On Cultural Globalization and Political Representation[1]

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Abstract

The aim of this work is to analyze the relations between the cultural changes inserted in the Political Representation and the *mondialisation*[2] process and the advances in constituting a global society. It will begin with an introduction of the globalization processes in order to understand which is the mondialisation material substratum. Subsequently, according to Renato Ortiz, mondialisation will be analyzed as a deeper dimension of globalization, as a symbolic universe characteristic of the constitution of a global society. Afterwards, the relations between the mondialisation process and the sphere of the Political Representation will be analyzed, trying to give an answer to the following questions: What does the relation between the Representation rulers-ruled consist in at the moment it is affected by the globalization-mondialisation process?; Are the Representation cultural changes of part of the mondialisation?; As political parties that seem to be isolated or to have reservations about the orthodox neoliberal model, do they use in their symbolic construction the *High Value* phase mechanisms created by capitalism?. The Representation changes are analyzed according to the cultural guidelines they generate and not depending on their democratic contents-although it is considered that a cultural point of view can be useful to understand the restrictions on their development. These transformations are considered according to their recent evolution in the Argentine Republic.

I. Globalization

This essay takes into account the fact that although the notions of Globalization and Mondialisation refer to dimensions of the same process, there are differences between them that are necessary to distinguish. The notion of Globalization comes specially from Economics and International Relations; the uses of the Mondialisation notion comes from surveys that approach this problematic question from the point of view of its effect on culture.

From International Relations it is stated that the globalization process has been increasingly expanding[3]. It has passed from the impacts, influences and radial conditioning,

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[2] I use the French word "mondialisation" instead of cultural globalization because it refers more clearly to the symbolic universe of a global society.

[3] From the International Relations this question can be approached either from the *Interdependence Theories* (Kehone, Nye) or from a neomarxist point of view (Wallerstein, Cox). From the interdependence theories it is stated that the new order characteristic consist of the existence of several channels inter-state, trans-government and transnational; the international relations agenda is not subject to the question of security forces any longer; military forces are not used by governments against other governments of the region when a complex interdependence is present. On the other hand, the neomarxist perspective presents a method for understanding the global relations of power, trying not to underestimate the power of the State but emphasizing

characteristic of the past imperial relation until the Soviet Union collapse, to a net structure where all the actors are mutually influenced, despite their dissimilar capacities.

Thus, remote impact, simultaneousness, embracing character, net structure, heterogeneousity and selectivity are usually considered characteristics of the globalization. It is stated that the current globalization is the result of some convergence:

- The end of the Cold War.

- "Third territories" autonomy. They are no longer subject to the rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union.

-Creation of the conditions for the planetary circulation of ideas, goods, services and information.

- Liberation of the international *co-operation* mechanisms.

- Application of neoliberal policies.

Economically, the process of globalization is characterized by[4]:

a) Financial deregulation. Capital predominance over production. Financial concentration and speculating trends.

b) International trade increase in an "administered" way. International exchange is concentrated on developed countries; Trade World Organization constitution, major growth of interregional trade compared with extra bloc trade, tariff barriers persistence.

c) Transnationalization growth through transnational companies from the United States, Japan and the European Union.

d) Continuity in the income concentration from rich countries. Dismantling of social protection nets and intensification of disparity.

e) Appearance of a new technological paradigm: the "informatics" paradigm. Search for more profitable ways of production.[5]

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the social force process. It focuses on the oppositions in the production process and in the power distribution in the production, in the state, and in the international relations.

