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Working Paper Reflections about Sport, Personalism and Democracy.

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Sport, Personalism and Democracy

Social Sciences and Academy

SPORT, PERSONALISM AND DEMOCRACY

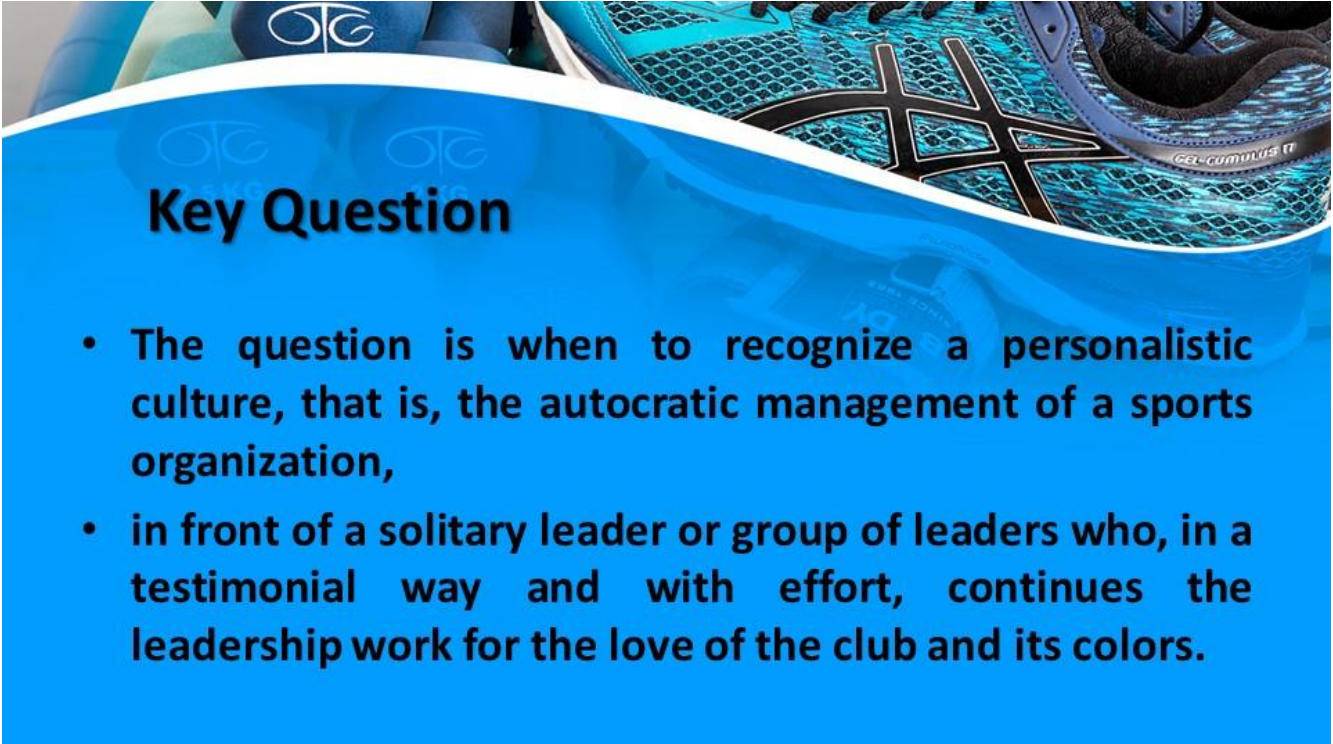
Social Sciences and Academy

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Personalism, sports organizations and democracy in sport

Introduction

This text addresses the phenomenon of personalism as a management culture in sports organizations in the province of San Luis, Argentina in the last thirty years. The objective is to present a descriptive and preliminary analysis of the organizational phenomenon that we consider has been deployed in the province of San Luis, emphasizing the analysis of personalistic management in some of these organizations, the individualistic action of their leaders and the characteristics of their organizational culture. On the other hand, it is made visible that the action of the leadership in civil society organizations provides public visibility, some power and a possible political projection for the leaders.



Key Question

- **The question is when to recognize a personalistic culture, that is, the autocratic management of a sports organization,**
- **in front of a solitary leader or group of leaders who, in a testimonial way and with effort, continues the leadership work for the love of the club and its colors.**

San Luis, Argentina

San Luis province, Argentina. located almost in the geographical center of Argentina with just 500,000 inhabitants. The Justicialist Party has been in

power for more than thirty-six years. since the arrival of democracy in Argentina in December 1983. Its leaders are the Rodríguez Saá brothers. Adolfo and Alberto have preserved and have a strong political control in these years built by multiple factors. The government strategy that included various public policies. as a strong public works plan. the control of the government media and allied media that served for the deployment of his epic. the distribution of “official” advertising in the media close to power in a context of craft journalism and starving media and the construction of patronage networks allied to the provincial government.



Since the arrival of democracy in Argentina, the province of San Luis has been governed by the Justicialista Party whose leaders have been Alberto and Adolfo Rodríguez Saá. Today Alberto is his driver and last Sunday for the first time he lost a legislative election.

During these years, they control the legislative bodies of San Luis, the judiciary and most of the communication media with the official media and the official advertising guideline.

This work focuses on the personalism of the leaders of sports organizations, basically understood as a form of management of organizations. Personalism in the management of civil society organizations (CSOs) appears when those who lead these institutions make decisions more than for their own interest.

instead of collective and societal interests in an environment of institutional inaction.

Undoubtedly, the personal behaviors of social leaders emerge in a historically situated cultural process. Various questions arise when trying to understand and explain these undemocratic leadership attitudes and behaviors in the social evolution of San Luis. Why do the leaders adopt this form of leadership in the crisis or why do they not adopt the remedies that the laws and regulations establish in the case of institutional defection? What culture underlies these questions? Is the lack of participation in organizations related to the lack of participation and democratic culture? Secondly, this form of leadership action also arises as a result of the limited participation of corporate actors, who are unconcerned and left to chance, the actions of their leaders.

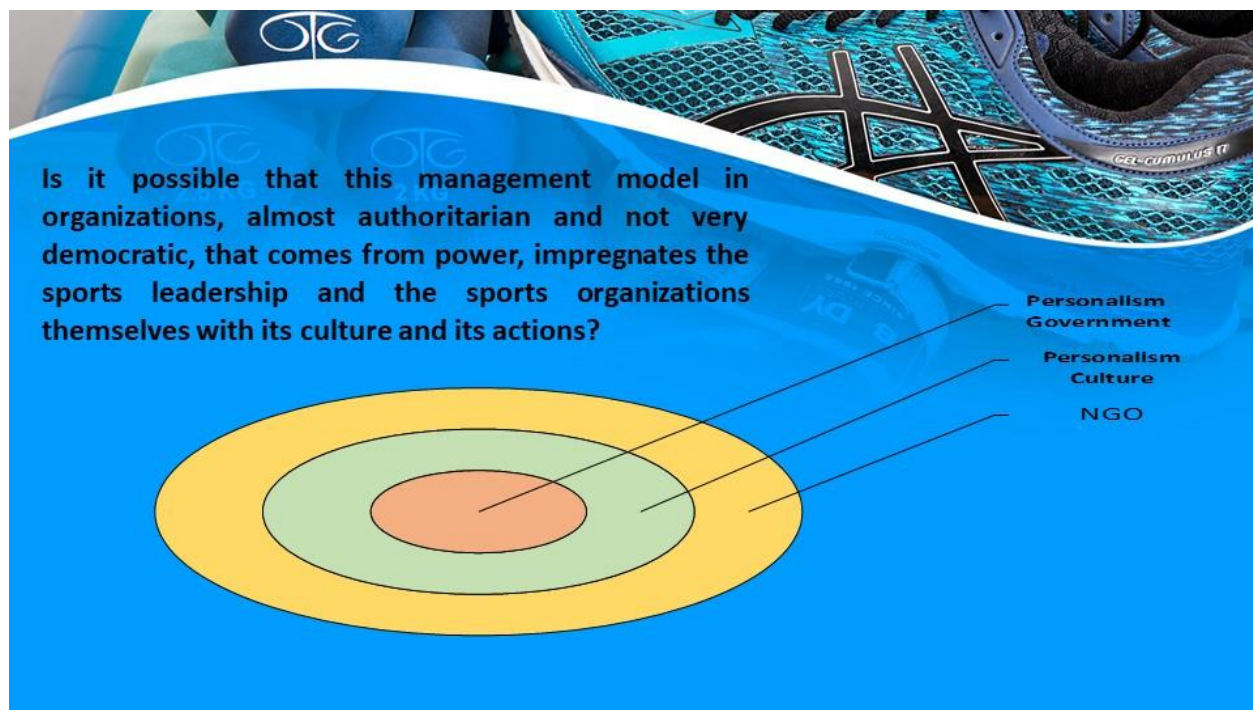
Personalism as a social and political action is also a consequence of the lack of interest in the public, where people choose to give a subject the power to make a good number of decisions, without any consultation with the institutional frameworks and/or democratic and that exposes citizens, in this case, the members and sympathizers of a particular organization, disinterested in public action. In this sense, personalism is any exercise of power derived from an institutional role, where the action is executed without taking into account or without applying all the institutional channels established for taking said action. The individual who must manage the sports organization and has the representation of his errands in the collegiate bodies tends to make decisions that are convenient to his own interests, more than by mandate of the representative of him. In this case the partners of the organization.

The growing importance of political personalization at the expense of political groups, or party groups has been described as personalization of politics (Rahat and Sheaffer, 2007; Balmas et al. 2014). Political personalization can be

described from the individual performance as a "process in which the political weight of the individual actor in the political process increases over time, while the centrality of the political group (i.e. the political party) decreases" (Rahat and Sheaffer, 2007, page 65) A similar definition of these terms is provided by Karvonen. (2010 p. 4) and Mancini and Swanson (1996. p. 10). Nevertheless. the process of political personalization constitutes a multifaceted phenomenon. Three main types of political personalization can be identified: Institutional personalization, behavioral and media. These can be classified into subtypes, personalization understood in two ways: institutional personalization at the state and party level; customization of mediated (or controlled) or non-mediated (or uncontrolled); and personalization in the behavior of politicians and voters (Rahat and Sheaffer 2007). Also. personalization can be centered on leaders (centralized personalization) or focused on individual (regional) politicians beyond party leaders (decentralized personalization (Balmas et. al. 2014).

On the other hand, in some moments of the deployment of government action and in search of greater power, the government itself has co-opted sports organizations in the hands of recognized leaders of the governing party. looking for certain political gains. Sport appears as a powerful and attractive showcase for political and business action in the global, national and local order and as such, some organizations that try to represent the sport of San Luis seek to be co-opted by the government of the province of San Luis directed by the Rodríguez Saá brothers or the political leaders who correspond to that space.

Diagram 1. Personalistic Culture



Is it possible that this management model in organizations, almost authoritarian and undemocratic, is impregnated with certain conditions or characteristics that San Luis society passes through, which has chosen and suffered for many years from a personalist government that is democratic in form and authoritarian in nature? action? Without a doubt, the examples of the people who govern the state, of the intellectuals, of the social referents, are relevant for the social body and in some cases, worthy of imitation. Political, social, and/or sports figures have a lot of ascendancy in the social fabric

A convenient question to propose is the following: to what extent can the conduct of the leaders who remain in a sports organization in order to assist it and do not let it die be characterized as a personalist action for their own benefit? Above all, when that leadership action corresponds to a culture of survival of the sports organization itself. In this sense. We preliminarily propose the idea that when these leaders abuse and use institutional forms to obtain advantages and benefits of a personal nature, we are in the presence of a personalist culture. Now when that leader or small group. in the context of

difficulties in the midst of difficulties, performs voluntaristic or transformative actions in pursuit of the survival of the organization. of its colors. of your story. of his t-shirt. we are in the presence of a culture of survival.

Diagram 2. Culture of Survival



Personalism in non-governmental organizations (NGOs) linked to sport can emerge when a governing body elected by the statutory bodies (generally the assembly of members) begins to dismember over time. This process can emerge during the mandate of the directors in the organization, the progressive abandonment of the leaders for different reasons, leaving the administration and management of these organizations in the hands of a few leaders or one, who continues to make decisions. without calling elections and/or an assembly for leadership renewal.

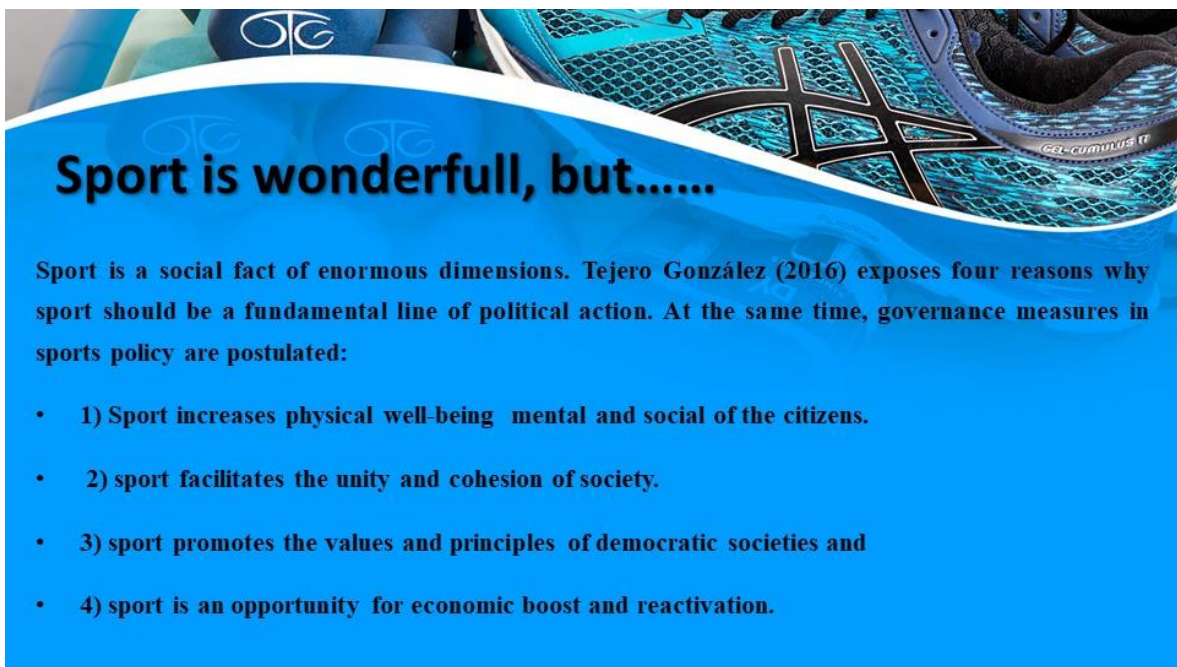
The governing body is abandoned for multiple reasons: lack of culture of participation, conflicts among its members, material lack of time of the members themselves, lack of democratic culture. etc.

