

LABOR CONFLICTS IN ARGENTINA AFTER THE CONVERTIBILITY: AN ANALYSIS IN THE LIGHT OF THE DEBATES ON UNION RENEWAL¹

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Abstract

In recent year's debates concerning union renewal acquired relevance in Latin American research on trade unions. In Argentina, discussions concentrated in investigating the characteristics assumed by the strengthening of union organizations in a specific context of resurgence of labor conflict and increased collective negotiations. Two different arguments were highlighted: on one side, people seeing a renewed process of union leaders linked to the State and the official party assuming a political role, and on the other side, people considering that in parallel with this process, new internal committees and trade union representative groups were making their return to workplaces, perspective also mentioned by studies focusing the so called "trade unionism".

The present text analyzes, in the framework of this debate, labor conflicts which led to strikes in the Argentinian private sector between years 2006 to 2014, to assess which is the meaning of labor conflicts in post-convertibility Argentina and also its meaning as indicator of such process known as union renewal. By including the whole private sector, the research allows analyzing revitalization of Argentinian union dynamics general trend. Regarding methodology, we have used database analysis and reports made by Under-Secretary for Technical Programming and Labor Studies (SSPTyEL) of the Ministry of Labor, Employment and Social Security (MTEySS).

Introduction

The dynamic of industrial relations in Argentina takes on special forms from 2003, when a conjunction of several factors led to favorable conditions to allow union organizations resetting with respect to previous decade. In this sense, we must underline the presence of a "new institutional framework in labor market policies, highlighted among other things, by the state capacity of mediate in labor conflicts and the increase of collective negotiation. (Lengyel and Novick, 2007).

¹ *Translator's note:* After the adoption of the Currency Convertibility Plan in 2002, a period named *post-convertibility* began, expression which will be used in this paper.

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These changes in the institutional plan happened within the framework of an economic reconfiguration characterized by abandonment of convertibility model in 2002, acting as a determinant factor to recover level of activity and creation of new jobs. (Maurizio *et al.*, 2009). Other papers (Senén González and Medwid, 2007) also underline that, in 2003, the presidency of Néstor Kirchner implied in a renewal of the relationship between government and unions, particularly with those carrying a tradition of political links with *Peronism*. The influence of some union leaders, mainly those belonging to CGT (General Labor Confederation) was a key fact during first years of Kirchner's government.

As a result, these political and institutional changes paved the way to struggle of the working class, thus modifying the dynamic of collective efforts of unionized workers which, after the bursting of the country at the end of 2001, began growing significantly when compared to previous decade. Therefore, labor conflicts became the most relevant way of protesting from 2003. Among them, we may highlight actions where wage complaints were main workers mobilizations reason. (Senén González and del Bono 2013; Palomino, 2007a).

This does not imply in absence of unions in the previous decade, when union organization kept being relevant in dynamics of collective action. (Iñigo Carrera, 2007). However, strikes strategy in post-convertibility introduces a new way of expression, also like complaints triggering it. This contributes to address debates on union renewal.

The origin of the expression union renewal comes from Anglo-Saxon papers from the beginning of years 2000, when union renewal strategies were analyzed for the first time within an adverse context, marked by neoliberalism and globalization (Frege and Kelly, 2003; Beherens *et al.*, 2004). These debates also arrived to Argentina, but here union movement re-emerges after neoliberal reforms of decade of the 1990's, thus modifying the profile of research and questioning about features assumed by the strengthening of union organizations in a context characterized by reactivation of labor conflict and increasing collective negotiations. (Senén González and Del Bono, 2013; Senén González and Haidar, 2009).