[4] According to Mario Rapoport, the economic globalization present process is characteristic of the capitalism history. He states that since the end of the 17th Century, there have been four economic cycles of about fifty years that can be identified, with increasing and decreasing phases of about twenty five years each. The increasing phases are associated with technological change adaptation processes; the decreasing phases, where profitability is reduced and new opportunities of investment are considered, are associated with technological innovation periods motivated by greater competitiveness caused by recessive conditions; present phase. In this one, the economic surplus is directed to the financial sector due to the lack of profitability in the real sector. *Rapoport, Mario, "La globalización económica: ideologías, realidad, historia", en Ciclos, Año VII VOL.VII Nº 12, Buenos Aires, 1997. See also Giovanni Arrighi, The Long Twentieth Century.*

[5] As regards this question, it is useful to examine the European Union strategy, where two approaches are combined: on the one hand, a perspective that considers the public action as being basically orientated towards creating a favorable atmosphere to help the growth of companies; on the other hand, actions that tend to speed up the adaptation of companies through a better use of their technological potential. For the Community, the European competitiveness greatly depends on the possibility of using new information technology. The need to support the growth of transnational companies and groups becomes evident. At first, an explicitly French approach was adopted, focused on the need to support the competitiveness growth to face the growth of other giants of the world economy; this view strengthened the concentration process among companies themselves so that they could compete at a global level. Then the German requests were accepted: the territory becomes a complex concept where there are several areas to invest, from education to services, with the

The present globalization process affects the role and structure of the State and the debate about it. This question is relevant for this work due to the possible ideological uses in the field of political representation. If the states in the world continue to have the legal monopoly and go on ruling and distributing a great deal of the collective wealth, the "post-nationalist actors" and the representatives of the "global cities" will use their national flag in their competitive strategies against other actors. As Jocelyn Létourneau has stated, *"the State is the pillar of the mondialisation process; it is the guarantor between governance international levels and national and local public ones"*[6]. In fact, as we know, the State-nation has always been in a state of tension due to the problematic question of linking the constitution of a state-national ideology with the systemic constitution of a world economy.

According to this, the world capitalist economy constitutes one of the dimensions of globalization, perhaps the most dynamic but not the only one. Together with the world capitalist economy, the persistence in the national state system, a world military order and the labor international division are mutually involved.[7]

This takes place because modernity is intrinsically globalising; globalization being the consequence of the development of the modernity institutional dimensions.. Following Guiddens, they are the following: *Vigilance* (information control and social supervision), *Capitalism* (capital accumulation in the market of competitive markets of jobs and products), *Military Power* (violence means control in war industrialization context) and *Industrialism* (nature transformation, created environment development).

Behind the institutional associations, the sources of modernity dynamism lie. These sources consist in the gap between time and space, the disembedding mechanism and the reflexive process. According to what is relevant for this work, following Giddens in the analysis of these sources, I will extract the following:[8]

- The *gap between time and space* refers to the condition of indefinite range distance between time and space, which brings about the means for an accurate space time regionalization.

- *Dissembedding mechanism development* allows social relation reorganization through enormous distances between time and space, when removing the social activity from its localized contexts. The dissembedding mechanisms are represented by the *"symbolic signs"* and the "*expert systems*".

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intention of being part of a European vision and gradually a global one. The complex framework between telecommunications, informatics and television, referred as a whole as information society, becomes the axis of a large action of the Community which consists in programs which act transversely on the whole range of the Commission intervention and national and local governments' intervention.

[6] Létorneau identifies the constitution of three kinds of spaces. The local space : the concrete space of the actors' establishment and identification .This space is sometimes inserted in the world system (place of action of transnational nets)or sometimes without links with it. The national space: place where the social flow regulation is carried out. Yet it is important for the wealth transit and redistribution; space of symbolic reference and identification subject to tension and dismemberment. The Hyperspace: place for development and competence of transnational nets. It is constructed around locally and nationally established nodal points– global cities and strong areas- , which interact with local and national actors in an associating and contradictory way. *Létourneau, Jocelyn, Mundialización e identidad histórica de las regiones, en Ciclos, Año VII, Vol. VII nº 12, Buenos Aires, 1997.*

[7] See *Guiddens, Anthony, Consecuencias de la modernidad, Alianza Editorial, Madrid, 1993.*

[8] *Giddens, Anthony, op. cit.*

By *symbolic signs* Guiddens understands *"the means of exchange that can be passed to each other without taking into account the characteristics of the individuals or groups that manage them at a particular moment."* He mentions different types of symbolic signs, such as the means of political legitimization or money. This point is specially important because it will be discussed later when analyzing political representation.

