

FROM OLD TO NEW SOCIAL MOVEMENTS IN ARGENTINA: ACTORS AND
STRATEGIES

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
OF
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY



BY

YAPRAK UYMAZ

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF SCIENCE
IN
THE DEPARTMENT OF LATIN AND NORTH AMERICAN STUDIES

MAY 2024

Approval of the thesis:

**FROM OLD TO NEW SOCIAL MOVEMENTS IN ARGENTINA: ACTORS
AND STRATEGIES**

submitted by **YAPRAK UYMAZ** in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of **Master of Science in Latin and North American Studies**, the
Graduate School of Social Sciences of Middle East Technical University by,

Prof. Dr. Sadettin KİRAZCI
Dean
Graduate School of Social Sciences

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Aylin TOPAL
Head of Department
Department of Latin and North American Studies

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Aylin TOPAL
Supervisor
Department of Political Science and Public Administration

Examining Committee Members:

Prof. Dr. Kürşad ERTUĞRUL (Head of the Examining Committee)
Middle East Technical University
Department of Political Science and Public Administration

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Aylin TOPAL (Supervisor)
Middle East Technical University
Department of Political Science and Public Administration

Dr. Gözde SOMEL
Zonguldak Bülent Ecevit University
Department of History



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Name, Last Name: Yaprak UYMAZ

Signature:

ABSTRACT

FROM OLD TO NEW SOCIAL MOVEMENTS IN ARGENTINA: ACTORS AND STRATEGIES

UYMAZ, Yaprak

M.S. The Department of Latin and North American Studies

Supervisor: Assoc. Prof. Dr. Aylin TOPAL

May 2024, 126 pages

In the 1980s, the neoliberal globalization process had impacts on social, economic, and political structures triggering a debate about so-called old and new social movements. This debate, which occupied the social movements literature for a long time, has reached a somewhat consensus on the idea that there had been a continuity rather than a sharp break between the two movements. However, both theories fall short to explain some social movement profiles, especially seen in Latin American countries. One of these cases is Argentina, a country where the social movements have been very active through since the second half of the 20th century. Contrary to the distinction in the theoretical debate, social movements in Argentina embody both class-based and identity-based movements. In this context, the thesis aims to analyse the social movements in Argentina (from the 1980s to the present). While doing this, it reveals the specificities of the movements in Argentina by considering the actors, actions, forms of struggle and purposes of the movements. To understand the case-specific aspects of social movements in Argentina, the ways in which the two types of social movement have intersected in practice will be explored, using a rather flexible theoretical framework which would allow a more comprehensive analysis of the movements. In this thesis, it is claimed that there have been significant changes in the class structure under the influence of neoliberal market and employment policies along with the technological revolution. In the course of these changes the class-based movement has not been completely replaced by identity-based movements. By way of

this argument, the thesis opposes the perspectives that claim that new social movements' aim has been limited with social change without targetting a change of the state power.

Keywords: Argentina, Globalization, Neoliberalism, New Social Movements, Old Social Movements



ÖZ

ARJANTİN'DE ESKİDEN YENİYE TOPLUMSAL HAREKETLER: AKTÖRLER VE STRATEJİLER

UYMAZ, Yaprak

Yüksek Lisans, Latin ve Kuzey Amerika Çalışmaları Bölümü

Tez Yöneticisi: Doç. Dr. Aylin TOPAL

Mayıs 2024, 126 sayfa

1980’li yıllarda etkisini sosyal, ekonomik ve siyasi yapılar üzerinde gösteren neoliberal küreselleşme süreci beraberinde eski ve yeni toplumsal hareketler tartışmasını da beraberinde getirdi. Toplumsal hareketler literatüründe uzun süre yer alan bu tartışma her iki hareket arasında keskin bir kırılmadan ziyade devamlılık olduğu konusunda uzlaşıya varılarak sonlandı. Ancak, her iki teori de bazı toplumsal hareket profillerini – özellikle Latin Amerika ülkelerindeki – açıklamakta yetersiz kaldı. Bu ülkelerden biri de toplumsal hareketlerin 20. yüzyılın ikinci yarısından itibaren oldukça aktif olduğu Arjantin. Teorik tartışmadaki ayrımın aksine, Arjantin’deki toplumsal hareketler hem sınıf tabanlı hem de kimlik tabanlı hareketlerle iç içe geçmiştir. Bu bağlamda bu tez Arjantin’deki toplumsal hareketleri (1980’lerden günümüze) analiz etmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bunu yaparken Arjantin’deki hareketlerin özgünlüğü aktörler, eylemler, mücadele biçimleri ve hareketlerin amaçları göz önünde bulundurularak ortaya konulmaktadır. Arjantin’in özgünlüğü anlayabilmek amacıyla pratikte her iki hareket tipinin kesiştiği vakalar vurgulanmakta ve hareketlerin kapsamlı bir analizinin yapılabilmesi için daha esnek bir teorik çerçeve önerilmektedir. Bu tezde neoliberal piyasa ve istihdam politikalarının ve teknolojik devrimlerin etkisiyle sınıf yapısında önemli değişiklikler olduğu, ancak sınıf hareketinin yerini

tamamen kimlik temelli hareketlerin almadığı iddia edilmektedir. Ayrıca tez, yeni toplumsal hareketlerin sadece toplumsal değişim amacı güttüğü ve iktidar amacı gütmmediği iddiasını öne süren yaklaşımlara da karşı çıkmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Arjantin, Eski Toplumsal Hareketler, Küreselleşme, Neoliberalizm, Yeni Toplumsal Hareketler





To my beloved mother...

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CCC	Corriente Clasista y Combativa (Classist and Combative Current)
CEDES	Centro de Estudios de Estado y Sociedad (The Centre for the Study State and Society)
CEPAL	Comisión Económica para América Latina y el Caribe (The Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean)
CGT	Confederación General del Trabajo de la República Argentina (The General Confederation of Labour of the Argentine Republic)
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CSOs	Civil Society Organizations
CTA	The Central de Trabajadores de la Argentina (The Argentine Labor Congress)
DINA	The Dirección de Inteligencia Nacional (National Intelligence Directorate)
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FORA	Federacion Obrera Regional Argentina (Argentine Regional Federation of Labor)
FUNDAPAZ	La Fundacion para el Desarrollo en Justicia y Paz (The Foundation for Development in Justice and Peace)
GOU	Grupo Obra de Unificación (United Officers' Group)
IMF	International Monetary Fund
ISI	Import Substitute Industrialization
LGBT	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender
MAS	Movimiento al Socialismo (The Movement for Socialism)
MNCs	Multinational Corporations
NGO	Non-governmental Organization

NSMs	New Social Movements
OPEC	Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries
OSMs	Old Social Movements
OWS	Occupy Wall Street
SMOs	Social Movements Organizations
Triple-A	Alianza Anticomunista Argentina (Argentine Anticommunist Alliance)
US	United States
WB	World Bank
YPF	Yacimientos Petrolíferos Fiscales (Fiscal Oilfields)

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Mario Diani by analyzing different definitions of social movements and finding some commonalities and similarities defined social movements as follows "social movements are defined as networks of informal interactions between a plurality of individuals, groups and/or organizations, engaged in political or cultural conflicts, on the basis of shared collective identities" (Diani, 1992, p. 1). This definition, which is intended to be inclusive, is quite adequate to describe new social movements (NSMs), especially after the 1960s. However, it is less adequate for the social movements of the industrial era. These movements, known as old social movements (OSM), are characterized by revolution, class, class interest and anti-system (Buechler, 2016). Diani's definition is then reasonable for the movements of the last quarter of the 20th century. It is very difficult to provide a single overarching definition of social movements. This can be attributed to the existence of both similar and very different theories of social movements.

Starting from the period before the establishment of sociology as a discipline until today, many social movement theories have been developed to understand and analyze social movements. These theories include the Crowds Approach, Marxist Theory, Resource Mobilization Theory, Collective Behavior Theory, New Social Movements Theory, and so on (Almeida P. , 2019).

While there are similarities between some of these theories that offer sets of analyses based on the driving forces underlying social movements, actors, the formation process of actors, their goals, values, mobilization processes, and interpretations of movements, there are vast differences between some of them. For example, there are

differences in almost every sense between the NSM theory, which was formulated with the emergence of new types of social movements in the post-industrial period due to the neoliberal globalization process, and Marxist theory, which provides a theoretical framework for the movements of the industrial period. In fact, these differences have initiated the old-new debate within the social movements literature, which is the basis of this thesis.

The old social movements are seen as economically class-interested movements in which the working class is the actor and the classes created by socioeconomic inequalities can only be eliminated through revolution (Buechler, 2016). It is claimed that these movements belong to the industrial era when the working class was popular (Buechler, 2016). On the other hand, new social movements are characterized by collective identity groups. They have newer themes such as democracy, environment, peace, etc., which are formed in line with their grievances (della-Porta, 2013; Almeida P. , 2019). On the other hand, it is argued that the new middle class, which is considered to be the actors of NSMs, was formed in the post-industrial period due to the rising services sector (Standing, 2011). Overall, the two movement theories have quite different profiles. Both NSM theories and OSM theories seem to limit social movements considerably.

With his work on the theory of social movements, Buechler has drawn a typology by stating that NSM theories are divided into two wings within themselves. According to this typology, he underlines that there is a cultural version of NSM theories that argues that there is a break between old and new movements, and on the contrary, there is a political version that argues for continuity. This thesis examines the break-continuity debate between movements with reference to Buechler's typology and argues that there is continuity between movements using analytical tools such as actors, goals and values (Buechler, 1995).

The continuities between old and new social movements underline that in the post-industrial period both working class movements and identity-based movements can be found, and that capitalism is a common point in the grievances of movements, that

movements can have both revolutionary and reformist demands, that is, things that differ on theoretical grounds can coexist in the NSM period (Buechler, 1995). On the other hand, Argentina is an important case for this thesis. Due to the unstable economic and political structure of the country, there are many cases of continuity between the old and new movements. One of them is the *Piqueteros* movement. The *Piqueteros* movement is a movement that emerged in a period of increasing socioeconomic inequality and poverty caused by the economic crisis, which includes actors from both old and new social movements, which directly targets the state power, but is still considered under the category of NSM, and is a very appropriate case for this thesis (Petras, 2001). This practice, which does not fit into the break framework of NSM theories, may lead to an inaccurate analysis of social movements. It may ignore movements that serve as examples for old social movements. In order to prevent this from happening, this study argues that continuity theories offer a healthier framework for analyzing social movements by giving examples where movements share each other's characteristics and experiences.

1.1. Research Questions

The primary aim of this thesis, which reinterprets the social movements in Argentina in theory and practice, is to fill the gap in the analysis process created by the fact that the theory of new social movements (NSM) has become the dominant theory in the literature since the last quarter of the 20th century and that social movements have been handled in isolation from many important factors of analysis such as class relations, historical economic and political process. That is, to demonstrate the relationality of the actors and strategies of the NSMs with the existing economic and political systems and to prove that there is continuity rather than a sharp break between the old and new movements. Accordingly, Argentina was chosen as a case study. As these are long-running social struggles, the selected cases have different characteristics than the theses put forward by the break wing of new social movement theories. While sharing the experiences of both old and new movements constitutes a continuity, the unemployed movement in particular shares the experiences of the waves of social movements that followed the NSM wave, such as the anti-austerity movement.

In the research process of the thesis, many research questions were asked in order to realize the aim given above;

- 1) On what basis are there differences between social movements that emerged in both the industrial and post-industrial era?
- 2) What impact did the neoliberal paradigm and the globalization process have on the weakening of the working class and class struggle and the rise of identities in the transition from OSMs to NSMs?
- 3) Is it possible to isolate identity-based movements from social relations of production?
- 4) When analysis factors such as actors, themes, values, action forms are taken into account between old and new movements, is there really a sharp break as claimed by the break theorists, or is there continuity?
- 5) To what extent have the economic and political crises in Argentina affected the class struggle and civil society in the country?
- 6) Although the *Piqueteros* and *Las Madres de Plaza de Mayo* movements in Argentina are considered as new social movements, do they essentially have the character of old movements? If so, how accurate is it to categorize them as old or new?
- 7) Can theories of break with the typology of NSM theories formulated by Steven M. Buechler be applied to all social movements that emerge in different ways with different dynamics in different parts of the world?

1.2. Research Methodology and Research Methods

It is not easy to place this thesis on a clear methodological ground due to its subject

matter. Nevertheless, it is important to underline that the adoption of the positivist understanding may lead us to the mistake of the break theorists mentioned in the theoretical and conceptual framework of the thesis. Applying positivism's understanding of "single objective reality" (Hunt, 1991) to social movements in particular and sociology in general is a very problematic approach. The reason for this is that society is not static but dynamic. As in the old and new theories of social movements, it is not possible for the actors, themes, values, and goals of movements to exhibit a single objective reality due to the changing economic, political and social dynamics of movements. Indeed, depending on the reasons that gave rise to the movement, identity-based movements may very well be part of the class struggle.

On the other hand, the understanding of the independence of objective reality put forward by positivists also does not fit the subject matter of this study (Hunt, 1991). Treating new social movements as a completely different category from old social movements or seeing new movements as independent structures that develop outside of the economic and political structure but within the field of civil society, means excluding the movements' nature, class structure, starting point, many other factors of analysis. This thesis takes the side of continuity theories, mainly by arguing that the basis of social movements can still be found in class relations. Here, class relations and class struggle are treated not only as a phenomenon of the working class, which is reduced to purely economic interests, but also as a phenomenon that we encounter in all areas of life.

In the light of the above, it can be said that Marx's historical materialism, which considers both the economic and the social, is more appropriate for this thesis. In this thesis, which takes as a reference the need to emphasize the relations between "things" (Ollman, 2003) with the understanding that "history is never the development of one or two isolated elements" (Ollman, 2003, p. 15). Within the framework of this understanding, social movements are evaluated by establishing links within the dominant economic, political and social system, and the emergence of NSMs and the prominence of identity groups as actors are placed within the capitalist system and the neoliberal globalization process. Doing otherwise is insufficient to explain the

relationship of identity-based movements to themes in which political and economic power plays a leading role, such as human rights violations, environmental destruction, and gender inequality.

On the other hand, Marxism's argument emphasizing the dominant role of the economy or production system over other systems (Konak, 2010, p. 275) is also important for this thesis. The structure of new social movement analyses that exclude the economic system and class is criticized through this argument of Marxism. Accordingly, the thesis identifies the social movements of the industrial and neoliberal period with the power relations and class struggle that are directly shaped by economic developments and interests. Indeed, the motivation of the social movements that emerged after 1980 - including the Piqueteros - largely corresponds with the economic structure. The anti-austerity, anti-neoliberal and alter globalization movements were formulated by communities known as the losers of the neoliberal globalization process and their demands were shaped accordingly.

Another methodological basis of the thesis is critical realism. Critical realism's assertion that "the world exists independently of our knowledge of it" (Sayer & Morgan, 2022, p. 445) is associated in this study with the fact that social movements cannot be properly understood only within the framework of theories and that their practices may differ. On the other hand, according to Nilsen, "experience and interrogating how the empirical and the actual are rooted in the real are forms of knowledge that can underpin social movement projects and the struggle over historicity" (Nilsen, 2004, p. 16). It can be argued, then, that social movements in particular create new experiences by using previously used repertoires of action and incorporating other repertoires developed during the course of protest. Moreover, new knowledge created through experience cannot be fully embedded in existing theoretical frameworks, as is the case with the social movements analyzed in this thesis. Drawing on critical realism, this thesis argues that social movements cannot be placed within delimited theoretical frameworks and cannot be clearly categorized. In this context, this thesis is written with the understanding that the old-new dichotomy discussed in the following chapters should be overcome, continuities between

movement types should be established, and the unique aspects of movements should not be ignored by reducing them to specific categories.

In order to achieve the aim of this thesis, qualitative methods must be used. Since the use of primary sources helps to explain the theoretical debates on social movements, the works of theorists such as Karl Marx and Alberto Melucci were used. The use of secondary sources enables the discussion of the analysis factors of movements. For this reason, books and articles on the theories of social movements, including the works of Manuel Castells, John Foran, Jean Cohen, were reviewed. In addition, interviews conducted by journalists and activists with members of the May Square Mothers movement are included. Finally, news pages in Spanish, Turkish and English were scanned in order to obtain information about social movements in South American countries.

1.3. Contribution of The Thesis

Both the literature on social movements and the debate on old and new social movements have an extensive place in the social sciences literature. There have been debates on what is "new" and what is not, whether the "old" has lost its validity, if it is correct to categorize movements as "old" and "new", and accordingly, whether there is a break or continuity between the two types of movements. However, the debate on break and continuity has largely ended with the consensus that there is continuity between movements. Despite this, an undeniable proportion of today's movements have been directly analyzed under the category of new social movements - as can be seen in the cases from Argentina in chapters three and four of the thesis - and identity-based movements have been analyzed only within the confines of civil society, ignoring the class dimensions of the movements and the main factors shaping their demands. Thus, the roots of the problems are left out of the analysis. Whereas the actors of the "May Square Mothers" movement, a human rights movement included in the NSM category, in which the actors stand out with their identity as "mothers", explain the events that led to the start of their struggle primarily by referring to class relations. In other words, it is possible to say that more than the arguments put forward at the theoretical level are encountered in practice.

In line with the above, this thesis assumes that the characteristics of old movements can also be found in new movements, and that analyzing new movements only within civil society in isolation from the economic and political system can create significant deficiencies in the analysis of movements. Based on these assumptions and in light of the findings of the research, recommendations are made for more flexible sets of analyses that can be applied to social movements in all countries with different economic, political and social dynamics. This would be important for understanding social movements from multiple perspectives, as well as for helping the actors of movements to understand who or what is the real target of social problems.

1.4. Structure of The Thesis

This thesis consists of five chapters. The first chapter, the introduction, explains why this thesis was written, which research questions it focuses on, what its purpose is, and which research methods were used during the study. Accordingly, firstly, a brief and general introduction to social movements is given, and then the methodology of the thesis, the research questions, the structure of the thesis, and the contribution of the study are explained under separate subheadings.

In the second chapter, where the theoretical and conceptual framework of the thesis is drawn, the theories that aim to define and make sense of social movements are given, but specifically - due to the subject of the thesis - old and new social movement theories are emphasized. In this context, firstly, Marxist Theory, which is known as the theoretical basis of the old social movements under the classical approaches, and then the theories of new social movements are examined. While discussing NSM theories, the approaches of Manuel Castells and Alberto Melucci, two prominent figures in this field, are brought to the forefront. The reason for choosing these two names is that Buechler cites Castells as a continuity theorist and Melucci as a break theorist. In the rest of the chapter, the themes, values, and actors of the movements are discussed under the heading of break and continuity theories in order to make sense of and analyze the main arguments defended by old and new social movement theories. Finally, "Actors and Continuity on the Basis of Neoliberal Globalization" examines

the debilitating effects of neoliberal globalization on the working class due to the flexibilization of employment and technological developments. Its effects on the rise of identities are also presented in relation to the aforementioned process. It is concluded that there is a clear continuity between both types of movements as a result of the evaluations made by taking into account the existing literature, selected fieldwork and selected news reports.

The third chapter of the thesis is devoted to Argentina as the main case study of the thesis. This chapter first examines the country's history full of economic and political crises, especially since it is through the dynamics and themes of the movements that one can understand whether there is a break or continuity between the social movements in Argentina. In doing so, the general economic trends of both the Latin American economy and the Argentine economy are explained through the dominant economic models, and the role of the neoliberal paradigm and the phenomenon of globalization in the formation of social struggle in the country is revealed. Then, the military coups that have been instrumental in creating a climate of political crisis in the country are discussed. Finally, in relation to the economic and political framework presented, the fate of class struggle and civil society in Argentina is addressed. From the late 19th century to the early 21st century, the chapter is divided into four periods. This is useful in that it allows each period to be evaluated in its own terms. Following this trajectory throughout the third chapter, it is concluded that the gain or loss of momentum of the class struggle as well as the loss or gain of power of civil society in Argentina during the periods analyzed are directly shaped by the policies adopted and implemented by the political power.

In chapter four, the theories of break and continuity discussed in the theoretical and conceptual framework section are applied to the cases of the *Piqueteros* and *Las Madres de Plaza de Mayo*, both of which are important in the history of Argentine social movements and are referred to in the literature as new social movements. Both movements are discussed under separate sub-headings, relating the economic and political developments mentioned in Chapter 3 to the background, actors, themes and values of the movements. In order to determine whether there is a break or continuity

between the movements, a number of determining factors are taken into account, such as the underlying reasons for the emergence of the movements, if the actors have class consciousness, whether the actors see the movement as a class struggle, if they target power, whether working class and identity groups exist together, and if their themes aim for improvement within civil society or economic improvement as in class movements. Accordingly, it is argued that both the *Piqueteros* movement and the May Square Mothers movement have features from both older and new movements, and that they do not represent a break with the OSMs, but rather a clear continuity with them.

In the concluding chapter, both the theoretical framework and the cases from chapter four are analyzed together to make conclusions about the social movements in Argentina and to advocate that break theories cannot be applied to all social movements. Finally, in order to avoid mistakes in the study and analysis of social movements and to emphasize the uniqueness of each movement, approaches that offer a more flexible framework are discussed and suggestions are made for further work on this topic.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Social scientists who aim to understand and explain the underlying dynamics and purposes of collective action have formulated a number of theories about social movements through their research on social movements. However, although social movement theories can be traced back to the 19th century, even in some sources to the studies of 18th century thinkers, it was only in the last quarter of the 20th century that systematic analyses of social movements were carried out directly and the field was treated as a discipline - within sociology (Buechler, 2016). One of the reasons for this is that early theories¹ focused on individuals and their behavior in a psychologically reductionist way, rather than treating collective action and masses as the unit of analysis (Peoples, 2019). According to Clayton D. Peoples, this attitude, which was quite inadequate for the analysis of collective action, continued until the middle of the 20th century (Peoples, 2019). On the other hand, Buechler relates the fact that social movements were not considered as a discipline for a long time to the fact that "sociology did not become well established or clearly recognized in European academic circles until the end of the nineteenth century" (Buechler, 2016, p. 9).

In the 20th century, declining interest in social movements with the defining of the boundaries of main disciplines such as sociology and political science, and the dominance of quantitative methodological methods, which became widespread especially in the field of sociology, can also be given as factors that were effective in the late formation of the social movement discipline (Buechler, 2016). However, in the 1960s and 70s, interest in social movements increased and social movements began to be considered as a discipline. Of course, some developments were influential in the

¹ Marxist theory is excluded from this generalization.

rise of interest in social movements within the social sciences. According to Buechler, the effective factor here is,

...the cultural turn in the humanities and social sciences that began in the 1970s substantially redirected the sociological study of social movements by the 1980s. Questions of resources, strategy, interests, and politics were at least partially displaced by issues of symbols, meanings, identity, and culture (Buechler, 2016, p. 3).

Buechler, as can be seen in the cited quote, actually explains the situation with the new paradigm of social movements, while Peoples links the increased interest in social movements to "... the rise in social activism in the 1960s and the resurgence of the conflict perspective" in the US (Peoples, 2019, p. 17). On the other hand, Young (1999) clarifies this issue from a different perspective. According to the author, the widespread teaching of Marxist theories in US universities since the 1960s and the leadership of many Marxist figures such as Michael Buroway and Erik Wright in student movements have been instrumental in the rise of social activism and the consequent increase in interest in social movement studies (Young, 1999).

In parallel with the increasing interest of scholars in the field of social movements, academic studies on the structure, dynamics, actors, values and themes, and organizational dimension of collective action have increased both quantitatively and qualitatively. Steps have been taken not only to build on existing theories but also to create new ones. Some examples of relatively new theories can be given as resource mobilization theory, new social movements theory, and political process theory. Theoretical classifications have been made in order to analyze social movements on a more solid basis. As a matter of fact, Buechler examines social movement theories under three categories called "Classical Approaches", "Traditional Theories" and "Paradigm Shifts" (Buechler, 2016), while Doug McAdam examines social movement theories by emphasizing the "Classical Model", Resource Mobilization" and "Political Process Model" (McAdam, 1982).

Among these classifications and new theories, the ones that are particularly important for this thesis are Marxist Theory, which is considered under the classical approaches,

and the new social movements theory, which is included in the paradigm shift category.

Since the 1960s, with the emergence of new types of collective action and the formulation of NSM theory, the new-old debate has emerged in addition to the existing debates in the literature. Morris and Herring's argument that "no definition of social movement enjoys a scholarly consensus ... because definitions inevitably reflect the theoretical assumptions of the theorist" (Morris & Herring, 1987, p. 2) explains why there are so many debates in the social movements literature and why there has been no consensus. It can be stated that Morris and Herring's statements are also influential in the break theorists' limitation of the actors of new social movements with identity groups, the field of action with civil society, and its values with post-materialist values. However, in order to avoid this mistake, this thesis counters the arguments of break theorists by arguing that class relations and class struggle still exist and that the underlying dynamics of the capitalist system are still the driving force of social movements.

