

# Perception of Participation in Public Affairs of Citizens of San Luis, Argentina.

Quiroga Sergio Ricardo.

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## Perception of Participation in Public Affairs of the Citizens of San Luis, Argentina

Sergio Ricardo Quiroga  
ICAES  
San Luis, Argentina

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### Abstract

This paper describes some initial results of an ongoing investigation that seeks answers about the perception of the citizens of San Luis, Argentina about their participation in public affairs in the last six years (2015-2021). We want to know how citizens perceive their participation in the public policies promoted by the state with the administration of Governor Alberto Rodríguez Saa, governor of San Luis in the last six years, how they understand and qualify the communication and information that the government deploys towards the citizenship and what are the alternatives or instances of participation that citizens see as probably better or better. The qualitative questionnaire was launched in January 2021. Increasing populism, personalization of politics, tribalism, partisanship, and authoritarianism have lately put immense pressure on what have been termed "liberal" characteristics of citizenship, especially regarding equal rights, access to legal status, as well as popular input in political decisions, a situation clearly exposed during the development of the Covid 19 Pandemic and the Argentine quarantine. The awareness of the possibilities of participation in public decisions could promote mobilization in search of access, interaction, and citizen participation. The scenario exposes a disjointed civil society that expresses a civic culture of disinterest in public issues, on the one hand, and on the other an absent social dialogue and with little possibility of participatory communication. A San Luis citizenship that appears as sleepy, fractured, and disjointed, conditions in which it is incapable of offering resistance to the epic of the hegemonic state projects.

**Keywords:** Participation, public affairs, citizens, personalism



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Corresponding Author: Sergio Ricardo Quiroga  
Affiliation: ICAES, San Luis, Argentina  
e-mail: [sergioricardoquiroga@gmail.com](mailto:sergioricardoquiroga@gmail.com)

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## 1. Introduction

This ongoing investigation seeks answers about the perception of the citizens of San Luis, Argentina about their participation in public affairs. It seeks to know how citizens perceive their participation in public policies promoted by the state with the management of Governor Alberto Rodríguez Saà, Governor of San Luis in the, how they understand and qualify the communication and information that the government deploys towards citizens and what they are the alternatives or instances that citizens can consider as probably better or better. San Luis is a small province located in the center of the country, with a population close to 500,000 inhabitants.

Since December 1983, the Rodríguez Saà brothers have governed the small province of San Luis in Argentina. For more than thirty-five years they built an almost seamless power and the Peronist Party into an electoral machine that won the elections. Adolfo and Alberto Rodríguez Saà took turns in the exercise of government, previously obtaining the adherence of the citizenry and, in their management, they co-opted the judiciary and legislative bodies, disorganized the opposition and always controlled the Peronist Party.

According to the Wikipedia page (in English) Adolfo Rodríguez Saà, he was editor of the anti-Peronist pamphlet "*La voz de San Luis*", but he became a Peronist in 1969 during his studies in Buenos Aires and joined the Peronist Youth in the year of his graduation and worked as his representative in San Luis.

In 1984, Alberto Rodríguez Saà, through a company, acquired *El Diario de San Luis*, after government pressure on its owners and later changed its name to *El Diario de la Republica*, a graphic medium that was used throughout the province. to display the official narratives and take a good portion of the official advertising budget that the government has every year (Wiñaski, 1995 and Heredia, 2019)

A characteristic of personalist governments is their great capacity for symbolic inclusion. Edelman (1960) bequeathed us the concept of symbolism as an ontological dimension of human life and highlighted the issue of public behavior in terms of its emotional connection with political objects and discourses.

Political personalism usually emerges with all these conditions or some of them: the crises of traditional political parties, the conception of politics as spectacle (Edelman, 1960), the growing disinterest of citizens for participation in public affairs, construction of epic narratives and the use, appropriation of popular culture and symbols used to unite them to political identity (Quiroga, 2021a), and exposure in the media and social media or networks and their use as channels of exhibition and communication politics.

Basically, personalism adopts the following characteristics (Quiroga, 2021, b): a strong, charismatic man or woman, a personal leader above ideologies and political parties, an association that is made of the political project with the person who does it. executes, the ability to understand social desires and the construction of power.

The "democracy" of San Luis is a democracy controlled by a very small ruling elite that over the years has acquired a hegemonic and cultural character.

Gramsci defines hegemony as "political, intellectual and moral direction." Cultural hegemony is a term developed by Gramsci to analyze social classes and the superstructure. Thus, the current cultural norms of a society are imposed by the ruling class (bourgeois cultural hegemony), which we must recognize as an artificial social construction and as an instrument of class domination. It consists of the ability of a ruling class to articulate with its interests those of other groups, thus becoming the guiding element of a collective will, and the aspect of intellectual and moral direction, which indicates the ideological conditions that must be fulfilled so that the constitution of said collective will is possible.

For Gramsci, ideology is "an organic and relational whole embodied in apparatuses and institutions, an organic cement that unifies around certain basic articulatory principles a "historical block" and the practices that produce subjectivities in the process of social transformation" (Giacaglia , 2002).

The hegemonic system of power installed in San Luis (Argentina), a province of conservative customs, since December 1983 with the election of Governor Adolfo Rodríguez Saà against the progressive candidate Carlos Edgardo Zabala (former defender of prisoners during the last Military Dictatorship 1976-1883), it has been naturalized by a certain consensus obtained from the citizens (those dominated in the grammatical conception).