The mechanized technologies are a fundamental aspect of the dissembedding mechanisms. Technologies remove the neighboring context where the established cultures are inserted and produce an independent memory of the close contexts of time and space. As Lyotard wonders, *"what is a body (own body, social body) in the telegraphic culture?"*[9]

This is the material substratum, rooted in a leap towards the multinational capitalism; a deeper aspect of the transformation is the cultural mondialisation process, which will be discussed in the next section.

II. Mondialisation

According to Renato Ortiz[10] , we find ourselves attached to the use of a set of theoretical instruments, built up at the end of the 19th Century. Class, Individual, State and Development are notions constructed from a nodal entity, the Nation, but whose crisis increases according to the present changes.

According to Ortiz, the challenge of the thought consists in awarding a scientific statute to this entity that may be emerging, and which should be considered *a "mega-society".* A global culture is consistent with structural changes.

The notion of Mondialisation is associated with the *"the society globalization movement but it also means a view of the world, a specific symbolic universe of the present society".* It is about a total phenomenon that spreads over the whole cultural expressions. In order to take place, it needs to have a place, to be situated in everyday practices. If mondialisation is considered as a whole it can be associated with the idea of civilization.

The mechanisms of this mondialisation process are the ones mentioned at the beginning of this work. Science, technology, and consumption work as vectors for constituting a Global Society; they allow a specific complexation.

This "mondialised culture" generates its own development *pattern*, the "*world modernity*"[11]. The circulation principle is the structuring aspect of this emerging modernity. The world-modernity reveals a group of values and legitimacy of the new structuring order. It shows a contorted organization, favoring qualities such as functionality, mobility and rationality.

Ortiz sees the Nation as the first mondialisation affirmation. However, modernity includes a world dynamics that cannot be kept within nationalities. It is in the 20th Century when the mondialisation process manages to be completely materialized; the Cultural Industries development being essential for this .

The Media carries out the disembedding process that both Guiddens and Ortiz refer to. It establishes itself in the infrastructure of a world-communication. Technology is the

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[9] Lyotard, Jean-François, *Lo inhumano. Charlas sobre el tiempo*, Ediciones Manantial, Buenos Aires, 1998.

[10] *Ortiz, Renato, Mundialización y cultura, Alianza Editorial, Buenos Aires 1997*.

[11] According to Ortiz, the difference between *pattern*, which refers to the cultural model, and *standard*, which refers to the product manufacturing process tends to disappear.

mondialisation material infrastructure, which allows global culture emergence and at the same time translates, transmits, retranslates, retransmits previous guidelines, aesthetics, identities, that become available to be appropriated again. At the same time, it can be said that globalization generates a mondialisation that does not end there, in a global society; on the contrary, it poses the apparent paradox of an increase in *subcultures*.

Ortiz wonders if the idea of centrality has any sense today due to the current gap between time and space. He wonders if it is possible to imagine a cultural map in a diffusionist school manner.[12] He discusses the idea of cultural focus centrality (cultural imperialism), according to which there would be cultural circulation spaces and subordinate peripheral spaces, due to the fact that this idea does not analyze "globalization" as a process, wrongly identified with modernity as the American way of life.

It is necessary to consider the question of *domination* as an internal mechanism of a global society that is being constituted. The cultural goods circulation is more consistent if it is considered as mondialisation. The world-modernity boundary expansion establishes a linguistic community of transnational dimensions; the emergence of a new legitimacy, new habits and customs constitute the "tradition" of the world-modernity; the relations of authority have another importance.

According to Ortiz, the mondialisation embedding process is achieved by means of global objects. Thus, the world, unrecognizable in what is near, becomes recognizable in what is distant ; what is near is now distant ; the other one is the same or oneself.

The axis of this *"popular international culture"[13]* is the consuming market associated with the capitalism restructure through the global option of the transnational companies and a more flexible production organization.[14]

What is important in this consuming market is the product image; the objects, the cultural industry goods, have a " sign asepsis", many times cynical; for the market, real life contradictions are intolerable, except if their contents are removed from meanings and embedded; the asepsis means sweeping for a later writing.

