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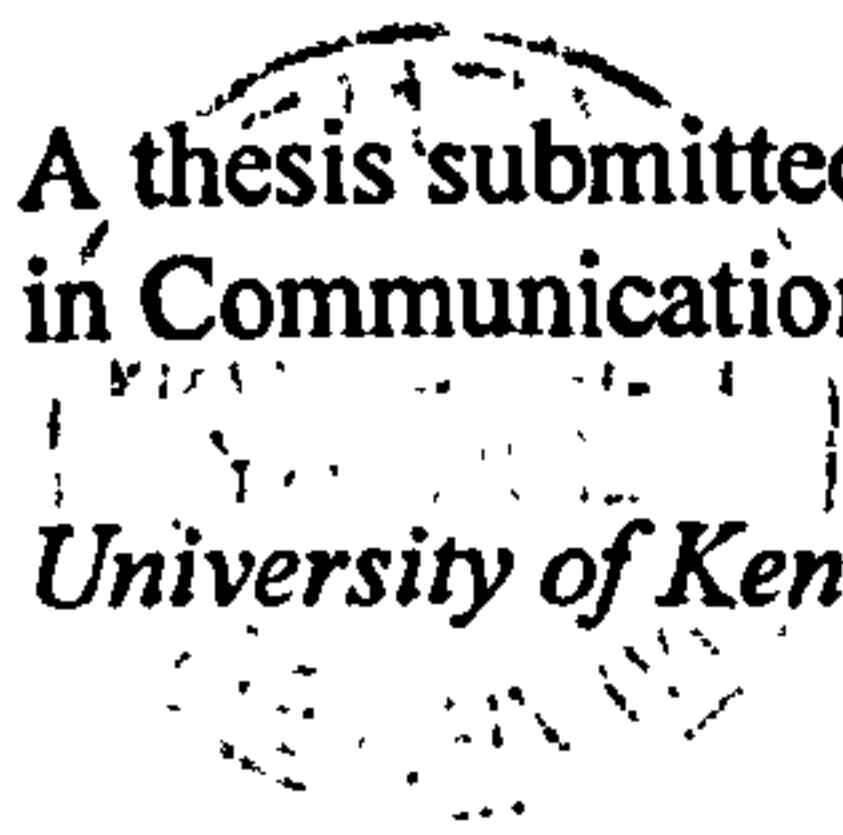
Designing Nationality:

*The production of
image and identity by
the Argentinean State.*

By SEBASTIAN GUERRINI

**A thesis submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
in Communication and Image Studies**

University of Kent at Canterbury. December 2008



To Alejandra Gutiérrez

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Abstract

The aim of this research is to understand how images created and spread by the Argentine State from 1810 to 2008 have contributed to the definition of national identity.

This work considers that the Ideological State Apparatus creates dominant hegemonic ideologies as well as fixing certain sentiments in a given nation, producing thus its nationality. For that reason, the state uses the apparatus of cultural fictions which spreads designed symbolic fictions and images. This happens due the social importance of images and the social importance of the act of seeing, of representing, of interpreting, of imagining and of desiring as the sources that give power to images. But in order to do so, the state has to embody certain common content and to have the power to institutionalize that content. In addition, it needs a support, channels to spread nationality discourses through material culture such as public architecture, monuments, statues, the rosette, uniforms, banknotes, flag, shield and mass media. In this case, the focus of the analysis has been the flag, the shield and the banknotes.

In Argentina, there have been twelve Ideological State Apparatuses which expressed, by their images and objects, different national sentiments. The organizational dimension and the sentiments of sharing are the most common sentiments. Moreover, the proprietary and religious sentiments are more attached to the shield, while the sentiment of organization is more related to the flag.

As a general conclusion, it is possible to find four identities created by the Argentine state which are the European identity, Republican identity, Nationalist identity and worker's identity. Furthermore, those identities projected four models of exclusive identities due to the symbolic absence of differences in their produced images, such as diversity of genre, physiognomies, ethnics, provinces and the lack of inclusion of some very popular democratic figures.