Its control mechanisms to ensure that consensus resided in a branched network of cultural institutions (schools, churches, associations, etc.) that manipulated citizens (the exploited masses in the Gramscian concept) through a set of ideologies transmitted by those who held power (the intellectuals), generating a passive subordination (Giacaglia, 2002).

## 2. Active or Apathetic Citizenships

Interest in the concept of citizenship has experienced a real boom since the 1990s. The resurgence of the concept also has to do with the political events that have occurred in recent decades, especially the fact of the growing apathy of voters; resurgence of nationalist groups; growing international migration processes; ethnic and cultural differences within states; demands of groups or sectors of society until now discriminated or excluded and the dismantling of the Welfare State. These events, ongoing processes, are far from finding a satisfactory solution, they express citizen dissatisfaction and show that the vigor and stability of a modern democracy depend not only on its basic institutional structure, but also on the qualities and attitudes of its citizens. Among them the tolerance to work with different individuals, the desire to participate in the political processes to intervene in it, promoting certain interests and controllable authorities; and desire to have a degree of interference and responsibility in the demands, whether economic, health, housing or environment.

Citizen participation is naturally linked to democracy as this is the main form of government that is based on dialogue and interaction between citizens and state affairs (Contreras, and Montesinos 2019). Democracies that must be open to constructive dialogue and citizen participation. Precisely, the origin of citizen participation is inevitably circumscribed to democracy, understanding the citizen as possessing civic virtues placed at the disposal of the common good, where their participation in public affairs is a fundamental condition for the city to be democratic (Dahl, 1992).

Citizen participation in public affairs strengthens the government-citizen relationship, improves the legitimacy of public policies, and state management can help civic education for citizenship and prevent conflicts. Citizen participation may be an educational and favors the creation of an active political culture.

Participation in a representative democracy must go beyond the electoral act since it is a healthy citizen practice and an exercise of a right that translates into the opportunity for various sectors of society that are interested in matters of public interest to participate in consultative or decisive way in their decision-making processes. In this way, the participation of various sectors of society is a complement to the role of political parties and the principle of representation and delegation of any democratic system.

One of the essential requirements for the participation of public citizens is the reduction and equalization of the relations between power, the reduction of the asymmetries between the rulers and the ruled. Carpentier (2016) expresses that participation is then defined as the equalization of power relations between privileged and non-privileged actors in formal or informal decision-making processes.

### 3. Citizen Participation and Mobilization

Citizen mobilization, awareness of the possibilities of participation in public decisions, can be understood as the first thought, the first action, in search of access, interaction and citizen participation. In San Luis, citizen mobilizations have been sporadic and silenced by the official media. Despite this, the scenario he is presenting is a disjointed civil society that expresses a civic culture of disinterest in public issues, on the one hand, and on the other an absent social dialogue (which the government does not open clearly) and with hardly any possibilities for processes participatory communication. In this context, it appears from the hands of power, the epic and governmental mythology to fill the missing spaces.

Even in disarticulation and in the lack of homogeneity in action, in relation to insubordination and civil disobedience, Scott (1985) has argued that small individual acts can become, under certain circumstances, (potentially) authentic social phenomena capable of trigger far-reaching political changes.

Michel de Certeau (1979) conceived the notions of tactics and strategy together with his conception of resistance, an idea that can help characterize the behaviors of the citizens of San Luis. According to De Certeau, everyday life is repetitive and unconscious and links "strategies" with institutions and power structures that are "producers", while individuals are "consumers" or "poachers", acting in accordance with, or in versus, environments defined by strategies using "tactics".

#### 3.1 About participation

Participation is a fluid and contingent concept. "The wide use of the term [...] has resulted in all the precise and meaningful content practically disappearing; the word 'participation' is used by different people to refer to a wide variety of different situations" emphasizes Pateman (1970, p.1)

This conceptual contingency is explained by the fact that the concept of participation is part of the power struggles in society (Carpentier, 2016).

We believe that there is no single way of participation. Already Arnstein (1969) explained there are different intensities of participation and not just one. Being so varied citizen participation in different contexts, the establishment of a government over a long

period is not only due to the null or deficient participation and citizen mobilization. The control and power mechanisms adopted by the authoritarian government of San Luis, its emerging political and cultural hegemony had their part.

Carpentier (2016) highlights that there are two main approaches to participation: a sociological approach and a political approach. The sociological approach defines participation as part of a particular social process and the idea of participation includes many (if not all) types of human interaction, in combination with interactions with texts and technologies. Power is not excluded from this approach, but remains one of the many secondary concepts to support it. An example of how participation is defined in this approach is the definition of Melucci (1989, p.174), when he says that participation has a double meaning: "It means to participate, that is, to act to promote interests and needs of an actor, as well as belonging to a system, identifying with the general interests of the community".

Carpentier (2016) affirms that the definition of participation is one of the many social areas where a political struggle is waged between the variations of minimalist and maximalist democracy. Regarding the minimalist (restricted) model, democracy is limited to the process of representation, and participation in the selection of an elite through elections that form the expression of a homogeneous popular will.