Accordingly, without disregarding the characteristics attributed to new social movements, it is shown that there is continuity between movements by finding features from both old movements and new movements within a single case. In order to understand the ongoing theoretical debate between old and new social movements, the following section first focuses on Marxist theory, one of the classical social movement theories, and examines the applicability of Marx's class analysis, "revolution" and "social transformation" (Berberoglu, 2019) theory to new movements. Immediately afterwards, it focuses on the theoretical framework of NSMs and explains the characteristics of the movements' actors, values and themes, organizational and action forms.

The second part of this chapter discusses the dynamics of changes and transformations in the characteristics of old and new social movements - especially in their actors - within a historical context of globalization and the neoliberal paradigm. Finally, after discussing the theories of break and continuity, the chapter concludes by showing

through selected studies that - according to break theorists - movements planned at the theoretical level do not correspond to their practical counterparts.

2.1. Social Movements Theories

With the formulation of the new paradigm of social movements from the 1960s onwards, the place of the old social movements, in which the working class – and accordingly the trade unions and workers' or communist parties - were the actors and which pursued revolutionary aims for social change, began to be questioned in the literature on social movements. However, the deepening poverty and socio-economic inequalities caused by the neoliberal paradigm, which was presented as a solution to the structural crisis of the capitalist system during the 1960s, and the globalization process that gained momentum in parallel with this paradigm, paved the way for social movements to be analyzed again and more devotedly on the axes of class relations and class struggle. In this context, a debate has begun in the literature between old and new social movements both on what is "new" and on break and continuity. This thesis is precisely centered on this debate and takes the side of continuity theories by arguing that the class politics attributed to older movements continue to exist within new social movements. However, it should be noted that while the author of this thesis argues that the assumptions of old movements based on Marxist theory can be extended and applied to NSMs, she is aware of the fact that both old and new social movement theories are inadequate to study and analyze many movements at the micro level. In this part of the thesis, firstly the Marxist Theory, which constitutes the theoretical basis of the old social movements, and then the new social movements theory will be discussed, and the criticisms directed against both theories will be given.

2.1.1. Old Social Movements and Marxist Theory

The dominant movements in the early modern period were focused on economic interests, centrally organized to seize political power, with members usually belonging to a single social class. One of the best examples of this type of movement is the workers' movement, which is identified with the idea of revolution and is almost in the shadow of a political party or political movement ... such movements are called "old social movements" in the sense

of implying that they belong to the old (industrial) type of society (Çayır, 2016, pp. 13-14).

Based on this definition of old social movements, the intellectual ground of the theory of old social movements is directly linked to Marxism, considering the revolutionary aspirations of a class - the working class - to seize power, the demands for the improvement of the labor market and the socioeconomic situation, and the class structure of its actors. For this reason, it is important to dwell on Marxist theory in order to understand the OSMs and to identify the arguments of Marx on which the continuity between social movements can be built. Before discussing social movements in line with Marx's analysis, it should be noted that Marx did not develop a systematic theory of social movements. Instead, he defined classes formulated on a socioeconomic basis, focused on their exploitative relations within the capitalist system, and then gave a prescription for achieving a classless society by attributing revolutionary roles to the working class in order to eliminate exploitative relations and class inequalities (Berberoglu, 2019). This is why Buechler sees Marx as an "accidental theorist of social movements" (Buechler, 2016, p. 10). Nevertheless, despite the passing of nearly two centuries and all the criticisms of Marxism, Marx's work can still be applied to many social science disciplines today. Indeed, even though Marx's sets of analyses used in social movements emerged in the 19th century, they are still relevant today, in the 21st century, in current class and collective action debates in the social movements literature.

The validity of Marxism in the field of social movements can be attributed to its macro-level analysis of the capitalist system, relations of exploitation, class interests, class struggle and, unlike its contemporaries such as Le Bon, its view of collective action as a "rational and purposeful activity" (Morris & Herring, 1987, p. 4) in the interests of groups. Although Marx does not directly produce a theory of social movements, through his economic and social analyses, he gives us very clear information about what the driving forces underlying social movements are and what role these forces play in the initiation of class struggle, that is, the causes and dynamics of collective action. In this context, the exploitation of the working class by the capitalist class under the name of class interests can be shown among the dynamics of collective action. In

Marx's work, these relations of exploitation are found under the theory of surplus-value.

Within the capitalist system, the capitalist's profit is largely related to the extent to which he or she can seize the surplus-value generated at the end of production. The surplus-value created here is not created by capitalists or from the tools and raw materials used in the production process, but directly through workers. Marx states this in *Capital* as follows,

Capitalist production is not merely the production of commodities, it is, by its very essence, the production of surplus-value. The worker produces not for himself, but for capital. It is no longer sufficient, therefore, for him simply to produce. He must produce surplus-value. The only worker who is productive is one who produces surplus-value for the capitalist, or in other words contributes towards the self-valorization of capital (Marx, 1976, p. 644).

The production of this value by the worker is only possible through the regulation of the labor market for the benefit of the capitalist classes. In order to create the surplus-value that the capitalist can appropriate, both working hours must be extended and the productivity of labor must be increased. Marx explains how surplus-value is created through working hours with the following example,

As the value of labour is only an irrational expression for the value of labour-power, it follows of course that the value of labour must always be less than its value-product, for the capitalist always makes labour-power work longer than is necessary for the reproduction of its own value. In the above example, the value of the labour-power that functions through 12 hours is 3 shillings which requires 6 hours for its reproduction. The value which the labour-power produces is however 6 shillings, because it in fact functions during 12 hours, and its value-product depends, not on its own value, but on the length of time it is in action. Thus, we reach a result which is at first sight absurd: labour which creates a value of 6 shillings possesses a value of 3 shillings (Marx, 1976, pp. 679-680).

In other words, while the value created by a worker for 12 hours of work is worth 12 hours, if the owner of capital only pays the worker the wage for the 6 hours of value necessary for the reproduction of labor, s/he directly appropriates the production of the

remaining 6 hours of value, in short, s/he openly exploits the labor of the worker. We have already noted that another way in which labor produces surplus-value is by increasing productivity, which means that if a worker pushes his productive capacity and produces more actively, s/he can produce twice as much in 6 hours as he would normally produce in 6 hours (Buechler, 2016). In other words, s/he can produce twice as much product for the same wage for the same number of hours of work. The profit of the surplus product goes to the owner of capital in the same way. This analysis by Marx in the 19th century can be adapted as it is today. The rise of the neoliberal paradigm in the 1980s, the flexibilization of labor markets and the creation of new forms of employment due to factors such as the increase in competition between capital owners is also an expression of the current exploitation relations of the capitalist system.

These relations of production based on the exploitation of the working class are, of course, the most important cause and dynamic of class struggle. "diametrically opposed interests produce inherent class antagonisms which culminate into a revolutionary conflict between workers and capitalists" (Morris & Herring, 1987, p. 3) between the owners of capital who want to exploit more and more and the workers who want an end to this exploitation.

At this stage, how the class struggle led by the working class is organized is important for the analysis of social movements. Berch Berberoglu draws attention to the three pillars of Marx and Engels' class analysis: the one based on economics as a class in itself, the social one as a class within itself and finally the political one as a class for itself (Berberoglu, 2019). Accordingly, the economy-based class in itself "... refers to groups of people ... those who have the same property relationships in the productive process" (Berberoglu, 2019, p. 68). That is, it refers to people in a similar socio-economic situation. Secondly, class in itself "becomes a social class only when there is a close relationship between the members of a particular class" (Berberoglu, 2019, p. 68). In this the members of the economically constituted class interacted with each other outside the factory to "constitute a social class in ... have a distinct community, culture, lifestyle, and habits-in short, a cohesive intraclass association, including

intermarriage between members of the same class" (Berberoglu, 2019, p. 69). Finally, the fact that this class, which has now been formulated on economic and social grounds, realizes its interests in the face of the exploitative relations of the capitalist system with a class-for-itself understanding means that class consciousness has been formed. This class, having achieved class consciousness, is now in a position to engage in political activities in its own interests. In short, the class is both formed and ready for struggle, first by the coming together of people in the same - economic - position within a production facility, then by the interaction of people outside of working hours to form social classes, and finally by becoming aware of their common interests and taking action accordingly.

The proletariat carried out its class struggle both against the capitalist class and against the - capitalist - state. As mentioned above, there have been class conflicts between the working class and the owners of capital due to the relations of exploitation within the production process. The war of the working class against the state is largely related to the position of the state between the classes and the seizure of power. The fact that political power is economically aligned with the interests of the ruling class will mean that the working class will struggle against both the capitalist class and the state (Berberoglu, 2019). The only way for the social transformation to be led by the working class against the two powerful parties is seen as revolution. Because only through revolution can the ruling classes be removed from political power and the inequalities between classes come to an end (Barker, 2013).

2.1.2. Defenders and Critics of Marxist Theory

The literature on social movements is full of debates. One of these debates has occurred over the adequacy or inadequacy of older social movements, and thus of Marxist theory, in explaining and analyzing social movements, especially since the last quarter of the twentieth century. The parties in this debate are scholars who argue that Marx's analyses of class and the capitalist system can be adapted to NSMs, and scholars who criticize Marxism's association of the actors of social movements with class and their dynamics and demands with the economic. It should be noted that

scholars on the latter side have criticized OSM theory not only on these grounds, but also on many other issues, ranging from organizational structure, themes and values, revolutionary aims and the exclusion of movements of groups outside the working class. It is important to touch upon these debates before moving on to the new social movement theory in order to see on what basis the old and new movements differ. Accordingly, we will first look at the side that defends the validity of the old social movements framework and generalizes it to all social movements, and then we will address the factors on which the opposing side finds the OSM theory inadequate.

Recognizing that Marxist theory cannot be fully adapted to new social movements and that it has shortcomings, Buechler suggests that instead of rejecting the framework altogether, the emphasis should be on the generalizable aspects of class and social transformation analysis. Accordingly, he argues that the Marxist framework can be applied wherever there is a working class. In fact, it can be applied not only where there is a working class, but in all cases where class and group conflicts arising from conflicts of interest are observed. In fact, Marxism's solid and highly convincing analyses of social organization, social transformation and conflicts of interest,

... fits any situation in which categorical identities are hierarchically organized. The identities may involve race, ethnicity, culture, status, gender, nationality, religion, or sexuality. The relation between groups may involve exploitation, oppression, exclusion, colonization, domination, or discrimination. As people identify their interests, act upon them, and engage in overt conflict, we can expect a shift from "groups-in-themselves" based on categories to "groups-for-themselves" based on collective identity, group consciousness, and political organization (Buechler, 2016, p. 23).

Young, in the article he wrote in 1999, describes Marxist social theory as still one of the strongest and most inspiring theories. According to him, "the rich, broad scope of Marxist theory in crime, unemployment, art, communications, gender relations, and religion was neglected in favor of structural functionalism as well as an uncritical exposition of symbolic interaction theory" (Young, 1999, p. 269). Nevertheless, Marx developed a powerful strategy - class struggle - to transform social relations, to break the dominance of the class dominant classes and to eliminate socio-economic inequalities between classes (Young, 1999). Indeed, the "social justice programs"

demanding by different groups in collective action are, according to Young, directly related to the publication of the Communist Manifesto (Young, 1999).

David Harvey's *Rebel Cities* (2012) makes it clear that Marxist theory is still valid and applicable to other movements. In his book, Harvey envisions a radical change in cities through collective action by presenting urban structures, urban movements and the structural inequalities that give rise to these movements, the profit-seeking capitalists' rent-seeking through cities, the surplus-value producing characteristic of cities, and the revolutionary aspect of urban movements in a relational manner (Harvey, 2012). In this respect, Harvey's work is important in showing that Marxist theory can be adapted to movements other than working class movements - at least to urban movements.

Contrary to the above scholars, there are scholars who believe that Marxist theory or the old social movements template is inadequate to analyze and interpret the new forms of collective action that emerged in the last quarter of the twentieth century. For example, Alberto Melucci, a leading figure in the identity-based paradigm, criticizes Marxism for limiting its analysis of collective action to the capitalist system and its preconditions for revolution, thus ignoring the "internal articulation" of collective action (Melucci, 1980). What Melucci refers to by internal articulation is how the action is mobilized, how the organizing process takes place, as well as a number of analytical tools used to evaluate the action, such as "leadership" and "ideology" (Melucci, 1980, p. 199). According to Melucci, Marxism has failed to explain the process between the stages of moving from a social situation that creates the potential for action to collective action - the process of class consciousness formation. Because this process "can't be solved without taking into consideration how a collective actor is formed and how his identity is maintained" (Melucci, 1985, p. 791). On the other hand, Marxism's reduction of the causes and purposes of collective action to the relationship between the state and the party leads to "every form of action which cannot be reduced to the model of the party is ... diminished in value or considered to be marginal" (Melucci, 1980, p. 199). As can be seen, the focus of Melucci's criticism of Marxism consists of both the reduction of collective action to the state and the party within the capitalist system and the failure to produce useful analytical tools to

examine other identity movements, and the direct focus of Marxist theory on cause and effect when it should focus on process.

Jean L. Cohen is another name criticizing Marxist theory, arguing that this model can no longer be applied to new types of movements. Along with focusing on the sociocultural field, Cohen stated that Marxism's analysis formulated on a socioeconomic basis is not explanatory for NSMs,

An approach that stresses the primacy of economic contradictions, class relations, and crises in determining the collective identity of social actors can no longer be defended ... The class analysis cannot account for the peace, ecological, women's or citizen initiative movements proliferating in the West (Cohen, 1983, p. 97).

In other words, Marxist analyses of collective action are not competent enough to make sense of new social movements, changing society-state relations, and civil society in which action takes place. Cohen even criticizes Marx for associating civil society with capitalism instead of seeing it as an independent structure. On the other hand, although Cohen sees the actors of new social movements as the new middle class, unlike the traditional class, which is the actor of OSMs, they do not stand out with their class character and this "... class background does not determine the collective identities of the actors or the stakes of their action" (Cohen, 1985, p. 667)" Her and NSM theorists' emphasis on collective identities and identity groups in their work makes the criticisms of Marxist theory meaningful.

Criticisms of the theoretical basis of older social movements are not limited to Cohen and Melucci. Both in the collective action work of new social movement theorists and in the work of Marxist scholars, there are critical approaches to Marx's arguments on class analysis, revolution and social change. It can be said that the targets of these critical arrows are unsatisfactory accounts of the process leading to the formation of class consciousness, i.e. the organization of struggle, the economic reductionist treatment of the themes and values of collective action, the aim of collective action to directly seize state power rather than to improve civil society, the emphasis on the class aspects of actors and the lack of attention to identities. In this sense, Marxist theory

does not provide usable analytical tools for NSMs. The fact that most of the criticisms are made by new movement theorists also gives us a general framework of NSMs. In order to make these criticisms more understandable and to form the basis of the break-continuity debate, it is necessary to take a closer look at the theory of new social movements.

2.2.New Social Movements Theories

New social movement theories were formulated by arguing that the capitalist system and class - the working class - oriented framework of the OSM theory was inappropriate and insufficient in analysing the new types of social movements that emerged in the 1960s (Almeida P. , 2019). In this direction, NSM theories have aimed to examine social movements in all aspects with a wide range of analytical tools such as the driving forces underlying the movements, the formation process of their actors, the mobilisation phase of the movements, the values on the basis of which the goals that are effective in mobilising the actors are based, the sources of these values, the organisational forms of the movements. In their studies, they have argued that NSMs are different from the structure of old movements and are characterised by newer features.

NSM theorists emphasise the importance of cultural struggle rather than the class struggle of the old movements (Nash, 2010). For this reason, when the NSMs are analysed in terms of their values, it is emphasised that they have post-materialist values emerging out of the post-industrial society from the late 1960s onwards, rather than the "materialist" values emerging out of the industrial society from the late 18th century to the last quarter of the 20th century (see; (Touraine, 1985)). Their themes are also different in relation to post-materialist values. The themes of the new movements were mostly based on the grievances of identity groups, such as human rights, cultural identity struggles, gender equality, democracy, LGBTQ rights (Almeida P. , 2019). The common feature of these movements and themes is that they carry a "vision of democracy" such as increasing the participation of identities in the institutional sphere (della-Porta, 2013, p. 361).

The main difference between OSMs and NSMs is the actor of the movements. While the actor of the old movements was the working class, the actors of new movements are the identity-based groups emerging from the new middle class. The social struggle of identity-based groups is manifested in non-economic issues such as the feminist movement, the environmental movement, the peace movement, etc., that is, in social everyday life (Buechler, 2016).

There is one point where OSMs and NSMs differ in terms of their objectives: the control of state power. While the former movements are more revolutionary in nature and aim to seize control of state power, the NSMs do not have such a goal. Instead, their struggles are aimed at improving and expanding the civil space (Çayır, 2016). Accordingly, new movement theorists describe the old movements as utopian, romantic, and irrational due to their revolutionary aims (Çayır, 2016).

The another feature of new movemets is related to the organizational structure and organizational forms of movements. The organizational structure of the old movements is based on centralized organization and develops relations in a vertical hierarchical order (Çayır, 2016). These movements are led by leaders and organized under political parties. On the other hand, according to Çayır, the organizational structure of new movements is more flexible and decentralized (Çayır, 2016). The organizational structures of NSMs are not hierarchical and the presence of a leader is not in question (Coşkun, 2006). Here we have given genaral arguments about the characteristics attributed to new social movements. However, in order to better analyse new movements and to better understand why these movements differ from the movements based on Marxist theory, it is necessary to look in more detail at some of the works of leading figures of new movements.

Manuel Castells, one of the leading new social movement theorists, has made significant contributions to the literature on social movements with his work that presents new forms of social action and social change on a theoretical basis, both by formulating the concept of "network society" and "network movements" and by providing a detailed analysis of the process of "identity construction" in the

information society. In order to better understand the characteristics that characterize new social movements, it is necessary to take a closer look at Castells' writings on network society, identity construction and network movements.

“A network society is a society whose social structure is made of networks powered by microelectronics-based information and communication technologies” (Castells, 2004, p. 3). This network society, as defined by Castells, has emerged as a product of three interrelated developments. The first of these developments is “the crisis and restructuring of industrialism and its two associated modes of production, capitalism and statism” (Castells, 2004, p. 15). This restructuring is also known as neoliberalism, which is the solution to the financial crisis that began in the 1960s in the interests of the owners of capital. This paradigm, formulated in the United Kingdom and the United States, became globalized as the new economic formulation spread throughout the world through US-based financial institutions such as the IMF and the WB. Castells also calls it "unfettered capitalist globalization" (Castells, 2004, p. 16). This economic model, which is implemented all over the world to the benefit of the financial sector and a group of capitalists “increased profits, investment, and economic growth, at least in its core countries and in the networks that connected areas of prosperity around the world, in the midst of a sea of poverty and marginalization” (Castells, 2004, p. 16). Two other developments that created the network society are “the freedom oriented, cultural social movements of the late 1960s and early 1970s; and the revolution in information and communication technologies” (Castells, 2004, pp. 15-16). These three interrelated developments, together with economic restructuring, first established the globally networked economy. The economic, political, social and cultural devastation caused by the globalised neoliberal economic model has led to the emergence of NSM forms in which globalisation is questioned and opposed (Castells, 2004).

Similar cases of anti-globalisation movements heard from all over the world have increased the diversity and use of social media platforms, which have developed due to the advancement of technology and have strategic importance in social movements. In short, the network economy has deepened poverty, unemployment, and inequality,

and created a new form of organisation, the network society, with the significant contribution of information and communication technologies.

Within the network society Castells states that globalisation and identity are in conflict (Castells, 2010). The difference between the local and the global, the transformation of local cultures into objects of consumption by globalisation, ultimately increase the need for the redefinition of identities in such an environment. Castells analyses the redefinition of identity under identity-construction processes and argues that new identity constructions reveal new forms of social change - or new social movements (Castells, 2010). Focusing here on the formation of identities as prominent actors in new movements is important for understanding NSMs.

In his book *The Information Age: The Power of Identity*, Castells primarily seeks answers to the questions of "how, from what, by whom, and for what" (Castells, 2010, p. 7) identities as actors in new movements are produced. While answering these questions, he also gives us information about the goals, driving forces, and organisational forms of new social movements.

According to Castells, the social construction of identity is directly related to the dominant power relations, therefore he defines three types of identity-construction in which the state and civil society are involved in the construction process. The first type of identity, legitimising identity "introduced by the dominant institutions of society to extend and rationalize their domination vis à vis social actors, a theme that is at the heart of Sennett's theory of authority and domination, but also fits with various theories of nationalism" (Castells, 2010, p. 8). Castells includes civil society in this category and his civil society, unlike the civil society defined by other NSM theorists, is not independent and has the purpose of seizing power. For this purpose, it seeks to create a legitimate basis for itself by establishing sovereignty over society. The actor of the second type of identity, resistance identity, is the excluded or marginalised individuals or groups by the dominant institutions or ideas (Castells, 2010). For example, those who are excluded because they have a different ethnic origin show an example of resistance against the excluders by challenging the dominant value

judgements by being proud of even the stigma directed against them by oppressive and dominant institutions with the increase of nationalism within the groups. Castells expresses this situation as "the exclusion of the excluders by the excluded" and sees resistance identity as "defensive identity" (Castells, 2010, p. 9). The third and last type of identity construction is project identity and is defined as follows, "when social actors, on the basis of whatever cultural materials are available to them, build a new identity that redefines their position in society and, by so doing, seek the transformation of overall social structure ... (Castells, 2010, p. 8)". Castells sees feminism as a project identity in line with the efforts of women to construct a new identity by redefining the roles attributed to them in society and to change the social structure in this direction (Castells, 2010). Another example can be given from the Queer movement. Especially in conservative societies that have adopted Islam, it creates an example of a project identity by not hiding the identities of LGBT individuals who are not in accordance with the values and culture of the religion and by accustoming the society to the idea that all differences are normal, that is, by changing / transforming the perception in society. However, although the three forms of identity-construction presented by Castells have the potential to create identities, in fact, identities become identities in the fullest sense by defining themselves in the face of the problems they face in society in general and in smaller units of society such as the family in particular, by internalising this definition and by perpetuating their identity in society, that is, by organising themselves (Castells, 2010). For this reason, it would not be wrong to say that identity formation starts with the construction of resistance identity and completes with the construction of project identity. The subjects who complete the process of project identity construction are collective identities that correspond to the actors of new social movements in our sense. Contrary to widespread acceptance, collective identities in the network society are concretised and established in the communes formed by excluded and marginalised identities in the second form of identity construction, not in civil societies. Castells attributes the weakening of civil society to the "logic of powermaking in the global network" (Castells, 2010, p. 11).

The last topic to be addressed in Castells in this thesis is network movements. A simple cause and effect relationship can be established that the global network economy and

society have created new identity constructions and new identities have created new forms of social movements, i.e. network movements. Here, Castells' network movements directly correspond to new social movements and give us information about the characteristics of NSMs. The first characteristic is that the movements are networked (Castells, 2015). These networks are established through internet-based platforms of interaction and communication, through which a movement in one place comes into contact with movements or societies in its own country or in other parts of the world (Castells, 2015). For this reason, they may not have "an identifiable centre" (Castells, 2015, p. 249). This paves the way for deliberative decision-making in movements. Since they do not have an official centre or a defined leader, there is no vertical hierarchy within the movement. Then the first prominent features of these network movements are as follows; besides being decentralised and leaderless, hierarchical relations are not encountered in these movements and decisions are taken through negotiations (Castells, 2015). The movements start with the manifestation of anger in social networks against a social problem and then "they become a movement by occupying the urban space," (Castells, 2015, p. 250). Another characteristic of network movements or NSMs as defined by Castells is that they are both local and global. Actions that are organised in a particular place through social networks and become concrete in the occupation of urban space can, through networks, cross national borders and come into contact with movements in other countries and learn from the experiences of movements there. They can even call for global action (Castells, 2015). In contrast to the old movements' pre-determined practices of strategy and planning, network movements emerge spontaneously triggered by a sense of anger. Two other characteristics of network movements are that they are reformist and use non-violent forms of action such as civil disobedience in their demonstrations (Castells, 2015).

Another prominent representative of new social movement theories is Alberto Melucci. Melucci criticizes the old movement theories for being inadequate in explaining the "how" movements are formed and how they maintain their structure, but not in explaining the "why" of movements (Melucci, 1985, p. 792). He states that the movements that emerged especially in the 1960s on the basis of "social

contradictions such as age, gender differences, health, the relationship with nature and the continuation of the human generation..." (Melucci, 1985, p. 789) cannot be handled on the basis of classical Marxism. According to Melucci, Marxist theory has still not been able to explain "how to pass from class condition to class consciousness" (Melucci, 1985, p. 791). In order to explain this, it must focus on how collective identities are formed. As can be seen from Melucci's critique of Marxism, he focuses on how collective identity is formed.