The fate of the organization appears sealed. The few sports leaders who remain leading a civil society organization tend to remain their own owners for a long time. Until someone interested in the mismanagement of the organization appears who requests explanations from the provincial supervisory bodies such as the former Directorate of Legal Entities of San Luis or the few leaders that remained slowly, they also abandon it.

Clubs and Federations

In this reflection, we pay special attention to non-governmental sports organizations such as sports federations, whose main characteristics are that they are made up of clubs (members) and that they administer in a certain jurisdiction, in this case, San Luis, Argentina.

These Federations are affiliated to a national organization that represents the sport and that in turn. it subscribes and is related to an International Federation that regulates and conducts a discipline. This articulation exposes a sports system understood as “the set of all those elements related to each other. according to an order. and that contribute to the development of sport in all its manifestations” (Guzmán Morales, 2006. p.1). The administration of these types of organizations. as well as of the clubs, it generally corresponds to leaders who carry it out in an amateur way. that is, they do not have salaries or remuneration for the activity they carry out. Pierre de Coubertin founder of the J.J.OO. modern. Passionate about the English “public schools”. he conceived sport and the Olympic idea as a muscular culture, amateur and gentlemen (Quiroga. 2018a).



Sport is wonderful, but.....

Sport is a social fact of enormous dimensions. Tejero González (2016) exposes four reasons why sport should be a fundamental line of political action. At the same time, governance measures in sports policy are postulated:

- 1) Sport increases physical well-being mental and social of the citizens.
- 2) sport facilitates the unity and cohesion of society.
- 3) sport promotes the values and principles of democratic societies and
- 4) sport is an opportunity for economic boost and reactivation.

Sport is a social fact of enormous dimensions. Tejero González (2016) characterizes four reasons why sport should be a fundamental line of political action in public policies, while also postulating governance measures in sports policy: 1) sport increases physical well-being. mental and social of citizens. 2) sport facilitates the unity and cohesion of society. 3) sport promotes the values and principles of democratic societies and 4) sport is an opportunity to promote and reactivate the economy.

The current laws of application in the Civil Associations establish certain obligations that weigh on the entities such as the establishment of the board of directors, the assemblies and the supervisory body. in reference to the administrative bodies. government and control of civil associations. Barbieri (2015) highlights that most of the sports clubs that practice professional soccer in Argentina were born around the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century and that their origins were the result of the exercise of the right of association by founding members who congregated by different reasons, with a great social activity. The legal typology is that of being non-profit civil associations. under this modality. sports clubs (and also

the associations and federations that group the clubs) have developed a variety of activities. Many of them are related to professional sports, but without neglecting social activities, the practice of amateur sports, cultural events e. even, in some cases, the installation of educational services in their own facilities (Barbieri. 2015).



Personalism in Sport

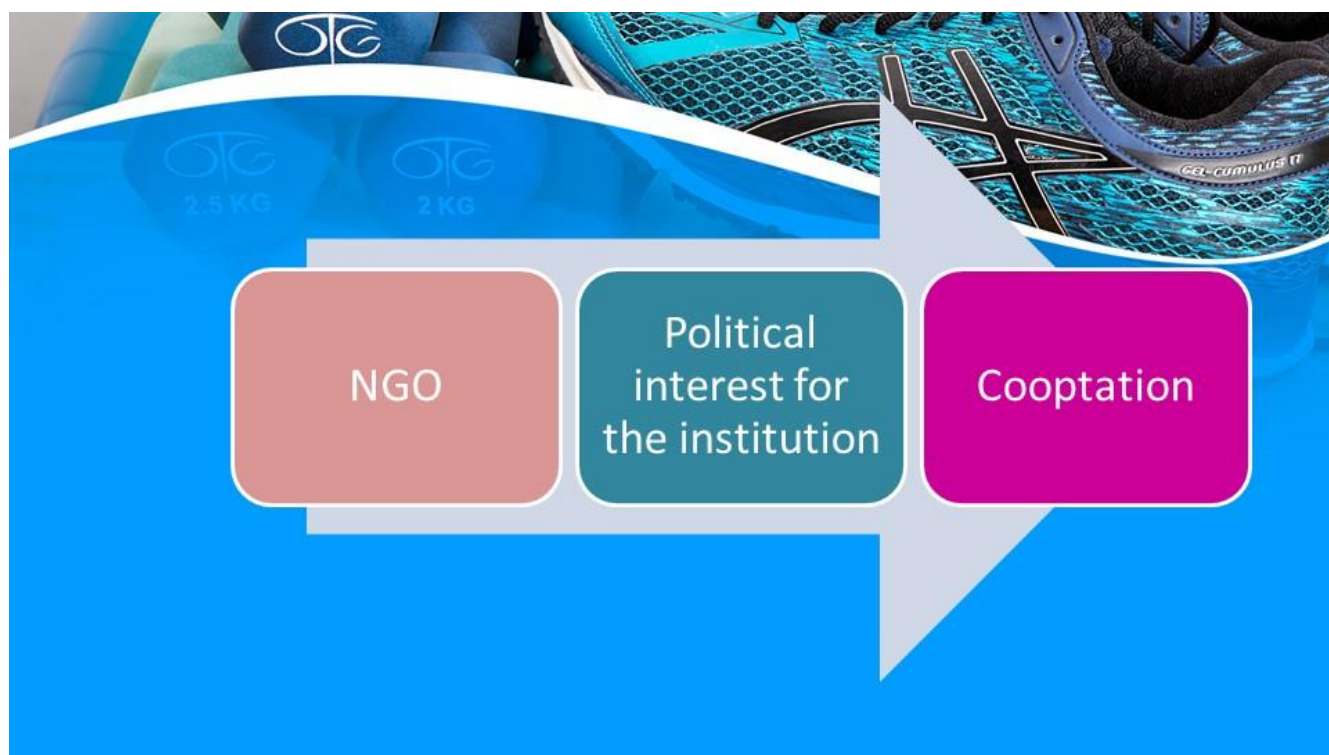
- This text addresses the phenomenon of personalism in sports organizations in the province of San Luis, Argentina. It is a descriptive and preliminary analysis of the organizational phenomenon in the province of San Luis, emphasizing the analysis in personalistic management in some of these organizations, the individualistic action of its leaders and the characteristics of its organizational culture.
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While there is no single sports system. the best-known system at the international level is that of club-association-federation-national federation-international federation. Guzmán Morales (2006) points out that. The sports system forms a complex structure of interrelation between its different elements that is in a permanent process of change in the Spanish sphere and whose main characteristic is its dynamism. While. The structure made up of the public and private systems in the Argentine sphere in general is characterized by few changes in terms of organization and sports regulations that are basically established by the international organizatio

Gomez, Opazo and Martí (2007) emphasize that an important portion of the bibliography on organizations refers to the way in which they manage to divide and coordinate the tasks they carry out, directing them towards the

achievement of a specific objective. The authors affirm that the division of labor is a fundamental aspect and that this dynamic is known as the differentiation process. Both differentiation and interaction are two key processes to understand the structure of an organization (Hodge. 2003 in Gómez Opazo and Martí. 2007).

In addition, Gómez (et al 2007) highlights that these organizations in their survival mission compete with each other for access to scarce resources. but for another. they need others to produce activities of a competitive nature. in the promotion and development of sport.



Sports organizations in Argentina are basically Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs). Lucas (2017) points out that the community associates this type of organization with community groups for solidarity purposes and its acronym means "non-governmental organizations", as opposed to any belonging referred to the State and / or public sector. Lucas (2017) highlights that in 2001 some changes were introduced, including updating the more

inclusive and proper concept when referring to entities linked to altruistic and common good actions, baptizing it with the name: "civil society organizations", with its acronym OSC.

The Civil and Commercial Code classifies them. in its Art. No. 145 in public or private legal persons. The first are those comprised by the National State, the provinces, the Autonomous City of Buenos Aires, the municipalities, the autarchic entities, the foreign States, the Catholic Church, the organizations constituted in our country with a norm that attributes that character to them or those organizations recognized by public international law as established abroad. The second are civil associations, simple associations, foundations, churches, religious communities or entities, mutuels, cooperatives, the consortium of horizontal property and all those to which a norm grants that character. The norm does not mention unions, political parties and other associations (Lucas, 2017).

Also. The rapid changes that emerged in the world and Latin American context in the late 1980s and early 1990s generated a more demanding and competitive world for sports clubs in Latin America. Changes in the role of the state in Latin American countries, abandoning its role as executor of public social policies, deriving this task to private organizations together with the increase in unattended demands and needs of the poorest population in the region. and the transformation of sports and cultural habits generated a new context for sports clubs. In the case of the Federations, they are organizations whose members are the clubs. Federations and Clubs seem to suffer from the same institutional difficulties.

These institutions should have greater transparency, detailed planning of their actions. clear and transmittable evaluations of its results, efficiency in the use of its resources, effectiveness in its actions, greater articulation with other actors, development of human resources, economic sustainability, and good communication with its partners. etc.

Politicize sports civil society organizations

Concepts that speak of the complexity of the sport phenomenon and its polysemy were described more than twenty years ago. The German sociologist Henning Eichberg (2004) who studied Danish sport and Danish gymnastics used to say that sport attends multiple tensions and requires examining the multiple relationships and contradictions between state and people. The ideas of state and people also open up a wide range due to their multiple conceptions and relationships.

It has often been stated that sport is the most relevant cultural phenomenon. complex and exciting of contemporary society. Sport is full of tensions. Tensions between the people and the ruling elites. between innovation and restoration. between liberation and colonization (Eichberg, 2004). When attempting to simplify these contradictions of a complex phenomenon such as sport, significant and essential aspects of sport that reduce its understanding can be ignored (Quiroga, 2000). Cornejo Mellado & Melgarejo (2000) point out that the rapid dynamics of the development of sport and physical activity is one of the most characteristic elements of our society, to the extent that they become the object of attention of the public authorities, submitting to the political action.

Reyes Bosio (2006) highlights that politics synthesizes social experience and collective psychology as a mediation and bridge between multiple possible worlds to establish a range of common rules. These provisions will be transformed into norms and roles, which will be more later. laws and constitutions that will govern the interpersonal relationships of the members of human communities.

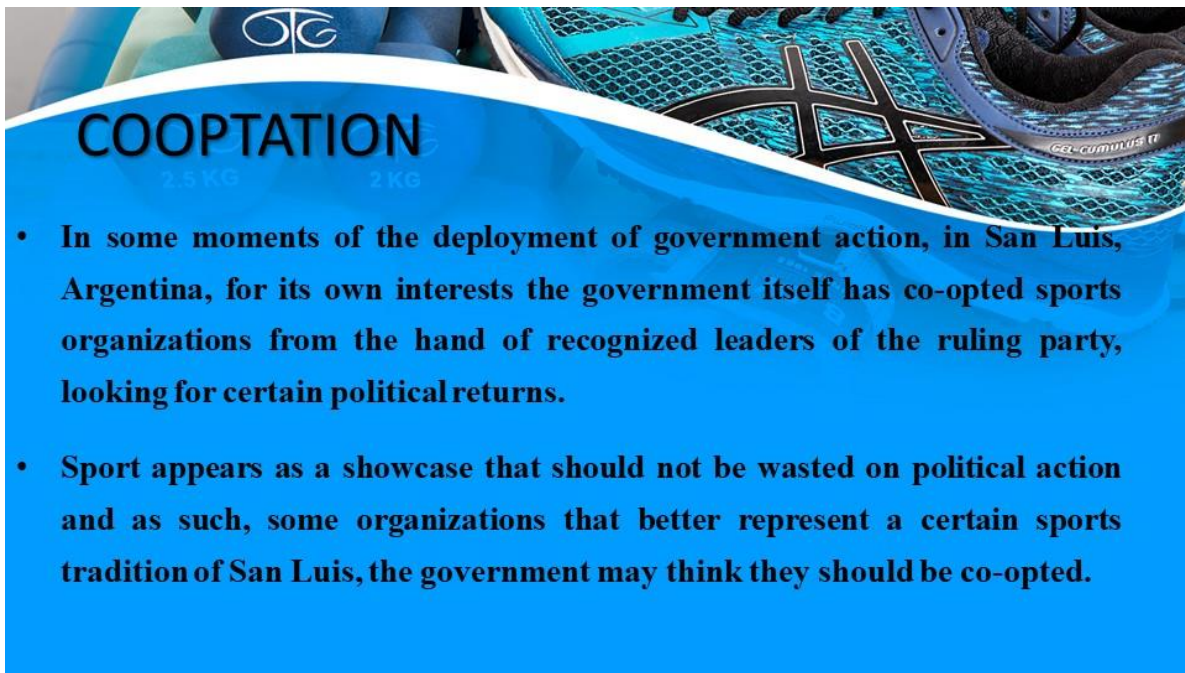
The term sport is polysemic and appears impregnated with multiple meanings. The most classic definition is that generated by the father of modern Olympism, Pierre de Coubertin (1922), who postulated that sport is the

voluntary and habitual cult of intense muscular effort supported by the desire for progress. The rescue of Baron Pierre de Coubertín from the Ancient Olympic Games sought to unite morality and sport, representing the effort of the human being to always achieve the best results or performances and achieve an athlete who would be the strongest, who was taller and further (citius , altius, fortius). motto that expresses one of the ideals of the Olympic Movement (Quiroga, 2018b).

Brohn (1982) emphasizes the idea of sport performance and that sport is an institutionalized system of competitive practices, with a predominance of the physical aspect; delimited, regulated, codified and regulated conventionally, whose objective is a comparison of sports and physical performance. That is, designate the best contestant or record the best performance. Reyes Bosio (2006) adds that it is the function of the state to promote public policies that encourage the practice of sport and at the same time promote and facilitate the active participation of sports entities of civil society and organizations and companies of the private sector.

Since 2015, in San Luis, Argentina, the media has spread government advertising that states that "sport is a state policy." There, the importance of sport and the consideration that a government makes of it are highlighted. But, the sport, is not one. What sport should the state support?

On April 18, 2015, sixteen San Luis sports federations signed an agreement to establish sports development plans. federated and social during the years 2016, 2017 and 2018.



COOPTATION

- **In some moments of the deployment of government action, in San Luis, Argentina, for its own interests the government itself has co-opted sports organizations from the hand of recognized leaders of the ruling party, looking for certain political returns.**
- **Sport appears as a showcase that should not be wasted on political action and as such, some organizations that better represent a certain sports tradition of San Luis, the government may think they should be co-opted.**

The question is, what sport should be part of a state policy? The growing contribution of the public sector to amateur and professional sports occurs in different latitudes. Hirata, Canaan and Starepravo (20 21) have developed the hypothesis that the recurring use of public funding to support high-performance teams stems from incremental sports-oriented policies. The data pointed to the use of public resources in the teams participating in the national basketball championships in all seasons, mainly in teams located in cities in the interior that have public financing between 40 and 60 percent. In many countries, high-performance sport does not seem to exist, without public or private funding or support.