The maximalist model, on the other hand, represents democracy as a more balanced combination of representation and participation where it is about increasing participation as much as possible. Politics is seen there as part of the social, which allows a wide application of participation in many sectors of society (including the media), both at the micro and macro level, in relation to social diversity (Carpentier, 2016).

We will adopt in this work the political approach suggested by Carpentier (2016) that produces a more restrictive definition of participation, referring to inequalities of power in decision-making processes. There, participation is then defined as the equalization of power relations between privileged and non-privileged actors in formal or informal decision-making processes.

Carpentier (2016) has strengthened the theoretical framework of the concept of participation through the use of a negative and interdisciplinary relativistic point of view allowing to distinguish between access, interaction and participation and highlights the close link between participation, power and empowerment in decisions, while access and interaction are seen as prerequisites for participation, leading to the development of the AIP model.

The incipient and fragmented demonstrations and citizen marches that occurred in San Luis in recent years, which have been practically invisible by the local government

press, of which there are practically no public images, indicate that in situations of great inequality in power, participation is not possible, nor is it promoted. Citizen mobilization could be the first step towards full citizen participation, in a friendly cultural and political environment.

We understand mobilization as readiness and as a conscious search for access to participation. Citizen mobilization is a collective action that can oppose certain non-transparent and authoritarian political practices of the government and in defense of democracy. In the framework of a government with personalistic features, the mobilization in search of citizen participation annoys those who hold power, because it forces them to generate institutional spaces in (maximalist) democracy, to channel the action and proposals of citizens.

### **Citizen Participation in Democracy**



**Figure 1.**

Citizen Participation Scheme (Quiroga, 2021c).



### 3.2 Power and Resistance

Medina (2007) highlights that the well-known Foucauldian statement “where there is power, there is resistance” that highlights the coextensive and contemporary character of resistance, strengthened and redefined numerous questions within social theory should be examined. Medina (2007) wonders about the domain and the specific foundation of resistance, if resistance practices create these cracks, if resistance and struggles are simply captured and integrated into power devices, or on the contrary, these pass through these devices as well as overflow them.

For the author, the notion of resistance is problematic insofar as it is often mentioned as the other side of power. In this regard, she reminds Peter Fleming that he expressed that the very notion of resistance is a metaphor that comes from Newtonian physics: “*to every action (force) corresponds a reaction of equal intensity, but in the opposite direction.*” Thus, the metaphor illuminates the movements of reaction, opposition, and denial as a way of conceiving the relationship between forces and opaque or makes the movements of productivity and interpenetration between both notions disappear. (Fleming, 2005 and Fleming and Spicer, 2006, Medina 2007).

The author highlights that

“the danger of forgetting the selectivity of the former is not to notice other movements that also define it, constitute it and make it intelligible”

(Medina, 2007, p.7).

“The system in which [the consumers] circulate is too vast to fix them anywhere, but too squared so that they could escape it and go into exile elsewhere. There is nowhere else. Due to this, the strategic model changes he too [...] he becomes the whole”

(Certeau, 1996, p.47).

Through different ways of doing things inside the structures, the users (citizens) appropriate the organized space and modify its operation, trying to exhume the forms acquired by the dispersed, tactical and artisanal creativity of groups or individuals.

De Certeau's (1979) argument is that everyday life works through a process of poaching in the territory of others. That process is described as using the rules and products that already exist in the culture in a way that is influenced, but never fully determined, by those rules and products.

### 3.3 Edelman's Dynamics of Passivity. Passivity as Satisfaction.

López Gallegos and Chico Amparan (2011) examining the contributions of Edelman (1950) on symbolism as an ontological dimension of human life, and his conception of

the development of the political process in mass democracy, call this model "symbolic politics". The dynamics of passivity (quiescence) and exaltation (arousal) was a logic and dynamic of mass publics in democracy and was also the result of the operation of symbolism in human behavior. The model of symbolic politics was characterized by strong skepticism towards democracy, a conception that overestimated both the rationality of the elites and the irrationality of the mass public in the political process.

Edelman wonders if politics is a procedure to satisfy the interests of various social groups. What is to satisfy an interest? For Edelman, this expression admits two responses: an interest is satisfied by obtaining tangible resources, or, by obtaining (symbolic reassurance) "symbolic security" (López Gallegos et al 2011).

Edelman argues that, under the conditions of American mass democracy, most individuals exhibit two types of psychological needs:

- 1) the need for social adjustment, that is, the need to belong to a social group, the need to create conformity with a group of peers,
- 2) the externalization of unresolved problems. That is, to the need to project private problems towards an external object or actor to blame.

These psychological needs appear in the context of mass democracy. On the one hand, large groups of individuals lack organization for the purpose of pursuing a common interest, and on the other, in the absence of such organization, these isolated individuals experience deep psychological anxieties when they "experience economic conditions that, to some extent, they threaten the safety" of their lives (Edelman, 1960, p.695). The provision of symbols meets these psychological needs of the mass public.

Edelman admits that the political process produces tangible satisfaction for certain social groups and symbolic satisfaction for others. The "symbolic politics" would then be the different ways in which political actors and agencies handle symbols to produce "symbolic security" among large masses of isolated individuals and thus induce their political passivity.