Melucci refers to the beginning of the formation of collective identity by referencing the beginning of the new social movements and also - although he does not specify it - the period of the implementation of neoliberal economic policies. The profit and accumulation-oriented structure of the new capitalist system permeates every aspect of everyday life and affects social relations. He explains this situation as follows,

The mechanisms of accumulation are no longer fed by the simple exploitation of the labour force, but rather by the manipulation of complex organizational systems, by control over information and over the processes and institutions of symbol-formation, and by intervention in interpersonal relations (Melucci, 1980, pp. 217-218).

In an environment where production is socialized that much and social relations are intervened in, individuals naturally tend to preserve their identities, also determine their demands and struggle in this direction (Melucci, 1980). This is why new social movements are identity-based movements. In an environment where production is socialized that much and social relations are intervened in, individuals naturally tend to preserve their identities, also determine their demands and struggle in this direction. This is why new social movements are identity-based movements. Individuals who complain that their identities are threatened by the interventionist structure of advanced capitalism in everyday life enter the field of social conflict in order to realize their identities.

On the other hand, since the themes of the movements blur the boundary between the public and private spheres, themes that fall within the private sphere, such as sexuality, can also be encountered in the conflict areas of the movements (Melucci, 1980).

Melucci underlines that new social movements are the products of the post-industrial period, not the industrial period, and therefore post-industrial societies no longer rise on an economic basis and that the field of conflict has shifted to the cultural sphere (Melucci, 1985). This cultural field where conflicts are experienced has an impact on the identities of individuals. This is because the field of conflict is established within the society itself, among its social subjects and in everyday life. Not like in the old movements, the majorities are in the process of production relations, in the factory, between boss and worker. Melucci makes another observation at this point; "...movements don't exist only in their cultural messages; they are also social organizations, and they confront political systems when they choose public mobilization" (Melucci, 1985, p. 813). This is where NSMs differ from OSMs. NSMs do not confront political power with the aim of seizing power or for revolutionary purposes; instead, they force political power or the system to reform. In this way they bring about improvements in the social structure and the functioning of everyday life (Melucci, 1985). Nevertheless, the main focus of NSMs is not on political systems, as they are more interested in remaining independent movements (Melucci, 1980).

Melucci, who deals primarily with the formation of collective identity, also generally acknowledges the characteristics attributed to new social movements in his work - in the definitions given in the introduction to this chapter. One of these is the decentralized, leaderless and non-representational characteristic of new movements. Because if movements seek representation, they can be manipulated and lose their autonomy (Melucci, 1980). As can be seen from Melucci's works, he did not include the working class in the actors of social movements in any way. In addition, according to Melucci, the movements are reformist, do not pursue economic interests, have a decentralized structure, and their themes are broad enough to include the private sphere. Considering the definitions section of this chapter on new social movements, there seems to be a common agreement on the analytical tools of new movements such as their actors, organizational structures, the importance of identity, goals, themes and values. However, when the studies in which NSM theorists have attempted to define and understand new movements are analyzed separately, some differences come to the fore. These differences seem to be about how the actors of the movements see the

movements - whether cultural or political, if the emergence of the movements is underpinned by a new form of the capitalist system - in which the neoliberal paradigm and the process of globalization are the dominant phenomena - or if the movements are based on issues of everyday life and not against economic and political developments. This shows that there are some divisions within the theory of new social movements. As can be more or less understood from the sentence in which the differences are focused, the division within NSM theories is mainly about whether new movements can carry legacies from older movements, that is, the issue related to the break and continuity between the two types of movements. Steven M. Buechler (Buechler, 1995) who realized this in his work "New Social Movement Theories" in which he carefully analyzed the work of NSM theorists has made an important contribution to the literature by formulating a typology of new social movement theories.

2.3. Break and Continuity Theories

As can be seen in the table taken directly from Buechler's work, the author argues that there are two versions of new social movements: the political version and the cultural version, or as it can be found in the rest of the thesis, continuity theories (the political version) and rupture theories (the cultural version). According to this categorization, the political version of NSM theories are pro-Marxist in that they do not completely reject the Marxist theoretical template of the old movements (Buechler, 1995). For this reason, the society from which social movements emerge, and the driving forces of the movements, are associated with the capitalist system, as in the case of OSMs (Buechler, 1995). The demands of the movements include economic demands that belong to the old movements as well as new ones.

On the other hand, continuity theories do not reject the working class as actors of the old movements, but instead see them as actors of the new movements. At this point, both the middle class and the working class exist together. In short, NSM continuity theorists do not see the characteristics of both new movements and old movements as completely independent of each other and include both in their analysis.

Table 1: Political and Cultural Versions of New Social Movement Theory

Issue	Political Version	Cultural Version
General Orientation	Pro-Marxist	Post-Marxist
Representative Theorist	Manuel Castells	Alberto Melucci
Societal Totality	Advanced capitalism	Information society
Image of Power	Systemic, centralized	Diffuse, decentralized
Level of Analysis	Macro-, mesolevel, state-oriented	Meso-, microlevel, civil society, everyday life
Movement Activity	Retains role for instrumental action toward strategic goals	Eschews strategic concerns in favor of symbolic expressions
First Debate: View of New Movements	Recognizes their role without rejecting role of working-class movements	Regards new movements as having displaced working-class movements
Second Debate: Movement Orientations	Potential for progressive orientations if allied with working-class movements	Sees new movements as defensive or rejects category of "progressive"
Third Debate: Evaluation of Movements	Sees political movements as most radical, cultural movements as movements apolitical	Sees cultural movements as most radical, political movements as co-optable
Fourth Debate: Social Base of Movements	Analyzed in class terms via contradictory locations, new class, or middle class	Analyzed in terms of non class constituencies or issues and ideologies

Source: This table directly retrieved from the article named New Social Movement Theories written by Steven M. Buechler (1995).

At the other side of the typology of new movements there are the break theorists. While break theorists criticize what is characteristic of the industrial period, such as relations of production, materialist values, etc., they also show a sharp break with the OSMs by stating that with the industrial period came the end the working class, the symbol of this period also came to an end, as can be seen in the quote from Melucci above. It should be noted that the theories that are included in the political version can sometimes carry features from the cultural version, and this is also valid for the cultural version (Buechler, 1995). To give an example, Manuel Castells, one of the continuity

theorists, used both advanced capitalism and information society together in the term "societal totality". In the face of such a diversity of social movements and theories, this can be considered a very normal situation and does not mean that this typology is easily falsifiable. In fact, it has been constructed on the basis of arguments that are considered to be sufficiently accurate and coherent to be influential in determining the topic of this thesis.

This section, which constitutes the main research topic of the thesis, revisits the debate on whether there is a break or continuity between old movements and new movements. The reason for re-examining the theories of break and continuity is the need to re-discuss the theories of break that isolate new social movements from class relations, arguing that even in the 21st century, i.e. today, the working class and class movements have disappeared and that the actors of social struggles are only identity-oriented groups or the middle class. In this context, the framework drawn by Buechler is taken as a reference and the theories of break and continuity are discussed through the values, themes and actors of the movements.

2.3.1. Values of Movements

First, I would like to discuss the theoretically differentiated values of both types of movements. As I mentioned earlier in the thesis, compared to the materialist values of the old movements, new movements are assumed to have more post-materialist values, i.e. values such as equality, peace, and democratization (Coşkun, 2006). According to break theorists, these values are one of the indicators that give new movements their "new" characteristics. However, continuity theorists agree that these values that are considered new in new social movements are not entirely new and that many of them are even inherited from older movements. Claus Offe, one of the continuity theorists, stated that NSM values were founded two centuries ago and that these values are not new as follows,

To start with the problem of "new" values, it could very well be claimed that what is least new in today's social movements is their values. For there is certainly nothing new in moral principles and demands such as the dignity and

autonomy of the individual, the integrity of the physical conditions of life, equality and participation, and peaceful and solidaristic forms of social organization. All these values and moral norms ... are firmly rooted in modern political philosophies of the last two centuries, and they are inherited from the progressive movements of both the bourgeoisie and the working class (Offe, 1985, p. 849).

According to Offe, it is not very possible to say that these values have a post-modern character and are "new" (Offe, 1985). On the other hand, Mustafa Kemal Coşkun, who conducted extensive fieldwork with more than 400 participants from groups categorized as old and new movements in Turkey, did not observe a sharp rupture between the two types of movements in terms of the values they adopted as a result of his interviews and surveys (see (Coşkun, 2006). To quote from Coşkun's study, 36.4% of the participants of women's movements and 48.3% of the participants of alternative lifestyle movements agreed with the idea that "cultural differences are more important today than class contradictions" (Coşkun, 2006). That is to say, although the actors of the new movements do not ignore or exclude the problem of social class, unlike break theorists, a significant portion of the participants still find this problem important (Coşkun, 2006).

In industrial capitalism, the problems that workers face in production relations in the workplace are an important factor in shaping - in part - the values of NSMs. The extent to which the capitalist system is able to increase its profits is at some point related to the extent to which it is able to confiscate surplus value (Wallerstein, 1991). Surplus value is also related to the increase in wage labor (Wallerstein, 1991). Therefore, racial and gendered "stratifications" deliberately created through wage labor in production facilities and workplaces increase the profits of capitalists while deepening inequality between different identities (Wallerstein, 1991). However, if we apply the surplus value situation to the present day, the increase in profits in the free market depends on competitiveness, which in turn depends on the automation of wage labor in production and the digitalization of job types in relation to the development of technology. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that surplus value is still largely dependent on labor exploitation. In such a situation where the use of human labor is reduced, layoffs take place on the basis of racial and gendered stratifications. In his study on the reflections

of technological progress on the relations of production, Rifkin notes that the unemployment rate for blacks in the US was around 8.5% between 1947 and 1953, and rapidly increased to 12.4% in 1964 (Rifkin, 1995). This rate, which has been increasing year by year, reached 21.2% in January 1983 due to neoliberal globalization and technological developments (FRED, 2024). When we look at it, this increase in the sixties coincides with the beginning of the struggle of new identity-based movements. This exclusion on the basis of race and gender can at some point be linked to Castells' process of resistance identity construction. Can it be said, then, that the NSMs have completely different values from the relations of production of the old class-based movements, that they have no class dimension, or that the capitalist system is not the driving force behind them?

These thematic differences made by break theorists between OSMs and NSMs stem from their view of the actors of the old movements as groups pursuing certain narrow economic values. From this perspective, NSMs do not have an economic and political dimension, and their struggles are directed only towards civil society. However, economic and political developments also have repercussions on the social sphere. This interaction is described in the book "Anti-Systemic Movements" by Arrighi et al. as "... strife between labor and capital became a social problem: the very size and distribution of the social product were affected by them ..." (Arrighi, Hopkins, & Wallerstein, 1989, p. 78).

Indeed, just as social, economic, and political developments cannot be considered separately since they have direct effects on each other, it seems utopian to think that any social issue can be improved by considering class only from an economic perspective and emphasizing non-material values. Underlying the exclusion of class values, goals, and class relations in the NSM by break theorists is the reduction of class to a narrow economic category (Çetinkaya Y. , 2018).

Michael Zweig underlines that class does not only have an economic meaning but can also be easily adapted to the social sphere through "power relations" (Zweig, 2004). In his book on the situation of the working class in 21st in US, Zweig argues that class

struggle should be seen not only as an economic category but also as a type of struggle against power and power relations,

If class conflict is represented as an attack by the poor on the rich, it may not find resonance with most Americans. But if class conflict is represented as what it is, a contest of power to decide which interests will be served in the workplace and by public policy, a contest in which the interests of working people are different from those of capitalists, most Americans, and certainly most workers, get it. It turns out that class struggle is as American as cherry pie (Zweig, 2004, p. 10).

If class relations are seen as Zweig suggests, then we can find class in the workplace, in education, in social services, in the daily functioning of every aspect of our lives (Zweig, 2004). It would be a great mistake to assume that new social movements are completely detached from class and class struggle, especially when issues such as race and gender are closely tied to class, or when the environment is literally about the capitalist class's desire for profit. These power relations are also experienced by the actors of NSMs. Offe has said that one characteristic of the "decommodified" groups he has included in the NSM actor alliance is that "one common characteristic of these social categories is unavailability of even nominal exit option." (Offe, 1985). In other words, at least one of the groups directly involved in this type of movement suffers from power and power relations.

Moreover, in terms of organizational structure, NSMs are often referred to as having no hierarchy, but at least hierarchy has been found in new movements in Turkey (Coşkun, 2006). In this field study conducted in Turkey, it was observed that "...almost all of the organizations have a mostly leader-oriented structure..." (Coşkun, 2006).

2.3.2. Themes of Movements

Considering the themes of NSMs reveals another link with the old. Are feminist movements, racial and ethnic nationalist movements, environmental movements, and peace movements really movements that never existed in previous centuries? In their article "Nine Theses of Social Movements", Andre Gunder Frank and Marta Fuentes

(1987) argue in their first thesis that NSMs are, with some exceptions, already existing movements, but that they also have new features (Frank & Fuentes, 1987). The authors note that environmental and peace movements may be more recent and associate them with development. They are making the determination of "peasant, localist community, ethnic/nationalist, religious and even feminist/women's movements have existed in many parts of the world for centuries and even millennia" for these two types of movements (Frank & Fuentes, 1987). Considering that the first feminist wave started in the 19th century, it is not possible to say that women's movements are new. So what is new? Coşkun gave the answer to this question as follows,

...it is necessary to look at how the current women's movements see this problem, how they approach it and how they try to solve it, and accordingly at what points they differ from the old women's movements (Coşkun, 2006).

It should be repeated, then, that there is not much new in terms of values and themes between the old and the new social movements. That is, there is clearly a continuity rather than a break between the theory and practice of these two movements.

2.3.3. Actors of Movements

The main discussion point of the theories of break and continuity between OSMs and NSMs occurs on the basis of actors. So much so that the unique characteristics of movements are often determined by referring to the class to which they belong, and categories such as value, theme, purpose, and organizational structure are associated with the class to which movements belong. As I mentioned before, the participants of the old movements are seen as the working class, while the participants of the NSMs are seen as the new middle class. It is not difficult to understand that this sharp distinction is of course made by break theorists. However, when class is considered structurally, it is not possible to talk about a break.

Considering the class structure of NSMs, the practical equivalent of this theory is found in the new middle class. According to Offe, this class consists of people who are "highly educated, have economic security, and work in the services sector" (Offe,

1985). However, the struggles of NSMs also involve people from different categories. Recognizing this, Offe notes that new movements have sought alliances with marginalized or decommodified groups, namely "middle-class housewives, high school and university students, retirees, and unemployed or marginally employed workers" (Offe, 1985) three different groups that include the old middle class and its elements. In terms of the participants of this alliance, the new middle class is similar to the participants included in Guy Standing's conceptualization of the precariat in his book "The Precariat: The New Dangerous Class" (2011). This new class formation, which Standing defines as the "child of globalization", includes women, youth, the elderly, the disabled, ethnic minorities, and the criminalized people (Standing, 2011). Likewise, the new middle class, like the precariat, is employed in the services sector (Standing, 2011). However, when Offe's new middle class seeks alliances within new movements, not all NSM participants can be expected to have economic security, especially those from the services sector, which is known for its precarious employment. Standing's precariat is also mostly employed in the services sector but is also defined as a "precarious" class in all respects (Standing, 2011). In other words, it is unlikely that the labor force employed in the services sector will have – at the very least – income security under the flexible policies of the neoliberal globalization process.

Coşkun, who also examines the class structures of the old and new movements in his fieldwork, concludes that contrary to the argument that the actor of NSMs is only the new middle class, which we encounter in break theories, its participants are differentiated and not homogeneous (Coşkun, 2006). As can be seen in the "Gezi Protests" in Turkey and the "Piqueteros Movement" in Argentina, participants include students, marginalized groups, women and ethnic groups from outside the new middle class. As a matter of fact, Offe's NSM alliance resonates with Coşkun's fieldwork; the fact that 29.3% of the people who participate in and support women's movements are unemployed and 22.7% are white-collar wage earners confirms this thesis (Coşkun, 2006). Moreover, Coşkun observed that groups from civil servants and labor unions also have the potential to participate in and support new movements (Coşkun, 2006). In conclusion, new movements have a wide range of participants and these participants

come from different classes, not only from the new middle class. Therefore, the actors of new social movements do not consist entirely of people from the middle class and with income security, as stated in the NSM theory. We can conclude that there is a break in terms of actors, just like in values and themes, or that limiting the participants of both types of movements with sharp lines has no practical value.

2.3.4. Assessment

Based on what has been explained above, it is possible to infer that there is continuity rather than a break between the two types of movements. Firstly, it can be said that NSMs have new themes such as peace and environment. However, even if all of these themes are not new, after the sixties, the reflection of these issues in the areas of struggle in the face of inequalities deepened by neoliberalism, globalization, and technology is much more common than in the old movements. Secondly, considering the theories of both types of movements, they differ in practice in terms of actors. For example, although unemployed workers were seen as the main actors in the Piqueteros movement in Argentina, 60% of the participants in this movement were actually women (Petras, 2001) that is to say, the class structure of the NSMs are characterised by the alliance I quoted from Offe earlier. Thirdly, the thesis that NSMs do not aim to take over state power is also invalidated by the student movement in Chile. Gabriel Boric, who led the student movement in Chile for more than a decade, was elected president in 2022 (Almeida, Higuera, & Velásquez, 2021). Moreover, Boric's election campaign was also supported by the socialists (Almeida, Higuera, & Velásquez, 2021). Therefore, we can say that the new movements have political aims outside of civil society.

Fourthly, there is a continuity of values and aims between the old and new movements on the basis of class relations and relations of production. We can see this in the examples of both Bolivia and Argentina in the early 2000s. In Bolivia, the indigenous people and farmers of Cochabamba were fighting against the privatisation of water, which was directly influenced by the neoliberal economy (Sauras, Lill, & Bertelli, 2015). The Piqueteros movement, mostly composed of unemployed people and

women in Argentina, was directly aimed at neoliberalism, capital owners and globalization. Moreover, the first actions of these groups in Argentina were directed against production plants and workplaces. Factory occupations, cooperatives, and expropriations are among the most prominent features of this movement (Petras, 2001). The struggles of the actors of NSMs in Bolivia, Argentina and Chile seem to be very close to the values and goals of the old movements. So is there still a rupture between the OSM and the NSMs?

The examples I have given above are in opposition to the new social movement theory. In the same way, we can see this opposition in the practices of the old movement theories. What I mean is that society is not a static structure, it is dynamic, so it is a big mistake to separate society and these movements that emerge out of society with sharp boundaries and put them into certain molds - to talk about break - is a big mistake. Especially when all countries and societies have different dynamics in terms of economic, political, social, and cultural aspects, it is not right to generalize social movements with theories. In Europe, identity-based movements may come to the fore depending on the dynamics of the country, while in Latin America or Africa, class-based movements may still come to the fore due to exploitation and neoliberalism. That is to say, each country and each society should be analyzed and evaluated in terms of its uniqueness, at least in terms of social movements. Finally, what I want to say is that within the capitalist system, the predominant sector changes, the types of work change, and the relations of production change, but the class continues to exist within power relations. Because these power relations are maintained by the capitalist class in their favor. Just as the current conjuncture created its own movement, i.e. the working class movement when the period when agriculture was predominantly agricultural was shifted to the industrial sector; the conditions brought identity-based movements to the fore when the industrial sector was shifted to the services sector too. In the following years, perhaps a different sector, new types of work, new forms of employment will emerge.

Then, when the new middle class alliance is replaced by another class, will identity-based movements disappear? Will the feminist movement or the queer movement

come to an end? I do not think so, maybe new problems will become dominant and new types of struggles and movements will emerge, but the women's struggle or labour movements will continue in any part of the world.

2.4. Actors and Continuity on The Basis of Neoliberal Globalization

It has already been stated that it is argued that there is continuity between the old and social movements, which are products of the industrial and post-industrial era. In this direction, it is thought that the neoliberal globalization process has important effects on the weakening of the working class, the actor of the old class, and the prevalence of identity-based movements. Although the argument that NSMs are not a reaction to economic crisis or collapse is accepted by NSM theorists (see: (Çayır, 2016)), even the formation of these new movements at the very beginning is closely related to the economic, political, and technological developments that took place after the 1960s and had an impact on the social order. In his study Claus Offe argues that NSMs emerged due to economic, military, political, and technological threats to the welfare state and society. (Offe, 1985, p. 853). On the other hand, Coşkun directly associates the emergence of new movements with globalization and its effects on political-social spheres (Coşkun, 2017, p. 111). According to him, the reasons for the emergence of NSMs are as follows in relation to globalization and – although not explicitly stated – neoliberalism,

- 1) New problems created by technological developments and industrial growth,
- 2) Changes in production structure towards flexible production,
- 3) New social conflicts – such as the environment, peace, women's issues, etc. – that are different from class conflicts,
- 4) Growth of the service sector at the expense of the manufacturing sector” (Coşkun, 2017, p. 110).

From this point of view, in the rest of the study, it looks at the ways in which the brings of the neoliberal globalization process affect class and identities. First, the role of economic globalization in weakening the working class is discussed through the flexibilization of labor markets. Then, the same role of the process is explained, this

time through the globalization of technology. Finally, the role of the process in the rise of identities is discussed.

2.4.1. Flexibilization of Labor Force Market

One of the developments that has weakened the working class is the new labor order that is developed in line with the directives of neoliberalism. This new labor order has been shaped around an employment model that focuses on the phenomenon of "flexibility" by changing production and working relations, to the detriment of workers. Of course, there are certain reasons behind the capital owners' orientation towards flexible employment. The most important of these is the increasing global competition in parallel with the development of technology. Survival in the face of this competition depends on productivity and therefore on increasing profits. Increasing profits in turn depends on cutting costs and encouraging consumption (Regini, 2000). As can be foreseen within the capitalist system, employers first cut labor costs. In such a situation, the stretching or lack of laws protecting workers' rights leaves workers vulnerable in front of the bosses. This is where the significance of trade unions emerges; however, in the neoliberal period, unions have also been weakened by legal amendments to labor law in order to weaken the position of workers and strengthen the position of bosses. Neoliberals "argue that labor is paid what it deserves and therefore eliminate the need for social protection institutions and trade unions" (Palley, 2005). The rights won by workers through difficult struggles have started to be taken away one by one since the 1980s. This loss of rights accelerated after the Keynesian consensus that was reached between the state, capital, and the working class was replaced by the Washington Consensus which means a consensus between the capital and the state against the working class, which is reflected in the functioning of the mode of production and relations. In Hugo Radice's article analyzing contemporary class politics within the Marxist tradition, this is stated as follows,

Theoretically, the two classes and the relationship between them are co-constituted with the concepts of mode of production, relations of production, value, capital, surplus-value, labour process, accumulation – and necessarily

also the forms of law and state that ensure the political rule of the capitalist class (Radice, 2014, p. 273).

In other words, the regulations introduced by the state on working life paved the way for the capitalist class to exploit the working class, and this exploitation was realized through the new employment model dominated by the phenomenon of flexibility. Flexible employment should not only be understood as a decrease in wages, then the flexibility policies introduced to labor markets cannot be explained correctly (Regini, 2000). For this reason, Marino Regini has also linked multidimensional flexibility to the erosion of social contracts that determine "social equality" and "redistributive goals" in the neoliberal era (Regini, 2000). On the other hand, Alfredo Saad Filho conceptualized flexibility by considering its effects on labor markets. These effects are,

...simplification of hiring-and-firing regulations, the decentralisation of labour relations, the curtailment of trade union rights, the elimination of collective agreements and protective regulation, and the reduction of social security benefits (Saad-Filho, 2005, p. 114).

In such an employment model, where job assurance, social assurance, and salary assurance are eliminated and longer and uncertain working hours are in question, the working class has been left defenseless and has begun to turn to informal employment devoid of all assurances, as the states regulate the laws in favor of the capitalist class. The decline in wages in both the formal and informal sectors and the evisceration of social policies have brought poverty at the global level. Kemal İnan, in his book in which he examines in depth the unemployment and uselessness created by technological developments, argues that "the globalization of poverty supports the development of an export economy based on cheap labor on a world scale" (İnan, 2018).

Indeed, especially developing economies use cheap labor and production resources as an incentive tool in order to attract more FDI to their countries. In order to benefit from this incentive offered to them with great pleasure, which will increase their profits exponentially, multinational companies resort to off-shoring and establish their

production facilities in peripheral or semi-peripheral countries – led by South Asia, Latin America, and Africa. What follows is simply the exploitation of labor and the impoverishment of globality.

2.4.2. Technology and Working Class

The "Fourth Industrial Revolution" or "Industry 4.0" revolution, which took place at the beginning of the 1990s, provides many facilities for the daily functioning of human life, while at the same time, it is a radical blow to the act of work that is necessary to sustain human life (İnan, 2018). The first issue I would like to address here is related to the increasing need for qualified labor in this process. In Kemal İnan's book "Technological Unemployment", in which he examines the changes and transformations created by technology on labor markets, he argues that "the share of information in production is growing rapidly in many areas that create the real wealth of the economy" (İnan, 2018) and states that,

the value created in information economies has shifted from the production stage to the design stage, qualified labor has come to the fore and manual labor can be replaced by automation (İnan, 2018).