The Provincial University of La Punta (ULP), a "hybrid" administrative organization created by the government of San Luis, without national recognition, since June 2006, produced an educational proposal called Initial School Chess (AEI) that grew over the years. successive years until reaching almost two hundred schools in 2015. The excessive politicization of the educational proposal left almost seventy instructors on the street in mid-2016. that they had the character of contracted (for which they did not receive any

compensation) and the classes went virtual. Another example of this phenomenon was that of the Student Club of San Luis, which was intervened by the provincial government, due to leadership mismanagement, although this process did not achieve the objectives that were proposed due to an opaque management. Another face is the audits that were carried out at the Universidad de la Punta, after the successive changes of rectors, all appointed by the governor of San Luis, who did not have public light, who did not know each other, and of which mismanagement is suspected. administrative and financial that in successive periods this entity had.

In many cases in the province of San Luis, the leadership action in sports organizations has exposed a growing personalism and an individualistic action, the recurrent ignorance of collective corporate rules, the decrease in the members of the collegiate bodies that must make decisions and the facilitation of political interference. This has been possible. by multiple factors such as changes in social life. the desire to transcend the leaders and the lack of state controls in the development of these societies.

Possibly the models of culture and political participation that are sustained from power are deployed from the elites towards the citizenry. It is perceived that the sports leadership of sports organizations usually remains in charge of them for many years. This attitude promotes the low participation of members and sympathizers in them, and in some cases, restricts social activities. In sports organizations, management committees often appear dismembered over time, made up of one or two people in front of them, who make decisions for the whole and are the product of multiple factors and personal action, which often some of them their manager's practice.

These entities born as non-governmental non-profit organizations have voluntary leadership and purposes determined by their statutes. The goal of "non-profit" means that all financial, logistical, material resources. etc. must be used to fulfill its social and statutory purposes. It is remarkable to perceive

in San Luis, and in Argentine society, the fact that more and more citizens disassociate themselves from these organizations, losing their status as partners and actors in the institutional future. a process that favors the co-optation of politicians often linked to the provincial government for their own ends. The individual who has representation in these organizations, such as the Federations, in the Argentine case, have national jurisdiction, and tends to make decisions based on their own interests. that by mandate of the represented him. This distinction exhibits the personalist game by virtue of the exercise of representation, weakening democratic development and the participation of partners in Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs). Personalism in public organizations is precisely an emerging phenomenon of the social order and is basically characterized by the claim and action of certain individuals to belong, own and dominate the public scene for a long time.

There are clubs and organizations that have few leaders, a small number of members and few activities. These leaders usually function as the "owners of the club" and exhibit the lack of transparency and lack of control of the state. In many cases, it is not possible to formalize the change in leadership that is essential for social and corporate development. Good leadership management in a non-profit civil society can be a platform for the political projection of its leader and also project a politician who complied with the wishes and aspirations of power in the task of co-opting organizations. Possibly for many years the leaders who were closest to the government of San Luis were more favored than others in the granting of official aid and subsidies. That aid used to show up conspicuously in election years.

These organizations were born as non-profit non-governmental organizations, have voluntary leadership and purposes determined by their statutes. The goal of "non-profit" means that all financial, logistical resources. materials. etc. must be used to fulfill its social and statutory purposes. On the other hand, it

is remarkable in San Luis the fact that more and more citizens disassociate themselves from these organizations, losing their status as partners and, therefore, as actors in the institutional future. That process that favors the co-optation in the governing bodies by politicians, and often linked to the government, in the case of San Luis. This distinction exhibits the personalist game by virtue of the exercise of representation, weakening democratic development and citizen participation in Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs). It is precisely the personalism in public organizations, which is an emerging phenomenon of the social order and is basically characterized by the claim of certain individuals to belong, own and dominate the public scene for a long time. However, the transforming action and survival that some leaders carry out in order to maintain the organization should not be taken as a personalistic culture. since those subjects who dedicate much of their time to the sports organization. These leaders can perceive that, if they leave it, they also leave their dreams, their colors and the dying institution.

What democracy and what government can promote this type of culture and leadership attitudes in civil society organizations linked to sport?

The influences derived from political personalism in the social order permeate the political culture and the culture of citizen participation in general. These cultures are exhibited in the communication and in the power disputes between the different actors.

We agree with Cadenas (2015), in the idea that communication is its fundamental operation and the poiesis of society rests on it. Observing culture from this perspective allows us to locate the limits of culture within the communication of society. Culture has to be understood. thus. as communication in social systems, as culture in the system (Nassehi, 2010, p. 377).



Personalism in Sport

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Conclusions

The political culture of San Luis through the years has invaded and hegemonized the social order and is perceived as democratic in form and authoritarian in action. Jorge (2015, p.1) highlights that “political culture includes values, beliefs and behavior patterns relevant to the political process that prevail among individuals and groups in society”. It is a defined set of cultural orientations essential for stability, the depth and effectiveness of the system, such as economic and social issues, the decisions of the elites or the international context (Jorge, 2015).



Personalism in NGO

Personalism in non-governmental organizations (NGOs) linked to sport can arise when institutional authorities begin to dismember over time and institutional wear and tear. This process may arise during the mandate of the organization's leaders, the progressive abandonment of managers for different reasons and the lack of administration and management concentrated in a few leaders or just one, who continues to make decisions on their own without calling elections. and / or assemblies for leadership renewal.

Jorge (2015) suggests that we should not imagine political culture as an immobile entity or a "cause" that "determines" the political life of a country, although we can take it as a variable that maintains complex relationships of interaction with the economy, the social structure and the political-institutional sphere. The phenomenon of personalism of the leaders of sports organizations is favored by the impregnation of authoritarian cultures that unfold from power, and that can be perceived as models of action, compared to the disinterest and inaction of the partners and the lack of democratic culture. extensive and collaborative, among other factors.

Jorge (2016) highlights that anthropology shows that. Although cultural change is slow and no culture is immutable, one of its functions is to adapt society to its environment and individuals to their social environment. Jorge (2016) mentions Inglehar's well-known and curious hypothesis, also based on Maslow's hierarchy of needs (1954), which suggests that the values of generations change when economic development is sustained in the long term. With this slogan it could be rehearsed that social values will not change if there is no economic development and, in this case, it is possible that even

without economic and social development, social values and attitudes will change.

Cadenas (2015) conceives that it is necessary, from the theory of social systems, to establish a starting point for the study of culture. Society corresponds to that social system that reproduces and closes operationally through "communication" (Luhmann, 1991 p. 60-61). However, communication is its fundamental operation and the poiesis of society rests on it. If we intend to observe culture from this perspective, its limits must be located in the communication of society. Culture must be understood, in this way, as communication in social systems, as "culture in the system" (Nassehi, 2010, p. 377).

A theory of culture must be able to account for its own operability in society, in other words, its capacity for reproduction and connection. In this case, the authoritarian culture as a form of administration and resolution of social problems or of sports associations in democracy, displayed over the years, can be an attitude and behavior that sports and social leaders illustrated by examples of the ruling elite. This opaque only formal democracy cannot replace the possible and transforming actions of the citizenry towards a participatory democracy. Participation has been progressively curtailed and limited in San Luis and it is also comfortable for those who lead the government, because they are the ones who unilaterally make decisions that will affect their citizens.

This citizen culture of little participation or of little concern in public affairs is unfavorable in the social dynamics towards a full democracy. This "letting go" encourages a small group of people to manage public finances almost without control and can favor the intention of confusing public affairs and private business.

The lack of opening of the social dialogue between government and citizens is a factor that restricts the potential of democracy, since citizen mobilization

and participation in public affairs is relevant (Quiroga, 2020). The government bodies of democracy should encourage and provide mechanisms for citizen consultation and permanent dialogue in the search for social progress.

The Argentine experience has shown that citizens and groups of citizens have mobilized and petitioned the authorities when their basic needs have been significantly affected.

Citizen attitudes, such as interest in participating in public issues that do not directly affect their lives, tend to take a back seat. These attitudes tend to be persistent over time, they change somewhat slowly, thanks to social transformations, socio-political dynamics, changes in the perception of social environments and the interest, possibility and practice of citizens for participation.

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Political Personalism and Democratic Culture in San Luis, Argentina

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1. Introduction

The state administration requires the action of the three powers of democracy: executive, legislative and judicial, institutions that have associated specific roles and ways of acting and that, in the case of the executive and legislative powers, its representatives are mainly elected through elections, periodically formulated by citizens in electoral acts. However, sometimes, that ideal functioning that we describe and that should work in all democracies does not happen. This work pays special attention to the phenomenon of political personalism, a prism through which we can take a look (among many possible) at the democracy of San Luis, Argentina.

In Argentina and Latin America, we note the exhaustion of traditional politics, particularly in the growing contradictions that governments experience when deepening extractivism, allowing scandalous levels of corruption and increasingly intolerant of dissent. Anti-democratic authoritarianism has begun to grow in the region showing its most terrible face, in which political participation begins to be risky for people.

In the case of the province of San Luis, in Argentina, the *Justicialista Party* (heir to the teachings of Juan Domingo Perón, three times president of Argentina), has been in power for more than thirty-six years since the arrival of democracy in Argentina in December 1983. Its leaders are the brothers Rodríguez Saá, Adolfo and Alberto. San Luis is a small province, located almost in the geographic center of Argentina with just 500,000 inhabitants.

These characters in the political history of San Luis built their political power day by day on the basis of the construction of an epic and myths as a style of communication aided by the low relative weight of the provincial press, heavy investment in public works and purchases of wills. Public works were an important engine of its management, often of low quality, although strategic areas such as health, public education and security were neglected for many years. Under the government of Adolfo Rodríguez Saá (five times governor of San Luis and former president of Argentina in a mandate that lasted five days), plans were promoted for small social houses, some carried out in inadequate places and with few controls on the companies awarded these plays.

San Luis was in 1970 a province where livestock and agriculture prevailed. The incipient industrialization of San Luis began around 1982, with the industrial promotion regime that governed the country. The industrial regime established that the industries established in the provinces of La Rioja, Catamarca, San Luis, and San Juan were exempt from paying income tax and value added tax. Law 22.021 was enacted in 1979 and only granted these benefits to the province of La Rioja. Then, between 1982 and 1983 the extension and validity of the tax promotion regime for Catamarca, San Luis and San Juan was sanctioned (Quiroga, 2018).

The Industrial Promotion Law made it possible for different companies with tax benefits to settle on San Luis land since 1980. Citizens of different Argentine provinces came to San Luis with the dream of working, obtained employment and settled in the province. Both the new social composition and the emerging changes that arose as a consequence of the demographic growth produced by the arrival of new settlers (workers, businessmen, etc.) since the implementation of the Industrial Promotion Law since 1980, have modified the urban and social geography of the province (Quiroga, 2018). The offer of employment in San Luis was attractive due to the stagnation and recurrent economic crises that Argentina was experiencing in that period and allowed new settlers to arrive in search of employment in San Luis.

The Peronist party of San Luis with the Rodríguez Saá brothers in government, knew how to construct the myth of good government in a climate of social peace and a certain economic boom thanks to a government strategy that included various public policies, such as the development of myths, the control of government and allied media, concealment of information, official press services, distribution of "official" advertising in media close to power in a context of artisan journalism and famine. Trosello (2008) and Heredia (2019) thoroughly described the corrupt regime in San Luis. Heredia (2015) narrated extensively how Alberto and Adolfo Rodríguez Saá were denounced on three occasions for illicit enrichment, but all the complaints were dismissed by a Judicial Branch subject to the impositions of the Executive Power. These characters were two lawyers who in 1983 only had one house each, in addition to two modest cars and thanks to corruption with industrial settlement and management of public works, in a short time they became the billionaire rulers who, with its immense economic power has been digging up the destinies of the province of San Luis for 36 years, without any spring of power escaping its management. In San Luis, in August 2017, the *Justicialista Party* led by Alberto and Adolfo Rodríguez Saá, lost the Open, Simultaneous and

Compulsory Primary Elections (PASO) against the candidate Poggi. Far from mourning the defeat, the Rodríguez Saá brothers put into operation the entire machinery of the state to win the legislative elections in October of the same year, inaugurating picnic areas and all kinds of social aid to the neediest sectors that they themselves helped to create by their permanence in the power. By force of social plans, picnic areas and subsidies, the *Justicialista Party*, with these political figures at the head, won the elections. The same happened in the year 2019, winning Alberto Rodríguez Saá another term as 4-year governor. They were new disappointments for the progressive sectors of the province of San Luis.

The democracy of San Luis in the forms and an authoritarian regime in the action of the two Rodríguez Saá brothers over the years with the construction of an epic, a myth (Quiroga, 2018) with strong social and media. Epic stories often attract and sensitize, easily relate people to the characters and as a consequence, it is easy to reproduce these stories while leaving the community itself feeling part of it.

2. Opaque Democracy and Hybrid Democratic Culture

Opaque democracies are characterized by tenuous or non-existent institutionalized division of powers, political personalisms, and personal business linked to the state, lack of publi

transparency, recurring disqualifications to the press and little citizen participation in public affairs, etc. When the executive power has preeminence over other powers of democracy, there is no transparency in the management of the state and confusion between public and private businesses and a personalistic political culture usually develops, we are in the presence of an opaque democracy (Quiroga, 2018).

An opaque democracy is one in which one power (executive power) has more influence and is imposed on others, that is, there is a preeminence of the executive power over other powers and is characterized by the concentration of control and power in few hands, where citizen participation is not favored, is restricted and scarce, government information is not abundant, and a general context where opposition and transgressor voices have great difficulties to express themselves (Quiroga, 2016). The space between citizens and rulers is wide, characterized by growing inequality that tends to widen.

In this approach, we characterize personalism in a negative way as a tool for building a participatory democracy, but we leave open the question about the possibility of the existence of participatory democracies without the presence of personalist leaders.

3. Political Personalization

The study of personalization is important for the development of democracy in general and of institutions in particular, because it challenges the key role of political parties or political groups that are formed for eventual elections or to act in a sustained manner in the democratic system. However, the conceptual understanding of personalization, as well as the theoretical explanations for why and when personalization begins, are not yet sufficiently illuminated, and the empirical evidence on this phenomenon is still scant and inconclusive.