Introduction

National identification design, as something pertaining to political concern, can be understood as the embodiment of images of ideological representation in specific supporting elements in an attempt to create and re-create the identity of the citizens. To understand the mechanisms of how Nation States design nationality among their populations it is necessary to know how the State works. It works through a hegemonic process called the Ideological State Apparatus. Simultaneously, the State apparatus of cultural fictions spreads symbolic fables to have a monopoly over cultural norms and discourses. This apparatus requires three main resources to work. These include: an existing common content, the power to institutionalize a chosen interpretation of nationality and a support for the content. Common content, national sentiment or national identity are created and maintained by a hegemonic ideology that rules the State in a historical period. This entire process is permitted because of the social importance of images. The act of seeing, representing, interpreting, imagining and desiring are the sources that give power to images. In addition, the channels that spread nationality discourses are the material culture, images and objects that are sense and information carriers such as public architecture, monuments, statues, the rosette, uniforms, the banknotes, the flag, the shield and mass media.

This process described above, the role of the State as an image and identity designer, is not included in the academic formation of a graphic designer even though they could probably be designers in charge of spreading images of a government and a specific dominant ideology.

For this reason, the main motivation to initiate this research has been to fill a gap that exists in the academic formation of a graphic designer, a formation that makes that professional activity much more related to common sense, creativity and art rather than based on theoretical grounds. In addition, the lack of information on the use of images by the Argentine State, its relationship with national identity and the lack of a comparative semiotic analysis of the different supports and images used in each period of government has been a big motivation to start and finish this research.

The purpose of this research is to understand how images created and spread by the Argentine State from 1810 to 2008 have contributed to the definition of national identity.

For this reason, a case study was developed. It required theoretical assumptions and

conceptualizations to guide and support the production of data, information and of the research strategies. Then, to structure and organize this case study the research problem was first established. The research problem was to explore the role of the Argentine State as an identity designer through the use of images and objects from the beginning of the Nation to 2008 with special focus in the analysis of the flag, the banknotes and the shield.

Therefore, the main question asked throughout the research was:

“How does the production of image by the Argentine State contribute to the design of a national identity?”

In order to answer this immense question, many key and minor questions were made which became the objectives or purpose of the research. Besides, in each case, key concepts were useful to create a theoretical /conceptual framework which led to finding the answers.

The questions were

1. How does the State act?
2. How are nationality and national identities constructed by the State?
3. What is collective or national identity?
4. What is the relationship between individual identities and collective or national identities like?
5. What is the role of cultural fictions and myths?
6. What is the role of objects that construct nationality and national identities?
7. How does the State have the power to institutionalize and spread national discourses and the interpretation of nationality?
8. What are the most relevant supports used by the State that structure nationality?
9. How much power do images have to construct nationality and national identities?
10. What gives power to images?

In the Argentine case, the main questions were:

1. How was the Ideological State Apparatus constituted in different historical periods? What kind of dominant ideology, images and supports were associated with each historical period?
2. How were the flag, shield and banknotes used? What kind of nationalistic sentiments were attached and made representative by them throughout history?
3. What were the visual elements or attributes of the flags, shields and banknotes? How were they used and changed in each historical period?
4. What kind of images were used, and what purpose did they serve in banknotes in different historical periods?

As a result of the research, the main findings are that the Argentine State, through the use of

different supports and images, is responsible for creating four Argentine identities. They are the European identity, the Nationalist identity, the Worker identity and the Republican identity. In addition, it can be said that there is a symbolic absence in the national representation by the State of inland people, women, children, the provinces and some very popular democratic presidents. In this sense, difference lacks representation. Last, the flag, shield and banknotes are supports and images used throughout the Argentine history to design nationality. However, since the return of democracy in 1983, the shield and banknotes have not been considered and used by the State while the flag is still used to attach national sentiments and identity.

