se observa que el 25% de Políticas Públicas de Juventud reconocen entre sus principales objetivos promover su *participación social y ciudadana*, duplicando éstas Políticas a las relacionadas con cuestiones consideradas clásicas en materia de juventud, como de inclusión social (Vázquez y Nuñez, 2013).

Independientemente de su peso cuantitativo, estas políticas públicas resultan paradigmáticas para entender la construcción de la categoría *juventud* entendida como actor movilizado. A título ilustrativo se puede hacer mención a la creación, entre los años 2010 y 2011, del dispositivo “Organizarnos para Transformar”, dependiente de la Dirección Nacional de Juventud⁹. El mismo consiste en la realización de encuentros y talleres con estudiantes de escuelas secundarias con el propósito de formarlos y asesorarlos en la creación de centros de estudiantes en sus respectivas instituciones educativas.

Asimismo, el análisis de documentos vinculados con el diseño e implementación de dichas Políticas Públicas permite advertir cómo el propio discurso público estatal incorpora un vocabulario y se autodefine como parte de un proyecto militante. En un documento elaborado en el Ministerio de Desarrollo Social se sistematizan los principales logros a alcanzar en el diseño de las políticas públicas de juventud, describiendo allí los principales rasgos de lo que se define como un *Estado Militante* y enfatizando en que el principal objetivo a alcanzar tiene que ver con la promoción de participación juvenil. Para ello se destaca la centralidad de impulsar la consolidación de “organizaciones políticas juveniles [que] acompañen y alimenten la definición e implementación de políticas para la construcción de ‘lo público’ (entendido como que es de todos y nos es común) junto al Gobierno y al Estado”¹⁰.

En esta línea también es posible analizar la creación de organismos públicos –como el Consejo Federal de Juventud, creado en el año 2007¹¹ bajo la órbita de la Dirección Nacional de Juventud– que reconocen similares objetivos. Dicho Consejo reconoce como principal misión “coordinar el trabajo interjurisdiccional de las políticas de juventud y fortalecer y ampliar la *participación de jóvenes y de organizaciones juveniles*”¹².

Es relevante destacar que las dependencias encargadas de diseñar y aplicar estas políticas públicas son aquellas en las que se observa una marcada presencia de jóvenes militantes, quienes entienden

Spanish version

The youth as a militant cause: Some ideas about political activism during Kirchnerismo
Melina Vázquez

que trabajar en el Estado –y la manera de hacerlo– es expresión de un compromiso político¹³. Si en un primer momento los dirigentes e integrantes de movimientos sociales describían su presencia en el Estado como la extensión de una forma anterior de militancia, los jóvenes de las agrupaciones kirchneristas reivindican su doble condición de militantes y trabajadores; equiparando así su *trabajo* con *actitud militante* con la *militancia* propiamente dicha *en, desde y/o para* el Estado. Esta imbricación entre trabajo y activismo muestra, a su vez, el valor que posee el saber experto en la construcción de estas formas de adhesión, puesto que al saber militarmente propiamente dicho se integran saberes técnicos específicos referidos al diseño y la implementación de dispositivos de participación.

El punto a destacar es el ensanchamiento de las fronteras y los sentidos del activismo. De modo que el término *militante* puede describir la realización de actividades tan disímiles como el desarrollo de tareas de alfabetización en un asentamiento o barrio carenciado, el trabajo en un Ministerio o incluso el desempeño como primer mandatario: tanto Néstor Kirchner como Cristina Fernández se reconocen y son reconocidos como *un –o una– militante más*¹⁴.

Finalmente, cabe mencionar aquí la consagración de la juventud impulsada desde el kirchnerismo en el marco de la campaña electoral del año 2011¹⁵, cuando se lanzaron más de treinta spots televisivos en los que se exhibían y objetivaban un conjunto de hechos y valores, postulados como los principales logros de la primera gestión de gobierno de Cristina Fernández¹⁶. En tres de estos spots –titulados dos de ellos “La fuerza de la Juventud” y “La fuerza de la militancia”– se observa, una vez más, la consagración y caracterización de la juventud¹⁷ a partir de una serie de atributos: se trata de una juventud *militante*, cuya militancia es *política*, que se destaca por ser *festiva*, que celebra su pertenencia a la *nación Argentina*, y que –en contraposición con las formas de ingresar a la política por parte de los jóvenes en el pasado– ha dejado de *tirar piedras* y de *luchar contra el poder establecido* para empezar a militar en *apoyo de las políticas que el Estado impulsa*. Vemos así cómo se objetiva una forma de activismo juvenil asociada al apoyo activo, movilizado, del Estado.