The symbolic politics acquires two levels according to López Gallegos and Chico Amparan 2011). First of all, citizens will always be uncertain whether a political system actually meets their interests. Electoral participation fulfills a "symbolic function" by assuring citizens that this is indeed the case. At a second level, it manifests itself in the routine function of the governmental administrative apparatus; in the implementation of public policies (López Gallegos et al 2011).

### 3.4 Deer Citizens

In the book *"La Manufactura de los Ciudadanos Ciervos: Cultura Política y Regimenes Neopatrimentalistas"*, Trosello (2009) has asked what type of culture (personalistic political culture) has been produced in a province where the government remains for long periods making each citizen depending on the state. In other words, he wonders who takes over the state in a context where a government remains for more than thirty years. The succession of clientelist policies that have occurred in San Luis over the past thirty years explains Trosello's thinking. One of the most paradigmatic "social aid" plans in the province of San Luis is the so-called "Social Inclusion Plan" created in May 2003, which has thousands of people with minimal basic needs, whose value today is 17,200 pesos, something as well as 110 US dollars. The government provides this help in exchange for other benefits for registered people and strong pressure on people who participate in electoral periods (Wiñaski, 1995, Heredia, 2019).

Trosello openly points out that:

"... Many citizens also lack power because the exercise of their rights is conditioned by deplorable social inequalities that transform them into" subjects "of the State as they depend on its welfare policies. To this must be added that these States are occupied by modern "patrimonial lords" who, along with client networks, establish sophisticated systems of ideological domination that ensure captive electorates"

(Trosello, 2009, p45).

Possibly, beyond being powerless, amid so much inequality, the citizens of San Luis have a position of comfort. Citizens according to Edelman (1960) can have tangible satisfaction for certain social groups and can produce symbolic satisfaction for others. In the conceptualization of a "symbolic politics" where there are different ways in which political actors and agencies handle myths and symbols to produce a "symbolic security" among citizens and in this way their political passivity is promoted and induced.

## 4. Methodology

With the purpose of knowing the perception of the citizens about the public affairs of San Luis, the Project "Personalism in Public Institutions" of the National University of San Luis launched a qualitative questionnaire addressed to the citizens of San Luis.

The qualitative questionnaire on citizens' perception of participation in public affairs was launched in the course of 2021 with the purpose of obtaining inputs and data for subsequent analysis. Based on 75 responses, the citizens of San Luis were asked about these questions:

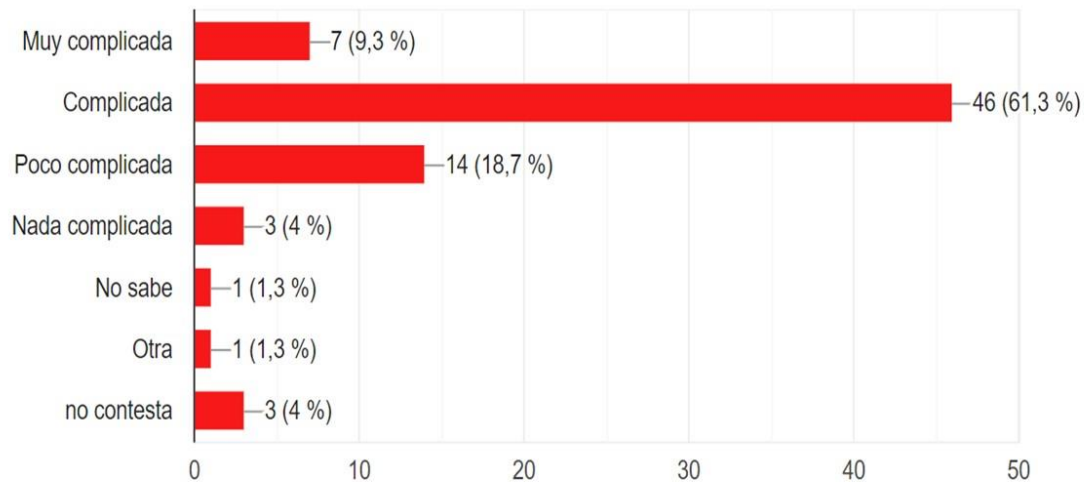
Say two words or phrases that you think of when you hear the word "public", the citizens of San Luis chose the words "of all", "collective", "of the people", "democracy", "our", "shared".

Say two words or phrases that you think when you hear the word "politics", respondents answered mostly "management", "state".

Citizens were asked if the policy was very complicated, complicated, uncomplicated, or not at all complicated. The responses with the most adherence was the "complicated" option (61.03%), complicated (18.07%) and little complicated with 9.03%. From these data it turns out that the perception of citizens is that politics has complications in almost 89% and very complicated in 61.03%.