Recent research is drawing a distinction between centralized personalization characterized by the presence in the democratic universe of a few political leaders who concentrate the majority of the preferential votes on the list, and decentralized personalization that occurs when a greater number of candidates manage to attract personal votes. Despite the relevance of personalization in political communication research, as well as other areas of study, there is a state of confusion in the literature on this concept. The main reason is that there is no consensus around a widely shared definition or concept. A general definition of personalism in politics could be understood as a complex construct characterized by the appropriation of the public for individual benefit carried out by actions that do not have institutional or cultural restrictions. You can understand personalism as a particular way of exercising a function, leadership and / or representation, where the social or institutional regulation of such exercise is exacerbated by its own criteria. Political personalization is a

"Process in which the political weight of the individual actor in the political process increases over time, while the centrality of the political group (that is, the political party) decreases" (Rahat and Sheafer, 2007, p .65)

Rebolledo (2017, p.152) affirms that personalization exists when "it lies in turning the politician at the center of the message through his image, making him a key element in interpreting the political reality that is taken place". Personalism in public organizations in an emerging phenomenon of the social order and its basically characterized by the claim of certain individuals to belong, own and dominate the public scene in a long time.

The weakening of political parties and the difficulties of representation have been factors that have promoted personalization as a political attitude and at the same time, political personalization has affected political parties, fragmenting, and weakening them. Parties suffer an erosion of partisan identities by average citizens and the gap has widened between representatives and represented.

The personalist action of some politicians in a democracy has privileged their personal desires and ambitions over the public interest, alternately testing the indiscriminate use of authoritarian policies and the increase in repressive and control mechanisms, while also presenting an idea of administration of the It has been a space hidden from public light as an ideal place to generate your own business. Personalism is related to representation that is to say, with the public person in the personalist becoming appears split from the collective-partisan. Political personalism is also a consequence of the lack of interest in the public, which chooses to give a subject the power to make decisions and which exposes citizens disinterested in public action. In this sense, personalism is any exercise of power derived from an institutional role, where the action is executed without taking into account of-, or without applying all the institutional channels established for taking such action. The individual who has the representation of his mandates in the collegiate bodies tends to make decisions convenient to his own interests, rather than by mandate of the represented. Personalism is the conjunction of *the political man* and *his strong message around him* that makes a group of citizens see reality through his eyes and that his personal figure is generally above the ideology of the political party.

The faces of political personalism in the Latin American region carry negative signs. In Latin American countries, personalizing politics undermines political representation, creates a breeding ground for populist leadership, and can lead to political instability.

The main triggers for personalization are the role of the media (Keeter, 1987, Brants and Voltmer, 2011) and the weakening of the electorate's identifications with political parties (Wattenberg 1991; Wattenberg, 1998; Mughan, 2000).

Consistent with this view, different factors have contributed to the development of political personalism. On the one hand, the weakening of political parties, the difficulties of representation, the character of media stars of politicians, the rise of social media, and some abstention from citizen participation in public issues have been factors that have promoted the personalization as attitude and political conduct. Although personalization can, also be understood as part of the process of individualizing social life (Bauman, 2001).

The emergence of different personalist cultures in Argentine democracy and their permanence over time has been the result of different factors. Among them: the weakness of political parties, the phenomenon of the transformation of politics as a spectacle, the decrease in citizen participation, the rise of social media and the promotion of epic discourses, among other factors.

Diagram N° 1 Political Personalism



4. The Weakness of Political Parties

The weakening of political parties has allowed the development of personalizing political phenomena and, in turn, political personalization has also affected political parties, fragmenting and weakening them. One process helps the other and they occur at the same time. These traditional parties suffer an erosion of partisan identities by citizens, and the gap between representatives and represented is widening, according to various dynamics. On the other hand, reason yields to the more emotional dimensions, so the elections for representatives are usually more emotional than logical or rational. Personalism in politics has arisen in the erosion of democratic periodic elections based on a decrease in the electoral relevance of traditional political parties, progressively replaced by short-term factors, such as the nomination of figures from entertainment and sport to compete in the electoral game according to the leaders of those parties. Martínez Pandiani (2006: 68) considers that television is causing a great impact on modern political communication through five processes: mediating politics, audio-visualizing politics, spectacularizing politics, personalizing politics and marketing about politics. Bernard Manin (1998) has argued that the media have profoundly changed the structure of political representation and has replaced it with a "hearing democracy". For Manin, electoral competition increasingly depends on the media's presentation of leader, because "voters increasingly tend to vote for the person instead of the party or the program" (Manin, 1998, p. 67). Personalization would involve three factors: one, the very dynamics of the media and especially audiovisual media, which tend to focus the discussion around people, rather than ideas; two, the weakening of political parties, the ideological fractures that would weaken the attractiveness of traditional political parties and that exposes their crisis and the uncertainty that arises from globalization and the formation and development of complex

societies, favoring the need to delegate and trust the figure of a leader to face successive crises.

5. Politics as a Show

Personalization and spectacularization, applied to the field of political communication, constitute two phenomena that were gradually introduced in the western media, especially in television, stemming from the communication and marketing practices exercised in North American politics (Gil-Ramírez, Gómez de Travesedo-Rojas, Almansa-Martínez, 2019). Politicians have become characters who seek to capture the voter's attention. The logic of electoral disputes is within the media logic of the impact they can achieve and the speed of them due to their superficiality. The content or the background ideas do not matter, but what interests are the characters and their performance. On the other hand, when politics and entertainment are combined, the concept of *politainment* (Berrocal, 2017) arises, characterized as a union that is interesting for television networks that seek to attract and maintain their audiences.

Some academics consider the union between information and entertainment as an advance in the media due to the interest they generate for young audiences or those far from politics, and others have a pessimistic view, since they consider that the rest of the information and journalism lose quality. The conventional media system configured by the press, radio, and television as the main vehicles of communication, has served for decades as an instrument of mediation between the political sphere and the citizenry, establishing itself as a key piece in shaping public opinion in democratic systems western.

Edelman (1991) has early pointed out the role of the media as determining factors in the public perception of political reality, a reality constructed and permanently transformed by the set of symbols and meanings provided by the

media. Stephen Lukes (2014) created a three-dimensional model of power that was not ostensibly over the media. The first dimension of power was given by the media that people consume or the particular texts that citizens choose and that exert influence and power over them. The second dimension of power is constituted by the establishment of an agenda of issues that people should think about, and the third dimension of power is feasibility, that is, the means have to shape interests and desires. Likewise, the concept of "agenda" poses its difficulties, since it designates *"the consciousness of the existence of an object and of the relative importance attributed to it"* (Charron, 1998, p.81) and is presented as a hierarchical list of themes. McCombs (2006) explained that the media, when selecting the themes, construct representations of reality, although not all the media have the same power or capacity to set the agenda and, in the long term, they organize the way the world is perceived, understanding that the media tell people what to think about and generate important hierarchies.

6. Communication and Epic

The government as an institution tends to propose government advertising as a substantive part of government communication (Rose, 2000), that is, it organizes those messages aimed at sustaining the epic and myth (Quiroga, 2020), highlighting the persuasive use of communication, associated with the organization of arguments that expose how governmental power and legitimacy are maintained through advertising (Rose, 2000).

This epistemological perspective is located within the framework of political communication in the line of constructionism, which seeks to understand reality as a social product and that perceived reality, built by the first meanings that language gives. From constructionism, myths are considered as *"a political development based on the long cycles of political communication"* (Riorda, 2006, p.1) and also constituted by images of government

management linked to the persuasive process, associated with the communication of myth and its risks, transformed into a coherent and complete belief system.

The construction of myths helps the government's management, the construction of political consensus, the construction of power and its permanence on the public scene in a given context. In democracy, the media help create those positive or negative images of the management of government authorities through public discourses that are perceived and sensitized to citizens.

In this context, the position of a ruler constitutes *"an organized system that is based on the concept that communication can only take place at the right time and under the right circumstances"* (Sánchez Galicia, 2013, p. 55). For Homs (2018) the only possibility of generating political credibility in more critical and mature societies is to align political discourse and actions to the daily problems of the citizen, to their fears and expectations, to their aspirations and moral values, and to the public image. of a ruler in the positioning of citizens has three possibilities for Homs (2013):

They are:

- Spontaneously, where each person identifies a public character through a more representative attribute or characteristic that also constitutes an element of differentiation.
- By adversary strategy produced when the positioning of someone derives from the strategic aggression of an adversary.
- By the ruler's own strategies that occurs when the ruler's main strength stands out and becomes a competitive advantage

7. The Rise of Social Media and Its Use as Communication Channels

The era of new media began approximately in the 1980s with the tendency of the media to broadcast information and entertainment. Television and radio talk shows and tabloids were assuming a more relevant political role in political news coverage. Political candidates intensified their movements in them and used Twitter, Facebook or YouTube for political debate. Facebook and Twitter became a direct communication path with voters where political candidates launched themselves to promote their ideas. Social media was a channel for debate, for conversation, for listening, responding, and analyzing. The spectacularization of politics moved from traditional media to new media. In Argentina in 1983, with the arrival of democracy and the memory of the Military Dictatorship (1976-1983), citizens had renewed hopes for the possibilities of progressive transformation through democracy. The spectacularization of politics moved from traditional media to new media. In Argentina in 1983, with the arrival of democracy and the memory of the Military Dictatorship (1976-1983), citizens had renewed hopes for the possibilities of progressive transformation through democracy.

Social networks became essential intermediaries that political and media actors use to communicate and guarantee their influence in front of citizens. Political leaders (and more personalists) have appropriated these means to achieve their ends and increasingly push the limits of discourse to the extreme. In the case of Alberto Rodríguez Saá, apart from the use of social media, the purchase of government advertising spaces on YouTube is observed.

The changes became more radical when, in the 1990s, the Internet became a diffuser of political content (Owen, 2018). Initially, digital technology enabled platforms with some rigidity, and later it was able to offer portals with interactive elements. This allowed citizens to increase their capacity for political participation through technological devices that allowed them to react to political events or problems, communicate directly with candidates and

leaders, contribute their own news, images, video and content, and participate in activities such as supporting candidates, and the organization of demonstrations (Owen, 2018), a phenomenon also marked by media individualization.

Political marketing came to complement communication and the idea that networks handle an entire universe of data, which has been segmented according to the interests of each politician, likes (likes), location, etc. So now, understanding big data and the audience means understanding the juncture to plan a message for each segment of the audience. Politicians incorporated these new ways to convey messages to the population, other elites, and the press, and to influence the views of their constituencies, recruit volunteers and donors, and mobilize voters (Davis and Owen, 1998; Owen, 2017a).

The political role of social networks such as Facebook, Twitter and YouTube in the United States was consolidated during the 2008 presidential elections. Democratic candidate Barack Obama's social media strategy revolutionized campaigns, altering the structure of the political organization. The campaign exploited the potential of social media for networking, collaboration, and community development. The Obama campaign adopted social movement characteristics with a strong component of grassroots digital mobilization (Bimber, 2014) and used them to make personalized appeals to voters, based on data analysis and messages tailored to specific sectors. Voters created and amplified messages about the candidates without going through either the campaign organization itself or the political parties (Stromer-Galley, 2016).

A common mistake of politicians is to use social media at election time and then forget about it and lose the possibility of communicating with citizens. Following the Obama phenomenon, the political role of social media in governmental campaigns and political movements, as well as their role in the media information ecosystem, rapidly expanded their reach and relevance. Today politicians around the world share not only political proposals, but also

private elements such as family photos, hobbies or personal opinions, trying to generate a closer impression with voters. The political campaign can be characterized as "permanent". The Internet has produced an absolute revolution in political campaigns since it has become a way to increase the popularity of options or political actors without the need to invest in traditional media such as television, the press or radio.

Political polarization has rendered evaluation and rational commitments obsolete. The spread of disinformation hampers responsible decision-making coupled with the increasing use of political leaders by negatively influencing the power of social media. The digital revolution has developed more rapidly and has had broader, deeper and more transformative political and information consequences than any previous recorded transition in communication technologies, including the advent of television.

Despite the development of digital media that would enable aspirations for direct democracy, practice has shown that they reinforce inequalities or that they are a breeding ground for the circulation of false information.

8. Abstention from Citizen Participation

According to Carpentier (2016), the process of political participation can be minimalist or maximalist. The first is characterized by representation and participation in the selection of elite through elections that form the expression of a homogeneous popular will, and the second expresses democracy as a more balanced combination of representation and participation, and where it is about maximize representation. Politics is seen as part of the social, which allows a broad application of participation in many sectors of society, both more at micro than macro levels, in relation to social diversity. From the prism of democracy theory, participation can be examined from the dynamics of power and agency.

In the *Communication for Development*, Servaes (1999, p.198) writes that participation "*deals directly with power and its distribution in society. It affects the heart of power relations*". Shirley A. White (1994, p.17) also highlights this central link between power and participation, when she states that "*power and control seem to be fundamental sub-concepts that help to understand the diversity of expectations and anticipation of the outcome of the participation of people*". For Melucci (1985) community participation is the integration and communion of individuals in daily, community, cultural and local life that manages to transcend the scope of traditional politics. In the construction of collective actions that seek social transformation Rebollo and Martí (2002) emphasize that participation is an instrument to achieve something, but that it must be understood as a right. Participation can be understood as all those processes in which citizens feel involved to promote their permanent actions changes or transformations.

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, combined 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 Melucci's definition when he states that participation has a double meaning: "*it means participating, that is, acting to promote the interests and needs of an actor, as well as belonging to a system, identify with the general interests of the community*" (Melucci, 1989, p.174).

Carpentier (2016) highlights, that the political approach produces a more restrictive definition of participation, referring to the equality of power inequalities 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. Parteman defines partial participation as "*a process in which two or more parties influence each other in decision-making, but the final power to decide rests with only one of the parties*" (1970, p.70), while the Full participation is considered "*a process where each individual member of a body where decisions are made has equal power to determine the outcome of decisions*" (1970, p.71), taken from Carpentier (2016, p.73).

However, there is also a cultural dimension to participation. Dueñas Salmán and García López (2012) emphasize the cultural concept of participation and define it as a process "*that includes the possibility of doing, when taking part in something, in order to provoke a reaction, participating must then be understood as a cause and as a consequence*" (Dueñas Salmán and García López, 2012, p.2). The authors clarify that motivating also has a dose of manipulation, so the phenomenon of motivation is not innocent, like any communicational message. The idea of participation as the manipulation of the will to be part of a transformative process, the authors warn, should not necessarily be viewed negatively.

Citizen expression is valuable in democratic interplay. In opaque democracy, inequality of power is wide. However, citizens have two types of discourse against power in Scott's (1980) terms: public discourse and hidden discourse. In the thesis put forth by Gloria Trosello (2008) in her book *The Manufacture of Servant Citizens: Political Culture and Neopatrimonial Regimes*, the author has asked herself what kind of culture (personalistic political culture) has occurred in a province where the government remains for long periods making each citizen depend on the state for the development of populist public policies. In other words, it is asked who appropriates the state in a context where the government remains for a long period and whose rulers are characterized as the modern patrimonial lords.