Within this line, two overviews arise: in first place, Etchemendy and Collier (2008) state that after a period where union movement was on the defensive, it surges as an important force representing formal workers. The authors consider this resurgence as a new model named *segmented neocorporatism*, notion referring to negotiation modalities of union upper levels, where monopoly unions, business associations and government, all settle a general inflation-adjusted minimum wage and sectoral salaries, applied to only a minority of the workforce. On the other side, Varela (2013) states that in parallel to the return of union upper levels politically linked to the State and the official party, new internal committees and trade union representatives groups appeared at workplaces. This point of view is also shared by other papers focusing the so called "trade unionism" (Atzeni e Ghigliani, 2013; Lenguita e Montes Cató,

2010). Therefore, the final discussion in general remains limited to judge if the union renewal process is done “upward” or “onward”, or in other words, from union upper levels or from the base of the working class.

The present paper deals with these debates. We think, as Kelly (1998) mentions, that labor conflict is an indicator expressing level of power of the unions, and within this framework we propose assessing what are labor struggles in post-convertibility Argentina and which is its importance as indicator of processes such as union renewal. Our goal is to contribute with the already existing research, which based in labor conflict as unit of analysis went deep in discussions on union renewal, focusing specific economic sectors. (Santella, 2013; Longo, 2014; Haidar, 2013; D’Urso, 2016). In contrast, we will take this matter up based on the analysis of dynamic of strikes in the whole private sector between 2006 and 2014, since we consider this will allow assessing renewal as a general trend of Argentinian union dynamic.

Our paper includes three sections. We will start introducing the dynamic of labor conflicts which led to strikes in the Argentinian private sector, mentioning some methodological considerations regarding the study of this type of collective action in Argentina. Then, we will analyze how economic conjuncture and political and organizational factors deal with the dynamic of labor conflicts. And in our final reflections, we will go back to main contributions of this text and will introduce future lines of action.

With respect to methodology, we have used database analysis and reports made by the Under-Secretary for Technical Programming and Labor Studies (SSPTyEL) of the Ministry of Labor, Employment and Social Security (MTEySS). This information is complemented with data from the Social Right Observatory (SRO).

Labor conflicts in the Argentinian private sector

Methodological Considerations

The database of the MTEySS and the SRO has been developed from press information, however using different survey³. The main difference lies in information made available which can be found: the MTEySS publishes reports with data regarding labor conflicts which generated strikes, while SRO reports refer to “types of collective actions” without distinction like “with or without strike”. The analysis we introduce here was made on the basis of the database of MTEySS. This methodological decision prevents from considering other forms beyond that strikes, expression of the conflict capital-labor in private formal sector. For this reason, we decided to complement information provided by official statistics with some considerations made by SRO.

³ The MTEySS database includes information from 125 news media covering the whole country, daily checked. To them we must add specific media covering union news. Main variables considered for the study are: type of conflict (with or without strike and their variables), institutional scope (private or public sector), province, area and economic activity sector and actors promoting the conflict. Sources used by SRO to collect data are digital massive news media (5 regional and 3 national newspapers). The variables are: subjects, scope (private or public; within private sector, it is checked the development by company or activity), reason and type of collective action (without specifying if they are with or without strike). It is also detailed the region where conflict is being held.

Before starting the analysis of labor conflicts with strikes in post-converteribility Argentina, we will introduce a relevant concept to study this type of collective action. The MTEySS uses as a reference the ILO notion of labor conflict, defining it as a state of disagreement over a particular issue or group of issues over which there is conflict between workers and employers, or about which grievance is expressed between workers and employers, or about which workers and employers support other workers or employers in their demands or grievances. From this definition, we may establish a distinction according to whether it is a strike, in case of temporary interruption of work, – conflicts with strike –, or other actions due to labor conflicts not implying in interruption of work.

Aligned to the ILO notion, the MTEySS defines a labor conflict as a series of events triggered from a conflictive action of a group of workers or employers to obtain labor redress claims. The labor conflict not only refers to strikes, but also includes a broader range of collective actions driven by workers, such as statement of alert status, displays defining dates when conflictive actions will be held, meetings, mobilizations, withdraw collaboration, strikes, street or road blockades, occupation of workplaces. (Palomino, 2007b).

