Social Movement Dynamics and The Argentine Tax Controversy

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What does it mean to be a part of social movement? How are strategic decisions made and a course of action decided upon? What constraints do the government, media and society put on social movements? This simulation will help answer those questions by allowing participants to experientially investigate what it means to be a part of a social movement. Using the Argentine farm tax controversy as a situational case study, this simulation more specifically focuses on social movement-government relations and the standstills, fights and negotiations that often arise.

Actual Format:

Announcement of the Decree and Participant Introductions

It is March 11, 2008 and recently elected Argentine President Cristina Kirchner is on the verge of announcing her first major governmental decree- the unofficially titled Farm Export Tax. This tax will act as a sliding scale export tax, increasing taxes on soybeans and other farm products by approximately 10 percent. While President Kirchner has not yet articulated the details of this decree, this initial meeting provides her with the opportunity to do this, as well as hear the initial reactions of other government officials and powerful social movement leaders.

Participants in this meeting will be expected to come prepared to give a one-minute introduction of themselves. This introduction should include your current stance on the farming tax as proposed by President Kirchner.
(Total time: 15 minutes)

Strategic Planning Sessions

It is March 12, 2008. The day after President Kirchner announced her new farm exportation tax and as was made clear in yesterday's announcement, not everyone is on board. Many farmers are not happy with the effects of the tax and certain government officials continue to have doubts. How will these unsatisfied members of society voice their disagreement? In these strategic planning sessions, social movement leaders will have the opportunity to meet and formulate concrete strategies, tactics and frames that they want to adopt in their actual struggle. The government predicting this reaction, especially in light of yesterday's meeting, also meets. They attempt to create their own tactics, strategies and frames in order to further their own cause and weaken the voice of the burgeoning anti-tax social movement.

The participants will split into two groups: social movement leaders vs. government officials (including President Kirchner). In these planning sessions, each group will write out a course of action- tactics, strategies, framing etc.- for their movement to take. Be as specific as you would like and remember your previous exposure to the social movement strategies, particularly in Argentina.
(Total time: 20 min)

News Broadcast

The two groups act, putting their previously decided upon course of action into play. In this segment, the news media will briefly articulate each group's course of action. Are there protests? Has the decree become legislation? However, be aware that the news media is not always unbiased.

This announcement is largely the responsibility of the simulations' facilitators after you turn in your action plans.

(Total time: 5 min)

Formal Negotiations

It is now April 3, 2008 and the anti-tax social movement has agreed to suspend their dissenting activities while they enter into formal negotiations with the government. During this negotiating session, each side will have the opportunity to discuss the issue at hand and try to come to some form of compromise. Alternately, this negotiating session might also provide an opportunity for members of the opposing groups to try and convince their opponents to change sides.

Some questions to consider during this negotiation:

1. Based on the tactics and strategies adopted by each side, what does it mean for everyone to know be willing to sit down to government-sponsored negotiations?

2. What are the real problems/benefits of this new tax? Be specific and use examples.

(Total time: 20 min)

Informal Negotiations

The formal negotiation session has just ended and now is your time to informally convince others to join your side before the upcoming vote. Get up, move around, and talk to your fellow participants. While doing this remember your resources and what each participant has to offer the other in terms of voting power. Is everyone's vote equal?

(Total time: 10 min)

Final Vote

Will the farm tax be put into effect or rejected by Congress? You decide!!

(Total time: 5 min)

Cast of Characters

1. Cristina Kirchner - Argentina's President (Fiona)
2. Julio Cobos - Argentina's Vice President (Sarah)
3. Alberto Fernandez - Argentina's Chief of Cabinet (Caitlin L)
4. Agustín Rossi - Congressional National Deputy and Leader of the Front for Victory wing of the Peronist Bloc (Crystal)
5. Sergio Massa – Mayor of the city of Tigre (Bridget)