#### La política es para usted

75 respuestas

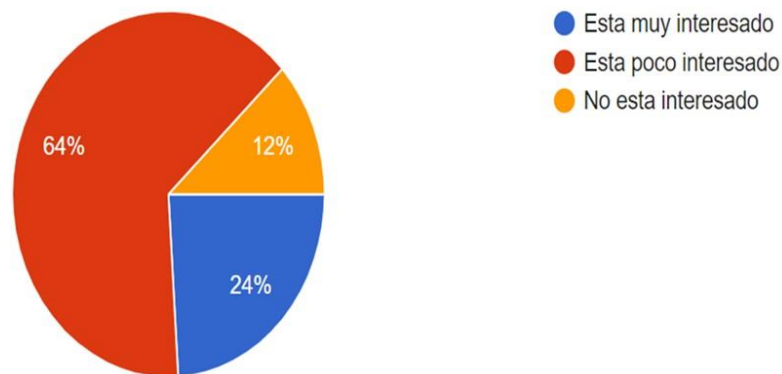


**Figure 2.**

Wondering how interested are you in politics? The option with the most responses was that 64% are not very interested, 24% are very interested and 12% are not interested. If we add disinterest with little interest in politics, we have a portion of 76% of the citizens surveyed.

¿Qué tan interesado esta usted en la política?

75 respuestas

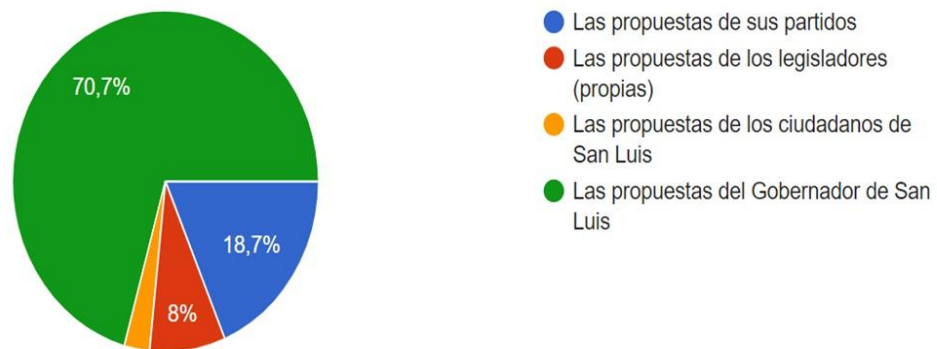


**Figure 3.**

Citizens were asked: *When making laws, what do you think the legislators of San Luis take into account when they formulate them?* The options were a) The proposals of the parties, b) The proposals of the legislators c) The proposals of the political parties and d) The proposals of the Governor of San Luis. The answers with more options were the governor's proposals with 70.7% indicating the strong pressure exerted by the Provincial Executive in provincial decisions. 18.07% chose the proposals of the political parties of San Luis and 8% the proposals of the legislators.

Al elaborar las leyes, que piensa que los legisladores de San Luis tienen en cuenta cuando las formulan

75 respuestas

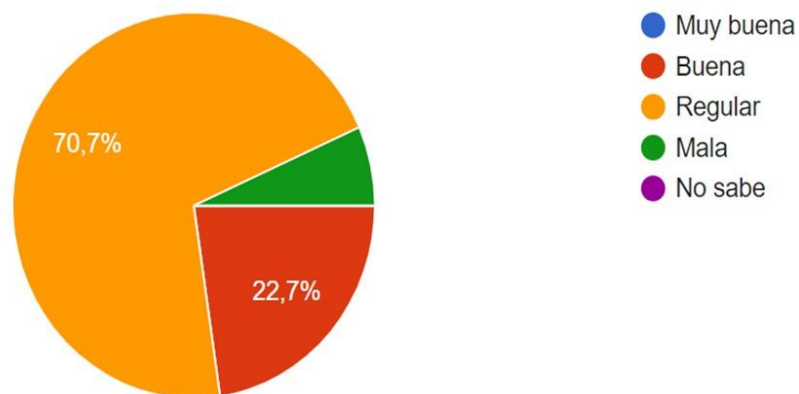


**Figure 4.**

You wonder how do you think the general situation in the province of San Luis is? The answer chosen was that the province is 70.07% regular, and 22.7% perceive the situation as good.

¿Cómo cree que esta la situación general de la provincia de San Luis?

75 respuestas

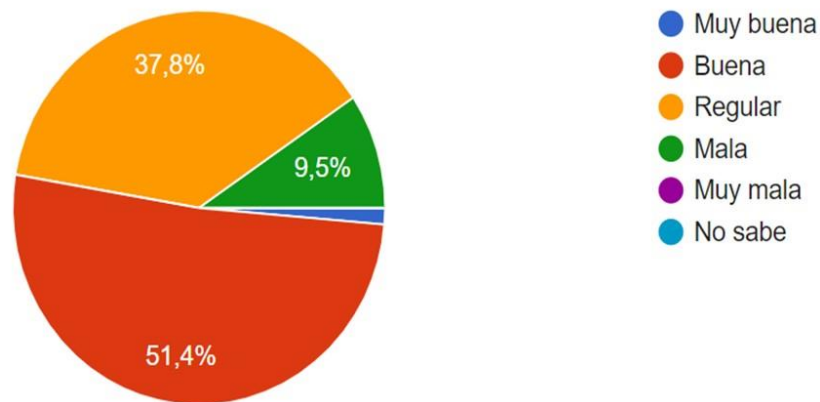


**Figure 5.**

You wonder how you would say your personal situation is? Citizens chose 51.4% good, 37.8% fair and 9.5% bad. A little more than half of the citizens claim to be in a good situation in the middle of the Pandemic crisis.

¿Cómo diría que es su situación personal?