Considering definition already explained and information accessible for consultation, now we will analyze labor conflicts with strike in Argentinian private sector between 2006 and 2014⁴. We chose the private scope, since labor conflicts in this area reflect behavior of workers, being their number far greater than those of civil servants⁵. Also because difference between public and private sector is more sensitive to changes in the economic situation, a variable which we will see influences in the dynamic of labor problems. On the other side, as stated by Santella (2015) in the private activity industrial sector, generally unions have the monopoly of legal representation. This drives to discuss which role unions play in conflicts engineered by the working class. To conclude, we must mention that in both sectors conflicts have different dynamics regarding types of claims and length and modality assumed by actions, therefore must be studied separately.

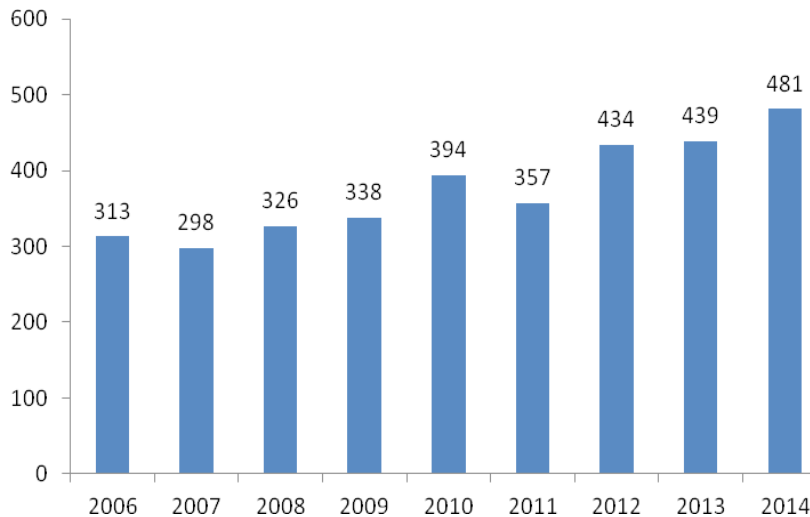
Characterization

Based in MTEySS statistics, between 2006 and 2014, the Argentinian private sector had a total of 3,380 labor conflicts with strikes. Annual distribution of these conflicts shows an increasing trend for the period. Only in 2011 we may a little reduction. (Chart 1).

⁴ The period was established with this basis, because database we have viewed provide information since 2006.

⁵ Based in data provided by the Permanent Household Survey, private sector employees represented 77.5 percent of the total, while civil servants are 21 percent. There is also a small percentage, 1.8 percent of workers from joint ventures and others which the INDEC research declared "doesn't know /did not reply".

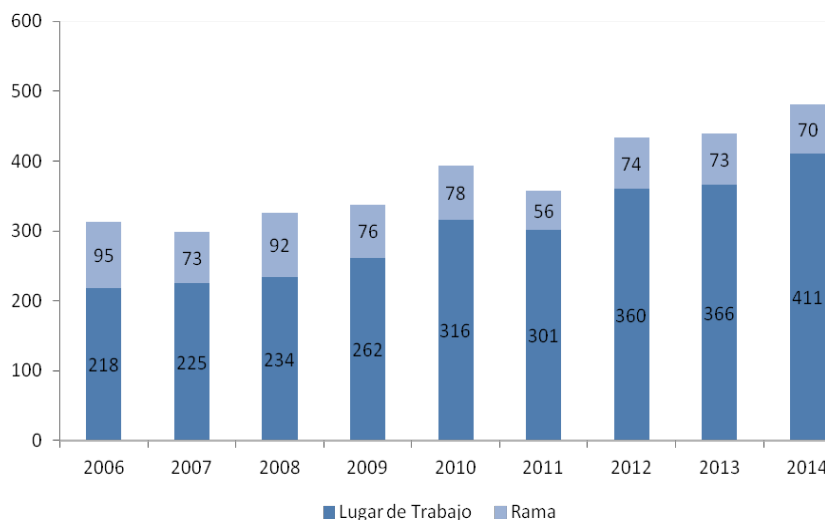
Chart 1: Labor conflicts with strikes in the private sector (2006-2014)



Source: Prepared by the author, based in data from SSPTyEL-MTEySS.