En síntesis, las diferentes cuestiones tratadas en este breve artículo muestran cómo durante el kirchnerismo se elabora la *juventud* como una categoría relevante en el campo político. El análisis interrelacionado de las propiedades de algunos colectivos juveniles, las maneras de tramitar los compromisos, la intervención de instancias oficiales, estatales y político partidarias en las disputas de sentido y en la consagración de la *juventud* permiten comprender de forma compleja la manera en que se construye una causa militante¹⁸.

Es importante agregar, para terminar, que un conjunto de hechos acontecidos en los últimos años –entre los cuales uno de los más relevantes es, sin lugar a dudas, la muerte de Néstor Kirchner en el año 2010–, comenzaron a hacer más visible el proceso descrito, a la que vez que se convirtieron e integraron como hitos políticos que profundizaron el potencial movilizador de la *juventud* como causa pública.

Spanish version

The youth as a militant cause: Some ideas
about political activism during Kirchnerismo
Melina Vázquez

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NOTAS

- 1 La utilización de términos nativos será indicado a través del uso de itálicas.
- 2 Espacio partidario surgido en el año 2003 para acompañar la candidatura del Néstor Kirchner. En el mismo confluyen diferentes partidos como el Justicialista, de la Victoria, el Frente Grande, el Partido Intransigente, entre otros.
- 3 Este proceso hace inteligible la legitimación de sus capitales militantes y su reconversión en capitales burocráticos y políticos. Tal es así que el espacio de ingreso de líderes y militantes provenientes de organizaciones piqueteras se produce fundamentalmente en el Ministerio Desarrollo Social de la Nación, en áreas en las que son reconocidos como competentes de acuerdo con su experiencia militante previa.
- 4 Esto no significa que no se participe de espacios partidarios (des)calificados como *tradicionales* –como el Partido Justicialista–, sino que a través de la categoría *joven* se busca producir una diferenciación en la manera de integrar dicho espacio. Esta lectura es tributaria del propio kirchnerismo, el cual desde la gestión de Néstor Kirchner ha desarrollado diferentes críticas hacia lo que se nombra –de forma peyorativa– como *pejotismo*.
- 5 En esta línea se comprende la proliferación de grupos cuyos nombres llevan la sigla JP en alusión a la Juventud Peronista; la recuperación de consignas y cánticos y la incorporación de variaciones alusivas al presente ("Cristina corazón acá tenés los pibes para la liberación") y la creación del colectivo juvenil con mayor visibilidad pública cuyo nombre remite a la figura de Héctor Cámpora, quien integró la fórmula electoral que permitió el regreso del peronismo al gobierno en 1973, cuando J. D. Perón permanecía proscripto. Pocos días después de asumir, Cámpora renuncia a su cargo para permitir la realización de nuevas elecciones en las que Perón sí logra presentarse, y en las que resulta electo. Por ello la figura de Cámpora expresa, para los militantes, un símbolo de la *lealtad* con Perón.
- 6 El término fue utilizado en un mensaje enviado al Congreso de la Juventud Peronista 1967. Apeló al mismo para expresar la necesidad de producir un cambio abrupto –revolucionario– dentro del peronismo, en un contexto de divisiones y conflictos internos, como la importancia de diferenciarse de los dirigentes que conducían el movimiento hasta entonces.
- 7 Entre estas se puede mencionar a La Cámpora, que identifica a Néstor Kirchner y Cristina Fernández como sus principales conductores, incluso la segunda es reivindicada como *la jefa*; a la Corriente de Liberación Nacional (KOLINA), liderada por la Ministra de Desarrollo Social de la Nación; a la GraN maKro, creada en 2011 por impulso del entonces viceministro de Economía y actual Diputado del Frente para la Victoria, y la Juventud de Obras Públicas (JOP), agrupación que surge en el Ministerio de la Planificación de la Nación y reconoce como principal líder al Secretario de Obras Públicas de dicho Ministerio.
- 8 Es importante destacar que varias de las agrupaciones no definen su quehacer militar exclusivamente en relación con las tareas de gestión pública. Colectivos como La Cámpora o Kolina poseen diferentes formas de inserción en espacios barriales, estudiantiles, etc. Sin embargo los militantes comparten una manera de entender el compromiso personal vinculado de