6. Carlos Tomada – Minister of Labor, Employment, and Social Security (Trisha)
7. Carlos Rafael Fernández – Minister of the Economy (Timothy)
8. Ernesto Aguilar – Wealthy Farmer, Agrarian Federation Member (Esther)
9. Arturo Lavallol – President, Rural Society (Caitlin H)
10. Mario Llambías – President, Confederation of Rural Associations (Tom)
11. Arsenio Angetti – Cooperative Farmer (Mari)
12. Francisco Netri – Corn Farmer, Community Leader (Abe)
13. Camilia Cienfuegos – Union Leader (Katie)
14. Santiago Ginobili – Factory Takeover Representative (Nisha)

Tips for Getting into Character (by Paul Dosh)

1. Make lists of things you like and dislike (be sure to include the names of other characters in role-play!). Make the lists big so you have an opinion on as many things as possible (e.g. economics, human rights, socialism, the armed forces, the United States, etc.). When you make choices, seek to increase conflict and make the story more interesting. This goes against our normal sensibilities, but in this setting, conflict is desirable.

2. List 10 positive adjectives about your character. This is especially important if you are playing a character with whom you do not agree ideologically.

3. Refrain from moral judgment on your character.

4. What is your status and power relative to everyone else in the game? The point of the exercise is not for you to "win," but for you to do a good job playing your character. Who are you afraid of? Who do you have power over? In our game, your character may end up "losing," but if you acted your character to the fullest than this is not a bad thing.

5. What do you want? What are the consequences if you don't get it? How far will you go?

6. Avoid advertising your "true colors," especially in your introductory remarks. Think about what your character would actually say in public.

Possible References

Below is a list of news articles/sites that have some information on the Argentine farm tax controversy. We would also recommend doing general searches in news databases, Google etc. if you are looking for more specific information. Finally, you might find it helpful to review the two articles that we have previously read on Argentine social movements. This way you can familiarize yourself with their usual tactics, strategies etc.

Argentine Farmers Vow to Press Strike Over Tax:
http://www.nytimes.com/2008/03/27/world/americas/27argentina.html?fta=y

Farmers' Strike in Argentina is Suspended for Negotiations:
http://www.nytimes.com/2008/04/03/world/americas/03argent.html?scp=6&sq=argentina%20farmers&st=cse

In Argentina's Grain Belt: Farmers Revolt Over Taxes:
http://www.nytimes.com/2008/04/27/world/americas/27argentina.html?scp=4&sq=argentina%20farmers&st=cse

Argentine Farmers Cut Off Exports:
http://www.nytimes.com/2008/05/09/world/americas/09argentina.html?scp=10&sq=argentina%20farmers&st=cse

Export Tax that Angers Farmers Advances in Argentina:
http://www.nytimes.com/2008/07/06/world/americas/06argentina.html?scp=9&sq=argentina%20farmers&st=cse

Argentina’s farm row turns to crisis:
http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/7461173.stm

Q&A: Argentina farm protests:
http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/business/7316126.stm

Cristina’s climbdown:
http://www.economist.com/world/americas/displaystory.cfm?story_id=11586057

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Cristina Fernández de Kirchner

Argentina's President

As the new President of Argentina you are not only the head of the Argentine government, but even more importantly the face of Argentina's economic and financial systems. With a law degree from the National University of La Plata, a former senator of Santa Cruz and the Province of Buenos Aires, and the most recent First Lady of Argentina, you have had ample experience working on Argentine economic and domestic issues, and thus feel well qualified to represent Argentina as it is forced to increase export taxes on its farmers.

You are known for your conservative fiscal views, as well as your dedication to the Front for Victory wing of the Peronist bloc, of which your husband (and former President) is a primary leader. In addition, your previous work in the Argentine Senate through both urban and rural provinces allowed you to gain a thorough understanding of the importance of Argentine exports and the economic implications of said exports and the taxes placed on them by the government. With this in mind, you plan on supporting the sliding-scale taxation system for agricultural exports by passing the bill for the tax system in Congress.