The market works as some force for the people's integration. Publicity elaborates and re-elaborates the atomized consumer's desire. The goods become *"identity symbols"[15]*, many times a possible way of being happy or not.[16]. The emerging culture has a memory that works as a communication system and establishes the connivance of people. This memory lies in the present; the aspects that constitute it are timeless; the objects and images have to be constantly re-updated in order to be able to fill the emptiness of time .The popular international

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[12] Ortiz considers "diffusion" as a "process by means of which the elements of a culture system are spread, operating in space" and "tradition" as the "contents transmission from one generation to the other, operating in time".

[13] Ortiz, Renato, op. cit.

[14] The multinational companies were organized under a fordist production system, which meant hierarchies, a center and national subsidiary companies; on the contrary, the transnational companies make use of a more flexible production system and tend to generate a system of universal values; a net concept is implemented in which speed, design and publicity are essential.

[15] Ortiz, Renato, op. cit.

[16] As regards the theme of this work, I do not think it is a coincidence that many political parties try to appeal to the electorate by the use of objects that have a ludic content in their merchandising, such as *little flannels* to clean corruption, or *happy little boxes* with the political party speech summed up in a few words. (FREPASO, ALIANZA, national deputy campaign, Argentina, 1997).

memory lies in oblivion, different nations and classes should be included; different contradictions should be eliminated and shown.[17]

Consumption *"is active and collective behavior, a moral imposition, an institution, social control and group integration function"*[18]. Consumption lonely solidarity is part of the world collective imagery, giving an order to individuals and ways of life.[19]

Thus *a global society imagery* emerges, having specific aesthetics, values and conception of the world.

As I have pointed out in the previous sector, the actors of this world culture are the globalised companies, the central states and the mass media. Capitalism goes from a High volume phase to a High value one; knowledge and information are essential.[20] Culture is organized in a centripetal way- all the points tauten the net and award to it their own dynamics.

In order to hide the new ways of domination, ideological diversions take place; managers keep the transnational democratic character in front of the old multinational ones; flexibility is strengthened as an independence phenomenon. The equivalence between decentralization, autonomy, democracy and individuality becomes firmer.[21]

The apparent major autonomy does not fit in with the empirical evidence of greater economic concentration on the part of transnational companies, legitimization control and cultural good monopoly. For instance, intracompany trade concentrates one third of the world trade; at the same time, trade among different transnational companies represent another third. (UNCTAD, *World Investment Report*, 1997).

As Ortiz states, concentration and fragmentation are co-ordinated by the system that is why the question of time is essential- time is *performance*; communication flows between the flexible space and the vectorial space. The co-ordination between homogeneousity and

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[17] According to Luis Roniger the Mass Media produces narratives where the images of consumption, sensuality, technological game and hedonism are spread; hegemonic cultures are transformed into the cultural reference of a considerable part of humanity; western languages and particularly English are favored in the knowledge production, transfer and projection; information is spread according to consumption; mass media agents would rather focus on those aspects that do not need to provide a context for its comprehension; current events are specially preferred, bringing about non-historical speeches on many occasions. See *Roniger, Luis, "La globalización y la cultura de la disgregación social" Ciclos, Año VII Nº 12, Buenos Aires, 1997.* This position is very close to Ortiz's, but here a centralist perspective is emphasized.

[18] Ortiz, Renato, op. cit.

[19] García Canclini states that *"identities tend to be defined in consumption"*; he thinks that the constant transformations in the production technologies, in the object designs and in the extensive and intensive communication among societies , make unstable the identities that are fixed in repertoire of the exclusive goods of an ethnic or national community .As Ortiz, he can see that culture is affected by a multinational assemby process, a flexible articulation of parts. However, an observation can be made as regards the way that the *definition* of identity is understood. According to Canclini there seems to be an equivalence between who consumes and its role as a consumer; in my opinion , it would be better to watch, for example, which consumer's personal characteristics, specially which sensitivity, make him consume certain goods, in this case mondialisation ones, i.e. to observe when the re-embedding process is carried out.