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forma estrecha al trabajo en el Estado y en vistas a su fortalecimiento, como se profundiza más adelante.

- 9 Máximo órgano sectorial de juventud que depende, a su vez, de la Secretaría de Organización y Comunicación Comunitaria del Ministerio de Desarrollo Social de la Nación.
- 10 Fuente: "Lineamientos para una política integral de juventud en la Argentina de hoy", 2011, p. 25.
- 11 Cabe destacar que la creación de dicho organismo se produce meses antes de la asunción de Cristina Fernández como primera mandataria; sin embargo, puede ser leída en relación con los sucesivos cambios en torno a la cuestión juvenil que se configuran a lo largo de sus dos gestiones de gobierno.
- 12 Fuente: Ley N° 26227, Artículo 1, 28/03/2007.
- 13 En efecto, es habitual que los propios funcionarios apelen al vocabulario militante para describir su trabajo en la gestión pública. Referencias permanentes a la idea de que se trabaja con "entrega", "muchas horas" y que hay que ser "eficientes" muestran un modo de resignificar el trabajo entre quienes ya eran militantes e ingresan a la gestión pública o también entre quienes eran trabajadores del Estado y comienzan a reconocerse como militantes a partir de coincidencias, adhesiones o del desarrollo de ciertas convicciones con las orientaciones o el tipo de trabajo desarrollado. Para profundizar sobre este punto, véase Vázquez (2012).
- 14 Esta mirada permite, además, una aproximación alternativa a la narrativa de la *vuelta a la política*. En lugar de pronunciarse a favor o en contra de la misma, procura entender en la misma el lenguaje utilizado por los propios actores para describir este ensanchamiento del sentido y las formas que adquiere la militancia.
- 15 Contienda electoral en la que Cristina Fernández resultó reelecta como primera mandataria hasta el año 2015.
- 16 Todos los spots eran titulados "La Fuerza de", seguidos de una palabra alusiva a un hecho o consigna. A modo de ejemplo se pueden mencionar "La fuerza de la dignidad", en el que se rescata la sanción de la nueva Ley de Movilidad Jubilatoria; "La fuerza de la igualdad", centrado en la sanción de la Ley del Matrimonio Igualitario; "La Fuerza de la verdad", en el que se destacan los avances de las gestiones de gobierno de Néstor Kirchner y Cristina Fernández en materia de "memoria, verdad y justicia", consigna utilizada por los movimientos de derechos humanos en la búsqueda por obtener justicia frente a los crímenes de lesa humanidad cometidos por el último gobierno dictatorial, entre otros.
- 17 La oficialización de la juventud en el marco de la campaña electoral se puede observar, además, en la difusión pública de una lista de 27 candidatos, básicamente a Diputados y Senadores, que son reconocidos por el Frente para la Victoria como expresión del espacio juvenil del kirchnerismo.
- 18 Es importante señalar que los efectos de esta causa militante trascienden al propio espacio kirchnerista. En efecto, se puede observar su impacto en la proliferación de espacios juveniles al interior de partidos políticos y de movimientos sociales de diferente orientación ideológica, más allá de la posición que asuman frente al kirchnerismo o de su modo de conceptualizar el valor de la política y las formas de militancia.

ACERCA DE LA AUTORA

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Yokohama 2014. Everything you need to know!

Important deadlines regarding the XVIII ISA World Congress of Sociology to be held in Yokohama, on July 13-19, 2014, are fast approaching. Below you will find details about deadlines, types of sessions, and fees. For further information, please go to the Congress' website <http://www.isa-sociology.org/congress2014/>.