In the upcoming press conference and imminent negotiations it is important for you to remember which of your fellow attendees support the agricultural tax you propose for Argentina. For example, you may correctly suspect full support from fellow Front for Victory member Augustín Rossi, as well as labor minister Carlos Tomada. However, despite these obvious supporters, you must keep your mind open to the possibility of forming new alliances with the farm union leaders and other important leaders in the farm movement, as well as proving yourself to your governmental constituents in your first major dispute for the nation.

Best wishes Cristina Fernández de Kirchner!

Points of further research:

-*Who do you have influence over? Who influences you?*

- *Think about possible ways to connect to other participants in order to gain their support/endorsement.*

-*What exactly do you want and what are you ready to do/give up for your goal?*

Recommended Websites:

http://www.wharton.universia.net/index.cfm?fa=viewfeature&id=1541&language=english

http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2008/oct/30/argentina-kirchner

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Julio Cobos

Argentina's Vice President

As the recently elected Vice President of Argentina you are not only the second-in-command of the Argentina government, but even more importantly the leader of the Argentine Senate which will have to determine whether the new agricultural tax system passes. With a degree from the National Technological University, and as the former Governor of Mendoza for four years you have had ample experience working on national Argentine issues, and thus feel well qualified to represent Argentina as it works on increasing its national revenue.

You are known for your radical political views, and your history of not maintaining party allegiance. You supported the Peronist Party and Néstor Kirchner during his campaign, as opposed to your Radical Civil Union candidate. However, this controversial move proves that you have a strong moral compass and support candidates and issues you believe in, even if party lines must be crossed. With this in mind, you are not automatically inclined to vote in favor of the farm tax simply because the President wants it to pass, and prefer to consider all the options and repercussions.

In the upcoming press conference and imminent negotiations it is important for you to remember which of your fellow attendees will support and likely vote against the agricultural tax that your government proposes. For example, you may correctly suspect full support from fellow Front for Victory member Augustín Rossi and labor minister Carlos Tomada, and opposition from members of the farm unions. However, despite these obvious supporters and opponents, you must keep your mind open to the possibility of forming new alliances with other disparate members of Argentine politics. For while in favor of current Argentine policies, you are not opposed to going against the ideas of President Fernandez de Kirchner if her execution of the bill is not what you see as best for the country.

Best wishes Julio Cobos!

Points of further research:

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-*What exactly do you want and what are you ready to do/give up for your goal?*

Recommended Websites:

http://www.nytimes.com/2008/11/30/world/americas/30argentina.html?_r=1&scp=2&sq=julio%20cobos&st=cse

http://www.nytimes.com/2008/07/18/world/americas/18argentina.html?scp=4&sq=julio%20cobos&st=cse

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Do Not Reveal to Other Participants!

Alberto Fernandez

Argentina's Chief of Cabinet

As the second-term Chief of Cabinet for the Argentine government, you hold one of the most pivotal positions in the government. With a degree from the prestigious University of Buenos Aires, and serving two terms of the Chief of Cabinet under Néstor Kirchner and now Cristina Kirchner you have had ample experience working on Argentine issues, and thus feel well qualified to represent Argentina as it works on increasing its national revenue.

You are known for your conservative fiscal views, as well as your dedication to those who share those views, markedly the Front for Victory members and President Fernandez de Kirchner. In addition, your previous work as Chief of Cabinet under Néstor Kirchner has allowed you to gain a thorough understanding of Argentina's role as a global economic player, and what that means for taxes on your exports. With this in mind, you plan on continuing to direct Argentina down a path towards greater national revenue by championing the proposal for the sliding-scale agricultural tax.

In the upcoming press conference and imminent negotiations it is important for you to remember which of your fellow attendees will support and likely vote against the agricultural tax that your government proposes. For example, you may correctly suspect full support from fellow Front for Victory member Augustín Rossi and labor minister Carlos Tomada, and opposition from members of the farm unions. However, despite these obvious supporters and opponents, you must keep your mind open to the possibility of forming new alliances with other disparate members of Argentine politics. For while in favor of current Argentine policies, you are worried about the reactions to President Fernandez de Kirchner in her first national issue and want to make sure you can rally support from anywhere you may find it, if her inexperience makes this issue even more polarizing than it is.