By disaggregating these conflicts by level of aggregation of economic activities where they happened - areas of activities or workplaces, sources would show that conflicts at workplaces had a higher increase than conflicts by areas of activities (Chart 2).

Chart 2: Labor conflicts with strikes in the private sector, by aggregation of economic activities (2006-2014)



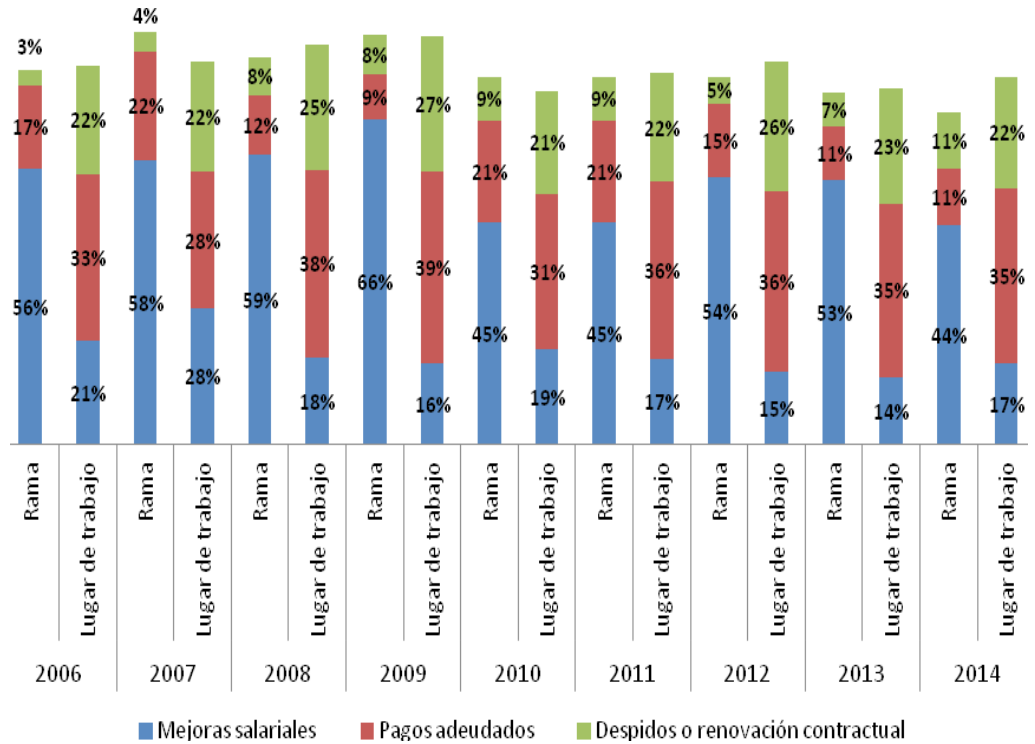
Workplace / Area of activities

Source: Prepared by the author, based in data from SSPTyEL-MTEySS.

With regard to the type of claim which motivated the conflicts, we may establish differences by conflicts in areas of activities or at workplaces. Then we see that claims for better wages remain stable during the period and establish a model of dynamics of labor conflicts by areas of activities. On the other side, in conflicts at workplaces, the most significant are claims for delayed pay-

ments, and also claims for dismissals or contract renewals. (Chart 3).