74 respuestas



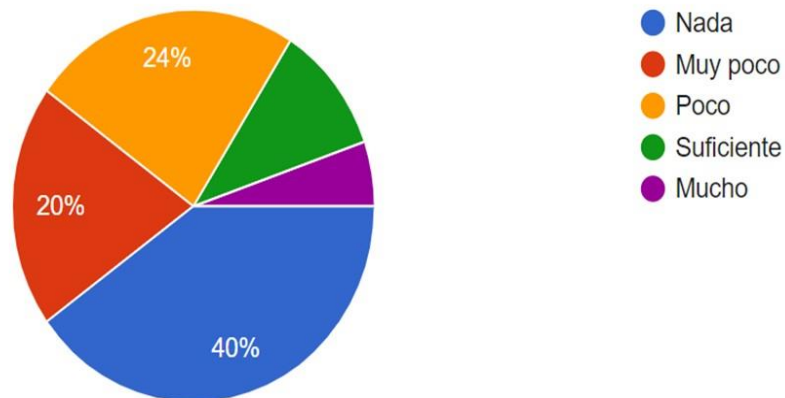
**Figure 6.**

- Citizens were asked about how much do you trust the Governor of San Luis? The vast majority option was 40% "not at all", 20% "very little", 24% "little". The surveyed population considers the Governor of San Luis little credible.



### ¿Qué tanto confía en el Gobernador de San Luis?

75 respuestas

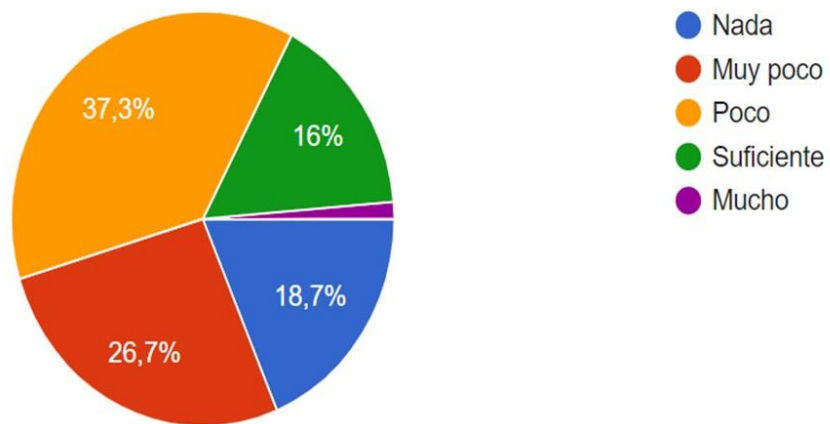


**Figure 7.**

Citizens were asked about how much do they trust the President of the Republic? 37.3% trust little, 26.07 very little, 18.7 not at all and 18.07 chose "enough". The President is nothing and not very credible for almost more than 81%.

¿Qué tanto confía en el Presidente de la República?

75 respuestas

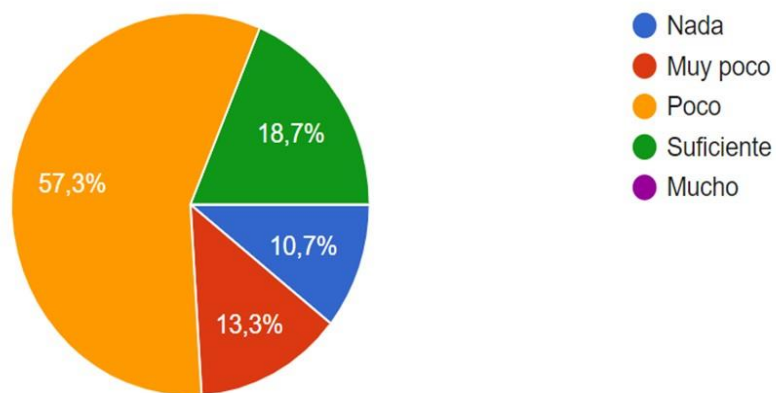


**Figure 8.**

Citizens were asked about how much do they trust the Justice of San Luis? Citizens chose "little" as the most important option by 57.3%, very little by 13.3%, and not at all by 10.7%. 18.7% consider sufficient trust in the Justice of San Luis.

### ¿Qué tanto confía en la Justicia de San Luis

75 respuestas

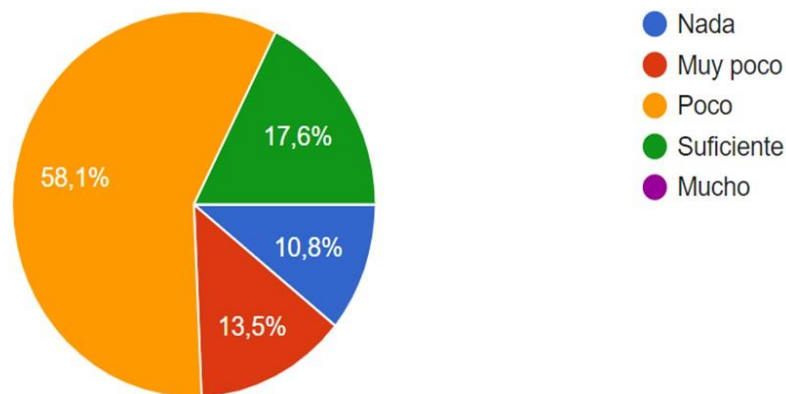


**Figure 9.**

Citizens were asked about trust in legislative bodies. 58.1% of citizens said that little, 13.5% very little, 19.8% nothing and 17.6% considered it sufficient.