The integration of advanced technology into the manufacturing industry is triggering a race between MNCs on the one hand and increasing global competition in relation to it on the other (İnan, 2018). These companies, which compete against each other fiercely, are now replacing the manual labor required in the production process with automation. In such a situation, labor, which is part of the production process, is removed from the production process, and mass layoffs are experienced for the labor force classified as unqualified. Jeremy Rifkin (1995), one of the first to examine the effects of advanced technology on the labor market, states that more than three million white-collar workers were laid off between 1985 and 1995 (Rifkin, 1995). Moreover, jobs are disappearing in the face of this advanced technology. The jobs that are disappearing are in the industrial sector where automation has replaced human labor. In place of these jobs, new jobs are opening up in the services sector, but these jobs are low-paid jobs without all forms of assurance on the basis of flexible employment

(Rifkin, 1995). The table below shows the sectoral flow of employment starting from 1990 when the fourth industrial revolution and neoliberal globalization simultaneously exerted their effects (Rifkin, 1995).

Table 2: Employment in Industry and Services in World and Argentina (% of total employment) between 1990 and 2020

	World		Argentina	
	Employment in Industry	Employment in Services (%)	Employment in Industry	Employment in Services
1990	~22	~35	~28	~57
1995	21	38	24	63
2000	21	40	20	67
2005	21	42	21	68
2010	23	45	21	69
2015	23	48	22	69
2020	23	50	20	72

Source: Retrieved from The World Bank (2021).

According to the table above, the number of people employed in the services sector has increased by 15%, while industrial employment worldwide has increased by only 1% in 30 years. These rates are similar in Argentina, where neoliberalism, flexible employment, and economic crises are at their most severe. In Argentina, in contrast to the world average, there has been an 8% decline in industrial employment and a 15% increase in employment in the services sector. As a result, in the presence of advanced technology and information economies, unemployment rates are increasing day by day and poverty is globalized, while new types of work - with the regulation of trade union rights and labor laws in favor of the capitalist class - operate under flexible employment without the job guarantees of the industrial era. This is weakening the working class both quantitatively and qualitatively.

2.4.3. The Rising of Identities

Although the concept of identity entered the social sciences literature in the mid-twentieth century, the developments that were effective in the conceptualization of

identity date back to the nineteenth century. Identities find their roots in developments such as the Enlightenment thought, which emphasizes the modern individual, the American Declaration of Independence, and the French Revolution (Üzümlü, 2019). However, although the main driving force in the diversification and prominence of identity groups is the social and cultural reflections of globalization and neoliberalism, there is a reversal of national identity construction efforts aimed at homogenizing society within the nation-state of the modern era in post-modern society. While this reversal is based on liberal democracy's principles of protecting values and interests (Villani, 2018), human rights, and individual freedom, it is also related to neoliberal globalization's erosion of the nation-state understanding for the purpose of free movement of capital (Duman, 2009).

In his article "Globalization, Identity and Multiculturalism", Duman described the impact of the globalization process on nation states as follows,

The ideology of globalization has made it a primary goal to overcome national borders and deconstruct national values, which international capital sees as an obstacle in order to spread all over the globe and subsequently become a political power (Duman, 2009, p. 97).

The social reflection of this determination, which is made by establishing a relationship between the economic and political dimensions of globalization, is on the one hand positive by allowing identities to become visible and increasing identity-based struggle, autonomy, recognition and rights gains. However, on the other hand, it drags identities into a state of uncertainty and insecurity by "bringing exotic cultural values to the surface and turning them into objects of consumption" (Duman, 2009). This is where the importance of civil society comes to the fore, because while neoliberal globalization has an impact on the rise of identities, the development of civil society and the increase in the number of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) also play a major role.

In their book "Civil Society and Political Theory" (1997), Jean Cohen and Andrew Arato define civil society "as a sphere of social interaction between economy and state,

composed above all of the intimate sphere ... the sphere of associations ... social movements, and forms of public communication" (Cohen & Arato, 1997), directly linking it to "democratic associations" and "cultural public sphere" (Cohen & Arato, 1997). While the roots of the concept of civil society can be traced back much further, even to the fourteenth century, the fact that it has become functional and widespread as it is today is parallel to the beginning of the neoliberal globalization process, just like identities. The geographical spread of this field, which focuses on values and themes such as environment, peace, women's rights, human rights and democracy, the formation of a global civil society and the increase in the number of NGOs are directly related to the globalization process.

The prominence of identities in relation to neoliberal globalization, liberal democracy, and the rise of civil society organizations has surrounded "identity politics" and "diversity" in grassroots movements (Castorina, 2013). In countries where identity movements and civil society are active, such as Argentina, where there are approximately 20,000 NGOs (Argentina.gob.ar) today, the success and achievements of queer movements are frequently mentioned. In 2012, Argentina became "the first country in the world to allow people to officially change their name and gender without undergoing sex reassignment surgery, hormone therapy or psychological evaluation" (Viggiano & McGuirk, 2022). This achievement is directly related to the effectiveness, prevalence and success of the struggles of both identity groups and NGOs.

As seen in the above, the neoliberal globalization process has a direct impact on the weakening of the working class, the construction and rise of identities. Manuel Castells linked the rise of the network society to the globalization of the network economy and the development of technology.

On the other hand, he stated that identities are in conflict with globalization and the role of globalization in identity construction. In this section, I have argued that the capitalist system - through neoliberalism and globalization - is influential in the formation of new movements, at least in the formation of their actors, and I have aimed to show that there is no sharp break between old and new movements. The following

chapter describes the economic and political developments that set the stage for social movement struggles in the country before analyzing selected cases from Argentina in terms of break and continuity.



CHAPTER 3

ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL DYNAMICS OF SOCIAL STRUGGLES IN ARGENTINA

In order to understand and analyze a social movement, it is necessary to look closely at the conjunctural developments of the country from which the movement emerged. For this reason, this chapter is specifically devoted to political economy of Argentina. In this chapter, the political and economic developments of the country from the end of the 19th century to the beginning of the 21st century will be analyzed in order to provide a historical background about the general trends of both the movements that will be taken as cases in the third chapter and the social movements in the country in general. In this respect, This part of the thesis is divided into four periods: "Late 19th century Early 20th century", "The Perón Era", "The Military Dictatorship Era" and "The Neoliberal Era" in order to make appropriate assessments for the study. Each chapter first presents the prominent economic and political developments of the period examined. Secondly, it looks at how these developments affected the class struggle and civil society of the period. Finally, the chapter concludes with brief evaluations at the end of each period. Based on the this background, dynamics, themes, values and actors of the social movements will be analyzed in the third chapter from the lense of continuities and discontinuities.

3.1. Late 19th and early 20th

This chapter, which is written to prepare the ground for the case studies analyzed in the third chapter and to understand the driving forces behind social movements in Argentina, begins with the late 19th-early 20th century because it was during this period that the Argentine working class and trade unions were formed. The reason for

starting with the late 19th-early 20th century is that the Argentine working class, trade unions and first wave feminism were formed during this period. Accordingly, the development model that enabled Argentina's integration into the capitalist system is explained first. Immediately afterwards, the formation of the working class and the birth of the feminist movement are described in relation to the development model and other developments. Finally, the Import Substitute Industrialization (ISI) model, which was the solution to Argentina's economic collapse due to external influences, is discussed.

3.1.1. Dependent Development Model

In the period from the 1850s until the First World War, development policies which would be later qualified as dependent development prevailed across the continent (Munck, 2003). Ronaldo Munck notes that the theoretical background of this period – what he calls as "US import" – is found in the modernization theory (Munck, 2003). Development is seen as a prerequisite for modernization. That is to say, in order to develop, countries' economies need to be integrated into the world capitalist system. This would be possible only if the countries of the region increase their economic trade activities in the world market by focusing on export of primary goods. In this period, Latin American countries embarked on the path of "outward-oriented growth" by increasing their exports, while welcoming FDI inflows into the continent. This model of economic integrations arguable had a positive impact on economic development for a while (Munck, 2003). However, the unlying problem was that the majority of the goods exported by the countries in the region consisted of primary goods (Munck, 2003). Countries that export primary goods but do not develop their own manufacturing industry would remain dependent on the imports of the processed commodities of the same products they export. Such terms of trade would be systematically to the detriment of the primary good exporting economies. The other problem is that since their national industry could not develop, they become dependent only on exports rendering the whole economy vulnerable to external economic shocks. This situation was greatly experienced in the regional economies with the First World War and the Great Depression (Munck, 2003). So, after these developments, export

restrictions were imposed and a new economic model was sought.

When we look at the 19th century Argentine economy, which was integrated into the World capitalist system with basic food products, we observe a long period of economic success. Colin M. Lewis, in his in-depth study of the Argentine economy, states that per capita income in the country was higher than in Europe and other South American countries in general, and that the Argentine economy was the most prosperous on the continent during the interwar period (Lewis, 1996). Indeed, Argentina alone provided half of the exports and production of South American countries (Lewis, 1996).

However, this positive trend in the economy reversed after the first quarter of the 20th century. Argentina was a country that could be affected by international fluctuations and is dependent on the countries it exports to, as it does not have a closed or protectionist economy and implements an economic model based on primary goods exports. For this reason, like other South American countries, it was negatively affected by the First World War and the 1929 Great Depression. Before moving on to the new economic model formulated for economic recovery and the development of the country's industrial sector, the working class that emerged during the development period will be discussed.

Argentina's working class has evolved gradually throughout time, impacted by a variety of social, economic, and political forces. Argentina's class dynamics have been heavily influenced by its historical inheritance, economic transformations, and political developments. Munck classified Argentina's class formation into six periods, including the formative phase. Economic downturn and labor quiescence (1893–1902), economic upturn and labor explosion 1902-1908, Economic upturn and labor militancy, 1908-1914, Economic transformation and labor reorganization, 1914-1917, and lastly economic upturn and labor recuperation, 1917-1922 (Munck, 1987). After Argentina gained independence from Spain in the 1850s, capital began to exercise its economic and political control over its regions. Initially predominantly an agricultural nation, Argentina experienced a dramatic increase in industrialization by the 1880s.

This huge rise in industrialization by the 1880s, resulting in a significant growth in the workforce from 700 workshops and 2,000 laborers to 50,000 people. By the 1890s, the number of industrial establishments had significantly increased, along with a doubling in the number of wage workers. These developments created the stage for an organized group from Argentina's ruling class to rise to power, ushering in the country's "golden age" of consistent capitalist prosperity (Munck, 1987, p. 20). This increase in the labor force is the most important factor underlying the formation of the working class.

Migration also played an important role in the formation of the Argentine working class. The country, which was unable to provide enough labor for the growing economy, provided the necessary labor force with immigrants, mostly from European countries. Especially those who migrated to Argentina from Italy and France after the Paris Commune of 1871 brought with them traditions of socialism and anarchism. According to Poy, the strengthening of unions was the result of a 10-year period defined by extremely important and critical social conflicts (Poy, 2014). In 1888 and '89 there were numerous strikes due to rising costs (Molyneux, 1986). According to Poy, the strengthening of trade unions was the outcome of a 10-year period defined by highly significant and critical social disputes, with 1888 and 89 seeing a high number of strikes due to rising costs (Poy, 2014).

The unions gained strength in 1901 with the establishment of the first confederation, the "*Federacion Obrera Regional Argentina*"² (FORA). Afterwards, Anarchists and socialists organized the labor movement in response to rising costs, low wages, long working hours and poor socioeconomic conditions. After the 1902 strike, there were other strikes and a rise in class struggle. After the 1902 working class struggle and the ensuing economic cycle forced employers and the state to change their policies, agriculture expanded and pre-investment increased. Between 1908 and 1914, the dominance of capital is evident, the agricultural boom phase is concluded, foreign investments continue unabated, and prosperity is sustained until the First World War. The year with the greatest amount of migration is 1912. But subsequently, the impending conflict had a negative impact on the economy and led to stagnation.

² Argentine Regional Federation of Labor.

Between 1917 and 1922, the economy recovered and flourished, leading to a rise in investments and continuous migration. Due to the rising expense of living, 1919 had a significant part in the workers' uprisings; during this time, even previously unorganized groups seem to have been mobilized (Munck, 1987).

In response to the growing power of the trade unions, the government banned large-scale immigration. Poy notes that the population increased from 1,800,000 in 1869 to more than four million in the 1895 census (Poy, 2014). However, this ban was largely a step towards weakening the working class. However, this ban was largely a step towards weakening the working class. Sartelli explains this situation as follows,

In 1902, the Argentinian government initiated its first major anti-labor policy through the passage of the Law of Residence of 1902, permitting the national executive power to expel foreigners who “compromised national security or disturbed public order,” understood to refer to any immigrant seeking to form a union. Given that, at the time, immigrants comprised the great majority of workers and leaders in Argentina, the law was considered a means to hamper union organization (Sartelli, 2009, p. 1).

The trade union movement, which was aware of this, organized strikes against the government. The most prominent of these strikes was *Semana Roja* (Red Week). This labor movement was not only a reaction to long working hours and low wages, but also against the repressive policies of the government. *Semana Roja* was a class movement that demanded and fought for “democratic freedoms”, “freedom of expression” and “the right to assemble”, despite the pressure put on the unions to weaken them (Sartelli, 2009, p. 1). In Buenos Aires, the government's response to the strike with more than two hundred thousand participants was harsh and 10 protesters were killed. The strike ended with negotiations with the government after a period of conflict. However, legislation to weaken the working class continued. Just one year after the *Semana Roja* strike “... the Law of Social Defense, was passed in 1910, permitting the government to incarcerate any worker who “disturbed public order” in a prison intended for serious criminals near Ushuaia in Tierra del Fuego, the extreme south of Argentina” (Sartelli, 2009, p. 1). Argentina's economic growth as a result of its integration into the capitalist system by implementing the development model

increased the number of jobs in the country and the need for people to be employed in these jobs. In order for the country's economy to continue growing, the necessary labor force had to be found. The solution for this was to import workers from abroad. In this direction, Argentina received a lot of immigrants from Europe. However, it then faced an undesirable situation. The people who migrated to Argentina brought with them the socialism and anarchism they knew so well, and since they came as workers, they brought it directly to the factories where labor exploitation was most intense. It seems possible to conclude that the development policies that led to Argentina's economic growth had a direct impact on the formation of the working class and trade unions. Taking this one step further, it can be said that the development model, European imported anarchism and socialism, and the formation of the working class directly formulated the feminist movement (Molyneux, 1986).

In the early 20th century, Argentina had the highest proportion of immigrants to citizens in the world. As mentioned above, anarchism and socialism as political ideologies came to the country with European immigrants. However, the Europeans who came to Argentina with high hopes did not find what they expected. Although they received higher wages than the natives of the country, they too complained of long working hours and lack of decent housing (Molyneux, 1986). In this context, they formed an important and decisive part of the working class. In the labor force "... immigrant women were the majority of the economically active population of Buenos Aires and made up 40% of the 21,571 domestic servants, 66.1% of the dressmakers, 56.9% of the seamstresses, 16.9% of the cooks, 23% of the teachers, and 34% of the nurses" (Molyneux, 1986, p. 125).

Feminism, which had just emerged in Europe, soon reached Argentina through articles published in newspapers and pamphlets distributed. Afterwards, feminist-anarchists in Argentina started to publish *La Voz de la Mujer* (The Voice of the Woman). Thus, they introduced feminism to many women living in different corners of Argentina. It should be noted that the feminist movement in Argentina initially fought for the improvement of employment conditions, just like the working class. They even went on strike for this purpose in the mid-1890s (Molyneux, 1986).

To summarize, the development model implemented in Argentina was instrumental in both the formation of the working class and the feminist movement. However, it did not do this alone. While the economic basis of the formation of the working class and the feminist movement was the development model, the social basis was migration. Especially in the feminist movement, it can be said that migration was more influential and even "European Import". The paper goes on to discuss another economic model that played an important role in class struggle and civil society and was established as a way out of Argentina's economic collapse.

3.1.2. New Economic Model: Import Substitute Industrialization (ISI)

The new model, which was deemed appropriate in the 1930s and adopted by most Latin American countries, especially Argentina, Mexico and Brazil, was shaped by the structuralist school led by Paul Prebisch, the general manager of the Argentine Central Bank, and that time, unlike the previous model, it aimed at inward-oriented growth (Topal, 2020). With this model, the target is to develop the country's manufacturing industry and to produce the goods purchased from abroad with the country's resources (Munck, 2003). In this way, foreign dependency would decrease and valuable industrial goods that would contribute more to the economy could be produced. The implementation of the new growth model was realized under ISI policies (Topal, 2020). The theoretical basis of the new economic model is found in the "Structuralist School". The institutional practice of the policies of the structuralist school, which argues that the role of the state in the economy should increase, is in CEPAL (Topal, 2020). The economies that operated under state control and implemented ISI policies in the 1960s and even in some countries until the 1970s experienced significant progress, macroeconomic indicators improved, the educated labor force increased (Bahçe, 2020), and ISI policies "even enabled some countries, such as Mexico and Brazil, to pay off their foreign debts" (Munck, 2003). In Argentina in particular, thanks to the success of the policies implemented by Prebisch, who served as the bank's general manager, "By 1939, the Argentine Central Bank was internationally recognized as one of the world's leading banking institutions" (Dosman, 2012). This new economic model soon began to show its effects on Argentina's manufacturing

industry statistics. The country, which initially exported unprocessed primary goods, started to manufacture and export heavy industrial and metallurgical products such as "nonelectric machinery", "automobiles and their parts", "professional and scientific equipment", "iron and steel" (Teitel & Thoumi, 1986). These product groups led the list of Argentina's main export industries classified according to growth performance (Teitel & Thoumi, 1986). In fact, between 1971 and 1979, the growth rate of the production of nonferrous metals was 47.7%, while the growth rate of automobile and parts production exceeded 20% (Teitel & Thoumi, 1986).

The relentless growth of industrialization in the 1930s, driven by the ISI, led to the expansion of trade unions and the working class, and a rise in working class anger. However, with Perón's rise to power in 1945 with the support of the working class, working class anger was largely extinguished. The working class, class struggle and civil society under Perón will be discussed in more detail in the next section in relation to the economic and political developments of the period.

3.2. The Perón Era (1940s-1950s)

In 1943, a military coup was organized against President Ramon Castillo, who came from within the alliance known as *Concordancia*³, by the "United Officers' Group" (GOU), including Juan Domingo Perón, and Pedro Pablo Ramirez from the armed forces became president (Romero, 2013). However, Ramirez resigned after less than a year in power and handed over his presidency to Edelmiro Julian Farrell. Perón, who will have an important place in Argentine political history in this process, was first appointed head of the National Labor Office (Romero, 2013). Receiving the support of the working class with the initiatives he implemented to improve the situation of the working class, which constitutes a significant part of the society, enabled Perón and later Peronism, which rose on the basis of social justice (*justicialismo*), to remain on the country's agenda for a long time. His establishment of a minimum wage system as soon as he took up his position in the labor department, his improved relations with

³ The alliance is dominated by right-wing and conservative parties.

trade unions and the expansion of collective bargaining agreements (Romero, 2013), as well as his support for the idea that universities should be autonomous, helped Perón to attract both the working class and the students – two of the most dynamic groups in Argentina. However, two years after the coup in 1945, the military regime's repressive and anti-secular policies, such as closing universities, dismissing dissident professors, introducing compulsory religion classes in public schools and banning the *Confederación General del Trabajo de la República Argentina*⁴ (CGT) (Romero, 2013) were harshly received by the Argentine public. Eventually, on September 19, 1945, a popular uprising against the military government began. This mass movement, called “*La marcha por la Constitución y la Libertad*”⁵, which was attended by more than two hundred thousand people, deeply shook the authority and credibility of the military regime (Gagliardi, 2015). A month after the liberation march, Perón was forced to resign in October due to the social pressure on the government, dissatisfied with his pro-labor policies and social support, and was arrested soon after. However, this was not welcomed by the working class and trade unions. On October 17, 1945, Perón's followers, first called “*cabecitas negras*”⁶ and later “*descamisados*”⁷, began a mass march from the suburbs to the *Plaza de Mayo*⁸ to demand Perón's release from prison and reinstatement⁹ (Grimson, 2017). The march achieved its goal and Perón was released with the support of the working people. Elections in February 1946 marked the beginning of Perón's nine-year rule (1975). During his presidency, Perón adhered to the ISI policies of industrial development with state interventions in the

⁴ The General Confederation of Labour of the Argentine Republic

⁵ The Freedom March for Constitution

⁶ Little Black Heads in English. Anti-Peronists used the term to refer to “Black Peronists” in a racist context. According to Grimson, “Cabecitas” was born as the racialization of Perón's followers, who, however, did not have a defined racial trait (Grimson, 2017, p. 119). ”

⁷ Shirtless in English. It is known that the movement was called “shirtless” because the demonstrators took off their shirts during the demonstration due to the hot weather, but Descamisado also means “poor”, “poorly dressed”. Anti-peronists used this term to denigrate the movement and its participants on a class base. (Grimson, 2017, p. 115).

⁸ May Square in English.

⁹ Even today, October 17th of each year is celebrated as “Loyalt Day” for Peronism, and Perón did not forget the descamisados who helped him gain his freedom and showed his gratitude to the group of supporters throughout his rule by building the “descamisado monument” (1975).

functioning of the economy (Skidmore & Smith, 2005). In addition to the diversity of products produced and the increasing volume of exports, the volume of the domestic market has also played a major role in the success of ISI policies in Argentina (Teitel & Thoumi, 1986). The large size of the domestic market in the country due to high per capita income can be seen as both a factor that creates wealth in the economy and a shield against external fluctuations (Teitel & Thoumi, 1986). As a result, the economic growth provided by the ISI model and the policies of the parties that came to power, in parallel with the employment provided mostly in the manufacturing industry, led to a decline in unemployment rates.

When we look at the labor market, we can see that the number of unionized workers increased significantly during Perón period. While a significant number of unions were gathered under the Peronist CGT, in 1945, when Perón came to power, the number of union members was only 528 thousand, in 1954 this number quadrupled to 2.2 million (Atzeni & Ghigliani, 2009). However, it should be underlined that the unions were "closely tied to the state through corporatist measures" (Munck, 2013, p. 97) so much so that some of the strikes during the Peronist period were organized by the state (Akkaya, 2002). On the other hand, "real hourly wage rates were 25% in 1947 and 24% in 1948" (Skidmore & Smith, 2005) while "the share of wages and salaries in national income rose from 44% in 1943 to 60% in 1950" (Munck, 2003, p. 50).

It is obvious that the Perón era class struggle was closely related to the rate of unionization, the number of strikes and the social movements generated by conjunctural conditions. First of all, when we look at the period between 1946 and 1955, we have already mentioned that Perón came to power with his back to the working class, improved working conditions and established close relations with trade unions. The rapid unionization rates observed during this period have been interpreted as the "rise of unionism empowered from above" (Atzeni & Ghigliani, 2009) but according to Atzeni and Ghigliani, labor conflicts over collective agreements during the period reveal that "union activism" was high (Atzeni & Ghigliani, 2009). On the other hand, the events of the year before Perón came to power also inform us about the class struggle of the period. In 1945, when the military regime banned the universities

and the CGT, and then forced Perón to resign and arrested him, the Freedom March for Constitution and the Cablesitas negras/Descamisados movements emerged, which were met with strong resistance. Both movements largely achieved their goals, first by shaking the military regime's power to its foundations, and then by securing Perón's release and a return to democracy through re-elections. It is worth noting, however, that the workers' rights won under Perón were achieved "through political rather than industrial mobilization" (Atzeni & Ghigliani, 2009, p. 22). The reason for this is directly linked to Perón's populist and nationalist policies.

The foundation of populist changes is short-term, opportunistic behavior that distorts and jeopardizes productivity development and institutional quality. In this regard, Perón's populist measures in Argentina, while initially intended to raise the standard of living for the working class, had long-term consequences that severely undermined the class in numerous ways. Argentina's period of decline, with detrimental effects on the working class, has been attributed to the weakening of the rule of law and economic freedom under Perón's first administration (Marzetti & Spruk, 2023). By enacting these changes, Perón supported his political agenda and sought to establish a new legal framework in Argentina. While the urban working class's socioeconomic standing increased initially as a result of Perón's participation of them in the political system, this may have contributed to a dependency on populist measures that ultimately could have weakened the working class (Vergara, 2020).

All these improvements/developments, albeit with intervention from above, served to strengthen Perón's power, but one of the most important figures who strengthened his power was his wife María Eva Duarte de Perón, also known as Evita. With the fund she managed to improve the situation of the poor and the role she played in granting women the right to vote, wife María Eva Duarte de Perón won the support of a large group of people in Argentina and contributed greatly to the consolidation of her husband's power (1975). At this point, we can mention the civil society of the period.