Chart 3: Labor conflicts with strikes by aggregation of economic activities (2006-2014)⁶



Areas of activities / workplaces age increases
 Wage improvements / Delayed payments / Dismissals or contract renewals.
 Source: Prepared by the author, based in data from SSPTYEL-MTEySS.

From this general characterization we may highlight the importance which conflicts assume at workplaces. Although they have been plentiful in each year of the studied period, from 2010 they have increased faster than in previous years. This trend allows splitting the analysis of the dynamic of labor conflicts with strikes in two stages: the first one between 2006 and 2009, when both conflicts in areas of activities and at workplaces keep a similar pace, and the second one starting in 2010 and going until 2014, when conflicts in areas of activities keep pace of previous years, while conflicts at workplaces increase. This increase is important if we consider, as previously mentioned, the prevailing type of claim in this level of aggregation.

(1) First stage (2006-2009)

Between 2006 and 2008 there was a moderate development in the number of labor conflicts and they modified its configuration. This was mainly due to a higher intensity they experienced, explained by an increase in number

⁶ Three types of claims mentioned in Chart 3 (Wage improvements / Delayed payments / Dismissals or contract renewals) represent main reasons leading workers mobilizations. In the case of conflicts at workplaces, these three claims account for 74 percent of total. Among them, they highlight the conflicts for delayed payments, representing 35 percent; while conflicts by areas of activities represent 66 percent, being 44 percent for wage improvements.

of strikers⁷, which in 2008 overcame about three times those of two previous years and to a lesser extent, because of increase of days not worked due to strikes⁸, which in 2008 increased 59 percent compared to 2007 and 72 percent compared to 2006 (SSPTyEL-MTEySS, 2008).

The evolution of labor conflicts with strikes between 2006 and 2008 reflects, on one side the recovery in industry from 2002, and on the other strengthening and regulation of industrial relations system through collective negotiation, since they essentially take place within the framework of wage negotiations (SSPTyEL-MTEySS, 2008). However, this dynamic is interrupted at the end of 2008 when impact of global economic crisis begins to reflect in the Argentinian industry, thus reducing economic activity. This may be observed by claims which triggered conflicts, since despite in 2009 still being the same than in period 2006-2008, now demands are different⁹: claims related to dismissals or contract renewals went from 13.6 percent in 2008 to 21 percent in 2009 (SSPTyEL-MTEySS, 2009). Nevertheless, claims for better wages kept being the most representatives¹⁰.

A last relevant fact, which can also be considered an indicator of changes in the trend followed by labor conflicts, is related to leading roles of union delegate¹¹. This characteristic is explained by the Social Right Observatory (2009) based in the concept of *decentralization of labor conflicts*, referred to a higher proportion of labor conflicts restricted to a company and the importance of local levels of organization. In the same way, the MTEySS indicates a growing evolution of conflicts at workplaces, which according to Spaltenberg (2012) would be originated by the advance of unions in production zones.

In short, this first stage shows a transition in the content of complaints: they cease being mainly economic demands related to wage increases to begin expressing demands linked to the consequences of global economic crisis in Argentinian industry. Besides, we observe a certain stability in the number of conflicts by areas of activities boosted by national and/or regional unions, while conflicts in establishments or companies grow, showing other levels of representation.

(2) Second stage (2010-2014)

The second stage begins in 2010, when the MTEySS identifies 394 labor conflicts in the private sector, 316 of which were at workplaces. Contrary to the importance of centralization of conflicts observed during first years of this re-

7 *Strikers*: workers which effectively went on strike; having direct participation in action, interrupting their work. This indicator is constructed from an estimate of the number of workers in establishments or by areas of activities where conflicts happen, and the representation of the organization calling the strike

8 *Working days not worked*: a value that results from multiplying duration of the strikes by the number of strikers.

9 In D'Urso (2014) we introduce a quantitative analysis of labor conflicts within the Argentinian private scope during 2009.

10 Between 2006 and 2009, claims for better wages ranged between 61 percent and 64 percent of total conflicts in the private sector, while claims not related to wages did not exceed 39 percent.