### ¿Qué tanto confía en los cuerpos legislativos y en los legisladores de San Luis?

74 respuestas

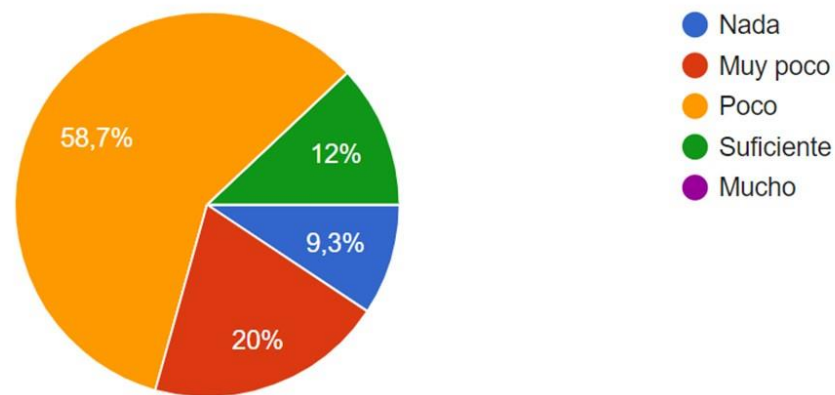


**Figure 10.**

Citizens were asked about their trust towards political parties. 58.7% indicated that little, 20% little, 9.3% nothing and 12% thought it was enough.

¿Qué tanto confía en los partidos políticos de San Luis?

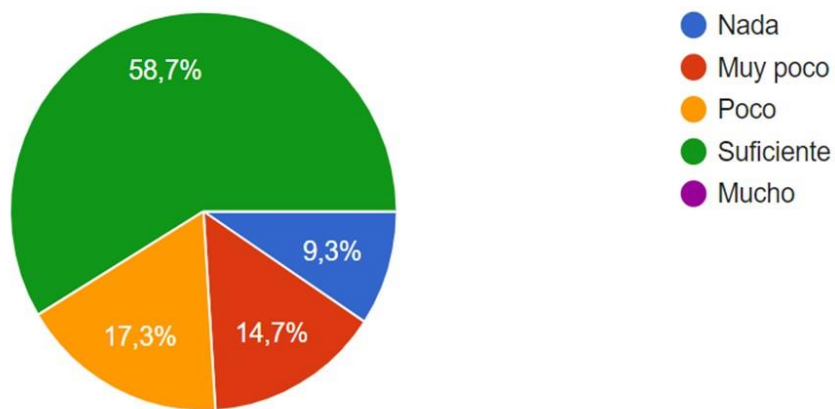
75 respuestas

**Figure 11.**

Citizens were asked about trust in the San Luis media. 58.7% indicated that the action of the media seemed sufficient, 17.3% said that they believed little, 14.7 indicated that they believed very little and 9.3% did not believe them at all.

### ¿Qué tanto confía en los medios de comunicación de San Luis?

75 respuestas

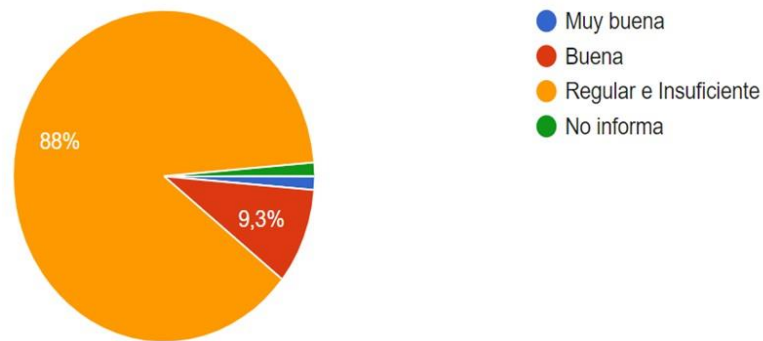


**Figure 12.**

Citizens were asked about how they considered the information that the government displays to citizens. 88% of the citizens consider it regular and insufficient, and 9.3 indicate it as good.

¿ Como considera la información que brinda el gobierno de la provincia de San Luis sobre los temas que resultan de interés para la ciudadanía?

75 respuestas

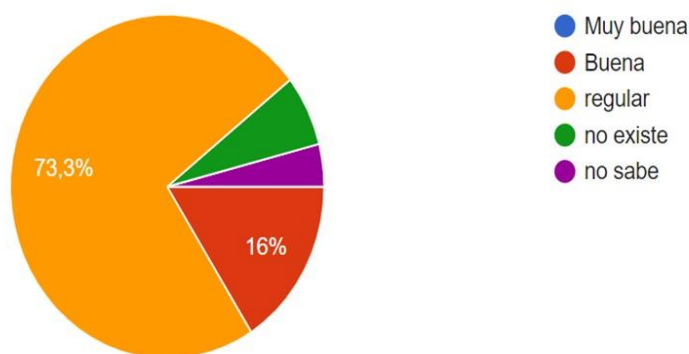


**Figure 13.**

Citizens were asked about how they considered the information that the government displays to citizens. 88% of the citizens consider it regular and insufficient, and 9.3 indicate it as good.