Looking first at Perón's 10 years in power, the developing relations between civil society and the state are remarkable. The corporatist relations established between the

labor union CGT and the state were also established between civil society and the state (CIVICUS, 2011). During this period, improvements were made in terms of labor and social rights, women and women's movements came to the forefront within civil society, especially under the influence of Evita. A Women's Section was established within the party, and even the political actions of Peronism were largely carried out by this unit (CIVICUS, 2011). From this perspective, it is possible to say that the development of civil society was supported by the state, but that civil society was not completely autonomous. Nancy Caro Hollander (1977) is highly critical of Peronism's attitude towards the women's movement. According to her, the Peronist era gave women many opportunities for political participation, but "many Peronist women activists were integrated into the capitalist system and continued to see their interests as linked to those of the existing system and the bourgeois class" (Hollander, 1977, p. 191). The movement placed more emphasis – in its actions, if not in its rhetoric – on its role in the class struggle than on combating socially based sexist perceptions (Hollander, 1977). In such a situation, it seems unlikely that the women's movement would develop a full "feminist consciousness" (Hollander, 1977, p. 191). This relationship between the state and civil society during the Perón era is not limited to the example of the women's movement. The report "Civil Society Index for Argentina (2008-2011)" characterizes the Perón era in terms of civil society as follows,

The biggest civil society development in this period occurred in organisations that represented corporate and Peronist interests, where the boundaries between civil society and the state became rather blurred. The wife María Eva Duarte de Perón Foundation, led by the first lady, was established in this context. It played a leading role in social aid that was previously held by other elite organisations (CIVICUS, 2011, p. 23).

This allows us to draw the following conclusion about civil society in the country between 1945 and 1955: As can be seen in the women's movement, the development of civil society was limited and dependent on close relations with the state, and therefore not autonomous. As with the labor unions, the Perón administration kept civil society close to itself and allowed it to act within the limits it set. This is directly related to both the control of movements and the "reformist nature" of Peronism (Hollander, 1977). Although trade unions and civil society organizations were not fully

autonomous, in general, society was satisfied with the Peron administration. However, in the 1950s, the decline in exports due to the "failure to take measures to increase productivity in agriculture" (Somel, 2010) in Argentina due to the predominant application of the ISI model caused the economy to deteriorate and the government began to implement austerity policies (Romero, 2013). During the same period, in Romero's words, wife María Eva Duarte de Perón, "one of the symbols of prosperity, died" (Romero, 2013, p. 119). In 1954, the Perón government began to fall out with the church, resulting in the banning of religious processions, the abolition of religious classes in schools and the arrest of some priests (Romero, 2013). To review, the economic crisis, Perón's abandonment of ISI policies, his falling out with the church, Evita death, and, above all, the Perón government's increasingly repressive policies, which limited freedoms in the public sphere, marked the end of Perón's rule. With the support of a broad alliance led by the "agrarian oligarchy" and the "Catholic Church", Perón's government was overthrown in a military coup (Munck, 2013, p. 97). After the coup, Perón was sent into exile, but the debates around Peronism and anti-Peronism continued to shape Argentine politics until 1974, when he returned to power. In light of the above, it is possible to draw the following conclusions when evaluating the Perón era:

First of all, Perón received a great extent of popular support, even though he was part of the government that came to power through a coup d'état. In fact, his release from jail and his election as president was made possible as a direct result of the uprising of the people who wanted to see him in power. In this respect, he occupies an exceptional place in Argentine history. His popular acceptance and support was largely due to the populist policies he implemented to keep the working class on his side, and more to the social welfare programs his wife Evita implemented to alleviate poverty. Moreover, it is an advantage that he came to power in a good economic environment, thanks to the ISI formulated in the 1930s. If it had been otherwise, the people would have tried to oust him from power.

Secondly, it can be argued that Perón's policies of improving working conditions, engaging the working class in politics and establishing close relations with trade

unions curbed opposition from the most rebellious section of society. So much so that even workers' strikes were called by the state. It can be argued that the working class lost its autonomy and power in exchange for improvements in the socioeconomic situation of workers. For this reason, the class struggle lost considerable momentum.

Third, since trade unions are also seen as civil society organizations, the fate of civil society in the Perón era was very similar to the class struggle. Giving women the right to vote and formulating social welfare programs for them can be seen as an attempt by the Peron government to keep civil society on its side. Nevertheless, it cannot be ignored that women have made important gains, just like the working class. However, civil society has lost its autonomy. To sum up, the populist policies implemented to gain the support of the working class, the good economy and social welfare programs worked to prevent the opposition against Peron. This period in Argentina did not witness social movements that resonated like other periods, as the class struggle lost significant momentum.

3.3. Military Dictatorships Era

From the early 20th century to the end of the 20th century, the country experienced numerous military coups at very short intervals. This section focuses on the coups of 1966 and 1976, as they are important for the subject of this study.

3.3.1. 1966 Coup d'état

Elected in 1963, Arturo Illia's protectionist economic policies and his stance close to Peronism resulted with a military coup in 1966. Illia was replaced by Juan Carlos Onganía as president, and Argentina was once again under the repressive policies of the military regime (Philip, 1986). The government's pro-economic liberalization and anti-labor policies, as well as its socially repressive policies, were the main factors in ensuring that the military regime, which aimed to stay in power for a long time, did not achieve its goal. Ronaldo Munck (1985) explains the economic modernization that the Onganía government aimed to achieve in favor of capitalists in the following terms,

... This primarily involved the economic repression of the working class but also the ruin of certain sectors of the petty bourgeoisie and the "rationalization" of peripheral areas of the economy such as in Tucuman, where more than a third of the sugar mills were forcibly closed down. Many of the short-term objectives of the military-monopolist plan were accomplished in terms of promoting the concentration of capital, reduction of wages, stabilization of inflation, and so on (Munck, 1985, p. 52).

The Onganía government, which relied on the Brazilian economic model (Munck, 1985), and collaborated with "civil conservatives" (Philip, 1986) by eliminating political parties (Munck, 1985) intended to create for itself a social base of petty bourgeoisie (Munck, 1985). However, according to Munck, this intention "as the independent petty bourgeoisie was squeezed by the expansion of monopoly capitalism and widespread proletarianization of these social layers resulted" and backfired (Munck, 1985, p. 53). The government's attempts to ban political parties, silence the opposition (Munck, 1985), freeze wages to weaken the power of organized labor, ban strikes, and eliminate many types of jobs (Brennan, 1994) generated widespread public opposition. Capital owners, backed by the government's stance on labor policies, quickly began to cut wages and layoffs (Brennan, 1994). On the other hand, the autonomy of universities was also weakened by the Onganía government. "The university was put under government control, classes were postponed for a year, faculties were purged" (Brennan, 1994), and student organizations were banned as a precaution against a backlash from the political organizations of the universities (Brennan, 1994). However, these repressive policies only served to further radicalize student movements. After these developments, the Cordobazo¹⁰ Uprising, an organized workers' and students' movement that brought an end to the military regime and had a significant impact on Perón's return to power, broke out, especially in the city of Córdoba, where the erosion of rights was experienced rapidly while the increasing political pressure on the universities has become more visible.

According to Munck, the Cordobazo Uprising was a turning point for the Argentine class struggle, as it was a broad alliance of workers, students and the middle class, and

¹⁰ "In Spanish, the suffix "azo" is used to indicate an explosion or a coup". For this reason, the mass uprising in the city of Córdoba is referred to as "Cordobazo".

the class struggle regained momentum (Munck, 1985). During the two-day uprising, numerous solidarity relations between workers and students were established (Brennan, 1994). However, by the end of the second day, the military regime had violently and bloodily suppressed the movement. Nevertheless, the Cardobazo Uprising of 1969 led to the removal of Onganía from power (Munck, 1985). Onganía resigned just one year after the events and in 1971 the regime's leaders decided to make a political opening in order to gain the support of the civil society, and in 1973 they sought elections (Philip, 1986). In 1973, first Hector Campora in the Peronist Party and then Perón were returned to office (Philip, 1986). However, even the day of Perón's return was eventful. Shots were fired at the enthusiastic crowd that wanted to welcome his return at the airport. While some see this attack as an attack by the right wing of Peronism against the left wing, pointing to divisions within the party, Munck suggests that it was organized by hired killers – from the right wing (Munck, 1985). This incident, in which many Perón supporters were killed and injured, is known as the "Ezeiza Massacre" (Munck, 1985).

Perón's third term lasted only one year due to his death in 1974. After his death, he was succeeded by his wife Isabel Martínez de Perón. During her two years in power, Isabel Perón had to deal with both economic problems and increasing guerrilla activity. Especially after the death of her husband, the Peronist right wing's increasing acts of violence and their subsequent formation of the *Alianza Anticomunista Argentina* (Argentine Anticommunist Alliance or Triple A) to fight the left wing created an atmosphere of insecurity and unrest in the country (Munck, 1985). On the other hand, the economic crisis of 1973, which started in the same period when OPEC countries raised oil prices, had a negative impact on the economic outlook in Argentina. The crisis, whose effects on the economy continued during the government of Isabel Perón, could not find a suitable way out and austerity policies were implemented in the country. In 1975, the plan implemented in the country to exit the crisis and stabilize the economy also ended in failure. Some of the prominent practices in this plan included "a 45% cut in workers' wages" and "a 100% increase in electricity, water, gas and public transportation prices" (Gezgüç & Uzun, 2017, p. 173). The strike, which was attended by approximately 10 million people throughout Argentina (Munck, 1985, p. 55) and was of great importance for the country's labor and class struggle, was led

by organizations of the “new” left (Trotskyites, Guevaristas, Maoists) together with the Peronist left (*Montoneros*)” (Sartelli, 2009). Even if it did not achieve its full objectives, the strike had important achievements – primarily the resignation of Celestino Rodrigo, the minister of economy, and José López Rega, the minister of welfare, who was in charge of Triple-A (Sartelli, 2009). On the other hand, the economic crisis and the subsequent social reaction, which manifested itself in a general strike, provided the military with a legitimate basis for a military coup against Isabel Martínez de Perón in 1976.

3.3.2. Military Coup of 1976 and The Condor Plan

In March 1976, the army – which had previously given Isabel Martínez de Perón an ultimatum to withdraw – carried out the coup it had planned without bloodshed¹¹. At the head of the army were General Jorge Videla, Admiral Emilio Massera and Orlando R. Agosti (Jordon, 1977) who would later be tried and convicted for their actions. These three names, who openly waged an all-out war on Peronism and anyone who opposed it, are also known as those responsible for the Dirty War, which is considered a black mark in Argentine history. Munck gives some of the repressive policies implemented by the army, which carried out the coup in 1976, when the class struggle reached its peak, with the aim of "reestablishing order and morality" (Munck, 1985) while it held power, as follows:

Parliament and all other national and provincial authorities were closed down and political parties were outlawed or "suspended." The dictatorship intensified its repression of guerrilla organizations and extended this to the repression of the "industrial guerrilla"-that is, factory militants. This resulted in the long list of deaths and disappearances that symbolized the Argentine dictatorship abroad (Munck, 1985, p. 58).

Between 1975 and 1983, this military dictatorship abducted and eliminated all the guerrillas, political leaders, activists, students, workers, in other words, all groups that

¹¹ Although Videla and his associates seized power without bloodshed, their subsequent actions made the coup "the bloodiest coup in Latin America" (Munck, 2003).

could organize social struggle and revolt under the Condor Plan (McSherry, 1999). According to later information, the Condor Plan was carried out with "complex infrastructures and secret mechanisms of elimination (such as burning or dumping bodies at sea)" (McSherry, 1999). It should be noted that the Condor Plan was not limited to Argentina. This plan, which has a direct relationship with the CIA, was first put into practice by Chile's intelligence agency DINA during the military rule of Pinochet, who overthrew the Allende regime (McSherry, 1999). This plan was not only implemented domestically, but "suspect lists" and "intelligence information" created by the CIA played a major role in the capture and kidnapping of people fleeing the fascist regime in their country and seeking refuge in another country (McSherry, 1999). As McSherry (1999) notes, "Operation Condor was a supranational structure of organized state terrorism" (McSherry, 1999, p. 145). In fact, a telecommunication system called "CONDORTEL" was established to provide regular intelligence between the countries carrying out *Plan El Condor* (McSherry, 1999). In those years, 30,000 people disappeared in Argentina during the US-backed military junta regimes. The US actively supported right-wing conservative, pro-market regimes to better impose neoliberal transition while effectively crashing the spread of communism (Foster, 2023). These tragic events eventually brought the rise of so-called "*Las Madres de Plaza de Mayo*" (Mother of the May Square) movement. As will be discussed in detail in the next chapter, this movement was led by the mothers who came together to find out the fate of their disappeared children and to claim justice for them by punishing those responsible. The period of military dictatorship, during which human rights violations peaked and there was not a single sign of democracy, ended in 1983 with the withdrawal of the military from power and the holding of elections. Raul Alfonsín, who came to power in 1983, succeeded in influencing the masses with the restoration of democracy and the commission he established to find those who disappeared during the years of the dirty war. Moreover, it was largely thanks to Alfonsín's initiatives that the 1976 coup was the last in Argentine history. During his time in power, Alfonsín implemented the following measures to weaken the power of the military,

cut army manpower by 75 percent by discharging 50,000 conscripts; abolished army and navy control of the border and coast guards; placed, for the first time,

a civilian at the head of the sprawling military industrial conglomerate Fabricaciones Militares; relocated away from the capital the Naval Mechanics School, which had become an infamous detention center during the Proceso; abolished the First Army Corps and closed its Buenos Aires-based headquarters (Mani, 2015, p. 6).

Thanks to Alfonsín's initiatives, there has not been another military coup in Argentina's ongoing history, and changes of power have been realized through elections.

All these military dictatorships tried to keep both the student movement and the working class movement under control through their domination over groups with the potential for rebellion. After the 1955 coup d'état, the policies of the regime that came to power closed down political parties, universities, declared movement leaders, especially trade union leaders, illegal (Atzeni & Ghigliani, 2009) and took away the rights gained through the struggles of the working class, and the military regimes that followed continued to carry out the same repressive policies. These policy practices are precisely in the interests of the ruling class and are conceptualized by Petras and Veltmeyer as class struggle from above (Petras & Veltmeyer, 2018).

Just as in times of coups, class struggle from above gains momentum and "employers and public authorities deployed a multifaceted counter-offensive" (Atzeni & Ghigliani, 2009), class struggle from below, as a dependent component, also counter-attacks for a change in the current government, a return to democracy and improvements in labor and social rights. Indeed, this has been the case in Argentina. Trade unions were weakened, labor was prevented from organizing, and the number of unionized workers dropped from over 2 million to 1.7 million by 1965 (Atzeni & Ghigliani, 2009), but with the Cordobazo uprising in 1969, the military regime withdrew from power and sought turning to democracy (Atzeni & Ghigliani, 2009).

With the coup d'état of 1976, the last coup d'état in Argentine political history, the ISI, which was an inward growth model with protectionist state policies in the Argentine economy, was completely abandoned and neoliberal policies began to guide the country's economy. However, I would like to emphasize here that the number of unionized workers in Argentina increased to 3.9 million in 1984, despite

neoliberalism's flexibilization of employment and its shift to the informal sector (Atzeni & Ghigliani, 2009). This can be attributed to the non-repressive nature of the Alfonsín government and its aim to establish democracy. In addition, the hyperinflation that marked the period may have encouraged workers to organize in such a troubled environment. The last possibility seems more plausible given the number of strikes recorded during Alfonsín's rule. The policies enacted to recover the financial sector led to a 65% drop in public sector wages, with approximately 1500 of the 2053 strikes during his rule occurring in the public or mixed sector (McGuire, 1996). In this category, 56% of strikes were related to wage demands and failure to receive wages on time (McGuire, 1996).

On the other side, the effects of the period of military dictatorships on civil society were similar to the effects on the class struggle. The economic recession of 1955-76 directly reduced the "available resources and scope of action" (Jacobs & Maldonado, 2005, p. 142) of civil society organizations, while the military dictatorships' banning of Peronism and restriction of public freedoms also contributed to the deceleration of civil society struggles (CIVICUS, 2011). Nevertheless, there was a significant increase in the rate of cooperatives in the arts and sciences, "with a remarkable growth of about 4,800 organizations and almost seven million members or consumers by 1976" (CIVICUS, 2011, p. 22). In addition to cooperatives, many other civil society organizations emerged in the field of development and social assistance, such as the *Centro de Estudios de Estado y Sociedad* (CEDES/ The Centre for the Study State and Society), *La Fundacion para el Desarrollo en Justicia y Paz* (FUNDAPAZ/ The Foundation for Development in Justice and Peace), and the *Colecta Nacional Más por Menos* (More for Less National Collection) (CIVICUS, 2011). On the other hand, the prominent actor of the period was the more militant Peronist organization Montoneros, while other actors of civil society remained in the background (CIVICUS, 2011). However, although the working class dominated in terms of the organization's participants, the rest of the participants included the unemployed, students and women, i.e. other actors of civil society (Hollander, 1977). What can then be said about the period between 1955-76 is that civil society continued to develop despite all the repression of the military regimes and, unlike the Perón era, acted more autonomously

– with some exceptions – without entering into corporatist relations with the state. Although their mass actions were more limited for material and political reasons, they mostly tried to solve the socio-economic problems of the society through the organizations they established.

All in all, the period of military dictatorships was characterized by political instability, economic crisis, undemocratic and repressive policies and the intervention of the US. The loss of autonomy of universities, the postponement of classes, the banning of student organizations angered students, while on the other hand, neoliberal economic policies weakened the manufacturing industry and froze wages to weaken workers' organizations angered workers. In this context, both students and workers started the *Cordobazo* uprising against the government, demanding democracy and economy. The most important aspect of this movement is that, contrary to popular belief, it involved not only the working class but also the middle class as an alliance. Considering what has been explained in the theoretical framework, this movement can neither be reduced to the category of old social movements because it includes students and democratic demands, nor can it be included in the category of new social movements because it includes the working class, economic demands and seeks a change in power. It is a continuous movement with characteristics of both old and new movements, formed directly on the axis of economic and political situations.

Another social uprising was the general strike during the period of Isabel Perón. It was a direct reaction to the socio-economic conditions created by the economic model of the period. The most important movement of the period of military dictatorships was the May Square Mothers movement. Unlike previous social movements, this movement was a human rights movement that demanded that the fate of opposition youth abducted by the military government be known and that those responsible be punished. The movement is directly opposed to the political power. It is also exceptional in that it was founded during a repressive dictatorship that carried out the bloodiest action of the period. To summarize, during the period of military dictatorships, social movements emerged in an environment of economic and political instability and repressive anti-democratic policies. Repressive and neoliberal policies aimed to suppress the class struggle, but the return to democracy with Alfonsín's

coming to power provided an important opportunity for the development of both the class struggle and civil society.

3.4. Neoliberal Era

Neoliberalism was brought to Argentina ushered by the military. After the coup, just like in Chile, the junta regime leaders who came to power followed economic policies that were directly pro-free market, without protectionist policies, and that weakened the manufacturing industry. The junta regime, which remained in power between 1976 and 1981, disrupted the stability provided by the ISI in the economy and dragged Argentina into inflation problems and instability again. Raúl Alfonsín, who came to power through elections in 1983, put into effect the "Austral Plan" to regulate the course of the economy and restrain inflation. With this plan, which consisted of the decisions "Central Bank would stop granting credits to the Treasury.", "prices and wages were frozen", "the austral was introduced as the new unit of account" (Heymann, 1987, p. 285), there were improvements in the financial situation, but this situation did not last long. The sudden rise of the exchange rate in 1986 led to the current government's tight monetary policy. As a result, industrial sales began to decline in 1986 (Heymann, 1987), and inflation became a problem again.

In the elections that followed, Alfonsín was replaced in 1989 by Carlos Menem, a strict follower of neoliberalism, in a context of economic collapse due to hyperinflation (Smith, 1991). With Menem's coming to power, the Austral Plan also came to an end.

The new president thought he could improve the economic situation through neoliberalism and free market reforms (Smith, 1991). However, the steps he took in this direction only served to perpetuate the crisis in the long term. In 1991, Domingo Cavallo, the economy minister at the time, created a convertibility plan that envisaged that "the Australian dollar would be freely convertible into dollars" (Smith, 1991, p. 63) which kept the dollar cheap. While the cheap dollar had negative effects on exports, it worked for imports. However, William C. Smith who analyzes the Menem era, sees this plan implemented by Menem and Cavallo as a gamble with 6 million

dollars, because according to him, this gamble could have completely depleted the Central Bank's currency reserve (Smith, 1991). The result was not so; this plan was effective in reducing inflation, but, together with the privatizations it carried out, it left effects that cannot be easily recovered in the industrial sector, the domestic market, and the state of the labor market (Smith, 1991). After 1995, "a crisis period began with the deterioration in macroeconomic balances" (O'Connell, 2002) and, in particular, poverty and income inequality deepened. The unemployment rate, which was 3% in 1980, increased to 18.9% in 1995 (IMF, 2019), and the Gini Index rate, which gives us information about social economic inequality, increased from 40.8% to 48.9% in the same period (PIP, 2023). Soon after, in 1999, Menem's term ended. However, their successors resigned one by one with the social struggle that emerged in the early 2000s against these economic developments. Argentina went through five presidents between 1999 and 2003, until Nestor Kirchner came to power. With Kirchner coming to power, the strict practices of neoliberalism largely ended with the influence of popular movements.

Although it is thought that neoliberalism will be completely abandoned with the left parties coming to power one by one in Latin America, "it can be claimed that macroeconomic policies that will not radically conflict with the neoliberal framework were implemented under neo-developmentism in the 2000s" (Topal, 2020).

In this period, referred to as neo-developmentalism, an economic model is implemented based on the export of primary goods and natural resources, as seen before ISI. However, it should be noted that this time, most of these activities are under state control. This model, which is relatively new in Argentina, is carried out under the political management of the Kirchners.

Interestingly, during the period of President Carlos Menem, who was elected from the Peronist Party in 1989, despite the implementation of stricter neoliberal policies and mass layoffs, especially in the public sector, the class struggle seems to have lost momentum – considering the number of strikes. During the Menem period, 217 thousand public employees were dismissed in the three years between 1989 and 1992,

mostly due to privatizations (McGuire, 1996). When looked at, it is obvious that the Menem government pursued more aggressive policies on labor compared to the Alfonsín government, but the reason for the decrease in the number of strikes has not been fully determined. However, McGuire (1996) underlines that this situation may be related to the harsh defeat of the strike held in 1990 to resist the privatization of the state-owned telecommunications company (McGuire, 1996). On the other hand, “the support provided to Menem’s structural reforms by the CGT” (Dobrusin, 2012, p. 61) can also be seen as a plausible reason to explain the decline in the number of strikes. It is useful to make an important inference about the class struggle in Argentina during the Alfonsín and Menem rule. First of all, it is possible to say that the main actor of the class struggle in Argentina has changed; compared to the traditional working class working in the industrial sector, the struggle of the middle class working in the education and health sectors is more intense in this period. Between 1983 and 1994, there were 421 and 496 strikes, respectively, led by teachers and public administrators, and 199 strikes among metal workers in a nine-year period (McGuire, 1996). In other words, the middle class, the actor of the new social movements, became the executor of the class struggle in Argentina in the years mentioned.

The 2001 crisis in Argentina, which had a negative impact on all macroeconomic indicators, reactivated the class struggle that had been extinguished in previous periods of coups and crises. This time, whatever neoliberalism had taken from the working class was reclaimed through class struggle from below. The *Piqueteros* Movement, one of the most militant movements in Argentina, and the occupy factories movement ended the dominance of the neoliberal paradigm. The economic and political leadership of Nestor Kirchner, who came to power in 2003, and Fernández de Kirchner, who succeeded him after one term in power, have also contributed to this. In this process, a new actor in the class struggle gained importance: The Argentine Labor Congress (CTA) (Dobrusin, 2012). The CTA is a trade union confederation founded in Argentina as an alternative to the corrupt CGT, especially during the Menem era, and to fight neoliberalism (Dobrusin, 2012). In a short period of time, the CTA has managed to become an important actor in the class struggle in Argentina and has been involved in government decision-making processes but has avoided

becoming a corporatist union like the CGT (Dobrusin, 2012). The class struggle in Argentina, which regained momentum after the 2001 crisis, has undoubtedly shaped the economic and political model in the country. Neoliberalism was replaced by neo-developmental policies under the Kirchners, which created more than five million jobs and reduced unemployment from 20% during the crisis to 9% (Dobrusin, 2012). In Argentina – in the early 2000s – the course of class struggle was similar to that of Latin America as a whole. Petras and Veltmeyer describe this course as follows,

The sequence of popular revolts and political intervention, followed by the election in most cases of nationalist-populist regimes, ameliorated the crisis, and sustained policies incrementally advancing working-class interests (Petras & Veltmeyer, 2018, p. 109).

This is exactly what has happened in Argentina. On the other hand, "participation in civil society organizations declined from 35 percent to 19 percent of the adult population between 1984 and 1991" (Friedman & Hochstetler, 2002, p. 32). Until the 1980s, no strong opposition movement emerged due to the tragic events in the country (CIVICUS, 2011). However, despite such an oppressive environment, it was during this period that the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo, a human rights organization that would find a large following in Argentina in the years to come, was founded (CIVICUS, 2011).