11 These conflicts represented 51 percent in 2008 and 64 percent in 2009; while conflicts of national organizations (federations and unions) were reduced from 24 percent in 2008 to 22 percent in 2009 (SRO, 2009).

search, 81 percent of conflicts with strikes in 2010 were held in companies, exacerbating the trend to decentralize conflicts at workplaces, boosted by union delegates and/or internal committees.

Keeping up with an analysis from MTEySS data and regarding absolute number of labor conflicts in 2011, we see a reduction of strikes, explained by this body because of the reduction of conflicts in areas of activities¹². In this stage, once heaviest impact of the economic crisis was overcome – since the end of 2008 and during part of 2009–, the MTEySS sees a recovery of industrial relations dynamics ruling since 2003: a better performance of collective negotiation processes to restore previous level of wages would explain less number of cases which ended with labor conflicts. However, when observing claims boosting actions, we see a reversion: between 2006 and 2008, workers oriented their demands to recover the real wage. Unlikely at the end of 2008 there is an increase of labor conflicts related to crisis situations of crisis and also a change in pattern of collective negotiations; we see reappearance of crisis clauses negotiating to establish suspensions, cutting personnel and advancing holidays to avoid dismissals, among other measures. (D'Urso, 2013).

In 2012, 82 percent of labor conflicts were at workplaces, with claims mainly originated in delayed payments (36 percent), followed by claims of job stability (22 percent). The conflicts by areas of activities represented only 19 percent of the total and in 61 percent of cases were demands for better wages at the time of collective bargaining negotiations (*paritarias* in the original) (Spaltenberg, 2012).

The cyclical characteristics highlighted in this second stage intensified during 2013 e 2014, influenced by devaluation of the Argentinian peso and high inflation rates. Nevertheless, and despite the threat of a recession and loss of jobs, labor struggle did not give way. On the contrary, according to MTEySS statistics, it was increased.

To conclude, the 2014 report shows an increase of labor conflicts at workplaces, (366 in 2013 and 411 in 2014). These conflicts led to many dismissals in industry as a result of deterioration of job market during the first semester (37 percent of cases) and also because of wage claims, mainly in the second semester (19 percent of cases) (SSPTyEL-MTEySS, 2011).

In general terms, second stage is characterized by conflicts due to slowdown of economic growth within the framework of global international crisis and emergence of conflicts based in different demands than those of first stage.

These claims which arose at the end of 2008 and intensified in 2009, continued during 2010, and although they were decreasing, they are still relevant regarding those related to economic demands. This makes us think beyond the impact of global crisis in the local economy, and begin to ask about cracks in the pattern of emerging growth in post-convertibility, and how it influences

¹² During first half of 2011 there were 182 labor conflicts with strikes, a reduction of 12 percent in conflicts, 11 percent in strikers and 50 percent in not worked days (smaller number since 2006) regarding first half of previous year.

dynamics of labor conflicts. At the same time, we have to look other political and organizational factors, such as the impulse of collective negotiation and levels of union representation, which also influenced in this dynamics. And it is in this direction where following words are heading.

The economic trend and political and organizational factors as triggers of the labor conflict

The analysis of data regarding labor conflicts with strikes allows identifying two moments: 2006-2009 and 2010-2014. From this distinction, we may see continuities and differences in the dynamics of strikes during post-convertibility, resumed in Graph 1. As we will develop to follow, these variations arising in the same period may be explained by incidence of the economic trend, and mainly by the presence of political and organizational factors.

Graph 1: Comparing Argentinian private sector strikes in post-convertibility

	FIRST STAGE (2006-2009)	SECOND STAGE (2010-2014)
CONTEXT	Economic recovery post-convertibility	Economic slowdown due to global international crisis
LEVEL OF AGGREGATION	Labor conflicts in areas of activities	Conflicts at workplaces
SUBJECTS BOOSTING THE ACTION	Unions at areas of activities	Internal committees / Workforce
TYPE OF CLAIMS	Better wages	Better wages and effects of the crisis (Dismissals, delayed payments, etc.).