Faced with the appropriation of the state by personalist politicians, citizens have at least two types of discourse against power in Scott's (1990) terms: public discourse and hidden discourse. Subordinates in democracy and with unequal power will not dare to openly reject the conditions of their subordination, but it is very likely that they can create a social space in which they express their marginal dissent to the official discourse of power relations. As Scott (1990) has shown, even servant citizens can resist. For this, it is necessary to denature this situation of submission and become aware of that situation, a fact that is expressed in citizen mobilization.

The subordinates adopt a strategic attitude in the presence of the powerful since each group produces, from their suffering, a hidden discourse that represents a critique of power behind the dominator's back (Scott, 1990). However, citizen participation is closely linked to citizen power and where there is power, there is also resistance to that power. Faced with the possibilities of participation generated by access, interaction and participation exposed by Carpentier (2016b), and have a proposed the idea of mobilization as a prior instance of this complex process (Quiroga, 2020).

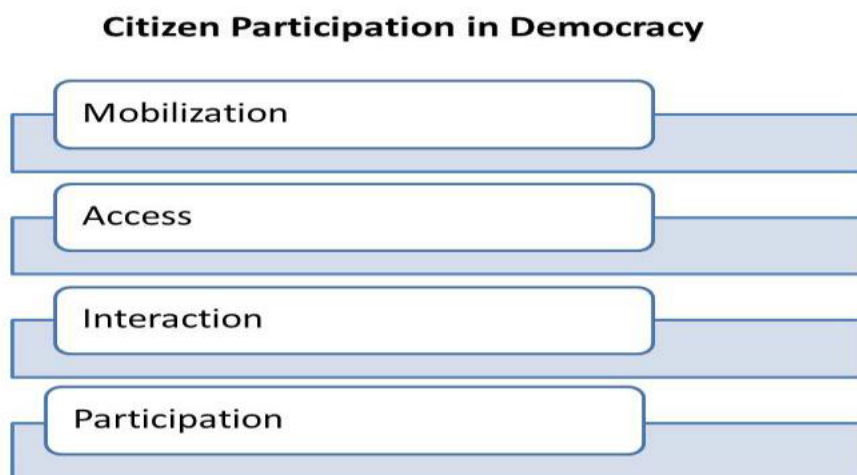


Diagram 2. Citizen Participation

With the increasing mobilization of citizens in public affairs, the voices of dissent can transmit and channel their outrage, first using rhetorical or hidden strategies of rejection of the current order and second, having a participation and an attitude of permanent denunciation of the abuses that it suffers and finally the participation in the electoral acts where representatives are elected and in the actions of democracy.



Source: *El Chorrillero*

Figure 1. Villa Mercedes: inscriptos de viviendas se presentaron al acto por el Día de la Independencia. (*Translation of author "Villa Mercedes: home registrants showed up for the act on Independence Day", July, 10, 2020*).

It is precisely in democracy, when knowledge and wisdom are built collectively, they are elaborated in the plural, respecting the positions of those who think differently. Aristotle already affirmed that "*a citizen is one who knows how to govern and be governed*". On the other hand, "*there is no democracy without citizens, a condition that is not achieved only by claiming the individual right to see our private needs satisfied, but, above all, through the obligation to assume that we are talking about collective projects and public needs*" (Brugué Torruella, 2019, p.12).

In San Luis, these voices of dissent, long isolated on the margins, today constitute a growing and beneficial presence and an existential threat to the traditional consensus of the current regime, formerly legitimized by industrial promotion and public works and now by plans of social aid. Citizen participation not favored by current norms, could generate the appearance of opposing voices of citizens, could imply a progressive transformation on how to make politics and manage state resources, while it could modify institutional commitments and generate tolerant and balanced governance.

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

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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, 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. 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 Saa 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 Saa 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.

Gervasoni (2018) rightly points out that although subnational governments are less autonomous than national ones, they are not necessarily less

important. In Argentina and many countries in the region, a large (and growing) proportion of public spending, and therefore of state action, is executed by provinces and municipalities.

Almost two-thirds of Argentine civil servants belong to the provinces, a figure that grows to around 80% if municipal employees are considered. Furthermore, he explains that indefinite reelection can be taken as an indicator of little electoral competition. Governors who accumulate a lot of power can achieve indefinite re-election, which makes a democracy weaker. The power accumulated by the government is incompatible with the competition, rotation and division of powers that indicate that these provinces have a greater concentration of power in the Executive, to the detriment of the other powers. In these provinces that Gervasoni (2018) calls hybrids, the governors govern and control everything.

Gervasoni (2018) indicates that there are rich states, but not because they tax rich companies, but because of the federal co-participation law they have a very high amount of money per capita. They are very rich states because of the income from fiscal federalism. This means that some governments have a lot of money for social plans and build societies that depend on public employment or those plans, or have their own media or control the provincial media through the guideline. Governors tend to understand this quickly and begin to accumulate power. They begin to win elections with significant majorities, to have a majority in the legislatures, and then they begin to change the electoral rules.

According to the Wikipedia page (in English) Adolfo Rodríguez Saa, 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 Saa, 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 Saa 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 Gramscian 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).

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 is an experience that "educates" 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.

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".

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.

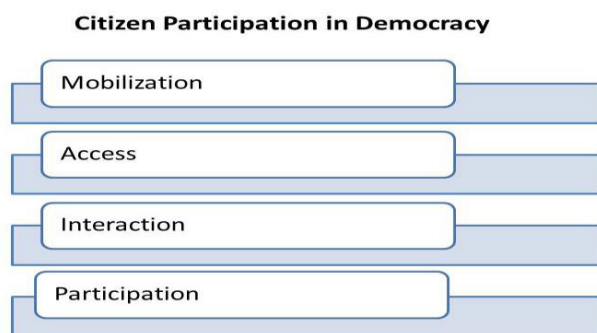
Carpentier (2016) has strengthened the theoretical framework of the concept of participation through the use of a negative and interdisciplinary relativistic point of view allowing to distinguish between access, interaction and participation and highlights the close link between participation, power 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 Scheme (Quiroga, 2021c).



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.

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).

Deer Citizens

In her book *“La Manufactura de los Ciudadanos Ciervos: Cultura Política y Regímenes Neopatrimonialistas”*, 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 have to depend of 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, in the midst of 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.

Methodology

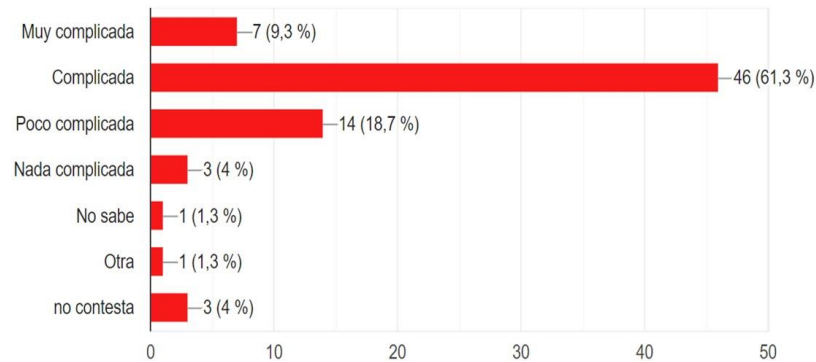
With the purpose of knowing the perception of the citizens about the public affairs of San Luis, the Project "Personalism in Public Institutions" of the National University of San Luis launched a qualitative questionnaire addressed to the citizens of San Luis.

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

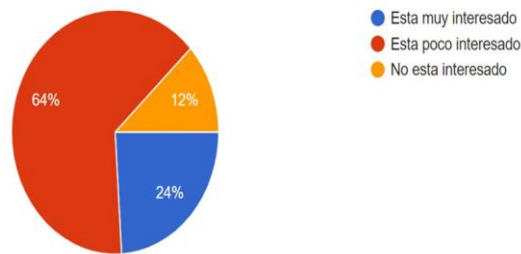
75 respuestas



- 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



- 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

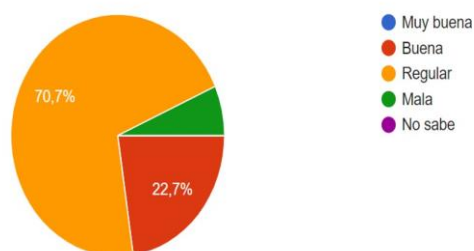
75 respuestas



- 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?

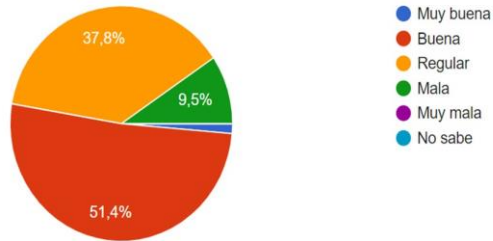
75 respuestas



- 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?

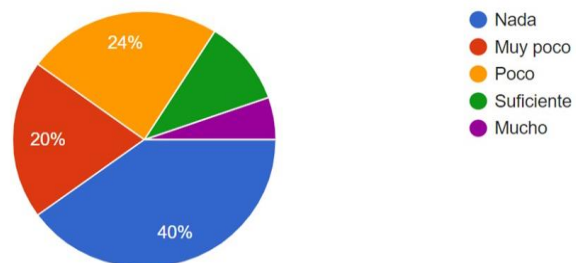
74 respuestas



- 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?

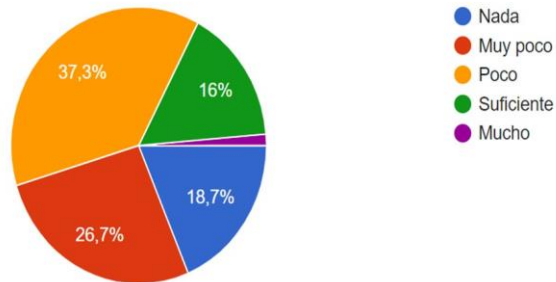
75 respuestas



- 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?

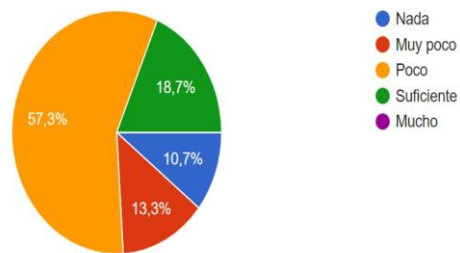
75 respuestas



- 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

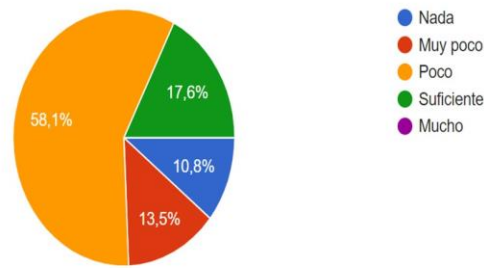
75 respuestas



- 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?

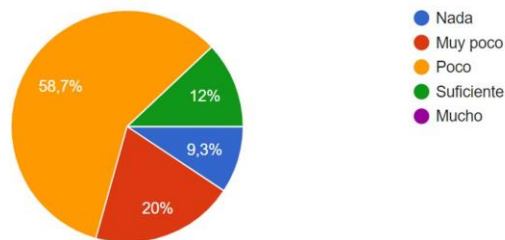
74 respuestas



- 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?

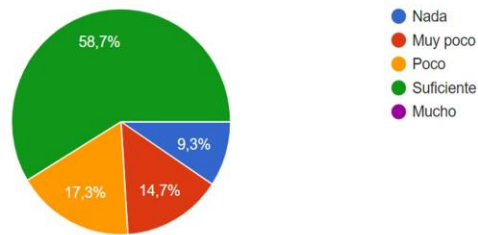
75 respuestas



- 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?

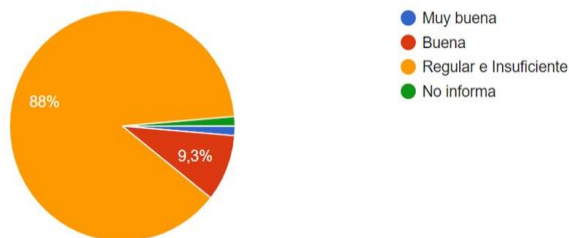
75 respuestas



- 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?

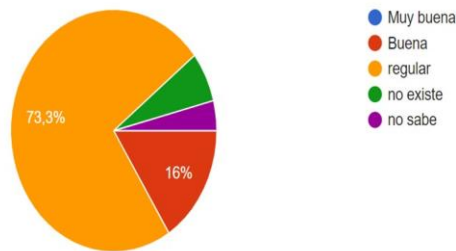
75 respuestas



- 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

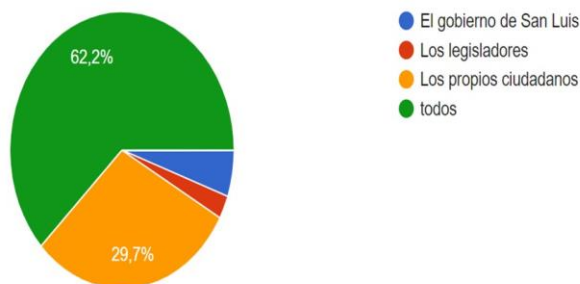
75 respuestas



- 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



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 made reference 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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Academy, communication, culture and sport

Sergio Quiroga

Translation to English

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Introduction

Examining the growing development of social studies of sport and more specifically those linked to media and sport in Latin America is not an easy task. The growth of production in the region and the late reading of European productions by Latin American scholars illuminated new dimensions of a broad field of study. Sport has become an omnipresent sociocultural force and an influential commercial institution is sports communication (Pedersen, 2013). Sport and the media enjoy a symbiotic relationship (McChesney, 1989). In recent years, the development of this interdisciplinary field has had relevance and academic vigor, despite the fact that its conceptual climate and its borders are still imprecise. The first works on communication and sport date back to the 1970s, when a series of pioneering studies addressed issues such as the influence of television broadcasts on the sports experience, racial prejudice in the media coverage of sports competitions or the satisfaction provided by television consumption of sports. In the eighties, works began to be developed that try to explain how the media shape the conception of sport. Their ideological prejudices and their contribution to the spread of hegemonic masculinity are examined. Garry Whannel's work *Blowing the whistle* (1983) was instrumental in conceptualizing the intersection between media and sport as a space of social conflict, commodification, globalization, nationalism, and

issues of gender, ethnicity, and social class. This was followed by the edited works of Lawrence A. Wenner: *Media, Sports and Society* (1989), *MediaSport* (1998), as well as those edited by Alina Bernstein and Neil Blain: *Sport, Media, Culture: Global and Local Dimension* (2003); David Rowe: *Critical Readings: Sport, Culture and the Media* (2004); Arthur A. Raney and Jennings Bryant: *Handbook of Sports and Media* (2006); Heather L. Hundley and Andrew C. Billings: *Examining Identity in Sports Media* (2010); Paul M. Pedersen: *Routledge Handbook of Sport Communication* (2013) and Andrew C. Billings and Marie Hardin: *Routledge Handbook of Sport and New Media* (2014) which brought great visibility to the sport-media space.