If you are looking for partners to co-organize sessions, you are welcome to use the [ISA RC48 Facebook page](#). Please, do not hesitate to contact us should you have queries about these or other issues at isa.rc48@gmail.com.

Deadlines

March 1, 2013 - 24:00 GMT

RC48 is now open to receive session proposals (see Types of Sessions below). The deadline to submit these proposals is March 1, 2013. These proposals must be submitted through the following on-line form; all other proposals will be excluded from the selection process.

<https://docs.google.com/spreadsheet/viewform?formkey=dElvREh6RnN5d2Z6elZNZkVJMI9YeXc6MA>

TYPES OF SESSIONS

Paper presentation session

It is recommended that each session uses its 110 minutes to accommodate 4-5 papers and 15-20 minutes of collective discussion. All other papers should be listed as **distributed papers** in the relevant session and serve as "waitlist" for Session Organizers. These papers will be listed in the program and, providing the authors register in time, their abstracts will be included in the abstracts book. If a participant does not show up, the first participant listed under distributed papers will be asked to present a paper.

Featured or Keynote Speaker

A session featuring a leading researcher in one of the RC/WG/TG fields, with a presentation of between 35 and 60 minutes duration, followed by a discussion period. This kind of session can attract more people from outside your group. These sessions are organized directly by Program Coordinators and/or Session Organizers and are not open for abstract submission.

Panel Session

Panel session accommodates a larger number of invited panelists who will debate around a specific theme or on current issues of particular importance to the area of research. The floor will then be opened to the audience. Panel sessions are organized directly by Program Coordinators and/or Session Organizers and are not open for abstract submission.

Invited Session

Sessions organized directly by Program Coordinators and/or Session Organizers. These are not open for abstract submission.

Author meets their Critics

A debate around an important recent publication that could be presented by the author(s), with commentators and opening the floor to the audience. These sessions are organized directly by Program Coordinators and/or Session Organizers and are not open for abstract submission.

Poster session

Poster presentations of research information and results.

Roundtable Session

In order to accommodate more papers, a regular session time-slot may be used for a maximum of 5 concurrent running round table presentations in one room (maximum of 5-6 presenters at each table). Five tables will be set up at the same time and in the same room. Each table will accommodate 10 persons including the presenters (suggested number of 5 presenters).

Joint Session

Joint Sessions are sessions organized jointly by two or more RCs, or an RC combined with a WG or TG on a theme of overlapping interest. Please note that Joint Sessions must be included in the regular session allocation of one of the participating units. Joint sessions cannot constitute more than 50% of all sessions organized by a RC/WG/TG.

Other formats

Having a variety of types of sessions can enhance the quality of a meeting, especially if the organizers find the right people to participate in them. The above are simply suggestions. Other formats, such as a hands-on workshop, or a session on pedagogy may also be appropriate for your group.

April 7, 2013 - 24:00 GMT

Research Committees, Working and Thematic Groups submit a list of sessions/chairs to isa@isa-sociology.org for posting on ISA website.

THESE WILL BECOME A CALL FOR PAPERS.

Other important deadlines are:

ABSTRACTS SUBMISSION:

3 JUNE - 30 SEPTEMBER, 2013

24:00 GMT

Participants must submit abstracts online via Confex platform. Abstracts must be submitted in English, French or Spanish. Only abstracts submitted online will be considered in the selection process.

ABSTRACTS SELECTION:

4 OCTOBER - 24 NOVEMBER, 2013

24:00 GMT

Session Organizer must complete selection of abstracts and provide a final presentation designation (oral, distributed, poster, round table).

NOTIFICATION LETTERS:

30 NOVEMBER, 2013 24:00 GMT

Session Organizer must send notification letters to:

Authors and co-authors of accepted abstracts
Submitters whose abstract was rejected in this session but has been transferred to Program Coordinator for review and possible consideration in another session

Authors of rejected abstracts.

A final presentation designation (oral, distributed, poster, round table) needs to be stated; this information can be modified later once registration check has been completed.