(1) Impact of economic trends

The economic recovery which began in 2003 generated an increase in formal jobs. As per MTEySS data, between 2002 and 2004, jobs increased by 20 percent, (around 587,000 jobs) and number of active companies increased 10 percent, (SSPTyEL, 2004). These processes developed an enabling environment allowing union workers to file collective actions whose main claims were wage demands. In this context, dynamism of collective negotiation was fundamental to orderly transmit demands for wage rebalance, although it was only in 2006 that its improvement allowed reaching purchasing power levels similar to those previous to devaluation (Marticorena, 2015). But in 2008 global crisis effects began having repercussions in Argentinian production, thus driving the accumulation model to show certain cracks, and therefore conflicts emerged, expressed in claims related to temporary work suspensions, dismissals and also

delay of wage payments. But these claims do not prevent economic collective bargaining negotiations demands. They were kept in an economic trend with certain weaknesses in the years after the end of convertibility model.

When seeing behavior of macro-economic indicators, such as GDP evolution and employment and salary levels, we see differences during the period. In a recent paper, Fernández Massi and Barrera (2014) analyze these differences identifying two periods: the first one between 2003 and 2007, and the second one between 2008 and 2012. The authors mention a continuous growth of "Chinese rates" between 2003 and 2007, while from 2008, this GDP increase becomes more moderated¹³.

These differences regarding economic growth also reflect in labor market. Between 2003 and 2007 unemployment and underemployment rates, respectively exceeded 10 and 8 percent, but they stabilize from 2008. In that scenario, wage levels keep the pattern of negotiations consolidated in 2006: wage agreement negotiations established by main trade unions (Etchemendy, 2011). In general, between 2003 and 2007, real wage increase exceeded productivity (56 and 14 percent, respectively). Soon after, (2008-2012), real wage increased by 23 percent and productivity increased by 28 percent, this meant an erosion of nominal wages, due to inflation, and a reduction in industrial jobs levels in 2009 and 2010, as result of global crisis. (Fernández Massi and Barrera, 2014).

So we can see that, in effect, determinant economic factors created favorable conditions for unionized workers fight from 2006. Nevertheless, when analyzing characteristics distinguishing the period shown, we see that behavior of strikes was not homogeneous; it presented variations associated with recessive periods of the economic cycle. These variations cannot be explained in quantitative terms through number of strikes in a first more virtuous moment, nor by its posterior decrease within framework of global crisis, but they identify a distinction regarding level of aggregation of economic activities, its subjects and claims boosting action.

However, market mechanisms are not the only means to explain the dynamics of strikes. Other political mechanisms such as the government system, labor institutions and the internal dynamic of unions, also become relevant (Noronha, 2009). A careful watch into these factors will allow a deep analysis of what forms assume labor conflicts in this studied period.

(2) Political and organizational factors

In a paper about determining factors of strike actions, Franzosi (1989) highlights influence of political and organizational factors. In this line, we suggest thinking in Argentinian workers organization in the first stage of post-

¹³ Para o primeiro período (2003-2007), a taxa trimestral média do PBI é 2,28%, enquanto que entre 2008 e 2012 cai para 1,23% segundo dados do Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas e Censos (INDEC).

-convertibility, to see the way they institutionalize their demands through collective negotiations, and in the second stage, through relevance acquired by instances of union structure, such as internal committees and workforce in conflicts at workplaces.

In first place, when observing behavior of strikes, we highlight that arrival of Kirchnerism makes a shift in the mechanisms regulating relation between capital and labor, thus leading to legal modification in this issue and also of role performed by the State (Lengyel and Novick, 2008). From 2003, the industrial relations system began orientating unionized workers demands into collective negotiations, though there were no reversals in the dynamics of labor conflicts. On the contrary, we see a high level of mobilizations conducted by unions.