¿Cómo percibe la participación de los ciudadanos en los asuntos públicos de la provincia de San Luis

75 respuestas

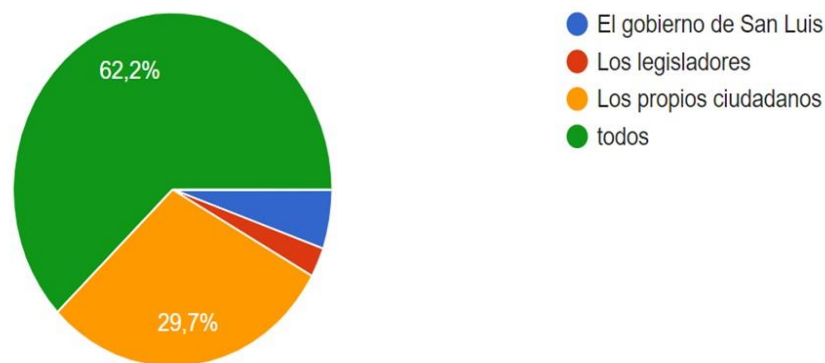


**Figure 14.**

Citizens were asked about who should encourage citizen participation in public affairs. The response with the highest adherence was that everyone (legislators, citizens and the government) should encourage it by 62%, and 29.7% indicated that only citizens should promote it.

¿Quién cree que deben alentar la participación de los ciudadanos en los asuntos públicos de la provincia de San Luis?

74 respuestas



**Figure 15.**

## 5. Conclusions

From the responses of citizens to the survey formulated with a relatively small number of responses, it is perceived that:

Citizens trust very little in the Governor of San Luis, as in the President of Argentina, both from the same political party.

In general, the distrust they have towards the traditional institutions of democracy, justice, congress, legislators, is great.

More than 80 percent of citizens show little interest in politics.

A confidence is perceived towards the media of San Luis, although it could not be differentiated between media with editorial lines closer to the provincial power and from others with other views.

The situation in the province is perceived as regular in almost 71%, while the personal situation appears as good in more than half of the responses.

In accordance with the little confidence that the governor provides, the information that is deployed from government spheres addressed to citizens is considered irregular and insufficient.



Citizen participation is perceived by the citizens themselves as regular and improvable.

Citizens consider that participation should be encouraged by all sectors of the legislature, citizens and the government.

Moving towards citizen participation in public affairs seems like a very difficult task due to the lack of interest that these issues have for citizens. The government, with its long tenure in the administration and management of public affairs, has increased thanks to multiple strategies such as the generation of narratives and myths that referred to a "San Luis Fifth Province" with full employment and housing for everything, as opposed to a forgotten and poor Saint Louis, trying to include citizens in the dreams of greatness of the two brothers.

In the case of San Luis, the Rodríguez Saá family has been especially adept at this, generating the pride of "we, those of San Luis," as a superficial inclusion of citizens, discouraging participation. The culture of obedience, fear, terror and non-participation fostered by the Argentine Military Dictatorship (1976-1983), whose consequences and effects are felt in these years of democracy, should not be forgotten.

However, in the case of San Luis, it could be considered that this inclusion is illusory and is probably experienced as a perception or idea of participation by many citizens of the province, a fact that also makes it difficult to think of other more active and decisive forms of participation.

The "us puntanos" offers certainty by proposing an alternative space for participation in an unknown terrain full of uncertainties. But other forms of participation can also be considered, beyond the idea of resistance to the action of authoritarian, paternalistic and clientelist governments.

These initiatives may involve veiled resistance, which may or may not be expressed openly and politically channeled when the opportunity exists or is created. Meanwhile they work in the "as if", they help, we thank and we promise political fidelity; if they stop helping, we'll see.

Awareness of the possibilities of participation in public decisions could promote mobilization in search of access, interaction, and citizen participation.

Today's scenario exposes a disjointed civil society that expresses a civic culture of disinterest in public issues, on the one hand, and, on the other, an absent social dialogue and with few possibilities of participatory communication. A citizenship of San Luis that appears as sleepy, fractured, and disjointed, conditions in which it is incapable of resisting the epics of an oiled hegemonic state to produce good business, instead of favoring the sectors that most need society and promote growth development.

In this context, epic and governmental mythology emerges from the hands of power to fill the missing spaces. It has been sought to read in the practices and discourses of the citizens, these perceptions of inclusion and these resistance tactics from the contributions of the hegemony of Gramsci and the tactics and resistance of Michel de Certeau, in the idea of finding ways for a more participation deep. And within this framework, seek better alternatives for participatory communication.

Citizen participation must be oriented towards awareness of their role in democracy, the deconstruction of government epics and myths, the recognition and combat of the practices of an authoritarian state that uses its coercive power over the social order and generation of collective, dialogical, and peaceful counterproposals to the hegemonic state projects.

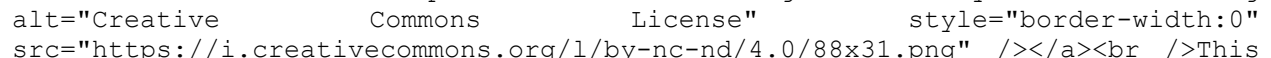
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