Best wishes Alberto Fernandez!

Points of further research:

-*Who do you have influence over? Who influences you?*

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-*What exactly do you want and what are you ready to do/give up for your goal?*

Recommended Websites:

http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/7522127.stm

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alberto_Fernández

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Do Not Reveal to Other Participants!

Agustín Rossi

Congressional National Deputy and Leader of the Front for Victory wing of the Peronist Bloc

As a National Deputy in the Argentine Congress a leader of the majority Front for Victory bloc in the Chamber of Deputies you are one of the most important players in the majority political party in Argentina. With a civil engineering degree from the National University of Rosario, and as the former president of the Deliberative Council of Rosario you have had ample experience working on Argentine issues both in rural and urban settings, and thus feel well qualified to represent Argentina as it works on increasing its national revenue.

You are known for your dedication to Peronist political and economic views, as well as your dedication to those who share and champion those views, markedly ex-President Néstor Kirchner and current President Cristina Fernández de Kirchner. In addition, you have a staunch belief that no government party bloc should ever have doubts or criticisms of government projects. With this in mind, you plan on supporting the sliding-scale taxation system for agricultural exports by passing the bill for the tax system in Congress.

In the upcoming press conference and imminent negotiations it is important for you to remember which of your fellow attendees will support and likely vote against the agricultural tax that your government proposes. For example, you may correctly suspect full support from fellow Front for Victory member Sergio Massa and labor minister Carlos Tomada, and opposition from members of the farm unions, many of which have strong bases in your previous location of Rosario. However, despite these obvious supporters and opponents, you must keep your mind open to the possibility of forming new alliances with other disparate members of Argentine politics. For while you always support government policies and supporters, you are not averse to corralling new voters from the opposition to pass Kirchner's tax system.

Best wishes Augustín Rossi!

Points of further research:

-*Who do you have influence over? Who influences you?*

- *Think about possible ways to connect to other participants in order to gain their support/endorsement.*

-*What exactly do you want and what are you ready to do/give up for your goal?*

Recommended Websites:

http://www.nytimes.com/2008/07/05/world/americas/05argentina.html?fta=y

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Agustin_Rossi

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Do Not Reveal to Other Participants!

Sergio Massa

Argentina's Mayor of the Paraná Delta city of Tigre

As the Mayor of the Paraná Delta city of Tigre you are an integral member of Argentina's legislative community. With a degree from the University of Belgrano in the province of Buenos Aires, and as the former Director of the ANSeS (Argentina's equivalent to the U.S. Social Security Administration) you have had ample experience working on issues affecting a wide range of the citizenry, and thus feel well qualified to represent Argentina as it works on increasing its national revenue.

You are known for your Peronist views, working in league with and supporting Presidents Menem and Néstor Kirchner. In addition, your previous work with the ANSeS, as well as your legislative role as Mayor of el Tigre has allowed you to gain a thorough understanding of Argentina's role as a global economic player, and what that means for taxes on your exports. With this in mind, you plan on supporting the sliding-scale taxation system for agricultural exports by passing the bill for the tax system in Congress.

In the upcoming press conference and imminent negotiations it is important for you to remember which of your fellow attendees will support and likely vote against the agricultural tax that your government proposes. For example, you may correctly suspect full support from Front for Victory member Augustín Rossi and labor minister Carlos Tomada, and opposition from members of the farm unions. However, despite these obvious supporters and opponents, you must keep your mind open to the possibility of forming new alliances with other disparate members of Argentine politics. For while you always support government policies and supporters, you are not averse to corralling new voters from the opposition to pass Kirchner's tax system.

Best wishes Sergio Massa!