The sport had experienced a singular disagreement with the academy (Alabarces, 1998). Dunning warned about the scant attention that the social sciences paid to sport, which they did not consider to be an object of reflection and research (Elias and Dunning 1992, p.14).

Sport as a phenomenon of social culture had been designed and thought by other areas of intellectual production and it was not until the mid-nineties that an autonomous production of social and cultural studies of sport could be noticed.

Undoubtedly, the contributions revealed at that time were not considered relevant. Proof of this is that in Argentina, a small number of undergraduate theses in the period 1995-2005 referred to the subject. The lack of interest and the scarce convocation that the topics related to the communication-sport plot produced in the academics of the Argentine universities were remarkable. Isolated production and disinterest of institutionalized academic bodies coexisted in a disorganized framework. The incredible production of the Interdisciplinary Area of Sports Studies SEUBE - FFyL - UBA (www.efdeportes.com/aied), the group of Latin American researchers who published in the journal *Physical Education and Sports - EFDeportes* (www.efdeportes.com) with the consequently, the number of seminars and

productions that studied the phenomena linked to soccer, the masculine in sports, the fans and violence, among other topics, increased.

Also, at CLACSO, the Sport, Public Policies and Society Working Group was formed to study public policies aimed at the promotion, development and impact of physical activity and sport. Through sport, scholars investigate how it has become a space to observe how inequalities and exclusions are thought about and resolved, how projects are developed to expand access to the most vulnerable sectors and what meanings are different social actors are assigned to sports practices, among other issues.

Communication, Media and Sport

Undoubtedly, the multiple relationships between the media, sport and communication heralded the configuration of a new zone of theoretical exploration. Examining sport as a social practice, as a place of production of meanings, as a social space, as a discourse of postmodernity, referred us to certain cultural configurations in the terms of Elías, to the advent of cultural studies on certain social groups and sport and to epistemological questions that cross culture.

In his Thesis 11, Brohm (1994) emphasizes that the capitalist education promoted by the system itself has sought the social integration of the individual that would be achieved with the education-submission of the body as a material infrastructure to be institutionalized and for which the bourgeoisie educates with views. to be alienated by the machine, alienated in leisure, alienated in medicine, etc.

Games and sports as part of culture and as a social construction have influenced and interacted in the structuring and shaping of societies. The development of capitalism and the media in its expansive face has driven relatively few years ago, the constitution of a specialized information process of the media such as sports journalism and sports broadcasts. The

organizing institutions of world sport, the international federations have seen their income increase from the sale of transmission rights together with the increase in corruption, negotiations and bribes for the granting of venues. Cachorro has affirmed that the possible ways of naming sporting events would respond to cultural matrices, to the establishment of stories, to sports narratives or to the production of texts (Cachorro 2007).

Sports phenomenon of the 20th century

Sport is the most relevant cultural phenomenon in contemporary society. Brohm (1994) has highlighted that the constitution of world sport ran parallel to the constitution of capitalism and global imperialism. Sport is not innocent, he declared (Eichberg, 1998), while stressing that in sport as in life there are infinite tensions and that when trying to harmonize them, their most important aspects can be ignored (Eichberg, 1998).

The birth of what is now called sport can be considered the result of the development and evolution of the development of the capitalist production forces, the reduction of the working day, the urbanization and modernization of transport and capitalist education itself (Brohm, 1994). But what is known today as modern sport according to contemporary sociologists such as Pierre Bourdieu (1988; 1990), Barbero González (1994), Brohm (1994) and Elias and Dunning (1992) is a configuration created in the nineteenth century in England. in the so-called high school. Sport as an institution appeared in England in the modern industrial age with different meanings according to Brohm (1994), since while the bourgeoisie conceived of sport as a leisure space, as a form of pastime and entertainment, the working classes needed it for their care. and physical recovery. Sport became an expression of status and distinction for the upper classes or privileged sectors. Brohm highlights his birth "... sport is not a homogeneous institution but a class practice" (Brohm, 1994, p. 47).

The phenomenon of the modern conception of sport is barely less than one hundred and twenty years old. The dominant perspective of sport in capitalist societies was placed on the constitution of the high performance worker-athlete and the production of results in its maximum competitive expression.

Media, communication and the Olympic Games

A scholar of communication and the Olympic Movement such as Moragas Spa (2007) points out that dealing with the relationship between sport and communication implies redefining sport within the framework of the new globalized society (Moragas Spa, 2007).

The rescue of Baron Pierre de Coubertín from the Ancient Olympic Games sought to unite morality and sport, representing the effort of the human being to always achieve the best results or performances and achieve an athlete who would be the strongest, who was taller and further (*citius, altius, fortius*), motto that expresses one of the ideals of the Olympic Movement. In terms of Barbero González (1994), the changes that arose in the sports sphere and the Olympic movement obeyed two figures. On the one hand, Baron Pierre de Coubertin, founder of the modern Olympic Games, passionate about the English "public schools", conceived of sport and the Olympic idea as a muscular, amateur, gentlemen's culture. With a different pragmatism, Juan Antonio Samaranch, appointed president of the IOC in 1980, adapted these elitist conceptions to the new winds of the global village, giving new characteristics to the Olympic Games.

The International Olympic Committee (IOC) has progressively and marginally generated initiatives for the study of sport and Olympism with multiple activities. A network of Olympic Studies Centers that examine and investigate the facts, events and phenomena that the Olympic Games go through on a variety of topics. The Olympics are a mega-sporting event, a media show, a product tenaciously appreciated by television and the media, it also makes

cities seek to be venues and bid to host thousands of tourists, athletes and an army of journalists.

Media, Sport and interactions

In 1900, the invention of the Lumiere brothers that was the origin of the cinema progressively influenced society like all the media created by man. The moving image machine captured images of the first Olympic Games. In the Olympic Games in Berlin in 1936, an experimental demonstration of the new television technology was carried out (Montserrat & Moreno, 1998). The arrival of webcasting would come later during the Sydney Olympics in 2000.

A few years later Moragas Spa (2007) highlighted that the big television networks depended on the success and spectacular nature of sports (their potential capacity to entertain) of which these media have acquired the rights and sponsors.

Miquel de Moragas Spa (1998) calls the sport that was on the screen mediatic. Media sport seemed to have created a unique language in the dynamics of modern society to fulfill a different communicative task by offering a common language to all humanity, not exempt from conflicts and contradictions. The sport on the screen has influenced a society with sedentary features, people who are constituted in public, and who meet in a true ritual in terms of Auge, to witness the television show that makes up a sports show.

The growth of sports journalism and studies on media-journalism and sports has increased significantly. Works such as *SportIllusion, sports reality*, by Leonard Koppett (1994), which examines the way in which sports journalism reflects social trends and contributes to increasing interest in sport. A subsequent work of great impact was *Inside the Sport Pages*, by Mark Douglas Lowes (1999), in which it is shown how the organizational structure of the newsrooms and the relationships with the sources end up encouraging sports information to become involved in the transformation of the sport in a

commercial show increase interest in sports communication. Sports Journalism by Raymond Boyle (2006) is relevant, in which he analyzes the way in which globalization, commodification and the new digital paradigm are transforming the organizational patterns of sports journalists and displacing them professionally in the field of public relations (Boyle, 2013).

The 2012 London Olympics showed, on the other hand, the rise of social networks at a time when the presence and speed of information and communication possibilities have a great impact.

In this context, and for the purpose of approaching the sport object as a source of study, as an object of investigative construction and in the approximation of the sport-media field, we find:

- The historical, communicative, sociological and psychological components of sport (Rodríguez, 1995).
- Sport as a mass media phenomenon and its synergies (Moragas Spa, 1998).
- Sports journalism, journalists, their audiences and their agendas.
- The interactions and relationships between sport and the recreational field.
- Popular games, culture and communication. Geography and sport. Popular and non-popular, Olympic and non-Olympic sports.
- The phenomenon of violence, the culture of endurance and the fans (Alabarces, Frydenberg and Di Giano (1998) and Alabarces and Rodríguez (1996).
- Sport as ritual and social dramatization (Rodríguez, 1995).
- Social studies on mega-events, architectures, host cities, economy, academia and the Olympic Games.
- Identity and popular culture (Eichberg; 1998).

Popular games have great fascination, entertainment and reveal great richness and differentiation from traditional sports systems such as performance or federated performance. People play different sports which essentially contribute to the social culture. Popular sports are very different from traditional sports practices, and these sports practices are one of the ways to bond with sport and an exponent of the democratic component of our societies (Quiroga, 2005).

All these ludic, cultural and social practices take place in the public space, which can be taken as a cultural configuration in the terms of Grimson (2012), that is, one characterized by those cultural configurations as "fields of possibility". Emiliozzi (2013) has analyzed the possibilities that the body takes in sport and the capital that the athlete bets on, analyzing the body as a place of inscription of certain social rules, in which biological life is traversed by practices and modes of subjectivation.

Without a doubt, sport is a prism to look at our societies, while cultural research in sport and media can be established as a space, an observatory from which to see, study and interpret some of the social phenomena (Rodríguez 1995).

Latin American research

In Latin America, research in communication-sports and sports-media is in full swing. Different investigative groups have tried to investigate the most varied meanings of sport, its anthropologies and epistemologies, the construction of movement and social gesture, social life and sport, sports journalism and its audiences, the construction of its agendas, the imaginaries social and sports, the great sports events, the flags, the symbols, the rituals, the fans, the flags, nationalism, the masculine or feminine aspect of sport, the relationships between sport, community and democracy, the social perspectives from football, etc. The topics exposed and the interdisciplinary work account for a

wide spectrum of notable growth in recent years, which also achieved institutional spaces in the universities.

From the institutional framework offered by the organizations that bring together communicators in different regions (sport can be studied from various disciplines and from various epistemologies), in the work of elucidating and exposing the social components of sport, social identities, the different influences in the constitution of subjectivities, the conceptions of the body in contemporary culture in the popular, middle and upper classes, the role of the sports hero, the influence of their narratives in the popular imaginaries and the phenomena of violence (Alabarces 2008). On the other hand, there would have been no growth in sports, business or entertainment, without the development of the media and the appearance of audiences.

Argentine and Latin American production on this subject has been relevant. From taking sport as an object of study from various prisms, approaches and perspectives and analysis models and their mediations, going through the birth of modern sport and its imperialist export, the processes of local diffusion at the beginning of the 20th century and the arrival of football in Argentina.

At the University of Buenos Aires, different investigations have been developed with the sport-society theme. The activity of the Interdisciplinary Area of Sports Studies SEUBE - FFyL - UBA (www.efdeportes.com/aied), which was very important. Various problems and issues have been studied, such as the construction of the mythical figures of high-level athletes, which has merited the investigation of the academy. It was tried to study how the media constructs the image of an athlete during a competition and reveals the idolatry present in our society (Helal, 1999) and highlights the category of idol-heroes.

We can also highlight the journalistic record of narrating stories and the show of media experiences, identity and soccer (Villena Fiengo 2003), the relevance

of the concept of ritual and its theoretical scope for sports expressions, nationalism in sports, the heroes and flags and the contributions of Alabarces when he studies tribal soccer, the rituals of violence and the interpretation of these social phenomena. Other concomitant themes are the culture of endurance characterized by Archetti (1992, p. 210) as a ritual and as "a resistance to pain and disappointment" and the swollen with the contributions of Alabarces, Frydenberg and Di Giano (1998) and Alabarces and Rodriguez (1996). The theme of violence has received the contributions in the European and Anglo-Saxon fields of Giulianotti Bonney and Hepworth (1994), Dunning (1994) and Elias (1992) and Armstrong (1998).

Violence usually has different approaches in the media. Alabarces (1999) affirms that when journalism tends to deal with issues of violence, it does so according to the logic of cases" (Ford and Longo 1999), that is, the problem appears on the journalistic agenda every time it is produced and updated.

Also inspiring are the contributions of Conde and Rodríguez (2002) who studied the appearance of female representations in the media, suggesting that this story contributes to the feminization of soccer and the increase in the practice of women attending stadiums (Conde and Rodriguez, 2002). On the other hand, Hargreaves (1994) has highlighted the difference between the cultural power of men and women while "sport constitutes an incomparable part of cultural life in which sexism is promoted and where women are seriously discriminated against" (Hargreaves, 1994, p.109).

Sports agendas and audiences

Since 1976 there has been a steady growth of sport in the media with programs, especially soccer, beginning to exist on television around the world. Sport became a privileged menu for audiences. The complexity of sports modalities has caused specialized journalistic processes. This situation generated a transformation of the structures of journalistic companies that

had to incorporate a varied number of specialists (Quiroga, 2016). Montserrat and Moreno (1998) have extensively examined radio and television coverage of the Olympics.

Sports journalism tends to pay more attention in its agendas and contents to the sports promoted by the most organized sports institutions, although the perceptions of the journalists' audience are oriented towards the most popular sports in Argentina such as soccer, basketball or volleyball (Quiroga, 2008). The different organization of each sport and its presence and influence of the media mean that it has greater exposure on the screens and results in the present and in the future being more practiced. In the case of soccer, the presence on television of the most popular teams means that they get more supporters and partners than those that do not appear.

Moragas Spa (2007) points out that journalists have an educational responsibility because they are compromised by this process of loss of autonomy and therefore, of possible loss of professional independence (Moragas Spa, 2007).

Each sport and had to make use of a greater number of screen minutes, radio spaces, pages to deal with information. Sports journalism has acquired a notable growth as a journalistic specialty, although its agendas are mainly composed of elite sports and entertainment sports. Fernández Vázquez and Feijóo Fernández, (2012) report on how the birth of new channels and the development and expansion of communication media such as the Internet have led the owners and managers of television to rethink the way of advertising.

Our time is a critical time where numerous doping scandals, allegations of match-fixing in competitive sports and the growing corruption of sports leadership have flourished and come to light. The business of world soccer (perhaps the sport with the greatest media coverage on the planet) with influence peddling and the collection of bribes to obtain juicy television

contracts or grant venues, spilled over to the highest organization that regulates it: FIFA. In the Argentine sphere, there was not much clarity about the destinations in the clubs, of the funds provided by the Argentine government to the "Soccer for all" program, whose end, due to the lack of transparency, occurred with the Macri presidency.

Sports audiences, journalism, the organization of sports mega-events, the interaction between audiences and media, the perception and meta-perception of journalists about the construction of their agendas, have been topics of vital interest in the study of communication-media-sport themes.

Conclusions

The varied and diversified heritage of social studies on sport in recent years invites scholars to broaden their horizons and frontiers using the contributions made and the relationship with other social disciplines.

We can place the focus on the way and processes in which men and women build realities and alternatively we can study the processes, institutions, discourses, existing and materialized cultural practices throughout history in line with the contributions of Vizer (2003).