In 1983, with the end of military rule and the beginning of the transition to democracy, there was a resurgence in civil society. This can be observed in the increase in the number of civil society organizations, for example in the environmental movement, which increased tenfold between 1984 and 2015 (Jorge, 2015). Moreover, in relation to the neoliberal paradigm and the diminishing role of the state in the economy and thus in welfare provision, Jacobs and Maldonado note that "civil society organizations have sought to maintain their role of providing a collective voice for the population while assuming a greater role in the provision of services previously provided by the state" (Jacobs & Maldonado, 2005, p. 143). This is especially the case in the Menem administration, which has implemented a strict neoliberal program. In the current economic model, CSOs have taken on a greater role, with a significant expansion in the number of these institutions (CIVICUS, 2011). Moreover, the "institutionalized

negotiation" between CSOs and state institutions during the Menem era is considered a new development for civil society (Friedman & Hochstetler, 2002). Other important developments in civil society during the Menem era include the establishment of the "National Council of Women" and the "Sub-Commission on Civil Society Organizations" (Friedman & Hochstetler, 2002). However, these developments in civil society were again overshadowed by the economic crisis that peaked in 2001 and the consequent state repression of protests. Although the killing of many demonstrators in clashes dominated by police violence created an atmosphere of fear, the themes of democracy and human rights in particular became more central to the struggles of CSOs. To summarize, the acceleration or deceleration of the class struggle in the country is entirely dependent on economic and political developments, in particular economic and political crises. The transition from the ISI economic model to neoliberalism, the subsequent abandonment of neoliberal policies and the transition to neo-developmentalism, the repressive and restrictive policies of military regimes with coups d'états, the return to democracy with periodic re-elections, the gain or loss of importance of the manufacturing industry, the relations of trade unions with the government are all factors that have determined and shaped the Argentine class struggle.

However, even though the fate of the class struggle was determined by these factors, the strikes, revolts and actions carried out under the class struggle were also influential in determining the fate of the aforementioned developments. In other words, class struggle, both from above and from below, has been instrumental in shaping the entire economic, political and social structure of Argentina.

3.5. Conclusion

The strengthening or weakening of civil society and class struggle in Argentina is largely dependent on economic and political developments, especially economic and political crises, during the periods analyzed. The transition from the ISI economic model to neoliberalism, the subsequent abandonment of neoliberal policies and the transition to neo-developmentalism, the repressive and restrictive policies of military

regimes with coups d'états, the return to democracy with periodic re-elections, the gain or loss of importance of the manufacturing industry, the relations of trade unions with the government are all factors that have determined and shaped the Argentine class struggle and civil society. However, even though these factors determined the fate of the class struggle, the strikes, revolts and actions carried out as part of the class struggle were also instrumental in determining the fate of these developments. In other words, the class struggle, both from above and from below, has shaped the entire economic, political and social structure of Argentina.

This chapter is important to show that the social movements that resonated in Argentina in both the industrial and post-industrial periods - the periods to which break theorists claim the old and new movements belong - emerged on the basis of economic and political developments. *Cordobazo*, one of the movements of the industrial period, includes not only the working class, but also the student movement and the middle class. On the other hand, the feminist movement in the country is based on the economic model of development and the social model of migration. It takes into account both working conditions and gender issues. The women's movement is NSM in terms of its theme - NSMs emerged about 100 years after this movement - but it is OSM in terms of its demands and the period it belongs to. Once again, there is continuity.

This chapter was intended to show how economic and political power has affected class formation, class struggle and civil society in Argentina and the dynamics on which social movements have emerged in the country, providing a background for the cases to be analyzed in the third chapter. In this context, it is suggested that the economic and political context of social movements in the country should not be ignored, even after the 1960s when the NSMs were formed. Moreover, it proposes to see the working class as a pendulum. In this way, we can see that the working class still exists and that, like civil society, it gains and loses momentum depending on the political, economic and social developments in a country. The following chapter will examine the theories of break and continuity discussed in this thesis through two of Argentina's most important social movements. In doing so, it will take into account

both the theoretical discussion in the theoretical and conceptual framework chapter and this chapter, which provides information about Argentina's economic and political dynamics, class struggle and civil society.

CHAPTER 4

CONTINUITIES AND DISCONTINUITIES: FROM OLD TO NEW SOCIAL MOVEMENTS IN ARGENTINA

In this chapter of the thesis, the break and continuity theories presented in the theoretical and conceptual framework chapter will be revisited in the context of the *Piqueteros* movement and the *Las Madres de Plaza de Mayo* which are among the most important social movements in Argentine history with their struggles and achievements. In doing so, first, the origins of the movements in the crises frequently experienced in the economic and political history of Argentina will be sought. The origins of the *Piqueteros* movement will be traced to the privatization of state institutions and the economic crisis that began in the late 1990s, which was clearly caused by neoliberal economic policies. On the other hand, the origins of the Mothers of Plaza de Mayo' movement will be traced to the period of the Dirty War, when Jorge Rafael Videla, who seized power by staging a coup against the Peronist government, was president and the US-supported Condor Plan was implemented. Immediately afterwards, the themes, values, actors and forms of struggle of these social movements will be analyzed separately to discuss whether they can be categorized as old social movements or new social movements. In this context, I claim that within both movements significant elements of the old movements can be observed in the new movements. Therefore, I argue that these movements do not portray a break from the OSMs, but rather present a complete continuity.

4.1. Case 1: *Piqueteros* Movement

As noted earlier, the neoliberal policies implemented systematically in the 1990s, especially with the Menem government, led to the privatization of many public enterprises operating in the manufacturing sector, while the Convertibility Plan developed by Cavallo, the economy minister of the time, kept the dollar cheap, which

reduced the profits from exports (Smith, 1991). It should be noted that during this period, programs developed by the IMF were implemented in the Argentine economy (Boratav, 2018) and FDIs were of vital importance in the country. In fact, the sudden FDI outflows from the country had a great impact on the crisis that started towards the end of the 90s in Argentina and turned into a full-blown crisis in 2001. The country's external debt stock rose to \$152 billion in 2001 (WB, 2024) and became unpayable, the suspension of IMF support in 2001 (IMF, 2003) and the consequent downgrading of the country's credit rating were among the reasons for sudden FDI outflows from the country. Afterwards, it was declared that the debts could no longer be paid.

Of course, it was the people who felt the effects of the crisis in the most shocking way – as in every externally dependent, pro-free market country. Unemployment rates were 3% in 1980, when neoliberal policies were officially implemented, and increased to 17.1% in 2000 (IMF, 2019). The rate of informal employment exceeded 50% in 2005 (Elgin, Köse, Ohnsorge, & Yu, 2021). The Gini Index rate, which gives an idea about economic inequality, reached 50% in 2000, from 40% in 1980 (PIP, 2023). In a country where informal employment, unemployment, socio-economic inequalities, and the rate of people living below the poverty and hunger line have increased dramatically, social opposition is inevitable. As a matter of fact, in Argentina, a large-scale rebellion against the government and neoliberalism, led by the *Piqueteros*, known as *Argentinazo*, took place in such an environment.

4.1.1. Political Economic Background of The Movement

Although the *Piqueteros* movement became more visible and popular with the large-scale uprising in the capital of Argentina, Buenos Aires, on December 19-20, 2001, its origins can be traced back to the uprisings in the two oil-rich provinces of Neuquen and Salta between 1995 and 1997, when Menem was in power, in response to the privatization of the state-owned oil company YPF and the worsening socio-economic conditions (Koyunlu, 2009; Rossi, 2013). Indeed, these two states recorded the highest unemployment rates caused by the crisis (Castorina, 2013). In 1995, when workers in Neuquen province, mainly in the oil and construction sectors, were laid off as a result

of privatization, the first "unemployed committees" were formed with the participation of parties and organizations that could be defined as radical left, such as Partido Obrero and MAS, and soon after a march was organized to demand unemployment compensation (Koyunlu, 2009). Although initially promised that a law on unemployment compensation would be passed, the limitations/obstacles imposed by the administration in order to benefit from this law were not welcomed by the unemployed committees, and as a result, the committee, which initially adopted a defensive form of action, switched to a more aggressive form of action by occupying municipal and public buildings after their demands were not fully met (Koyunlu, 2009). In response to this, the government, convinced that it could suppress the movement through violence, issued an arrest warrant for Horacio Panario, one of the leaders of the movement (Koyunlu, 2009). However, the unemployed movement was not easily intimidated by the stance of either the state government or the trade unions, which had been depriving them of their rights instead of gaining them. In 1996, the unemployed supported the actions of the public employees, who, as I have already mentioned, were the ones who carried out the most strikes and protests against layoffs and falling salaries during the Menem era, with road blockades, which would later become one of the *Piqueteros'* main strategies of action (Koyunlu, 2009). Immediately afterwards, the first workers' congress was organized in Neuquen with the decision of the people's assembly held in the state of Cutral-Co and the demands to be fought for were agreed upon (Koyunlu, 2009). The demands included the amount of unemployment compensation, the age limit, and the conditions for compulsory work in return for the compensation (Koyunlu, 2009). Of course, the state administration was not willing to fully fulfill these demands of the unemployed and insisted on suppressing the movement.

In response, the unemployed responded with "road blocking" and "mass pickets" in the city of Cutral-Co in 1997 (Petras, 2001). After the actions in Cutral-Co, the movement became known as the *piqueteros* and became a symbol of social struggle in Argentina (Koyunlu, 2009). Before explaining the demands, actors and forms of struggle of the *Piqueteros*, I would like to briefly mention one of the main reasons for the unemployed to organize on their own and in an autonomous structure: the unions.

Why the movement is not organized by the unions and does not have close relations with them is attributed to the fact that the unemployed, the main actors of the movement, "do not fit into the traditional base of the unions" (Birss, 2005). However, the real reason for this is that unions have a "vertical" structure and the unemployed do not trust them in terms of boss-worker relations (Petras, 2001).

On the other hand, although the *Piqueteros* movement includes union-based fractions, it has always tried to keep its distance from the unions due to their unreliable actions. The main reason for this is the unions' close relationship with the government and the bosses. In the case of the CGT, the union established close relations with Menem and negotiated on the boss-worker axis in favor of the former (Petras, 2001). Not to mention the reluctance of the union to organize the unemployed. Consequently, the organizing of the *Piqueteros*, on whose shoulders the entire burden of neoliberalism and the economic crisis is placed, can also be seen as "a search for an alternative to the inertia of those in charge of the trade union movement" (Koyunlu, 2009) due to the weakening of unions and the loss of their autonomy.

However, even though the movement, which has moved in a democratic direction with horizontal hierarchy and the active and intensive participation of participants in decision-making processes, has tried to maintain its distance and autonomy from the unions, it has not been able to do so completely. The Central de Trabajadores de la Argentina (CTA), which criticized the CGT for its relationship with the government and bosses and its inadequacy in workers' struggles, was organized within the piquetero movement. The Maoist-based Corriente Clasista y Combativa (CCC) is another union organized within the *piqueteros* movement (Koyunlu, 2009). With the inclusion of trade unions in the movement, the movement basically split into two wings: the reformist wing and the revolutionary wing (Koyunlu, 2009). It does not seem absurd to see such a polarization within the movement, which includes social movement organizations (SMOs) with a wide ideological spectrum ranging from Trotskyism to Marxism, from Peronism to Theology (Rossi, 2013). While the reformist wing tends to detach the movement from its anti-systemic character, integrate it into the system and establish close relations with the state, the revolutionary

wing represents the *Piqueteros*' "struggle for independence, for unity with the rest of the working class, for a political character that transcends the limits of the order" (Koyunlu, 2009). For this reason, it is not possible to speak of a complete consensus within the movement, especially on forms of action and demands. Despite the aforementioned ideological differentiation and polarization within the movement, the *Piqueteros* were able to maintain their cooperation against the common enemy of neoliberalism until 2002 and, according to Castorina, even achieved a high level of autonomy during de la Rúa's years in power (Castorina, 2013). However, with the election of Peronist leader Nestor Kirchner as president in 2003, sectors that were not opposed to the government – namely the reformists – took a close interest in state positions, supporting the government's policies that were intended to de-accelerate the movement (Rossi, 2013). The other wing, on the other hand, continued to negotiate with the state on their demands, but "were not interested in obtaining positions for their members" (Rossi, 2013).

The *Piqueteros* movement was, of course, an anti-systemic movement organized around the devastating effects of neoliberalism, the dominant paradigm of the capitalist system, on the socio-economic situation and the problems of the trade union movement. However, it is important to underline that the organizing process was successful thanks to some specific dynamics. According to Petras (2001), these dynamics were the presence of a high number of former working class unemployed and women in the barrios, the knowledge and experience of the unemployed about collective struggle due to their working class background, the reflection of the devastation caused by the economic crisis on the family and thus mobilizing women, and the strategic location of the barrios that are very close to highways. In addition to these dynamics, the right strategies of the unemployed and their effective use of the media organ "Indymedia" to increase and control the level of organizing also played an undeniable role in their successful organizing. Indeed, according to a piquetera interviewed by Morag Forbes, Indymedia played a key role in organizing the movement, as people used open, independent media outlets to organize and communicate (Monteagudo, 2021). In fact, the piquetera interviewed said that this media channel was even influential in the use of police violence (Monteagudo, 2021).

4.1.2. Anti-Neoliberal Demands

The demands of the *piqueteros* naturally relate to the neoliberal policies that gave rise to the movement and to the restoration of the rights of workers that had been taken away by the implementation of these policies. While in the 1996 and 1997 protests the demands included "unemployment compensation" and state employment for "temporary jobs" to sustain the lives of the people who were laid off due to privatization; as a result of the organization of the movement and the decisions taken in workers' congresses and popular assemblies, the demands took on a more inclusive and anti-systemic character that went beyond what Petras calls "subsistence temporary" employment (Petras, 2001).

The demands for employment are aimed at ensuring stable/full employment in a context of deepening poverty during the crisis (Rossi, 2013). The *Piqueteros* also demanded the cancellation of tax debts and unemployment benefits for all unemployed people over 16 (Castorina, 2013), as well as the distribution of food packages necessary for the sustainability of human life as a – at least temporary – solution to poverty (Petras, 2001). However, the demands were of course not limited to these very basic demands for human survival. The movement was fighting for more demands, which were both reformist and revolutionary in character. Petras lists the demands set out in the national meetings and assemblies that preceded the December uprising under the following headings,

- 1) Suspending the payment of foreign debts to the IMF
- 2) Release of the arrested *piqueteros*,
- 3) Increase public spending on infrastructure and service sector development (paved roads, improvements in the health sector, etc.),
- 4) An ending to austerity,
- 5) Abandonment of neoliberal policies,
- 6) Moving to a development model where the state is the main actor, as in ISI,
- 7) Agricultural support payments and debt forgiveness for farmers,
- 8) Prohibition of layoffs (Petras, 2001, pp. 4265-4270).

4.1.3. Actors of The Unemployed Workers

It does not need to be said again and again that the main actors of the movement are

the unemployed, but it is worth noting that social scientists who study the *Piqueteros* movement generally see the unemployed as a marginalized and excluded group (Rauber, 2002; Wolff, 2007; Rossi, 2013). On this basis, the *piqueteros* movement is sometimes included in the category of new social movements due to the newness of its actors. However, it should not be forgotten that these unemployed people come from the traditional working class. The movement, which aims to eliminate the effects of the economic and political crisis that directly affect the society through its struggle and aims to provide socio-economic improvement, has become quite heterogeneous by expanding its range of actors and receiving support from various identities and organizations in a short time (Koyunlu, 2009).

Indeed, the *Las Madres de Plaza de Mayo*, a human rights organization that fought for the fate of their children, siblings and relatives who disappeared during the Dirty War and for the punishment of those responsible, also supported and participated in the movement (Petras, 2001). In addition, public employees, petty traders, trade unions, students and civil society organizations also became actors in the movement, forming alliances with the *Piqueteros* and participating in their meetings and street struggles (Petras, 2001). Beyond all the actors involved in the movement, there is one group that deserves special attention: Unemployed women, or *Las Piqueteras*. Women are the actors who have contributed the most to the success of the movement. "At the beginning of the movement, 90% of those blocking roads and organizing in the neighborhoods were women" (Monteagudo, 2021).

Later this proportion was somewhat balanced, but women still dominated the movement, making up 60% of the participants. Unlike in some movements, this time women were not the hidden heroes of the movement, invisible in the movement, only cooking for the men who returned from the protests. They participated in the organization of the movement, in decision-making processes, on the barricades, in the tents set up during the struggle, in cooking, in short, "from the grassroots to leadership, from defense to the internal organization of their tents" (Rauber, 2002). For this reason, it would not be wrong to say that the presence of women in the movement has an important, even determinative role in the success of the movement.

4.1.4. Forms of Action and Asambleas

Another important category to look at in order to interpret the movement in the context of break and continuity is its form of action. The *Piqueteros* waged their struggle with the corte de ruta (road blocking) technique (Koyunlu, 2009), which is not new and was already practiced in the early twentieth century (Birss, 2005). Unlike its predecessors, this method became the movement's main form of action. The aim of road blockades is to disrupt national and international trade in order to attract attention and negotiate demands with the government or state administration (Birss, 2005). Road blockades are often carried out in barrios close to factories, significantly disrupting trade flows and harming the owners of capital. In Argentina, too, this displeased the pro-capitalist government, which, unable to suppress the movement due to the overwhelming popular support, often resorted to negotiations in order to keep capital flowing. As a result, this highly effective form of action gave the movement considerable political leverage (Birss, 2005).

The most important feature of the Piqueteras movement is that it has asambleas (assemblies) where decisions are taken collectively and there is high participation. People's assemblies are the place where important decisions are taken that will determine the fate of the movement, such as the organization of the movement, the planning of actions, the determination of demands, and the duration of the actions (Petras, 2001). In addition to this function, the assemblies also ensure the distribution of food aid and temporary employment provided by the state (Koyunlu, 2009). The first in line for distribution are those most in need of these benefits and jobs, followed by protesters who are at the forefront of the barricade protests (Koyunlu, 2009). Another important point is that the assembly was characterized by intense participation and expression of opinion. Indeed, almost everyone is given the right to speak during the meeting.

People's assemblies are present in every barrio where movements are organized (Monteagudo, 2021) and are organized and led by the inhabitants of that area (Petras, 2001). Petras emphasizes the decentralized aspect of the assemblies, which means that each assembly has its own organizational structure (Petras, 2001). On the other hand,

each assembly has a representative and a head of coordination. These representatives are obliged to hold one-to-one meetings with the head of coordination and then bring the issues discussed to the assembly (Monteagudo, 2021). Although each people's assembly has a representative or a leader – since representatives can be changed according to the decisions of the assembly participants – it would not be correct to say that the organization is hierarchical (Monteagudo, 2021). However, it should not be forgotten that in order not to have a hierarchical organizational structure, certain rules have not been established.

In addition to the tasks mentioned above, the assemblies have another very important function: production. Representatives/leaders in some assemblies have set up their own bakeries, soup kitchens, teams of builders, gardens (Birss, 2005; Petras, 2001) in order to meet the basic needs of residents and *piqueteros* and to provide employment at the same time. For example, in the city of General Mosconi, in the province of Salta, more than 300 projects have been developed and implemented by the unemployed movement, and the *piqueteros* there have excluded the local authorities and run the administration themselves (Petras, 2001). Although the grassroots production of neighborhoods with their own resources by the grassroots movement, i.e. the creation of an alternative system, is of great importance for the image of the movement and its participants, unfortunately the diffusion of the model has been very limited.

4.1.5. Evaluation of the *Piqueteros* Movement vis-a-vis the Break and Continuity Theories

Since the actors of the *Piqueteros* movement, with their demands, forms of action and organizational structure in line with the main themes and values are assessed, we can interpret the movement vis-a-vis the theories of break and continuity. Such an analysis would provide a theoretical as well as phenomenological link between the old social movement and the new social movements.

First, I will address the demands of the movement. Unemployment and poverty rates have increased as austerity policies have been imposed on the working class as a result

of the economic crisis in the country. Tens of thousands of public employees were laid off with the privatizations carried out during the Menem administration. Consequently, the demands of the movement took on an anti-neoliberal and anti-system character. In terms of themes and values, the movement, which demands the non-payment of debts to the IMF, the provision of employment by the state, and the implementation of a state interventionist model in the economy, has nothing to do with the themes and values of new social movements identified by break theorists. In order to be considered under the NSM category, the *Piqueteros* must be limited exclusively with post-materialist values and themes such as equality, peace, environment, feminism. However, in this movement, on the contrary, the materialist values and themes of the OSMs, which favor the economic interests of workers in relations of distribution, are observed. However, this movement can also be considered as NSM because of its anti-neoliberal character.

On the other hand, when we look at the actors of the movements, as already noted that the unemployed are seen as a marginalized and consequently excluded group. Here the unemployed fit exactly into the middle class alliance created by Claus Offe, which constitutes the actors of new social movements. If we take only the unemployed as actors, we can say that the *piqueteros* movement certainly belongs to the NSM category. However, it is important to underline that the unemployed come from the former working class. Moreover, even though the movement took the name *piqueteros* because it was organized by the unemployed, after a while it had a wide range of participants. The movement has included a very wide network of participants such as labor unions, women, students, public employees and human rights activists. From this perspective, we can acknowledge the fact that the unemployed character of its actors give the movement its newness, but we cannot regard unemployed labor or public sector unions as new actors. In the same way, the *piqueteros*' form of action, which consists of the technique of blocking roads, is not new. We have already mentioned that road blocking and blockades were also a technique encountered in the early 20th century (Koyunlu, 2009). When focusing on the actors, the movement could not be fully included in the OSM or NSM category, but if we look at the assemblies established and led by the grassroots movement, where the strategies and forms of

action of the movement are determined, we can clearly include the *Piqueteros* movement in the category of NSMs in terms of its organizational structure. The democratic and non-hierarchical nature of the assemblies allows us to do this.

Finally, the framework that distinguishes between old and new movements recognizes that the old movements tend to target more revolutionary goals of seizing and changing power, while the new movements do not target claiming the state power rather aim to solve (social) problems in a reformist way (Castells, 2015; Çayır, 2016). In this respect, it is difficult to place the *Piqueteros* movement in the categories of neither OSM nor the NSM. In its early days, the movement was divided into a reformist and a revolutionary wing (Oviedo, 2002; Colmegna, 2003). While the reformist wing fizzled out with access to state positions, the revolutionary wing fought for a better socio-economic environment, and their struggle led to the change or resignation of four presidents who came to political power in two years during the crisis.

If the movement's actors are seen only as the unemployed and the working class background of the unemployed and other actors is ignored, or if only the organizational structure of the movement is focused on and its assemblies are highlighted, then this movement can be included in the NSM category. The identity of the unemployed, the assemblies and the difference of both qualitative and quantitative participation of women, their prefigurative experiences (Sitrin, 2016) constitute indisputably new aspects of the movement (Rauber, 2002; Grigera, 2006), but the demands of the movement in terms of values and themes, the form of action of the movement, and the labor and public employee unions as actors of the movement are certainly not new. Indeed, Rauber notes that the "genealogical antecedents" of the *piqueteros'* forms of struggle and organization can be found in the working class struggles of the twentieth century (Rauber, 2002). On the other hand, Castorina underlines that the movement is not a struggle for identity but a class struggle by linking identity formation with capital development, class formation and politics (Castorina, 2013). Indeed, the unemployed movement is a class struggle, a product of the struggle between capitalists and the middle and lower classes around the relations of exploitation. In sum, all aspects of the unemployed movement as a whole can be included neither in OSMs nor in NSMs.

Consequently, the movement cannot be fully placed within the framework offered by break theorists. This movement, which emerged in the late 1990s, is a very satisfactory example of continuity between OSMs and NSMs, as it has common features with the twentieth century and its predecessors.

4.2. Case 2: *Las Madres de Plaza de Mayo*

As mentioned in the second chapter, the junta regime that came to power in 1976 waged a total war against everyone it perceived as opposing it and waged this war under the US-sponsored Condor Plan. The groundwork for this plan, which was carried out by the military, was actually laid in 1975. In 1975, in order to eliminate opposition in Argentina, Ítalo Argentino Luder signed "a decree authorizing the "extermination" of subversives" (Jouet, 2008). With the implementation of this decree, the process known as the dirty war began in Argentina. There is one issue to be considered here: the subversives, or as we know them, the disappeared. Who were the subversives, or were they really a threat to those in power? Mugambi Jouet (2008) states that one third of the 30,000 people abducted by the state were women. Moreover, 10% of the women were pregnant during their detention (Agosin & Franzen, 1987). Pregnant women were kept in prison by the torturing forces during their pregnancy, and after giving birth, their babies were given up for adoption to soldiers, killed or drugged in a method called "death flight" (Hernandez, 2013), and thrown into the ocean from helicopters (Tufan, 2018). On the other hand, young people working to provide community centers and schools for people with disabilities were also abducted under this operation (Jouet, 2008). It is known that most of the disappeared who were kidnapped, tortured and killed by the state were workers with a rate of 30%, and that students had the highest rate after workers (Agosin & Franzen, 1987). The state, which kidnaps workers, women, students, artists and journalists, has included not only those who oppose it, but even those who are likely to oppose it in the list of the disappeared. Bellucci (1999) defines this situation as institutionalized violence, according to her " the use of institutionalised violence was a means of governing without having to face any organised opposition" such as workers' or student movements (Bellucci, 1999, p. 84). In Argentina, the government was openly violating basic human rights. Articles 5 and 9 of the United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which state that "no

one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment" and "no one shall be arbitrarily detained, imprisoned or exiled" (UN, 1948) lost their validity in Argentina under the junta led by Videla. In such an environment, social opposition soon emerged in Argentina after this brutal and tragic plan carried out by the military dictatorship. This time, those who started the social struggle were not the workers, the unemployed, or the identity groups we are used to, but the women who were first called "The Madwomen of the Plaza de Mayo" (Agosin & Franzen, 1987, p. 430) and later became an important symbol of their social struggle in Argentina. They were mothers.