APPLICATIONS FOR FINANCIAL SUPPORT DEADLINE:

31 JANUARY, 2014 24:00 GMT

Program Coordinator receives applications for ISA grants submitted by the participants till January 31, 2014.

REGISTRATION DEADLINE FOR PRESENTERS: APRIL 1, 2014 24:00 GMT

Congress registration fees in Japanese Yen

	Before April 1, 2014	After April 1, 2014
Category A (Table of economies)		
ISA Member	JPY 35,000	JPY 40,000
Non Member	JPY 47,000	JPY 52,000
Category B (Table of economies)		
ISA Member	JPY 17,000	JPY 23,000
Non Member	JPY 27,000	JPY 32,000
Category C (Table of economies)		
ISA Member	JPY 13,000	JPY 18,000
Non Member	JPY 16,000	JPY 20,000
Students		
Student ISA Member	JPY 12,000	JPY 17,000
Student Non Member	JPY 15,000	JPY 18,000

Congress registration fees are divided into Regular and Student fees. Each student must provide a photocopy of her/his valid student card or equivalent. There are different fees available for ISA Members and Non-Members. ISA Members are scholars who paid to the ISA Secretariat in Madrid their individual membership fees for the current year. To join ISA see '[Individual Membership](#)'.

Regular registration fees have been divided into three categories: A, B, and C. Each participant must identify the economy category in which her/his country of residence is classified and pay the registration fee corresponding to this category. See the [table of economies](#).

All programme participants (paper givers, session organizers, chairs, discussants, etc.) must pay a full registration fee before April 1, 2014.

Daily registration will be available for purchase at the Registration Desk in Yokohama. The daily registration fee of **JPY 12,000** includes:

- Access to Congress Sessions
- Opening Reception
- Congress Programme
- Congress Name Badge

Tickets for the Opening Reception and other social events will be available for purchase by non-registered persons.

Visa Requirements

[List of countries having visa exemption arrangements](#)

Delegates of other countries are required visa procedure. For further information please see [Guide to Japanese Visas](#), Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan

Announcements

Non-ISA Conferences

EUROPEAN SOCIOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION (ESA) CONFERENCE “CRISIS, CRITIQUE AND CHANGE” TORINO (ITALY), AUGUST 28-31, 2013

The conference ESA 2013 – Crisis, Critique and Change calls for research, explanations and reflections on the causes of the crisis and its effects, both on the political agenda, and on individuals' and family lives. They look for sociological contributions to foster an understanding of the crisis and the dual role of critique in interpreting and affecting changes. The conference is organized jointly by ESA and the Department of Culture, Politics and Society at the University of Torino. It takes place in the new Campus of Social Sciences and Law “Luigi Einaudi” and surrounding venues.

Conference website: <http://www.esa11thconference.eu/home>

Deadlines:

- February 1, 2013: Abstract submission
- May 1, 2013: Early Bird registration
- June 1, 2013: Registration for paper givers

7TH EUROPEAN CONSORTIUM FOR POLITICAL RESEARCH (ECPR) GENERAL CONFERENCE BORDEAUX (FRANCE), SEPTEMBER 5-7, 2013

Conference website: http://new.ecpr.eu/Conferences/General/2013_Bordeaux/Default.aspx

Academic program: <http://new.ecpr.eu/Events/SectionList.aspx?EventID=5>

To submit an abstract, go to:

<http://new.ecpr.eu/Login.aspx?ReturnUrl=%2fMyEcpr%2fForms%2fPaperProposalForm.aspx%3fEventID%3d5&EventID=5>

Deadlines:

- February 1, 2013: Abstract submission

Grassroots

The Newsletter of the Research Committee on
Social Movements, Collective Action and Social Change (RC48)
of the International Sociological Association

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AIM OF Grassroots

Grassroots provides information for scholars interested in social movements, collective action and social change, with an emphasis on events and developments around the globe. Grassroots is driven by the idea of free access to information and open communication.

CONTRIBUTIONS

Grassroots' editors welcome information regarding events and developments related to our area of study around the globe, and also short essays, thought-pieces or other relevant materials. Please, email us at isa.rc48@gmail.com if you are interested in contributing to Grassroots in any of these ways.

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PUBLISHING INFORMATION

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