Sport as a social phenomenon can be investigated from multiple prisms and social research methodologies that are not neutral. Undoubtedly, the characteristic features of the richness of sport is that we can consider it as a social prism, as a place of conflict and contradictions, as a setting for the constitution of identities, subjectivities and social imaginaries.

The studies and research formulated in recent years deepened and developed the analyzes shedding light and some clarity on the emerging phenomena of the culture-communication-sport triad, efforts that exposed a strong impact on the academic agenda of researchers in social disciplines and a greater presence in university research agendas.

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Olympic Games. Images, rituals and representations in the digital era

Translation to English

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1. Introduction

A sport feels way a global phenomenon and is influenced by the tendencies of globalization. The development of sports in the television screen showed in the traditional mass media and the evolution of sport journalism in general looks like as the mayor mediated sport event: the Olympic Games. Sports journalism has become a relevant sports specialty since the 1970 and sport is practiced all over the world with similar rules but since sport became a spectacle it transformed in a commercial activity and television has also adapted to sport. The modern Olympic Games and the development of audio-visual media have had a very close relationship throughout their history and culture. The restoration of the Olympic Games at the end of the last century coincided with the advent of the movies.

The corpus is the transmission for *T&C Sports (argentine tv sport channel)* of the Closing Ceremony of Sydney Olympic Games during September 2000. This work procured, through the qualitative analysis of the television information of the Closing Ceremony of Olympic Games Sydney 2000, relieving which ones they were the biased contents. We analyzed the global event, the imaginaries with global references and premises that presents were in television transmission.

The election of the mediatization of television is due to the recognition of the importance that has acquired this means in recent times at the construction of imaginaries, where the exponential jump in terms of reflex audience that he has become the principal referent for citizens of the world's great majority.

Reporting has changed as a result of the growing power of sport every day and coverage by the mass media -newspaper and magazines- was done at the beginning of the modern Olympic Games. Sure, if sport journalism was changed because sport itself has changed (Lunzenfichter 1997). We can distinguish two kinds of sport press: one that pays and to which we owe everything and the other, the written press and the radio, which is an alternative media. The TV presence in the Olympic field was changed the traditional role of the written press and the radios and the interrelations between sports as a moneymaker was made the labor of sport journalist more difficult in our days. Raders (1984) think the journalists as confined in areas, called "mixed zones".

In the television discourse of the last decades, as in the whole of the social discourse, there are deep mutations that affect the social representations and that have generated a new relationship with the environment. This one it has translated by new rites and myths within and around it (Imbert, 1999). The rite is a formal device of recurring practices that convey a certain representation of reality and fulfill a social function: to create, strengthen the link with the media by sharing the same show, creating a formal consensus around seeing, as a formal device, the rite could be defined as follow:

- "It has a repetitive character: hence its reproductive function.
- It has its physical supports (verbal, visual, gestural) that give it certain
- It has a social visibility: this is its demonstrative function.
- It is a strongly coded form: it is its communicative function.
- it contains a strong symbolic load: from which its persuasive function is derived" (Imbert, 1999, p.1)

Olympism does indeed change but, along the way, it is able to profit from the evolution, the revolution we should rather say, in the area of technology, which gave birth to radio in the 20s and television after World War. For sixty

years, the written press had reigned alone (Lunzenfichter 1997). Today the Olympic Games were narrated by images for the TV coverage. Before television, the written press was the eye of its time, the writing history (the great history) of the modern societies and ever they took some liberties - contemplatively - with historic truth. The sport journalists gave multiples dimensions of sport business, organizations, athletes, doping and champions but we need more understanding about sport and Olympic Movement. In our time, contemporary studies consider how culture of sport affects political choices, economic and intellectual paradigms, sport publics and the phenomenon of extending the meaning of sport as culture.

Whannel (1992) notes that the high quality television journalism in our days has played a significant role in mobilizing public opinion in support of political change and for decades television has contributed greatly to reinforcing the cultural diversity of our societies and the TV was transformed the presentation of the Olympic Games (Whannel, 1988, 1989 and 1993:86, Gruneau, 1989) The new Olympic TV and the webcasting show in our days the images of global sport, sport stereotypes, styles of lives, culture of elite sport and the Olympic Games relates.

We must not forget that the sport is marvelous, is part of our culture and civilization, but western origin of Olympic Sports is characterized by the standards, values and patterns of conduct prevailing in the Occident: the contest of man against strength, the quest after records and speed (Eichberg, 1981) The program of Olympic sports was a program of European sports and in our days, it gets some change.

The television is one special mass communication media that used the audio-visual language as vehicle of referential representation of reality. The Olympic Games and in special the Opening and Closing Ceremony, are transformed in all spectacle for the TV programs in our days. In the relations between the mass media and Olympic Games, Slater (1998) describes four periods. They

are from the beginning through 1932, television before satellites 1936-1964, satellite television 1968-1988, and Internet Era from around 1992 to our days. The first three periods as Slater said are defined by technological innovations resulting from media initiative and the beginning of the fourth periods consists of the introduction a new non- television technological reinforced by a series of economics and administrative decisions taken, not by television, but by Olympic officials, phenomenon studied by Slater (1998)

In the case of television, the Olympic Games have always been a privileged scenario for experimentation and public presentation of technical innovations (Moragas Spa, 1998). The development of the relationship between television and the Olympic Games from the Berlin Olympics in 1936 used the TV as experimental demonstration until Nagano (1998) with the first Internet television (webcasting) process that was described by Montserrat Llinés and Belén Moreno (1998).

Real and Beeson (2002) described that the Postmodern Olympic Meta-Narrative was building from mid-century on advance. The authors identifying this change are the subtle shift from the Olympics as a modernist project to the Olympics as a postmodern spectacle and the phenomenon between the meta-narratives of the Olympics and the global distribution of power that determines the super structural expressions in Olympic narratives.

The modern television has connected the “Olympic Games with a global audience and transformed the cultural dimension of the Games” (Whannel, 199, p. 85-86) Still the influences of this phenomenon in those days in our societies are a complex question. Sport means much to the people and sometimes a lot more to the audience it inspires childhood dreams, the love for the popularity and the media recognition, and the political and national passions. The study of this phenomenon and process are incipient in the Latin-American research.

1. Corpus of research

The research corpus was the program of the transmission by *T&C Sport* of the Sydney Closing Olympic Ceremony during September 2000. In this study we intent to know the complex theme of the understand of communicative influence in the dynamic of opinion and analyzed the function of the TV in the modern societies refer at the construction of mediate image of reality, the cognitive representation and the symbolic representation of the national publics in this case (Grossi, 1996, Blanco Pont and other authors, 2001) This work procured, through the qualitative analysis of the television information of the Closing Ceremony of Olympic Games Sydney 2000, relieving which ones they were the biased contents.

2 TV discourse

Even though fragmentation is the principal characteristic of the television language, this is polymorphic, because it covers numerous forms, codes, contents. All noticeable for eyes and the ears can be encoded or recoded in the audiovisual television system: The spoken word, the written the fixed image, the animate the of photomechanical origin, the manufactured crafty, the generated digitally, noises, music, the quotidian codes of the verbal, theatrical, language of life. Nothing escapes to television visual display screens.

The TV discourse is a social practice where persons or groups use of language in producing a message with intentions for one or multiple receptors (Orza, 2002) TV discourse was object of several analysis since diverse perspectives and point of view. The TV discourse got relation with the TV production. Described the TV production as a practice born since the TV with the participation of emitters and receptors with intentions (all the communication is intentional) and a TV text is an expressive resource of audio-visual language as channel of ideas and concepts. The TV narrative is a temporal and space

organization of thematic contents where coherent narrative sequences were structured about the discourse. The socio-cultural, politicians and economists' values continue to be the dimension but important in a minute to reflect on the television and his programs.

2.1 Nomads Audiences or Sport Audiences?

The question of if audiences are nomads or if the programs create the audience if an interesting topic not clear and even result, yet. We believe that the soccer programs (Latin-American football) and other popular sports as basketball can conform the audiences. The people like the sport and the TV, one popular and great entertainment in the family contexts, but they not knew and recognized the secrets of the sport moneymaker in the shades. The main sports televised in each country get their own publics, but sport in the screen is not innocent. Estimating potential Argentinean television's audiences is not easy. Three main sport channels are in Argentina: T&C, Fox Sport and ESPN. The 50% of the TV schedules in the screen of these three channels is soccer. T&C was the unique channel who shows the Olympic Ceremony and the main competitions of Olympic program. The sports in the screen that the people watch by TV are the most popular in the Argentina. Competition sport become in show and it arouses the interest of TV audiences. The sport presence in the screen helps in the process to build an Olympic audience.

2.2 About Reception

The theories of reception reject the effect concept and put the attention in the process of "*negotiation of sense*" and in the interaction between emitters and receptors. The context of reception is a place of negotiations between emitters and receptors and these "*negotiations*" may be producing others different means if it was contradictory with the messages of the media.

Reception context is showed as a space of struggle and confrontation between the text interactions with the social and discursive positions of the audiences. As member of different audiences, we can choose consuming patrons and we appropriating the mediate messages of the group or viewer family and for own experiences and cultures. This is the main point defended by the new cultural studies.

The idea of how the audiences watch sport TV and understand the mediate message will be investigate since qualitative point of view too. The broadcasting of Olympic Games in the TV as spectacle and the constructions of Olympic representation, languages and imaginaries are a complex and interesting theme: the interactions between global images and representations and local means.

In the receptions theories the public understand as active and the process of reception is a space of interaction -is a space of negotiation - where the experience of viewers is relevant in the study the reception of mediate messages.

For Martin-Barbero (1987) the culture is the great mediators. While the consideration of the culture of sport in the diverse countries may affects notably the activities of the sport publics in different and diverse context, state formation and popular culture is an interesting question. The general culture of citizen sport feels affected by the media sport presence in each country and it process is dynamic by the social dynamic.

Mata affirm that to know the massive culture we need to understand "the complex process what happen in and between the mass media as public instance of interpolation and knowledge, as keys mechanisms in the reproduction of the meaning of social order in the place where emitters and receptors negotiate these meanings" (Mata, 199, p. 41).

These negotiations depended in the final instance of experience (Schmucler,1999 in Grimson-Varela 1999) where it may produce different

meanings if it is contradictory with the messages of media. Other mean element to consider the phenomenon of the readers is the experience of the publics. Now, the process of reviewing the role of receptor between the two traditional extremes: from a passive entity, to the vision of cultural studies in which texts are polysemic and the receptor are considered to interpret whatever he likes took place.

3. Argentinean audience

The Argentinean audience watches in a TV the Sydney Olympic Games by *T&C Sport* and the most interesting sports of the Olympic program. The local viewers like the most popular sport of the country: volleyball indoor, tennis, hockey and some competitions of swimming, judo and some races of track and fields. In other words, the public preferring the sport where the Argentinean athletes got the possibility to win the games and medals and the common people know something about it.

The transmission times of the Olympic Games were very difficult for the Argentinean sport public; not in a "prime time" TV and frequent was in the early morning when the people generally sleep. Also, we must expose that the Olympics Games had some restrictions in Argentina, because all the games and the Olympic Ceremonies had been codificated and not all the people had the opportunity to reach to it. The sport audience must *pay for view* the Olympic manifestations in Sydney 2000.

3.1 Narrative

The narrators of the Closing Olympic Ceremony in Sydney were two sport journalists of *T&C Sport Channel*. The reporters were participants in the traditional programs as announcers of the channel dedicated to coverage the sport in general and the Argentine soccer in special. *T&C Sport* has the rights of transmission of the Argentinean Soccer (the most popular sport in the

country) to 2012. In the screen, the channel shows soccer the Friday, the Saturday and the Sunday in direct. In other days T&C Sport preferentially analyzed the performance of weekend soccer and other sport as tennis, basketball and volleyball.

In the narration for Argentine TV of the Closing Olympic Ceremony there aren't any intellectual or famous television presenters and the TV coverage was by direct. In the Sidney Olympic Games, T&C Sport showed the great performance of the hockey's girls - "*The Leonas*" team (as the people call), the volleyball team and the wonderful medals obtained in the Olympic competition. Other sports in the screen were the volleyball indoor, tennis, and some competitions of swimming, judo and some races of track and fields. The main characteristic of the Closing Ceremony in comparison with the Opening Ceremony as Moragas Spa and other author said is the informality. We can thank in the Closing Olympic Ceremony as a continuation of the Opening Ceremony with your own characteristics. The Closing Olympic Ceremony was in the Argentinean screen for about 1 hour 38 minutes.

4.Closing Ceremony: Structure of Sydney Olympic Ceremony

The Olympic Chapter (2001) describes in the 69 article the main characteristic of the Closing Ceremony in the points 2.1 to 2.6. But we can describe the steps of Sydney Closing Olympic Ceremony in TV coverage in Olympic rituals, institutional speeches, celebration, and representations: Australia's Icons and spectacle and party. The ceremony was a mixed of Olympic ritual, institutional speeches, celebration and spectacle and party.

The initials arguments of John MacAloon (1981, 1992) consider the reproducing and configuring the diagram of the model of the Olympics' performance system. MacAloon described the "classification of frames in: spectacle-festivals-rituals-games and truth and the genre of "spectacle",

between "festival" and between rite, ceremonies and game” (MacAloon, 1992, p. 40-41)

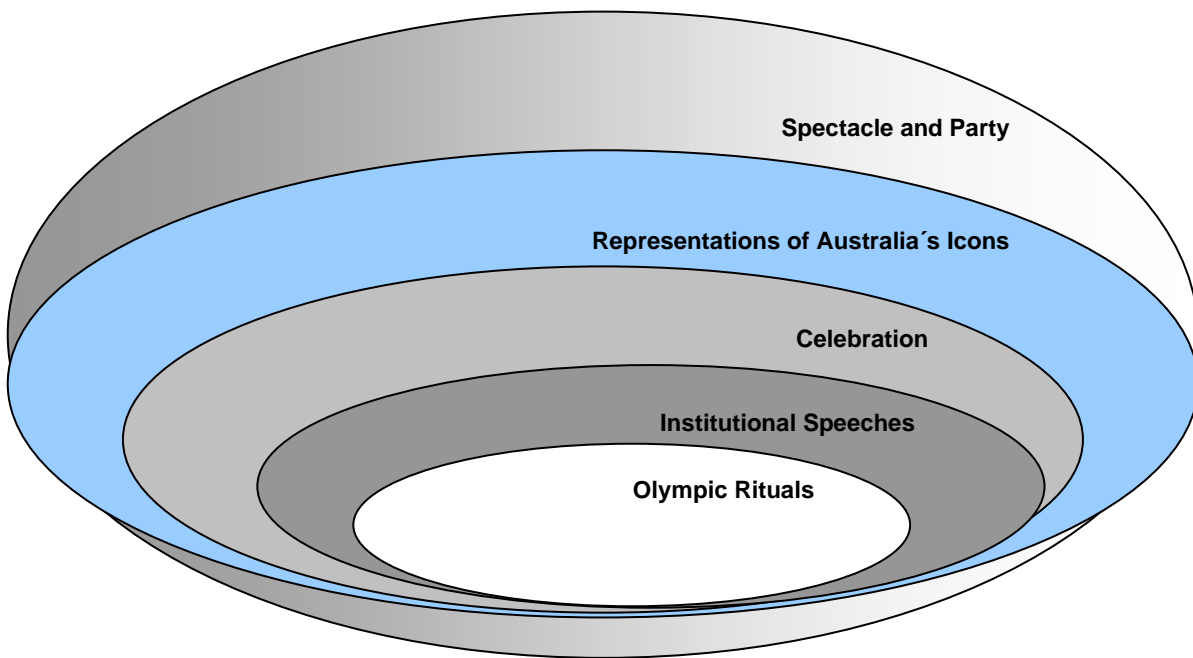
The parts of Sydney Closing Ceremony we described as Olympic rituals, institutional speeches, celebration, representations: Australia's Icons, and spectacle and party. In the first part we can see the parade with the Olympic flag and the transfer to the Greek representatives of the next Host City. In the second part the most relevant is the speech of the president of IOC Juan A. Samaranch communicating the message refers to the existence and lives of Olympic Movement. In the third step of the ceremony, we can note the presence in the great scenario of the best dancers of the world and the best groups of contemporaneous Australian music. If the symbols is an idea design that is used to represented some things, we can described in the four part the defile of Australia's Icons as symbols of this modern country (as symbols of contemporaneous Australian), and in the final (the five step) we can see the artificial fires and the party and celebration clime.