4.2.1. The Movement's Organizing Process and Strategies

Mothers of the disappeared often went to state institutions demanding to know what had happened to their children and where they were, but they were not getting a response. The process of meeting and organizing the mothers, who were experiencing the same pain and going to state institutions with the same demands, began with chance encounters in these institutions. In an interview with Nancy Saporta Sternbach and Zelia Brizeno, Hebe de Bonafini, one of the Plaza de Mayo mothers, described the process of how she met with other mothers,

We always ran into each other in the same places: the police, the Ministry of the Interior, and we would ask what the other had done. There must have been 13 or 14 of us who always saw each other. Finally, one day Azucena, the founder of the movement, said, "Let's go to the Plaza de Mayo. We'll write a letter to the president and we'll all sign it." She was the one who showed us how working together was more effective than working individually (Sternbach, Brizeno, & Bonafini, 1987, p. 18).

As Bonafini notes, the organization of the movement took place at the initiative of Azucena Villaflor. The mothers, who were determined to learn the fate of their children, met in the Plaza de Mayo on April 30, 1977, as they had agreed (Bellucci, 1999). However, during the junta regime, the military did not allow mass demonstrations and people to gather in the streets. The mothers, determined in their struggle, therefore decided on a course of action. They would walk around the Plaza de Mayo, they would not stand together, but they would not leave the square (CNDH

Mexico, 2020). The choice of the Plaza de Mayo as a meeting place was not an unconscious choice. It was the common point of many of the most important social struggles in the country's history (Bellucci, 1999). The mothers' choice of place would later give them considerable recognition. The mothers continued to meet on Thursdays every week and did their best to reach out to other mothers of the disappeared. Each of them visited houses in their own neighborhoods and nearby neighborhoods, in order to invite mothers to the Plaza de Mayo on Thursdays and to expand their struggle (Sternbach, Brizeno, & Bonafini, 1987). Of course, it is also important to underline the police violence that the mothers were subjected to, as they were attacked by the police at their first meeting and decided to march around the square. Not to mention their frequent imprisonment. However, none of the dictatorship's counter-attacks deterred the mothers from their struggle. In 1977, movement leaders Azucena, Esther de Balestrino and Mary Ponce shared the same fate with the disappeared and were kidnapped (CNDH Mexico, 2020). The mothers became anxious after this terrible event, but they never stopped meeting. In 1979, they formed an association led by Bonafini and organized and carried out a full day march in the Plaza de Mayo (CNDH Mexico, 2020).

The mothers had great difficulties in the face of kidnapping of their children, kidnapping of their leaders and police violence. Moreover, they did not have an office of their own until 1980 and rented their first office with financial support from Dutch women (Sternbach, Brizeno, & Bonafini, 1987). It is clear from this that the mothers were now gaining national and international recognition. Human rights organizations in different parts of the world were supporting the mothers in their struggle. At this point, we can say that the strategies followed by the mothers to gain recognition were significantly effective.

One of the steps taken by the mothers to make their voices be heard is to organize their protests to coincide with the visits of famous or important people to the country. When Terence Todman came to Argentina, the mothers protested, and Videla, who was uncomfortable with this situation, sent armed soldiers to disperse the mothers from the square (Bonafini, 1988). The resistance of the mothers at gunpoint and their refusal

to leave attracted the attention of Todman and all the journalists there, and soon the mothers' struggle for human rights gained international recognition.

Another event that contributed to the international recognition of the mothers was the World Football Cup matches played in Argentina in 1978 (Yılmaz, 2014). The non-violent actions of the mothers and their struggle for human rights attracted the attention of the media members who came to the country, and the photographs of the mothers with their struggle were published in newspapers in many countries around the world (Yılmaz, 2014). Another alternative way for the mothers to make their voices heard is to establish relations with human rights organizations in different countries, to visit the organizations and heads of state in those countries, participating in conferences and explaining their struggle. Through these methods, mothers have been able to make their voices heard around the world and have received significant support from human rights organizations. So much so that "Human rights groups began to help them open an office, publish their own newspapers and give speeches (Tufan, 2018). The struggles of the mothers of the Plaza de Mayo, as described above, have gained visibility and inspired mothers in other countries who have experienced similar suffering. Nora Cortiñas, one of the May Square mothers, in an interview with Mabel Bellucci, shows that mothers are now aware of the importance of the struggle in which they are actors,

We emerged out of a great tragedy, and that same tragedy gave birth to a political movement that extends beyond borders. We are a symbol of resistance throughout the world. In many Latin American and European countries, there are other Mothers who are also struggling. A few years ago, there was a World Mothers' Congress in Vienna. Apparently, capital and exploitation are not the only things being globalised in this era of neo-liberalism, but also forms of resistance (Bellucci, 1999, p. 87).

As Cortiñas said, forms of resistance are becoming global, and Plaza de Mayo mothers have a significant contribution to this. I mentioned that Argentinian mothers also organize mothers with similar pain outside their own country. One of the best examples of this is the Plaza de Mayo mothers organizing mothers in Turkey to learn the fate of their children who disappeared after the coup regime. As a matter of fact, Maria

Euquenía Mendizébal, one of the Argentinian mothers, came to Istanbul from Argentina to support the movement known as "Saturday Mothers" in Turkey (Yılmaz, 2014). By staying in contact not only with women in Turkey, but also with mothers who have disappeared in their own continent, where the Condor Plan is being carried out, as well as with women in Palestine, Lebanon, Israel and the former Yugoslavia, they both announce their own struggles to the world and support mothers in different parts of the world (Tufan, 2018).

4.2.2. Actors and Values of the Movement

We have already mentioned many times that the main actors of the movement were mothers who came together to find their missing children and get information from them. Especially in the early times of the movement, mothers were the sole actors in their protests, Nora Cortiñas notes that this was due to the time of the protests (Bellucci, 1999). The fact that the demonstrations coincided with working hours greatly restricted their husbands from attending the meetings in the Plaza de Mayo (Bellucci, 1999). The protracted nature of the mothers' struggles inevitably led to both a qualitative and quantitative increase in the number of participants. It is worth noting that many individuals, fathers, grandchildren and civil society organizations joined the movement (Yılmaz, 2014).

In terms of the profiles of the actors, there are differences on certain bases. Susana Muñoz and Lourdes Portillo, two of the mothers who participated in the first actions, note that most of the mothers were not literate and most of them came from towns outside Buenos Aires (Muñoz & Portillo, 1986). However, as time passed and the number of participants increased, the profile of the mothers changed. Some of the mothers began to study after their struggle for human rights began, such as Nora Cortiñas, Nora has completed a degree in social psychology and became head of the "Open Department of Economic Power and Human Rights" at the university (Bellucci, 1999, p. 87). On the other hand, the movement, which initially consisted mostly of village mothers, now "consists of about 85 percent urban mothers" (Yılmaz A. G., 2014, p. 68). It is also noteworthy that although most of the mothers are primary school

graduates, i.e. they have a low level of education, a significant number of them belong to the middle class (Yılmaz, 2014).

Despite having different class backgrounds and different political and religious views, the Plaza de Mayo mothers were able to put aside all their ideological differences and form a heterogeneous and autonomous movement, so much so that the mothers openly describe themselves as apolitical (Munoz & Portillo, 1986). "Although each of the mothers has very different political ideas, as a group they are non-partisan" (Munoz & Portillo, 1986, p. 24). In order to remain autonomous in their struggles, not to be divided, and to prioritize finding their children, mothers may not have brought their political ideology into their struggles in the first place. However, it is possible to say that a significant number of mothers have class consciousness. This is evident in interviews with both Cortiñas (1999) and Bonafini (1987). Bonafini sees all of the atrocities committed during the junta regime as class struggles and emphasizes that those responsible are all members of the ruling class who sought to oppress the lower classes (Sternbach, Brizenno, & Bonafini, 1987).

The mothers, who became political subjects after the tragic events they lived through, initially carried out their struggle in the field of human rights. I have already mentioned that the Videla administration's disregard for human rights and violation of the most basic human rights, such as the right to life, constituted one of the main dynamics of the Plaza de Mayo struggle. Naturally, the values of the mothers included values such as "justice", "truth", and "life" (CNDH Mexico, 2020). Later, as their struggles strengthened and expanded, mothers also supported and participated in other resistance groups in other areas. In other words, they also expanded their values. Mothers have shown significant support for the LGBT movement, the student movement, the movement of the poor, the working class and the *Piqueteros* (Bellucci, 1999; Sternbach, Brizenno, & Bonafini, 1987). Bonafini explains the expansion of the values defended by the Plaza de Mayo mothers by saying that "after what we have been through, it is impossible that our values have not changed radically" (Sternbach, Brizenno, & Bonafini, 1987). On the other hand, there is a debate on whether this movement is a feminist movement or not. On the one hand, there are those among

feminists who see the May Square Mothers' movement as a movement that weakens the women's struggle because mothers do not break away from the traditional roles attributed to them in the patriarchal social order and even directly participate in the struggle with their identity as mothers (Yılmaz, 2014). There are those on the other side who see the movement as a feminist movement because of its important role in women's empowerment (Yılmaz, 2014). However, it is the mothers who will give the real answer to this issue; what mothers see themselves as is important here. And mothers clearly state that they base their identity on traditional roles and that it is not a feminist movement (Bellucci, 1999; Sternbach, Brizeno, & Bonafini, 1987).

4.2.3. Evaluation of *Las Madres de Plaza de Mayo* vis-a-vis the Break and Continuity Theories

Although it is accepted that NSMs did not emerge in response to economic and political developments (Çayır, 2016) the struggles of *Las Madres de Plaza de Mayo* are directly rooted in the political crisis environment of Argentina in the 1970s. Moreover, class-conscious mothers are aware that class conflicts in the country played a role in the disappearance of their children. Therefore, the organizing of this movement can be included in the old movements as it has a political motive at its core.

However, the *Plaza de Mayo* movement is also directly included in the NSM category when the main actor is taken into consideration, because it is clearly an identity-based movement formed by mothers. Returning to the NSM theory, according to Claus Offe (1985) one of the prominent features of the new middle class, which is the actor of NSMs, is that it is composed of educated people. However, most of the mothers participating in the movement are people with low levels of education (Yılmaz, 2014). Low educational attainment is a characteristic usually attributed to the actors of class movements. Therefore, the Plaza de Mayo movement can be included in the NSM category due to its identity-based nature and the fact that most of the mothers belonged to the middle class, while it can be included in the old movement category due to the mothers' level of education. If this movement could be categorized only because of the form of action, then it would be an example of a truly new social movement. The white

clothes that the mothers tied around their heads with the names of their missing people on them became the symbol of their movement (Yılmaz, 2014). The mothers, who met every Thursday in the Plaza de Mayo with these white clothes tied around their heads, adopted this non-violent form of action known as civil disobedience (Yılmaz, 2014). This is precisely the characteristic attributed to NSMs. Lastly, when we consider the values of the movement, in the beginning, the mothers adopted values such as justice, truth, and the right to life, all related to human rights (CNDH Mexico, 2020). And they fought their struggle in line with these values. Since it was a long-term struggle, different values and themes began to be added to the values and themes of the movement. Mothers became involved in the struggles of the working class and *piqueteros*, which are considered more class struggles, as well as the queer movement and student movements (Bellucci, 1999; Sternbach, Brizeno, & Bonafini, 1987). Therefore, it added new ones to its field of struggle and values. Within the framework of OSM and NSM, we can consider the May Square movement as a NSMy movement due to the values it adopted in its early stages. However, when we consider its later struggles and values, we cannot include this movement in any category because they are both values belonging to class struggle and values attributed to identity-based groups.

Some scholars working on social movements in the social sciences literature try to put the movement they study into certain molds in order to make more clear determinations. This is the reason why the interviews given by the mothers about their struggles and the studies on the movement do not exactly coincide. Even though the mothers explicitly state that they are not feminists, many studies have subsumed the movement under feminism or women's struggle, when it is clearly a movement in which the identity of the mother is prominent. However, the maternal identity of mothers who are human rights activists is not treated independently like other identity-based movements, but often in relation to the women's struggle. And it does even though mothers and women are struggling with different themes and demands. For this reason, it is important to repeat that since the actors of social movements are society – that is, a dynamic structure – it is quite problematic to categorize movements as old movements or new movements. Likewise, it is problematic to talk about a break

between social movements. As seen in the Plaza de Mayo movement, although at first glance the movement fits the profile of a new movement, it also has characteristics attributed to old movements. For this reason, in order to get more productive results and better analysis from social movement studies, cases should always be handled with an understanding of "continuity" within the framework of their uniqueness and the political, economic and social dynamics in which they were formed.



CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

Since the 1960s, political, economic and technological developments have brought significant changes in the structure of social movements. Accordingly, sociological studies on social movements have also increased. However, the increase in interest in social movements has been justified on different grounds. For example, Buechler attributes the increase in studies in the field to the cultural turn in social sciences (Buechler, 2016), Peoples attributes this to the rise of social activism (Peoples, 2019), and Young attributes this to the inclusion of Marxism in university education and the adoption of Marxist understanding by students (Young, 1999).

The new social movements theory, which is the product of the increase in social movement studies and analyses in social sciences, challenges the old paradigm and argues that new movements have significant differences from old movements and that Marxism, that is, the old movement theory framework, is insufficient to explain new social movements. Taking this claim one step further, some theorists argue that the values and themes of the old movements belonging to the industrial era have radically changed with the transition to the post-industrial era, and that the working class, class conflict and class struggle have disappeared. This thesis is based on precisely these arguments. Although the thesis recognises that significant political, economic, technological and social developments have led to changes in the structure of movements, it argues that the characteristics of old movements can also be found in new movements and that there is continuity rather than a sharp break between movements. In order to make the relationship of continuity visible, the *Piqueteros* and *Las Madres de Plaza de Mayo* movements, both of which are long-lasting movements with a significant place in the history of social struggle in Argentina, are analysed as cases. The cases are important - especially for this thesis - because they share the

characteristics of both old and new movements, as well as bringing prefigurative experiences into the repertoire of action and significantly influencing subsequent waves of social movements - such as the anti-austerity and alter-globalisation movements - and being founding movements.

Historical Materialism, in particular, provides a suitable methodological ground for realising the aims of the research and presenting critical analyses. The structure of the new social movements, which removes the class struggle from its agenda and instead emphasises identities and non-materialist post-materialist values, isolates the movements from the economic and political developments of the period in which they take place, which eliminates the possibility of analysing the movements on an accurate and sound basis. For this reason, in this thesis, the cases of new social movements are analysed by establishing social, political and economic relationalities by emphasising the relations between ‘things’ (Ollman, 2003) with Marxism’s understanding that “‘history is never the development of one or two isolated elements” (Ollman, 2003, p. 15). Thus, contrary to the theorists who argue that there is a break between the old and new social movements in the cases examined, it has been revealed that the oppressive and undemocratic practices of military dictatorship regimes and the economic policies of the neoliberal government have direct effects on both identity formation and the mobilisation process of identities.

The analyses of the study are based on the typology of new social movement theories formulated by Steven M. Buechler (1995). Recognising that there are differences among new social movement theorists, Buechler divided new movement theories into two categories: cultural and political (Buechler, 1995). According to the cultural version, there is a break between the old and new movements in terms of sets of analyses such as goals, themes and actors. According to the political version, there are continuities between the old and the new, especially in terms of class. While continuity theorists do not reject the working class, they claim that the new social movement actors consist of a broad coalition of ‘new middle class’. Moreover, while break theorists see the societal totality of the movements as the information society, continuity theorists see it as advanced capitalism (Buechler, 1995). Selected cases

from Argentina have also been analysed within the framework of this typology and similar categorisations, and certain findings have been made, showing that there is continuity between movements. However, there are points where both movement theories fall short in defining some of the characteristics of the movements. After mentioning the findings of the thesis, the shortcomings of the old and new social movement theories will be discussed and suggestions will be made on contemporary movement waves that challenge the new social movements paradigm.

The first finding is that according to the cultural wing of new social movement theories, the argument that the movements that emerged after the 1970s were not a reaction to economic and political developments is not an argument applicable to all cases. Indeed, when we examine the *Piqueteros* movement, it is seen that the movement was formulated directly against the austerity policies implemented after the Argentine 2001 economic crisis, the precarious employment model of neoliberalism, privatisation and the foreign dependence of the Argentine economy. Naturally, the demands and values of the movement - such as the suspension of debts to international organisations such as the IMF, a return to a state interventionist economic model, and an end to austerity policies (Petras, 2001) - are also based on economic grounds. At this point, it is concluded that the unemployed movement emerged as a direct reaction to the economic developments in the country and, due to its materialist values, it constitutes a continuity between the old and the new. On the other hand, when we look at the formation of the May Square Mothers' movement, we observe that the movement is directly related to the military coup in 1976 and the implementation of the Condor Plan by the military dictatorship regime. In this respect, the May Square Mothers share the experiences of the old and new movements. However, the themes and values of this movement, which was formulated in line with political developments, point to a break with the old movements in terms of carrying post-materialist values such as social justice and democracy. Nevertheless, it should be noted that the long-term struggle of the movement has expanded its range of themes and values by including material values from time to time in the following years. Secondly, in this thesis, it has been argued that the argument of the break theorists that the working class remained in the industrial period, and in this context, the class struggle in social movements was

replaced by identity-based struggles, is not an argument applicable to all cases too. As a result of the case studies, it was concluded that the unemployed point to the formation of a new identity, but the movement includes actors of both old and new movements. The fact that the unemployed who were laid off after the crisis come directly from the old working class struggle and the presence of labour unions in the movement points to the old-new continuity. Moreover, the structure of the movement against the capitalist system and the existence of a class struggle between the capitalists and the victims of the crisis are also evident. In the May Square Mothers' movement, it is not possible to talk directly about the existence of the working class and class struggle. However, some of the mothers were class-conscious and stated that the class conflict between the political power and the lower class was effective in the emergence of their movement.

Both the *Piqueteros* movement and the *Las Madres de Plaza de Mayo* movement, as seen above, are not two movements that can be categorised as a single social movement or that can only be compressed into the conjuncture in which they were founded and then suddenly fizzled out. These movements can be characterised as founding movements in the sense that they carry experiences from both old and new movements, sharing prefigurative experiences that will inspire future movements. For example, the *Piqueteros* movement's occupation of public space, blocking strategic roads, establishing assemblies where participatory democracy is adopted, wanting to apply horizontal relations within the movement to social relations, 'creating community kitchens', 'planting organic gardens' (Sitrin, 2016, p. 10) are all examples of prefigurative experiences. This organisational structure and strategy of the *Piqueteros* inspired the Occupy Wall Street (OWS) movement, a contemporary movement in which prefigurative politics matured. Marina Sitrin states that *Piqueteros* is the direct predecessor of the OWS movement (Sitrin, 2016, p. 6).

On the other hand, the May Square Mothers influenced, organised and inspired subsequent movements in many ways. According to early theorists of new social movements, the human rights theme can be categorised as a new movement because of its post-materialist values. However, this is not where the novelty of the May Square

Mothers movement lies. Opposing the institutionalised violence of the military dictatorship is nothing new. What is new in this movement is the identity of the mothers, their organisation of a spontaneous movement in a strategic public space and the horizontal hierarchy of the organisational structure. On the other hand, the mothers have made great efforts to keep their movement autonomous. In their long struggle, apart from the theme of human rights, they joined different segments of civil society, the middle classes, students, the unemployed and other movements that were formulated to improve the social order, but in order to preserve the autonomy and identity of the movement, they did not recruit members other than mothers. The May Square mothers have other characteristics that enable them to be analysed under the new movement category. These include their choice of civil disobedience as a form of action, gaining recognition by carrying out their actions in strategic public spaces, and developing collective awareness. The May Square mothers can also be seen as a founding movement in terms of influencing the movements that came after them. They did this themselves. Through the networks they established, they organised mothers seeking justice in other countries. The most well-known example of this is the Saturday Mothers in Turkey. The Saturday Mothers were organised by the May Square Mothers. May Square Mothers can be considered as new social movements in terms of organising transnational movements, creating a mother identity and many other aspects (Bosco, 2006; Bellucci, 1999; Bonafini, 1988; Yılmaz A. G., 2014).

As seen in the cases analysed, the *Piqueteros* movement shows continuities at many points rather than breaks between old and new movements, while the May Square Mothers seem to fit more into the category of new social movements. Nevertheless, these types of movements, which are seen as new, somehow share experiences with old movements. For this reason, the theoretical framework offered by break theorists is quite inadequate in understanding and analysing the movements. For example, it is claimed that NSMs are reformist movements while OSMs are revolutionary movements that want to seize power. However, the fact that the unemployed movement is divided into both reformist and revolutionary wings does not make it possible to categorise this characteristic of the movement. For this reason, categorising social movements as old-new movements and evaluating them within inflexible

frameworks does not seem very accurate due to the dynamic structure of society. At this point, it is necessary to realise that continuities can be established between social movements that emerged in different periods with different demands and values, and to overcome the old-new dichotomy. The studies that have emerged after the anti-austerity and alter-globalisation movements, which were inspired by the prefigurative experiences of the unemployed movement, make important contributions to the literature in order to overcome this dichotomy. One of these contributions has been made by Donatella della Porta with her book 'Social Movements in Times of Austerity' (2015).

As explained in the theoretical framework of the study, new social movement theories criticised the old social movements and thus Marxism for not focusing on the 'how' of movements. For this reason, NSM theories, which focus on the mobilisation process and the formation of identities, exclude the political and economic structure in which the dynamics of movements are formed. Donatella della Porta associates this with the understanding that with the transition to the post-industrial era, the economic no longer dominates social life (della-Porta, 2015). Accordingly, many aspects of class were pacified in social movement studies and class was left out of the analysis in new movement studies. However, the process of globalisation, which gained momentum in parallel with the rise of neoliberalism in the 1980s, brought with it the need to bring capitalism and class back into social movement studies - especially in the face of the inadequacy of new social movement theories, and especially the cultural/break wing of these theories.

The socio-economic damage caused by neoliberal globalisation on large sections of society has given rise to anti-austerity movements, now known as contemporary movements (della-Porta, 2015). While the actors of the old social movements and the new social movements consisted of the working class during the industrial period and the new middle class afterwards, the anti-neoliberalism and anti-austerity movements encompass a much wider range of actors and define their actors as the 'Losers of Globalisation' (della-Porta, 2015). The fact that the actors of the anti-austerity movement define themselves as the 99% shows that their struggle is in fact a class

struggle. By bringing back materialist values to social movements, this movement also shows that it embraces post-materialist values by fighting against injustice and the undermining of democracy under neoliberal and repressive governments (della-Porta, 2015). On the other hand, contemporary movements demand a participatory and deliberative democratic structure through prefigurative experiences, as seen in the unemployed movement, and this is reflected in their organisational structure (della-Porta, 2015). The origin of participatory deliberative democracy in social movements lies in the wave of social movements that preceded the anti-austerity movements, the Global Justice Movement, which is identified with the European Social Forums, the European branch of the first World Social Forum established after the Porta Allegre meetings. It takes this form of democracy, which is practised in decision-making and action processes within the forum, out of the forums and into the squares (della-Porta, 2015). Just like the *Piqueteros* movement. Finally, it should be noted that the hierarchical structure of the old social movements and the network model of the NSMs do not fit contemporary movements (della-Porta, 2015).

It would not be wrong to say that the continuities argued throughout the thesis and demonstrated through the cases examined are visible in contemporary movements - especially in the alter-globalisation, anti-neoliberalism and anti-austerity movements. There is continuity in contemporary movements, just as there is between old and new social movements. While commonalities and continuities can be established with old movements on the capitalist system, exploitation relations, class, class struggle and materialist values, continuities can also be established between contemporary movements and new social movements on the basis of organisational structure and post-materialist values. In this regard, it would not be wrong to say that claiming that there is a break between the emerging waves of social movements and conducting studies with this rationality will produce misleading results.