[20] Manuel Castells and Jordi Borja use the notion of "informational economy" to name the new production system.. *Borja, Jordi y Castells, Manuel, Local y Global. La gestión de las ciudades en la era de la información, Taurus, Barcelona, 1997.*

[21] Global managers state that " *as the centrality weakening process promotes autonomies, individuals would gain more freedom in the bosom of global post-computerised societies and more capacity for choice [...] when choosing a popular international quotation, consumers would be exercising their individuality power"*, Ortiz, Renato, op. cit.

segmentation takes place showing a new social configuration. Segmentation allows the creation of *universalities*; behaviors are distinguished by consumption segments.

Object legitimacy supports a way of life. The international market owns aesthetic availability where tastes are predetermined. Universal products are manufactured and individuals are grouped according to their *life styles*.

Consequently all this process brings about a new social structure configuration and a new imagery affecting the different specialization fields in social life- one of them is the political field that will be discussed later.

III. Representation, Presentableness, Representatives.

In my opinion there are two kinds of relations between the mondialisation process and the changes that have taken place in the political field.

One relation is the one that exists between the mondialisation process and its world-modernity pattern and the emergence of different sociocultural processes. This is discussed by Fernando Calderón when he considers that " *the explosion of cultural movements and processes that redefine their identities [...] has probably been one of the most important phenomena at international level since the middle of the century[....]posing a problematic question that has not been satisfactorily dealt with: the one that refers to the complex and difficult relations between cultural patterns and ways of political organization."*[22] Fernando Calderón synthesizes the historical field where they are developed in the polarization/ decomposition dynamics.

Another relation is the one that exists between the mondialisation process and the Political Representation field, considering that this field may be subject to the disembedding mechanisms that work as means for the mondialisation development. This is the relation that I would like to analyze next, focusing on the political culture changes inserted in it.

P*olitical representation* appears as a key element in the modern political history due to the fact that it is the base not only of the constitutional political government but also of the debate about the democracy fulfillment. By "representing" it is understood both acting on behalf of somebody and showing something or somebody's characteristics. What gives sense to the political representation is the possibility of controlling the political power conferred on somebody who cannot exercise the power themselves. Thus, representation can be defined as the *"political mechanism for the fulfillment of a relation and the regular control between rulers and the ruled ones".*

In theory it is agreed that at present there is a displacement and reconditioning of the elements that make up political representation. This displacement and reconditioning consist in the following:

- *The distance between electors and political parties increase.* Representation only becomes a mirror of a particular social situation, i.e. when a social division overcomes all the others and it is imposed itself as the main scission.

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[22] *Calderón, Fernando y Dos Santos, Mario, Sociedades sin atajos. Cultura, política y reestructuración económica en América Latina, Paidós, Buenos Aires, 1994, pp. 219.*

- *The political party strategy is based on the construction of diffuse images* where the leaders' personalities have an outstanding place to the detriment of government programs. Images constitute simplified political representations, *programmatical* ones. Candidates can make themselves known without having to depend on the mediations of militant organizations. Thus the candidate's personality is emphasized for the electors' perception.

- *The representative is an actor who takes the initiative of suggesting an scission principle ,*finds out the electorate's divisions and takes some of them to the public scenario. What is interesting is that the scission is formed from individuals' preferences for the object, not from their political party preference. The question is that the scission principle should gather the 51%.

- *The environment the government has to respond to is the result of decisions made by an increasing number of actors,* due to the economic interdependence and political interaction.

- *Information becomes a highly disputable good.*

- *There is a lack of proportion between the value of a well informed vote and its expected benefit.*

- *The political objects are identically present for everybody* according to the impact on the Media.

- *Electoral unsteadiness..*[23]

All these events have transformed the parties' democracy into what is called a *democracy of what is public*.