Points of further research:

-*Who do you have influence over? Who influences you?*

- *Think about possible ways to connect to other participants in order to gain their support/endorsement.*

-*What exactly do you want and what are you ready to do/give up for your goal?*

Recommended Websites:

http://query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage.html?res=9901E0DC1F3CF937A15754C0A96E9C8B63&fta=y

http://www.usatoday.com/travel/flights/item.aspx?&type=photo&photo_id=0bkgbC31j97cg&pn=6&tid=000000000

http://www.absoluteastronomy.com/topics/Sergio_Massa

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Carlos Tomada

Minister of Labor, Employment, and Social Security

As the Minister of Labor, Employment, and Social Security under Cristina Kirchner's administration you are a pivotal figure and liaison between the government and the people. With a law degree from the prestigious University of Buenos Aires, and as the former National Director of Labor Relations and Secretary of Labor you have had ample experience working on issues of labor in Argentina, and thus feel well qualified to represent Argentina as it works on increasing its national revenue.

You are known for your life-long dedication to Peronismo, and as a lawyer, lecturer and trade unionist. In addition, your previous work with the national labor relations in Argentina has allowed you to gain a thorough understanding of Argentina's labor issues as they relate to the economics of higher taxes. With this in mind, you plan on supporting the sliding-scale taxation system for agricultural exports by passing the bill for the tax system in Congress.

In the upcoming press conference and imminent negotiations it is important for you to remember which of your fellow attendees will support and likely vote against the agricultural tax that your government proposes. For example, you may correctly suspect full support from fellow Front for Victory member Augustín Rossi and Mayor Sergio Massa, and opposition from members of the farm unions. However, despite these obvious supporters and opponents, you must keep your mind open to the possibility of forming new alliances with other disparate members of Argentine politics. While you always support Peronist policies and supporters, you are not averse to corralling new voters from the opposition to pass Kirchner's tax system.

Best wishes Carlos Tomada!

Points of further research:

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- *Think about possible ways to connect to other participants in order to gain their support/endorsement.*

-*What exactly do you want and what are you ready to do/give up for your goal?*

Recommended Websites:

http://www.bloomberg.com/apps/news?pid=20601086&sid=agYTLrulhGm0&refer=news

http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/22/36/41123365.pdf

http://www.absoluteastronomy.com/topics/Carlos_Tomada

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Carlos Rafael Fernández

Minister of the Economy

As the recently appointed Minister of the Economy you are a pivotal figure in the current battle for the agricultural tax increase. With a economics degree from the prestigious University de la Plata, and as the former National Revenue chief you have had ample experience working on Argentina's national revenue issues, and thus feel well qualified to represent Argentina as it works towards increasing that revenue.

You are known for your economic prowess and long-standing work in various sectors of Argentina's economy. Your previous work with as the Budget Director for Cristina Kirchner's administration as well as your work with the Domestic Economic Secretariat has allowed you to gain a thorough understanding of Argentina's national economic status and how, practically, the economy flourishes. With this in mind, you plan on supporting the sliding-scale taxation system for agricultural exports by passing the bill for the tax system in Congress.

In the upcoming press conference and imminent negotiations it is important for you to remember which of your fellow attendees will support and likely vote against the agricultural tax that your government proposes. For example, you may correctly suspect full support from fellow Front for Victory member Augustín Rossi and Mayor Sergio Massa, and opposition from members of the farm unions. However, despite these obvious supporters and opponents, you must keep your mind open to the possibility of forming new alliances with other disparate members of Argentine politics. While you always support Peronist policies and supporters, you are not averse to corralling new voters from the opposition to pass Kirchner's tax system.

Best wishes Carlos Rafael Fernandez!

Points of further research:

-*Who do you have influence over? Who influences you?*

- *Think about possible ways to connect to other participants in order to gain their support/endorsement.*

-*What exactly do you want and what are you ready to do/give up for your goal?*

Recommended Websites:

http://www.usatoday.com/news/topstories/2008-04-26-1861811395_x.htm
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Carlos_Rafael_Fern%C3%A1ndez

Top Secret Dossier

Do Not Reveal to Other Participants!