Parts of Sydney 2000 Olympic Ceremony

Parts	
Olympic Rituals	The parade with the Olympic flag and the transfer to the Greek representatives of the next host city. In Sydney 2000 we can saw the presence of Olympic flag in the hands of Greek priests. The Olympic flame is being extinctic when a plane appears. This image tries to say that the Olympic flame travels by plane to the next Host City. We're to listen the sing of Olympic hymn by Ivana Kenley.
Institutional Speeches	The speech of the president of IOC Juan A. Samaranch communicating the message refers to the existence and lives of Olympic Movement. The president declares the Games of the XXVII Olympiad closed. This institutional speech was described in the 69 article - point 2.5 of the Olympic Chapter with the exactly words.
Celebration	The presence in the great scenario of the best dancers of the world (940) and the best groups of Australian music. These bands presence and the entire world knew. Vanesa Amorosi, John Paul Young, In Excess, Yothu Yindi sang "Treaty", Kylie Minogue, Men at Work, Jimmy Barches, etc. In the scene there are 144 giants foots, 72 arrows, 12 cartels, and 12 giant's dolls. The happy hour: the dance of the athletes and the public in a clime of friendly and cheerful.

Representations: Australia's Icons	Culture of beach, the "white shark", Bananas in pyjamas, crocodile Dundee (Paul Hogan) and others icons. The continuing of happy hour: the dance of the athletes and the publics in a clime of friendly and cheerful.
Spectacle and Party	Artificial Fires and the party clime

Faces Sydney Olympic Closing Ceremony (diagram elaborated by author based in MacAloon (1981))



4.1 Olympic Representations

The term representation is not easy to define. Representation is a term complex and problematic, it can describe “as image building for the mass media about the issue in the public agenda” (Raiter, 2002, p. 11). The author notes the mental image about the things, events or action, process living for the people where the task to knowing of something and if its knowledge are not replaced by other mental image.

4.2 The presentation of Australia: the host Olympic in the Closing Ceremony

For the Argentineans, Australia is a special and remote country. Australia is one of a nation, a country with littler similar with Argentina. Some of the same characteristics are the clime, the geographical position, the same historic time to grown and development, etc. Some differences were the mother country, the language, the different development and the actual situation of each country.

The Closing Olympic Ceremony showed the reality of one modern country of the globe, the main objects, icons and celebrities, your own culture in tensions: the aborigines in front of the young habitants join with the presentation of new Australian society. Australia is present in the communities of nations as one young and powerful country with a relevant culture -in tension- and good and modern social organization society. The Australia's representation in the Closing Olympic Ceremony coincided with these concepts.

4.3 Speak about speakers

The two sport journalists of T&C Sport Channel development a different role in the TV coverage. One of them gets a main role and is the actor important in the TV transmission. This is the role of the more experimented journalist in the broadcasting descriptions. The TV coverage was characterized by the poverty of words and commentaries as if the images and the music of the center of origin were more impressive and more impacting.

The sport journalist speaks about the reference's history of Opening Closing Ceremony - "Came back the red girl of 15 years" (Nickk Wester) "While Nick was about to take the plane for extinct the fire".

The sport journalist affirms during the ceremony "this is a impacts party who live all Sydney" - "Not here, only" - "puppets in the scenario, strange celebrities and artificial fires" - "Change the scenery, change the actors". Then the journalist said "That's happened in the stadium. This is incredible all that they

are putting in the scenery" said the main sport journalist. He notes that "this is impressive view, but must be more impressive from below"

One special moment in the Closing Olympic Ceremony is the presence in the scenery of Yothu Yindi sings "Treaty" where exposed in the global scene the request of Australian aborigines. Yindi sang that "the words are simples and cheap, cheaper that our land and all the promises were non-fulfilment ...is as write in the arena". While Yindi sang the TV showed the Olympic rings as bottom. The Olympic rings were a global dimension and the singer as expression of aborigine culture is a local dimension.

One interesting broadcasting descriptions was happened when one of the sport journalists asked in the coverage "We can't see the Argentinean athletes. We hope to see it." and late the same journalist said "all the Argentineans athletes was connected with the party and other athletes Germans and Polishes".

Global event, Olympic images, remember the rites, Australia modern music, Opening Olympic references are the conjunction of the Olympic Closing Ceremony representations. All is a spectacle special for TV: tradition, institutional speeches, music, colorings actors, athletes, icons, histories of fiction, shares of reality were present in the Closing Olympic Ceremony. As viewer the Closing Olympic Ceremony is a happy hour of entertainment and showed that some human dreams and in special the dialogue of culture based in the Western origin of Olympic sports with the forgetting of recognition of tensions and contradictions, could be in reality by a moment.

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Comunicación y comunidad. Movilización del Conocimiento en Educación Física

Communication and community. Mobilization of Knowledge in Physical Education



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Introduction

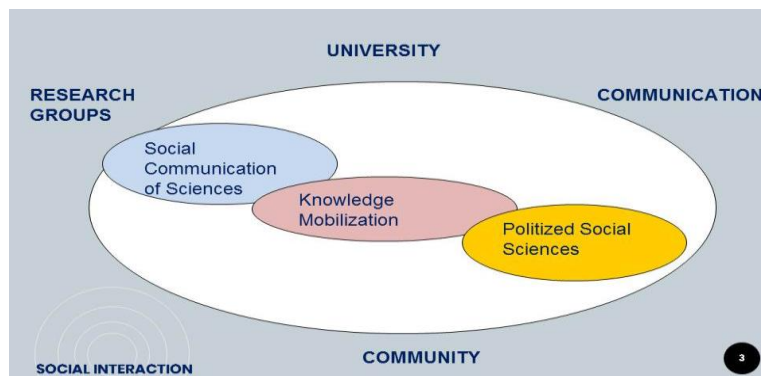
Research in physical education within the Faculty of Teacher Training (IFDC), is still incipient but growing. These Training Institutes share the training of professionals with Argentine universities. The communication of research products in scientific media is developing at the same rate in the Argentine context, where academic publications are not abundant, although there is a frank growth of journals thanks to digitization initiatives. However, there is a lack of communicative pieces, of supports and contents oriented towards a more general public or towards other actors, apart from the scientific

community, reader of academic publications. In Argentina, the State Universities are public and free, are autonomous and self-sufficient, and the financing is provided by the state. Professional training in Argentina is shared by universities and training Institutes, which is why the Argentine higher education system is known as a binary system (Quiroga, 2020).

The social and human sciences play a fundamental role in the social and cultural transformations of the countries from the link they can establish between scientific research, social and citizen dialogue and the formulation of policies that promote the exercise of fundamental human rights and the improvement of living conditions (Quiroga, 2020, p.3).

The social communication of science, mobile science and "politicized" science make up different perspectives and epistemological paths, have eventual agreements and disagreements, although it proposes different alternatives of social action referring to the construction, dissemination, communication, publication and subsequent action of science. scientific knowledge in context. Quiroga (2020, p. 5) said that "an idea that we can use is how the distribution of scientific knowledge is organized in society. On this path we have science organizations and universities with their research groups producing knowledge, we have the communication of that knowledge and our communities that hope to have a better quality of life".

Figure of Social Interactions of Sergio Quiroga



Physical Education

Physical education is recognized as the set of recreational, training and/or competitive institutionalized physical activities that people have carried out and carry out throughout the successive economic-social formations, in each place and in the different historical eras and periods. Consequently, it is considered that social subjects are constructed in relation to the social practices that they live and that they develop in a context and in a historical time and from the social discourses that circulate. The practices of physical education, sports and recreation appear to be dominated by the market, power relations, public policies and technologies. Research and communication of the results of scientific work must be communicated to the various social actors, since such information, as well as the actions that are promoted, are essential for social change.

INSTITUTO CULTURAL ARGENTINO DE EDUCACIÓN SUPERIOR



Background

This elaboration collects multiple contributions. On the one hand, the concepts derived from the social communication of science, mobilized science and politicized social science. Although the aforementioned concepts have been developed in recent years, the knowledge and predisposition in the investigative action of Argentine social scientists on these ideas had not been experienced.

Research in education and physical education in particular, today acquires a relevant role because it can promote beneficial habits, progressive physical and sports cultures that collaborate in the social and cultural transformations of the countries.

The linking of the social communication of science, mobile science and politicized science, make up a conceptual triad approached from theoretical perspectives, without empirical research in education and physical education in Argentine higher education. This is an initial contribution to postulate future research on the subject, which should deepen the deployment of knowledge produced in physical education, its preparation and its usefulness to be known and used by other users and the community.

From the field of communication of science we take as background the following contributions:

- Public communication of science and technology is relevant for citizens to learn, know and benefit from knowledge in physical education, sports, etc. develop curiosity and participate individually or collectively in the public sphere promoting the sustainable development of collective life and the planet.
- On the one hand, the social communication of science has developed in multiple models, reaching a development that today has as fundamental alternatives the model of Public Understanding of Science (Public Understanding of Science) and Public Participation in Science (Public Participation of Science) examined by Dahinden, (2001) and Trujillo Fernández and Quiroga (2002) and the Scientific and Technological Literacy model (Fourez, 1997).
- On the other hand, in "The new production of knowledge" Michael Gibbons, Camille Limoges, Helga Nowotny, Simón Schwartzman, Peter Scott and Martín Trow, the authors argued that we were witnessing fundamental changes in the way of producing scientific, social and

cultural knowledge. cultural. A new trend was exposed that marked a change towards a new mode of knowledge production that replaced and reformed established institutions, disciplines, practices and policies, while coexisting with the traditional mode (Quiroga, 2000). This new way, which the authors described in their book, influenced not only what knowledge is produced, but also how it is produced, the context in which it is carried out, the way it is organized, the reward systems it uses, and the mechanisms that control the quality of what is produced.

From knowledge mobilization studies:

- The mobilization of knowledge is a series of concepts and actions that has been developed by a group of authors such as Levesque (2009), Sá (2011), Levin, (2011), Qi & Levin (2013), Naidorf, (2014) and Fisherman (2012). It is about having knowledge arising from social research, which is ready for action.
- Knowledge Mobilization (KMb) is a concept that promotes and facilitates the use of the fruits of research among users, stakeholders, decision makers, policy makers, professionals, community members, patients, etc., to facilitate decision-making on scientific policies, programs, practices and behaviors.
- Three contexts appear connected. They are the production of research, the organizations or environments where it can be used, and the various agencies or processes that are mediators between the production and use of research.
- The mobilization of science promotes that the research produced in the university, in the professorships, in the research institutes, apart from being communicated to the disciplinary communities through specialized magazines and journals, is prepared to be used socially.

From the idea of a politicized science

- Naidorf and Perrota coined the term “politicized social science”. This idea of politicized social science (Naidorf and Perrota, 2015) was inspired by the contributions of the Latin American School of Thought.
- The authors have also examined the social communication of science, mobile science and propose a politicized social science, while considering whether the category of politicized social science is really appropriate and useful in the Argentine context. The category of politicized social science is new for the discussion on scientific policy, since the concept accounts for a science committed to social change with autonomous and emancipatory characteristics, especially in social sciences (Naidorf, 2014).

Communication, science and physical education

Naturally, research projects formulated in university institutes or higher education institutions must have academic publications fundamentally, although they should have general publications to bring the university closer to the community. Producing media aimed at other audiences is an additional effort of the projects, it is one more effort in the investigative task and a challenge for educational organizations.

The communication of research results among peers is a relevant activity of the projects and possibly one of the main ones to be evaluated in their development. Castorina (2018) indicates that even recognizing that scientific policies have made very significant progress in recent years in the production of knowledge, there are serious problems related to the participation of researchers-teachers in academic decisions and the institutional conditions of research. That difficulty Castorina (2018) places them in the context of ideas

about the production of knowledge in neoliberalism and counter-hegemonic perspectives, on the one hand; on the other, in the ways of managing academic policy in universities, which often move away from intellectual autonomy and the promotion of critical thinking, which were among the objectives of the University Reform of 1918.

Linked to the idea of deploying the knowledge produced in the research, it is recognized that it is possible that the nature of the link may depend on the disciplines addressed by the project, less or more linked to the community, without or with skills to perceive constant interaction as beneficial.

A Knowledge Mobilization strategy entails the claim of relations of a certain equality between all the actors in the process and advances on the ideas of extension or transfer from the university to the community. On the other hand, it is necessary in university teaching, in the body of researchers to develop knowledge, skills and values oriented to the mobilization of knowledge and learn to select and apply tools and techniques with the purpose of putting knowledge into action (Quiroga, 2022). The scientific community creates a large amount of knowledge, but only a small amount of it is mobilized in a shared, used and applied way. This lack of knowledge exchanges is contributing to a gap between research, policy and practice, hampering social innovation and slowing progress (Quiroga, 2022).

Mobilizing knowledge, the fruits of research means going beyond established ideas such as "extension" or "transfer", widely used within the university, where the university provides "something" to community actors in asymmetric relationships, where the university has pre-eminence. This means openly confronting the bureaucratic, cultural and/or political barriers that could constitute a barrier to establishing a new dialogue, a new communication between the organisms that produce science, knowledge in physical education and the community, as the ultimate repository of investigative actions. An active community that accesses knowledge and generates feedback with those

who produce that knowledge and enables transformative actions for progress and social change.

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