In this essay I am interested in seeing how the Representation *relation function* is carried out and shown at least in Argentina nowadays. What I would like to analyze briefly in this sector is the relation between the democracy of what is public and the mondialisation process, i.e. what does that relation between the representation rulers and the ruled ones consist in at the moment it is affected by the mondialisation- globalization process?; How do the mondialisation actors affect the new political culture guidelines?; Which is the relation between the present representation cultural guidelines and the cultural guidelines that the mondialisation process generates?; Are the representation cultural changes part of the mondialisation?; Does a homogeneousity/segmentation process exist here as well?; Is it possible to talk about aesthetic homogeneousity?; How can it be interpreted the fact that the conflicts between the speeches are just apparent ?

The first step consists in seeing that the above-mentioned *disembedding - re-embedding mechanism* is also shown in the political field. As Anthony Giddens states:[24] [25]

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[23] Until the 70s, most of the electoral analyses arrived to the conclusion that the electoral behavior was explained by the citizens cultural, economic and social characteristics'. On the contrary, nowadays it is considered that the electoral results can change considerably from one election to the other, even when the electors cultural, economic and social characteristics have remained almost the same for the given period..

[24] *Giddens, Anthony, op. cit., pp. 91.*

[25] Giddens and he also mentions the political legitimacy as one of the symbolic signs of the disembedding mechanism.

> The modern government depends on a complex series of trust relations between the political class and the people. The electoral systems could be seen more as means of institutionalization of the access points that connect the political class with the population mass than means of ensuring people's representation. The electoral manifestos and other means of propaganda are methods of showing validity, and this often involves a lot of re-embedding process: smiles to the youngest children, hand shaking, etc....

Such a mechanism can be observed in the same representation concept, when this idea is restricted to the fulfillment of a relation and a control.

As regards this question it would be interesting to see how the political speech is made up as a means of re-embedding; i.e. how the words are used as settings; in the same way that publicity or communication resort to specific words with the "sign asepsis" that Ortiz talks about. The words that have been mentioned in the Argentine political debate, such as hyperinflation, employment, unemployment, world integration, education would work as unifying links for the likely voters. Such words have been emptied of their real meaning, getting rid of the contradictions that they have both in real life and in the implemented policies or about to be implemented, bringing about a speech image or even better an *image-speech.*

As an example it can be said that in the public debate on employment this question is removed from the debate on active policies implementation in the industrial field; in the same way, when the active policies are discussed, they are removed from the problem of the country insertion in the international economy or the other way around. On the other hand, for instance, the word " hyperinflation" was clearly used in the debate with the intention of creating a memory concentrated on an eternally present fact that favors the speaker who seems to be legitimized to pronounce it.

However, the re-embedding mechanism has always been present and politics has always used symbolic signs which unify the electorate. The disembedding - embedding mechanism shows the way through which the politics removing from discussion, local and immediate instances is going to be carried out- the symbolic signs constitute its method. This process increases with the Mass Media development. This can be observed in the political parties' debates on their growing strategies and electoral campaigns.[26]

The relation with the cultural mondialisation imagery lies in the fact that nowadays the Representation *relation* function is carried out through symbols that have the same sign content that those used by the market and directed to conquer a semiology space that is sometimes in competition or concurrent with it.[27]

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[26] For instance about the question if political parties headquarters are useful or not.

[27] As Achaché states, we go from a propagandist model (transmission of a political party message with a specific ideological content to a homogeneous crowd) to a marketing one that builds up product personalities addressed to different publics without the same defined interests. Now individuals are not completely involved, only in a few dimensions, with discontinuous links. The politician's legitimacy construction is carried out by means of features accumulation that allow an *"image"* to be built or, even better, a *"personality"* . *See Achache, Gilles, "El marketing político", in Ferry J.M., Wolton, D., El nuevo espacio público, Gedisa, Buenos Aires, 1992.*

For instance, this can be observed in Argentina in a sticker in circulation of the Alianza national deputy candidate, Carlos Alvarez. In the background, having a similar color to a Coca Cola poster, the upper part of his face, which although it looks vague it can be identified is similar to the revolutionary Ernesto *Che* Guevara; at the bottom of the sticker we can read his nickname, *Chacho*, in white letters which draw our attention, similar to the ones of a Coca Cola poster, and with a final phrase in black that says "I am with you", which reminds us of the sweetness of a popular singer pursued by his fans. The aim is the same that the cultural industry goods have: "*to fix the brand*" in the likely electors (customers).[28]