In the meantime, what characteristics assume labor conflicts in this studied period? Here we see two different dynamics: the first years (2006-2009), where strikes boosted by union organizations within the framework of collective bargaining negotiations by areas of activities vary in the same proportion than conflicts at workplaces; and a second stage where conflicts boosted by companies have a faster increase with conflicts by areas of activities (Chart 3). This change leads to a reconfiguration of actors driving conflicts, highlighting main role of internal committees and/or workforce. Also when considering types of claims driving actions, we highlight that conflicts at workplaces mainly express claims for delayed payments and dismissals or contract renewals.

Therefore, we may affirm that during Kirchnerism period, labor conflicts were not monolithic, but suffered variations in its political period. These moments of disparities were characterized by the economic trends in which they developed, by subjects boosting these actions, and finally, by its localization, also representing a change in the claims motivating these conflicts.

Final reflections

The objective of present paper is contributing to research of labor conflicts in post-convertibility Argentina and to analyze its relevance as indicators of processes of union renewal, introducing dynamics of strikes in the private sector by comparing two stages: the first one, between 2006 and 2009 and the second one between 2010 and 2014. This contrasting will allow observing how economic trends and other issues related to political and organizational factors, such as level of institutionalization of conflicts through collective negotiations and the relevance of instances of organization, affect the workplaces, mobilized by internal committees and/or workforce.

We could identify points of continuity and discontinuity between these moments, making complex debates on union renewal, since these labor conflicts are sometimes used as indicators of a process of resumption of unions. Our paper introduces certain evidences ratifying that the dynamic of conflicts with strike in post-convertibility was not only characterized by actions mobilized by union upper levels within the framework of collective bargaining agre-

ements, but also by the relevance of labor conflicts at workplaces. Claims boosting these actions reflected issues related with consequences of slowdown in economic expansion after model of convertibility ended. It was then when forceful claims related with dismissals, temporary suspensions and delayed payments emerged.

In this scenario, evidences provided by our work are an invitation to deepen the hypothesis of renewal as was discussed in Argentina. The dynamics of labor conflicts during the period we have studied is not monolithic; it is modified, influenced by economic trends and what is still more relevant, it is modified regarding the subjects and claims driving the actions. This leads to surging union workers mobilization processes in both levels during the whole period. Despite the increase of workforce conflicts in the second stage, strikes mobilized by union upper levels will continue during all these years we have researched.

Going beyond levels where conflict is situated and the fact that it might represent yes or no a union renewal process, it is worthwhile highlighting about importance of labor conflicts as indicators of this process. We consider that the increase or reduction are not crucial points of the analysis, what must be done is checking how far labor conflicts show changes in political, ideological and organizational areas. The empirical evidences of our work do not allow answering this matter. However they open a door to analyze if conflicts at workplaces, becoming an important fact from 2009 are, as Spaltenberg states (2012), a grassroots activism orientated by traditional or institutionalized unions, or as stated in a recent paper of the automotive industry (D'Urso and Longo, 2015), if also more radical or damaging conflicts surge and whose claims transcend economic demands.

To conclude, we go back to one of the questions we explained at the beginning of this text, referred to what conflicts represent in post-convertibility Argentina. Our analysis shows the relevance which collective negotiations reached as instances through which workers' demands were channeled in a first stage, when wage recovery was main complaint among labor conflicts. However, subsequent increase of conflicts at workplaces showed certain fissures of the industrial relations system, which since 2009 faces own contradictions and limitations of the accumulation model. But despite that, we enhance that organized workers' movement does not retreat. On the contrary, their actions boosted from workplaces lead political struggles. This generates new questions regarding the orientation these struggles will take in the coming years, and which will be the role organized and unionized workers' movement will perform in this new approaching cycle of social labor conflicts.

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