Ernesto Aguilar
Wheat Farmer, Argentine Agrarian Federation

You are Ernesto Aguilar, an Argentine wheat farmer who owns a large farm in Rosario, not far from Buenos Aires. You have come to this meeting as a prominent member of the Argentine Agrarian Federation, ready to voice your opposition to President Kirchener's plans for an increase in taxation on the grains you export. As a member of the Federation, you believe in the idea that agricultural production is one of Argentina's core industries, and that the recent boom in agricultural production should be protected, rather than exploited by the government.

As an Argentine, you value what you see as your country's tradition of dissent. Cacerolazos, road blockades, and other direct forms of political participation are just that - means by which the people can participate more directly in the political process. You have learned this through your history, but have not yet put it into practice. Your goal, then, is to form the loose organizations that link farmers throughout Argentina into a movement that will resist the farm tax with one voice. Given the diversity of views that you see on the issue, however, it might be difficult to keep the issue on a rational path, away from destructive radicalism or ineffectual posturing. You recognize the importance of consensus and unity, and hope to steer the movement towards a more moderate path, one that can succeed while not alienating the populace.

While you would not want a protest to harm anyone, the proposed farm tax is an important issue, and should not pass on without a fight. And, when all is said and done, this is personal - you are quite aware that the healthy profits that your farm has been producing would be slashed if the tax is passed...

Points for further consideration:

-*Who do you have influence over? Who influences you?*

- *Think about possible ways to connect to other participants in order to gain their support/endorsement.*

-*What exactly do you want and what are you ready to do/give up for your goal?*

-Rather than worrying about research on your character's real life, focus more on imagining how he would react to various situations, and how he would relate to other simulation participants.

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Arturo Lavallol
President, Rural Society

You are Arturo Lavallol, President of the Rural Society, Argentina's largest farmer's group. Besides representing the greater part of the Argentine agricultural industry, you own a large farm in the province of Buenos Aires, and sell prodigious quantities of soybeans on the export market. You have come to this meeting to voice your association's profound shock that President Kirchener would betray Argentine agriculture with a tax like the one that she has suggested. You and your organization believe in the idea that agricultural production is one of Argentina's core industries, and that the recent boom should be protected, rather than exploited by the government. This kind of farm tax is a slap in the face to the people who form the base of Argentine society,

As an Argentine, you value your country's tradition of dissent. Cacerolazos, road blockades, and other direct forms of political participation are, in your view, means by which the people can participate more directly in the political process. They are also a convenient means to an end: The highly politicized populace just might catch on to this issue, and you might be able to really show the President where the power lies. While social movements can be useful, you still do not yet have a true movement, however. It may fall on your shoulders to turn a band of angry farmers into a powerful political force. No matter. You are ready – excited, even – to have the chance to make sure farmers cannot be pushed around by *porteños* like the Kircheners.

While you would not want your protests to harm anyone, at least not within reach of the news media's cameras, the proposed farm tax is an important issue, and should not pass on without a fight. And, when all is said and done, this is personal - you are quite aware that the healthy profits that your farm has been producing would be slashed if the tax is passed...

Points of further research:

-Who do you have influence over? Who influences you?

- Think about possible ways to connect to other participants in order to gain their support/endorsement.

-What exactly do you want and what are you ready to do/give up for your goal?

-Rather than worrying about research on your character's real life, focus more on imagining how he would react to various situations, and how he would relate to other simulation participants.

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Mario Llambías
President, Confederation of Rural Associations

You are Mario Llambías, the president of the Confederation of Rural Associations of Buenos Aires. Besides representing a large part of the Argentine agricultural industry, you own a large farm growing sunflowers in the province of Cordoba. You have come to this meeting to voice your association's dismay that President Kirchener would snub Argentine agriculture with a tax like the one that she has announced. You and your organization believe in the idea that agricultural production is one of Argentina's core industries, and that the recent boom should be protected, rather than exploited by the government. This kind of farm tax is a slap in the face to the people who form the base of Argentine society,

As an Argentine, you value your country's tradition of dissent. Cacerolazos, road blockades, and other direct forms of political participation are, in your view, means by which the people can participate more directly in the political process. You are ready to make use of this tool in order to show the government that Argentina's farmers are an important force, and that they will not be pushed around. You view such actions as mostly symbolic, however. While it is useful to show the government that you are not kidding, it is often much more valuable to engage in direct negotiations, bringing the government around to see your side of the issue. With the tensions that have been apparent between government officials lately, it shouldn't be hard to find someone you can bend in your direction.