The point is : what does this mean as regards future policies? Which restrictions do debates bring about? On which interests? Which are the apparent differences of political parties when all of them use the cultural industry seduction mechanisms? How come that political parties that seem to have moved away from or to have reservations about the orthodox neoliberal model use in their symbolic construction the high value phase mechanisms created by capitalism when it is undergoing its decreasing period? How does this help to create a popular international culture?

A possible answer is to analyze the present political parties as " *parties to catch everybody*" similar to " *companies to catch everybody*". Due to the fact that the gap between electors and political parties is one of the present representation problems and as there is an electorate segmentation, political parties tend to elaborate platforms that try to include the largest number of electors, eliminating the likely friction points from their speech; thus, political parties tend to become electoral machines based on identical political objects. The universality of the electoral offer (*product*) creates the link between the existing differences.

However, as in the mondialisation process, the important point here is the created imaginery, the emerging group of values and aesthetics. In this sense I wonder how the present politics contributes to shape ordinariness; how does the neoliberalism and neopopulism combination connect with the *masscult* and the *midcult* created by cultural industries[29]?; Isn't the use of spectacular-speculating political events similar to the cultural industry *Show*?, Isn't that industry attitude of "*showing to others what we have or we can*" similar to the parody that politicians make of themselves in order to seduce the electorate?; aren't the few political characters part of the *reality show*?.

As Achaché states, political marketing does not take for granted any point of view, any substantial value (either general interest or great speech) according to which the whole space for political communication should be organized; it does not take for granted that anybody should be at everybody's disposal. Marketing implies a segmentation.

Now then, in developing countries, undergoing an increasing social-economic crisis, living recessions that are the result of cost-cutting policies that have brought about high unemployment rates, large pauperizing sectors, and increasing violent situations marketing could not be based on several numbers of features, of *proposals* due to the fact that the

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[28] A paradigmatic fact in Argentina is that the Government National School , which is made up by the majority political parties and which depends on the Public Administration National Institute, has a specific subject ,*Political Communication* (Marketing), in its Political Leaders Training Course, where the debate does not take into account the correlation between political marketing and neoliberal policies and the consequences of using such mechanisms in social terms and even in the leaders' psychological terms .

[29] By *masscult* we understand the culture of the mass society, created by the cultural industry. By *midcult* we understand the culture that pretends to respect the criteria of the superior culture but in fact it popularizes it, including a part of the vanguard but in a banal way. See *Dwight Macdonald, "Masscult y Midcult", in Industria Cultural y Sociedad de Masas, Monte Avila Editores, Caracas 1993*.

electorate that can be seduced by a dominant image is too large. At the same time, the electorate's social segmentation, the gaps between the different affluence levels and the access to specific life styles show a social equality reduction, if we understand by this equal consideration among individuals (Giovanni Sartori). As equal consideration decreases, political parties try to "safeguard" it through the proposal of electorate's unifying objects.

Perhaps here lies the ideological use of what is national on the part of political parties. As the *globalization* process does not mean the end of national states but, as Létourneau states, the State becomes the globalization material substratum, the use of what it national may seem to be a competitive strategy for both a unifying proposal and an overcoming and homogenousity strategy .

Political parties, as the media and the people, become *the people's representatives*, "*people*" refers to different people conglomeration who are connected within a homogenousity; people become then *the nation of the people (Argentines);* the use of the nation allows the universality creation of what is segmented. That is why several political parties use a system of symbols for what is national in their merchandising[30]; this allows the recreation of an apparent sensation of "we", but in fact that "we" is fragmented by differences and inequalities, in part brought about by *international competence* that is being faced, at best, by the *nation* competitive strategy but on many occasions it hides the inability to reach a competitive insertion and does not show the electorate the economic problems and their consequences in the long run, bringing about a new ideology of what is national.[31]

Thus, there are two ways of reaching the dominant image, similar to the others that are part of the global society imagery .One way is through the strategy of getting rid of conflict points, suggesting a vague image to the electorate; the other one is through the strategy of generating a unifying image, that is presented as a way of solving the common problems of a large sector of the electorate and/or overcoming the reduction of the equality of consideration.