As a result, as it has been said before, within the capitalist system the dominant sector changes, the types of work change, the relations of production, the level of exploitation, the source of profit change, but the class continues to exist in power relations. Because these power relations are maintained by the capitalist class in its

favour. Just as the current conjuncture created its own movement, i.e. the working class movement, when agriculture was predominantly agricultural and the industrial sector was switched to the industrial sector, the conditions brought identity-based movements to the fore when the industrial sector was switched to the services sector. The beginning of neoliberal globalisation also brought anti-austerity movements to the fore. In the following years, perhaps a different sector, new types of work, new forms of employment, new political crises-developments, or new identities will emerge. Depending on these, new problems will become dominant and new types of struggles and movements will emerge, but all movements that have not yet achieved their goal will continue their struggle in class relations and in the functioning of everyday life, regardless of old and new. In other words, economic and political structure should not be isolated from social movements studies, should not be compressed into certain theoretical frameworks and should be associated with every factor that can affect the social structure. In this direction, in order to make more qualified and useful analyses, it is recommended that social movements should be examined both at the macro and micro levels, taking into account the economic, political and social structure of the environment in which they are formed. Doing so is also important in order to reveal the uniqueness of the movements.

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A. TURKISH SUMMARY/TÜRKÇE ÖZET

Mario Diani, toplumsal hareketlerin farklı tanımlarını analiz ederek ve bazı ortak noktalar ve benzerlikler bularak toplumsal hareketleri "... paylaşılan kolektif kimlikler temelinde siyasi veya kültürel çatışmalara giren çok sayıda birey, grup ve/veya örgüt arasındaki enformel etkileşim ağları" (Diani, 1992, p. 1) olarak tanımlamıştır. Kapsayıcı olması amaçlanan bu tanım, özellikle 1960'lardan sonra ortaya çıkan yeni toplumsal hareketleri (NSM'ler) tanımlamak için oldukça yeterlidir. Ancak, endüstriyel dönemin toplumsal hareketleri için çok da yeterli değildir. Eski toplumsal hareketler (OSM) olarak bilinen bu hareketler devrim, sınıf, sınıf çıkarı ve anti-kapitalist olarak nitelendirilmektedir (Buechler, 2016). O halde Diani'nin tanımı 20. yüzyılın son çeyreğindeki hareketler için makuldür. Toplumsal hareketlerin tek bir kapsayıcı tanımını yapmak oldukça zordur. Bu durum, toplumsal hareketlere ilişkin hem benzer hem de çok farklı teorilerin varlığına bağlanabilir.

Sosyolojinin bir disiplin olarak kurulmasından önceki dönemden başlayarak günümüze kadar toplumsal hareketleri anlamak ve analiz etmek için birçok toplumsal hareket teorisi geliştirilmiştir. Bu teoriler arasında Kalabalıklar Yaklaşımı, Marksist Teori, Kaynak Mobilizasyonu Teorisi, Kolektif Davranış Teorisi, Yeni Sosyal Hareketler Teorisi vb. yer almaktadır (Almeida, 2019). 1960'lı yıllardan itibaren yaşanan politik, ekonomik ve teknolojik gelişmelerin toplumsal hareketlerin yapısında önemli değişiklikleri de beraberinde getirdi. Buna bağlı olarak toplumsal hareketlere yönelik sosyolojik çalışmalar da artış yaşandı. Ne var ki toplumsal hareketlere ilginin artışı farklı gerekçelerle temellendirilmiştir. Örneğin, Buechler alana yönelik yapılan incelemelerdeki artışı sosyal bilimlerdeki kültürel dönüşe bağlarken (Buechler, 2016), Peoples bu durumu toplumsal aktivizmin yükselişine (Peoples, 2019) Young ise üniversitelerde eğitime Marxizmin dahil edilmesini ve Marxist anlayışın öğrenciler tarafından benimsenmesine bağlar (Young, 1999).

Sosyal bilimlerde toplumsal hareket incelemelerinin ve analizlerinin artmasının ürünü olan yeni toplumsal hareketler teorisi eski paradigmaya meydan okuyarak yeni

hareketlerin eski hareketlerden önemli farklılıklara sahip olduğunu ve Marxizmin yani eski hareket teorisi çerçevesinin yeni toplumsal hareketleri açıklamada yetersiz olduğunu öne sürmektedir. Bu iddiayı bir adım daha ileri götüren bazı teorisyenler ise endüstriyel döneme ait eski hareketlerin değer ve temalarının post-endüstriyel döneme geçişle birlikte radikal bir şekilde değiştiğini hatta işçi sınıfının, sınıf çatışmasının ve bununla ilişkili olarak sınıf mücadelesinin ortadan kalktığını ileri sürerler. Bu tezin çıkış noktası da tam olarak bu argümanlarına dayanmaktadır. Tez önemli politik, ekonomik, teknolojik ve toplumsal gelişmelerin hareketlerin yapısında değişiklikler yarattığını kabul etse eski hareketlere ait özelliklerin yeni hareketlerin içerisinde de bulunabileceğini, hareketler arasında keskin bir kopuştan ziyade devamlılık olduğunu savunmaktadır. Devamlılık ilişkisini görünür kılabilmek için Arjantin'in toplumsal mücadele tarihinde önemli yere sahip ve uzun soluklu hareketler olan *Piqueteros* ve *Las Madres de Plaza de Mayo* hareketleri vaka olarak incelenmiştir. Vakalar hem eski hem yeni hareketlerin karakterlerini paylaşmasının yanı sıra prefigurative deneyimleri eylem repertuarına kazandırması ve kendisinden sonra gelen toplumsal hareket dalgalarını – anti-austerity, alter-globalization hareketleri gibi – önemli ölçüde etkilediği ve kurucu hareketler niteliği taşıdığı için – özellikle bu tez için – önem arz etmektedir.

Özellikle Historical Materialism araştırmanın amaçlarını gerçekleştirmek ve eleştirel analizler sunabilmek için uygun bir metodolojik zemin sunmaktadır. Yeni toplumsal hareketlerin sınıf mücadelesini agendısından çıkararak, onun yerine kimliklere ve maddi olmayan post-materyalist değerlere vurgu yapan yapısının hareketleri içinde bulundukları dönemin ekonomik ve politik gelişmelerinden soyutlaması hareketleri doğru ve sağlam bir temelde analiz etme olanağını ortadan kaldırır. Bu sebeple tezde Marxism'in “tarih hiçbir zaman bir ya da iki izole unsurun gelişimi değildir” (Ollman, 2003, p. 15) anlayışıyla “şeyler” (Ollman, 2003) arasındaki ilişkiler vurgulanarak ele alınan yeni toplumsal hareket vakaları toplumsal, siyasal ve ekonomik temelde ilişkisellikler kurularak incelenmiştir.

Böylece, incelenen vakalarda eski ve yeni toplumsal hareketler arasında kopuş olduğunu savunan teorisyenlerin aksine hem kimlik oluşumunda hem de kimliklerin

mobilize olma sürecinde askeri diktatörlük rejimlerinin baskıcı ve demokratik olmayan uygulamalarıyla, neoliberal hükümetin ekonomi politikalarının doğrudan etkileri olduğu ortaya konmuştur.

Çalışmanın incelemeleri ve analizleri Steven M. Buechler (1995) tarafından formüle edilen yeni toplumsal hareketler teorileri tipolojisine dayanılarak yapılmıştır. Yeni toplumsal hareket teorisyenleri arasında farklılaşmalar olduğunu fark eden Buechler yeni hareket teorilerini kültürel ve siyasal olmak üzere iki kategoriye ayırmıştır (Buechler, 1995). Kültürel versiyona göre eski ve yeni hareketler arasında amaçlar, temalar, aktörler gibi analiz setleri gözetildiğinde bir kopuş söz konusudur. Political versiyona göre ise eski ve yeni arasında özellikle sınıf konusu üzerinden devamlılıklar bulunmaktadır. Devamlılık teorisyenleri işçi sınıfını reddetmemekle birlikte, yeni toplumsal hareket aktörlerinin geniş bir “yeni orta sınıf” koalisyonundan oluştuğunu iddia ederler (Buechler, 1995). Dahası kopuş teorisyenleri hareketlerin toplumsal bütünlüğünü bilgi toplumu olarak görürken devamlılık teorisyenleri ileri capitalism olarak görür (Buechler, 1995). Arjantin’den seçilen vakalar da bu ve buna benzer kategorilendirmeler yapan tipoloji çerçevesinde değerlendirilmiş ve belli başlı bulgulara ulaşarak hareketler arasında devamlılık olduğunu ortaya koymuştur. Ne var ki, her iki hareket teorisinin hareketlerin bazı özelliklerini tanımlamada yetersiz kaldığı noktalar bulunmaktadır. Tezin bulgularına değindikten sonra eski ve yeni toplumsal hareket teorilerinin eksikliklerinden bahsedilecek ve yeni toplumsal hareketler paradigmasına meydan okuyan çağdaş hareket dalgaları üzerinden önerilerde bulunulacaktır.

Elde edilen ilk bulgu, yeni toplumsal hareket teorilerinin kültürel kanadına göre 1970’li yıllardan sonra ortaya çıkan hareketlerin ekonomik ve politik gelişmelere bir tepki olmadığı argümanının tüm vakalara uygulanabilir bir argüman olmadığı yönündedir. Nitekim, *Piqueteros* hareketini incelediğimizde, hareketin doğrudan Arjantin 2001 ekonomik krizi sonrası uygulanan kemer sıkma politikalarına, neoliberalizmin güvencesiz istihdam modeline, özelleştirmelerine ve Arjantin ekonomisinin dışa bağımlılığına karşı formüle olduğu görülmektedir. Doğal olarak hareketin talepleri ve değerleri de - IMF gibi uluslararası kuruluşlara borçların askıya

alınması, devlet müdahaleci ekonomik modele dönüş, kemer sıkma politikalarının sona erdirilmesi gibi (Petras, 2001) - ekonomik temelde yükselmiştir. Bu noktada işsizler hareketinin doğrudan ülkedeki ekonomik gelişmelere tepki olarak çıktığı ve materyalist değerlere sahip olmasından dolayı eski-yeni arasında bir devamlılık teşkil ettiği sonucuna varılmıştır. Diğer yandan Mayıs Meydanı Anneleri hareketinin oluşumuna baktığımızda hareketin doğrudan 1976 yılında yapılan askeri darbeye ve askeri diktatörlük rejiminin uygulamaya koyduğu Condor Planıyla ilgili olduğu gözlemlenmiştir. Bu doğrultuda Mayıs Meydanı anneleri de eski ve yeni hareket deneyimlerini paylaşmaktadır. Lakin, politik gelişmelere bağlı olarak formüle olan bu hareketin tema ve değerleri sosyal adalet, demokrasi gibi post-materyalist değerleri taşıması açısından eski hareketlerden kopuşa işaret etmektedir. Yine de belirtmek gerekir ki hareketin uzun soluklu mücadelesi ilerleyen yıllarda maddi değerleri de zaman zaman içine alarak tema ve değer yelpazesini genişletmiştir.

İkinci olarak, bu tezde kopuş teorisyenlerinin işçi sınıfının endüstriyel dönemde kaldığı, bu bağlamda toplumsal hareketlerde sınıf mücadelesinin yerini kimlik temelli mücadelelere bıraktığı argümanının da tüm vakalara uygulanabilir bir argüman olmadığı iddia edilmiştir. Yapılan vaka incelemeleri sonucunda ise işsizlerin yeni bir kimlik oluşumuna işaret ettiği lakin hareketin içinde hem eski hareketlerin hem de yeni hareketlerin aktörlerini barındırdığı sonucuna ulaşılmıştır. Krizden sonra işten çıkarılan işsizlerin doğrudan eski işçi sınıfı mücadelesinin içinden gelmeleri, işçi sendikalarının hareket içindeki varlığı da eski-yeni devamlılığına işaret etmektedir. Ayrıca, hareketin kapitalist sisteme karşı olan yapısı ve kapitalistlerle krizin mağdurları arasında bir sınıf mücadelesinin söz konusu olduğu da aşıkardır. Mayıs Meydanı Anneleri hareketi içerisinde ise doğrudan işçi sınıfının varlığından ve sınıf mücadelesinden bahsetmek pek mümkün değildir. Lakin, annelerin bazıları sınıf bilincine sahip olduğundan, hareketlerinin ortaya çıkmasında siyasal iktidarla alt sınıf arasında yaşanan sınıf çatışmasının etkili olduğunu belirtmişlerdir.

Gerek *Piqueteros* hareketi gerekse *Las Madres de Plaza de Mayo* hareketi, yukarıda da görüldüğü üzere, tek bir toplumsal hareket olarak kategorize edilebilecek ya da sadece kuruldukları konjonktür içerisine sıkıştırılabilecek ve aniden sönümlenen iki

hareket değildir. Bu hareketler hem eski hem de yeni hareketlerden deneyimler taşımaları, gelecekteki hareketlere ilham verecek prefigüratif deneyimleri paylaşmaları anlamında kurucu hareketler olarak nitelendirilebilirler. Örneğin *Piqueteros* hareketinin kamusal alanı işgal etmesi, stratejik yolları kapatması, katılımcı demokrasinin benimsendiği meclisler kurması, hareket içindeki yatay ilişkileri toplumsal ilişkilere uygulamak istemesi, “halk mutfakları yaratması”, “organik bahçeler ekmesi” (Sitrin, 2016, p. 10) hep prefigüratif deneyimlere örnektir. *Piqueteros*'un tüm bu örgütsel yapısı ve stratejisi, prefigüratif siyasetin olgunlaştığı çağdaş hareket örneklerinden Occupy Wall Street (OWS) hareketine ilham vermiştir. Marina Sitrin, *Piqueteros*'un OWS hareketinin doğrudan öncülü olduğunu belirtmektedir (Sitrin, 2016, p. 8).

Öte yandan, Mayıs Meydanı Anneleri sonraki hareketleri de birçok yönden etkilemiş, örgütlemiş ve onlara ilham vermiştir. Yeni toplumsal hareketlerin ilk teorisyenlerine göre, insan hakları teması post-materyalist değerleri nedeniyle yeni bir hareket olarak kategorize edilebilir. Ancak Mayıs Meydanı Anneleri hareketinin yeniliği buradan kaynaklanmıyor. Askeri diktatörlüğün kurumsallaşmış şiddetine karşı çıkmak yeni bir şey değil. Bu harekette yeni olan annelerin kimliği, stratejik bir kamusal alanda spontane bir hareket örgütlemeleri ve örgütsel yapının yatay hiyerarşisidir. Öte yandan anneler hareketlerini özerk kalması için büyük çaba sarf ettiler. Uzun soluklu mücadelelerinde, insan hakları teması dışında, sivil toplumun farklı kesimlerinin, orta sınıfların, öğrencilerin, işsizlerin ve toplumsal düzenin iyileştirilmesi için formüle edilen diğer hareketlere katılmış olsalar da, hareketin özerkliğini ve kimliğini korumak için anneler dışında üye almamışlardır. Mayıs Meydanı annelerinin yeni hareket kategorisi altında analiz edilmelerini sağlayan başka özellikleri de vardır. Bunlar arasında sivil itaatsizliği bir eylem biçimi olarak seçmeleri, eylemlerini stratejik kamusal alanlarda gerçekleştirerek tanınırlık kazanmaları ve kolektif farkındalık geliştirmeleri sayılabilir. Mayıs Meydanı anneleri, kendilerinden sonra gelen hareketleri etkilemeleri açısından da kurucu bir hareket olarak görülebilir. Bunu kendileri yaptılar. Kurdukları ağlar aracılığıyla diğer ülkelerde de adalet arayan anneleri örgütlediler. Bunun en bilinen örneği Türkiye'deki Cumartesi Anneleri'dir. Cumartesi Anneleri, Mayıs Meydanı Anneleri tarafından örgütlendi. Mayıs Meydanı

Anneleri ulus ötesi hareketleri örgütleme, anne kimliği oluşturma ve daha birçok açıdan yeni toplumsal hareketler olarak değerlendirilebilir (Bosco, 2006; Bellucci, 1999; Bonafini, 1988; Yılmaz A. G., 2014).

İncelenen vakalarda görüldüğü üzere *Piqueteros* hareketi eski ve yeni hareketler arasında kopuştan ziyade birçok noktada süreklilikler gösterirken Mayıs Meydanı Anneleri daha çok yeni toplumsal hareketler kategorisine uygun görünmektedir. Yine de yeni olarak görülen bu hareket türleri eski hareketlerle bir şekilde deneyimler paylaşmaktadır. Bu sebeple kopuş teorisyenlerini tarafından sunulan teorik çerçeve hareketleri anlama da ve analiz etmede oldukça yetersiz kalmaktadır. Örnek vermek gerekirse NSM'lerin reformist hareketler olduğu OSM'lerin ise iktidar gücünü ele geçirmek isteyen revolutionary hareketler olduğu iddia edilir. Ne var ki işsizler hareketinin kendi içinde hem reformist hem de devrimci kanada ayrılmış olması hareketin bu karakteristiğinin kategorilendirilmesini pek mümkün kılmıyor. Bu sebeple toplumsal hareketleri eski-yeni hareketler olarak sınıflandırmak ve esnek olmayan çerçeveler içerisinde değerlendirmek toplumun dinamik yapısından dolayı çok doğru görünmemektedir. Bu noktada artık farklı dönemlerde farklı taleplerle ve değerlerle ortaya çıkmış toplumsal hareketler arasında devamlılıklar kurulabileceğinin farkına varmak ve eski-yeni ikiliğini aşmak gerekiyor. İşsizler hareketinin özellikle prefigüratif deneyimlerinden ilham alan anti-austerity ve alter-globalization hareketlerinden sonra ortaya konan çalışmalar bu ikiliğin aşılabilmesi için literature önemli katkılarda bulunmaktadır. Bu katkılardan birini de “Social Movements in Times of Austerity” (2015) kitabıyla Donatella della Porta yapmıştır.

Çalışmanın teorik çerçevesinde aktarıldığı üzere yeni toplumsal hareketler teorileri eski toplumsal hareketleri ve dolayısıyla Marxism'i hareketlerin “nasıl” ına odaklanmadıkları için eleştirmektedir. Bu sebeple mobilizasyon sürecine ve kimliklerin oluşum süreçlerine ağırlık veren NSM teorileri hareketlerin dinamiklerinin oluştuğu politik ve ekonomik yapıyı analiz dışı bırakmaktaydı. Donatella della Porta bu durumu konu üzerine yapılan çalışmaların post-endüstriyel döneme geçişle birlikte ekonomik olanın toplumsal hayat üzerindeki egemenliğinin kalmadığı anlayışıyla ilişkilendirmektedir (della-Porta, 2015). Buna bağlı olarak toplumsal hareket

alışmalarında sınıfa dair pek ok Őey de pasifize edilmiŐ, yeni hareket alışmalarında sınıf analiz dıŐı bırakılmıŐtı. Ancak, 1980’li yıllarla birlikte neoliberalizmin ykseliŐine paralel olarak ivme kazanan kreselleŐme sreci toplumsal hareket alışmalarına kapitalizmin ve sınıf olgusunun geri getirilmesi ihtiyaını da - yeni toplumsal hareket teorilerinin zellikle de bu teorilerinin kltrel/kopuŐ kanadının yetersiz kalması karŐısında – beraberinde getirmiŐtir.

Neoliberal kreselleŐmenin toplumun geniŐ kesimleri zerinde yarattıŐı sosyoekonomik tahribat gnmzde aėdaŐ hareketler olarak bilinen kemer sıkma karŐıtı hareketleri ortaya ıkarmıŐtır (della-Porta, 2015). Eski toplumsal hareketler ve yeni toplumsal hareketlerin aktrleri endstriyel dnemde iŐi sınıfından sonrasında ise yeni orta sınıftan oluŐuyorken neoliberalizm karŐıtı ve kemer sıkma karŐıtı hareketler ok daha geniŐ bir aktr yelpazesini kapsıyor ve aktrleri “KreselleŐmenin Kaybedenleri” olarak tanımlıyor (della-Porta, 2015). Kemer sıkma karŐıtı hareketinin aktrleri kendilerini %99 olarak tanımlamaları aslında mcadelelerinin bir sınıf mcadelesi olduėunu gsteriyor. Toplumsal hareketlere materialist deėerleri geri getiren bu hareket aynı zamanda adaletsizliėe, demokrasinin neoliberal ve baskıcı hkmetler altında baltalanmasına karŐı mcadele ederek post-materyalist deėerleri de benimsediėini gsteriyor (della-Porta, 2015). Diėer yandan aėdaŐ hareketler iŐsizler hareketinde grldė zere prefigratif deneyimlerle katılımcı ve mzakereci bir demokratik yapı talep ediyor ve rgt yapısına da bunu yansıtıyor (della-Porta, 2015). Toplumsal hareketlerde katılımcı-mzakereci demokrasinin orijini kemer sıkma karŐıtı hareketlerden nce gelen toplumsal hareket dalgası olan ve Porta Allegre toplantıları sonrasında kurulan ilk Dnya Sosyal Forumu’nun Avrupa ayaėı olan Avrupa Sosyal Forumlarıyla zdeŐleŐmiŐ Kresel Adalet Hareketi’nde yatıyor. Forum iinde karar alma ve eylem srelerinde uygulanan bu demokrasi biimini forumların iinden ıkararak meydanlara taşıyor (della-Porta, 2015). Aynı *Piqueteros* hareketinde olduėu gibi. Son olarak, eski toplumsal hareketlerin hiyerarŐık yapısı ve yeni toplumsal hareketlerin aė modeli aėdaŐ hareketlere uymadıėını belirtmek gerekir (della-Porta, 2015). Bakıldıėında, tez boyunca savunulan ve incelenen vakalar zerinden gsterilmeye alıŐılan devamlılıkların aėdaŐ hareketlerde – zellikle karŐı kreselleŐme, anti-neoliberalizm ve kemer sıkma karŐıtı hareketlerde – grnrlk

kazandığını söylemek çok da yanlış olmaz. Çağdaş hareketlerde de aynı eski ve yeni toplumsal hareketler arasında olduğu gibi devamlılık söz konusudur. Kapitalist system, sömürü ilişkileri, sınıf, sınıf mücadelesi, ve materialist değerler üzerine eski hareketlerle ortaklıklar ve devamlılıklar kurulabilirken çağdaş hareketlerle yeni toplumsal hareketler arasında da örgütsel yapı ve post-materyalist değerler üzerinden devamlılıklar kurulabilir. Bu doğrultuda ortaya çıkan toplumsal hareket dalgaları arasında kopuş olduğunu ileri sürmenin ve bu rasyonaliteyle çalışmalar yapmanın yanıltıcı sonuçlar ortaya çıkaracağını söylemek yanlış olmaz.

Sonuç olarak, daha öncede söylendiği gibi kapitalist sistem içerisinde hakim sektör değişir, iş türleri değişir, üretim ilişkileri, sömürünün düzeyi, kârın kaynağı değişir ama sınıf güç ilişkileri içerisinde var olmaya devam eder. Çünkü bu güç ilişkileri kapitalist sınıf tarafından kendi lehine sürdürülmektedir. Nasıl ki tarımın ağırlıklı olduğu dönemden sanayi sektörüne geçildiğinde mevcut konjonktür kendi hareketini yani işçi sınıfı hareketini yarattıysa, sanayi sektöründen hizmetler sektörüne geçildiğinde de koşullar kimlik temelli hareketleri ön plana çıkardı. Neoliberal küreselleşmenin başlangıcı da kemer sıkma karşıtı hareketleri ortaya çıkardı. İlerleyen yıllarda belki farklı bir sektör, yeni iş türleri, yeni istihdam biçimleri, yeni siyasal krizler-gelişmeler, ya da yeni kimlikler ortaya çıkacaktır. Bunlara bağlı olarak yeni sorunlar baskın hale gelecek ve yeni tür mücadeleler ve hareketler ortaya çıkacaktır ama henüz amacına ulaşamamış tüm hareketler eski yeni farketmeksizin sınıf ilişkilerinde de, gündelik hayatın işleyişinde de mücadelesine devam edecektir. Yani ekonomik ve politik yapının toplumsal hareketler çalışmalarından soyutlanmaması, belirli teorik çerçevelere sıkıştırılmaması ve toplumsal yapıyı etkileyebilecek her faktörle ilişkilendirilmesi gerekmektedir. Bu doğrultuda daha nitelikli ve kullanışlı analizler yapılabilmesi için toplumsal hareketler olduğu ortamın ekonomik, siyasi ve toplumsal yapısını dikkate alarak, hem makro düzeyde hem de mikro düzeyde incelemeler yapılması önerilmektedir. Bunu yapmak hareketlerin kendi biricikliğinin ortaya konulması adına da önemlidir.

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YAZARIN / AUTHOR

Soyadı / Surname : UYMAZ
Adı / Name : Yaprak
Bölümü / Department : Latin ve Kuzey Amerika Çalışmaları/Latin and North American Studies

TEZİN ADI / TITLE OF THE THESIS (İngilizce / English): FROM OLD TO NEW SOCIAL MOVEMENTS IN ARGENTINA: ACTORS AND STRATEGIES

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