Still, when all is said and done, this is personal - you are quite aware that the healthy profits that your farm has been producing would be slashed if the tax is passed... Perhaps, if the government proves intractable, you may be forced to take more drastic action

Points of further research:

-Who do you have influence over? Who influences you?

- *Think about possible ways to connect to other participants in order to gain their support/endorsement.*

-What exactly do you want and what are you ready to do/give up for your goal?

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Top Secret Dossier

Do Not Reveal to Other Participants!

Arsenio Angetti
Small Cooperative Farmer

You are Arsenio Angetti, a member of a farming cooperative in the province of Buenos Aires, near the coast. Although your small farm has been quite productive in recent years, and you have been making good money on the export market with your rice crop, the new farm tax has the potential to ruin your business and drive you out of the market altogether. Your cooperative has come under pressure from large farmers who wish to buy the prime land that you now occupy. As such, the farm tax is almost a matter of life and death for you, and you are ready to go to almost any ends to protect your financial security and your children's future. You have arrived at President Kirchener's press conference to make your voice heard, and to let her know that you are willing to do much more than to simply talk.

Not only do you have a motive to do more than speak, you also have the experience and the means. Before coming to the cooperative where you now work, you were a factory worker in Argentina. In 2001, when the country underwent its spectacular financial collapse, you and your fellow workers were part of a movement to take over factories that had been left empty by their owners. Like others, you had to fight a long and sometimes fierce battle to protect your factory takeover, in the courtroom and in the streets. Unlike some of your fellows who were more lucky, however, you were less than successful, and had to look elsewhere for work. With the new experience and consciousness that you gained battling for your factory, you managed to find work at this cooperative, as well as an even more negative perception of your government. Now, you are not about to let them take away your livelihood for a second time.

While you believe you should be reasonable in your protests, and should not go too far, you are also loath to supplant more powerful, effective tactics with negotiation and weak-willed waffling.

Points of further research:-Who do you have influence over? Who influences you?

- Think about possible ways to connect to other participants in order to gain their support/endorsement.

-What exactly do you want and what are you ready to do/give up for your goal?

-Rather than worrying about research on your character's real life, focus more on imagining how he would react to various situations, and how he would relate to other simulation participants

Top Secret Dossier
Do Not Reveal to Other Participants!

Francisco Netri
Corn Farmer, Community Leader.

You are Francisco Netri, a corn farmer in the province of Buenos Aires. Although your small farm has been quite productive in recent years, and you have been making good money on the export market, the new farm tax that the President is pushing has the potential to ruin your business and drive you out of the market altogether. You have heard that many farmers like yourself are under pressure from larger farms to sell their land, and as you occupy a particularly fertile plot, you are afraid that you might be next. If the farm tax passes, you will almost surely become forced off of the land your grandparents farmed decades ago. You have arrived at President Kirchener's press conference to make your voice heard, and to let her know that you are willing to do much more than to simply talk.

As a small farmer with access to limited funds, you are not entirely sure if you can do more than speak. While you are eloquent and well respected in your community, you don't have many other resources. However, you were inspired by the protests of 2001, when the country underwent its spectacular financial collapse. Cacerolazos, piquetes, and protests that threw out five presidents in two weeks inspired you by showing the power that people like you can hold. You are determined to leverage this new power to stop the farm tax and keep hold of your family's land. It is likely that the other small farmers of your community would support you, and perhaps together you could truly change something. If you can't, the consequences are positively intolerable.