The other side of these images is a technobureaucratic policy model implementation that can include the *conversion* of a politician into a manager. As Létourneau states:

> The inefficiency of long narrative constructions [...] to give sense to a community ideal that propounds a way of representing the State at a symbolic level and that meets the existing groups' aspirations and views [...] a space of identification and reciprocity does not exist any longer [...] As never before, the fragmented word (overdetermined by

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[30] This system of symbols can be the result of giving a new signification to populist symbols , as it is the case of the Justicialista Political Party in Buenos Aires province as regards its election campaign strategy on the part of its governor , Eduardo Duhalde (accompanied in his presidential formula by the ex – popular singer Ramón *Palito* Ortega, elections October 1999) ; or the new symbol generation, as it is the case of the Alianza at a national level, that recreates the sensation of a shared "we"; or the use of *little football balls* with the Argentine flag in the election campaign for national deputies (Arg., 1997).In the case of Duhalde, the option for his campaign ranges from a propaganda model (for instance the use of patronage mechanisms, *manzaneras,* distributing food or giving some help in return of votes) to a marketing model. However, the return to a propaganda model can be understood as a marketing strategy, because the ideological content expressed is not clear; the old aesthetics receives a new signification removing it from an ideological debate.

[31] This can be found in Argentina in the bitterness of the Mercosur construction, which was supposed to give an opportunity for a better competitive insertion; or in the regionalism dilemmas; in the economic model construction based on the permanent income of short- dated capitals and in the inability to create management or analytical tools .

legal thought) brings about a civic sense flattening, benefits the narcissistic identity and favors the regulation and policy technobureaucratic process of what is social which, in the future, is only going to deal with the requests coming from speakers who are endowed with powerful variables for public intervention due to the fact that they have appropriated an advantageous position in the bosom of the discoursing space that in the media society era, it is a powerful place for an identity formation.[32]

This brings about the individual prospects separation from the public interest which is involved with the way the world market works through the homogenousity/segmentation logic. This is the reason why there is a tendency of seeing the citizen as a *consumer* interested in enjoying certain standard of living.[33] [34]

IV. As a conclusion

According to what we have seen, in my opinion the relation between the mondialisation process and the changes that have taken place in the political representation field does not mean that the mondialisation process causes the emergence of the so called democracy of what is public; on the contrary, *the democracy of what is public is part of such cultural mondialisation.* This would lead to the fact that the domination mechanisms would have to be analyzed according to a global society constitution and not according to an external influence adaptation. The new processes are the re-structuring result that took place in the capitalist economy, in its historically original colonization of the unconscious (Jameson 1995); in the persistence of the other institutional dimensions of modernity and in the disembedding mechanism development involved in the world–modernity. Politics, in its representation dimension, begins to work as culture.

A further consideration of these ideas would mean to develop a symbolic analysis of the *political products*, to characterize the most outstanding features of the Representation *relation function* symbolic dimension and to see its correlation between different areas and nodal points in their differences of establishment in the global society.

Besides, examining all the changes and processes present in the political field would involve analyzing the new sociocultural processes that take place tangentially, in conflict or despite the Representation .

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[32] *Létourneau, Jocelyn,op. cit.*

[33] For example, it is illustrative the interest of international organizations, state agencies and private companies in consumers' reeducation campaigns to adapt to the new *regulation economy* culture brought about by the public service privatization..

[34] Some writers establish the new representative links in what Portantiero calls "a low intensity democracy", others prefer to talk about the existence of a consumer-citizen.. The parties' slogans repeat this idea: *We are going to live better in Buenos Aire*s (Alianza, Gobierno de la Ciudad de Buenos Aires); *To live better* (Buenos Aires Province Justicialista Party).

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