While you believe you should be reasonable in your protests, and should not go too far, you are also loath to supplant more powerful, effective tactics with negotiation and weak-willed waffling.

Points of further research:

-Who do you have influence over? Who influences you?

- Think about possible ways to connect to other participants in order to gain their support/endorsement.

-What exactly do you want and what are you ready to do/give up for your goal?

-Rather than worrying about research on your character's real life, focus more on imagining how he would react to various situations, and how he would relate to other simulation participants.

Top Secret Dossier
Do Not Reveal to Other Participants!

Camila Cienfuegos
Union Leader, Buenos Aires

You are Camila Cienfuegos, a middle class labor leader at a factory in Buenos Aires. You have arrived at President Kirchener's press conference to stand in support of the farmers who will be affected by the tax increase. Although you are not a farmer yourself, your family has its roots in the pampas – you are not European, like most of the porteños you live and work with. As such, you believe in the importance of Argentine agricultural production, and on any issue, you will support the farmer's point of view more often than not. Beside your strong connection with the struggles of Argentine farmers, though, you also see a practical benefit to stopping the farm tax. Since agricultural exports are such an important part of Argentina's economy, anything that will hurt farmers will hurt Argentina as a whole.

While you support Argentina's farmers, you are somewhat less supportive of the possibility that they might use radical tactics to resist the Farm Tax. While you watched the protests of 2000 with approval, you are skeptical that such disruptive protests are a model that should be applied to every crisis situation that the country finds itself in. In fact, you have come to disapprove of the way that anyone who wants anything now turns out in the street banging on whatever comes to hand. You much prefer direct negotiations, which you believe are much more controllable, discreet, and ultimately worthwhile. The fact that negotiations are less deafening than cacerolazos is only an added bonus.

Of course, labor's negotiating power is always backed up with the threat of force, but it should be possible for the farmers to come to an agreement that will be mutually satisfactory without so much unnecessary noise.

-*Who do you have influence over? Who influences you?*

- *Think about possible ways to connect to other participants in order to gain their support/endorsement.*

-*What exactly do you want and what are you ready to do/give up for your goal?*

-*Rather than worrying about research on your character's real life (some characters are real, some are ficticious), focus more on imagining how he would react to various situations, and how he would relate to other simulation participants.*

Top Secret Dossier
Do Not Reveal to Other Participants!

Santiago Ginobili
Worker in an Occupied Factory, Buenos Aires

You are Santiago Ginobili, a middle class worker for Zanon, an occupied factory just outside Buenos Aires. You have arrived at President Kirchener's press conference to stand in support of the farmers who will be affected by the tax increase. Although you are not a farmer yourself, you have reason to support their struggle. One of the key tenets of the factory takeover movement of which you consider yourself a part is solidarity between groups, despite any differences. Besides your commitment to solidarity, however, you also see pragmatic reasons to support the farm workers in their struggle. Farming is an important industry in Argentina, and if your years of work in an occupied factory have taught you anything, it is that everyone is tied together economically. If the farmers suffer, it will also affect the rest of the country.

While you support the farmers in their protest, and are perhaps willing to use your influence in the occupied factory movement to bring their support to the cause, you are skeptical about the depth of support that you can offer. After all, using agricultural revenues to support government programs can be an attractive proposal. Ultimately, you are unsure whether or not supporting a more radical farmer protest would be worth the risk and effort that such a campaign would entail. While you remain undecided, you might be more comfortable using the considerable connections that you have built up during your time working with Zanon to legalize the takeover movement than using the more direct forms of political intervention that you developed during the same time period. Whatever you choose, you feel confident that you can be backed by a substantial contingent of workers at your own factory, with connections to other cooperative and reclaimed workplaces.

-*Who do you have influence over? Who influences you?*

- *Think about possible ways to connect to other participants in order to gain their support/endorsement.*

-*What exactly do you want and what are you ready to do/give up for your goal?*

-*Rather than worrying about research on your character's real life, focus more on imagining how he would react to various situations, and how he would relate to other simulation participants.*