The present work is organized as follows. In chapter 1 the theoretical framework is developed. In chapter 2, the methodology used in the research is shown and explained. In the following chapters a deep analysis of the Argentine case is developed. To begin, in chapter 3, the Argentinean Ideological Apparatus of the State is studied in a historical context, from its origin to 2008. In each ideological state apparatus, the dominant national sentiment, the dominant ideology and the apparatus of cultural fiction utilized is characterized and analysed. The focus is on the use of monuments, architecture, sculptures, stamps, rosettes, army uniforms, mass media and other characteristics pertaining to some of the ideological state apparatus. The shield, flag and banknotes are described but are deeply analysed in the next chapters. Therefore, in chapter 4, there is an analysis of how the Argentine State designs nationality through the use of the flag. At the beginning, a brief history of the role and social importance of the flag and how the state attaches some national sentiment on behalf of the Ideological State Apparatus is presented. Then, there is a semiotic analysis of the Argentine flag for which some tables with information are presented. After that, a history of the changes in the use of colours and the sun made in different Argentine historical periods and its meaning is developed. The chapter ends with some conclusions, illustrations and tables. Then, the Argentine shield in chapter 5 and the Argentine banknotes in chapter 6 are analysed following the same methodology used for flags and they are presented in a similar structure to that developed in chapter 4 of the flag. After that, in chapter 7 the conclusions are presented. The Annex provides tables and a chapter of field notes.

Chapter 1. Exploring Designing nationality

Introduction

The origin of the word “design” can be traced back to the root *disegni* which in Latin means drawing (Baxandal, 1990: 208). This act of drawing covers a metaphor of the previous process of projecting new worlds to live in, or to have as a reference. Otherwise, the anthropologist Juez situates the word design closer to designation, “from the Latin voice *designare*, which means to mark, to note for a determined purpose, then to designate” (Juez, 2002:13). Nevertheless, a mix between the two concepts can be made synthesizing design as the projection of a certain designation which transforms the way of seeing of the people involved.

Following this line of argument, it is possible to affirm that such image design is, in fact, a political action, conceptualizing politics as the mechanism by which collective action can be undertaken in any entity according to the social influence that someone can get. In this case, as Weber defines it, by politics is understood “only the leadership, or the influencing of the leadership, of a political association, hence today, of a state” (Weber, 2001: 77). Besides, politics is the transformation of identities. According to Laclau and Mouffe, “politics is a terrain of struggle between agents whose identity, conceived under the form of interests, has set itself up at another level. This essential identity was thus fixed, once and for all, as an unalterable fact relating to the various forms of political and ideological representation” (Laclau and Mouffe, 2001: 20-21). Thus, as something political concern, national design can be understood as the embodiment of ideological representation with images, attempting to create and re-create the identity of the citizens.

To understand the mechanisms of how National States design nationality functions among their populations, a theoretical framework is presented in this chapter. To do that, three sections will be developed.

In section I a brief review of what the State is and how it works is presented, with focus on the concepts of Gramsci and Althusser. Gramsci's essential question is how the state can dominate without constraint. According to him, it is done through ideology as a process of leadership and through hegemony which is the principle that enables a tacit consent through popular consensus. Althusser complements Gramsci's approach because he includes institutions and organizations as

part of the apparatus of the state which is producing in fact the hegemony of an ideology, what he calls the Ideological State Apparatus. This also works by ideology which, according to Zizek, structures our social reality, by spreading symbolic fictions to have the monopoly over cultural norms and discourses. This is done by what Bhabha calls the State apparatus of cultural fictions which is fully explained in the next section.

In section II, it is shown that the apparatus of cultural fiction requires three main resources to work which are: an existing common content, the power to institutionalize a chosen interpretation of nationality and a support for the content. In the first case, to understand how a common content, collective or national identity is created and maintained it is discussed what identity is. It is discussed that identity could be conceptualized as something fixed, as an entity identical to itself or as a process of identification. In the last case, the engine of nationalism and a collective identification would be the existence of imagined communities (Anderson) and the existence of inter-subjectivity which makes it possible to have common and articulated discourses among its members. Besides, Laclau considers that collectives' identifications are made according to "the logic of hegemony" and the crystallization of a collective and unified human will which is a "quilting point" according to Lacan. This quilting point, according to Laclau and Gramsci, is expressed by the figure of the State as the one who is tying and closing the structure of national imagination and the one who mediates nationalistic sentiments. In this sense, the State has the power to institutionalize a hegemonic interpretation of nationality. Those sentiments, as identity, change over time and the prevalence of one or of some of them depends on the historical context and the power of the different groups to prevail, to become a hegemonic group and to narrate their version of nationalism. The different kind of sentiments related to a nation are deeply analysed making a division into sentiments of property, belonging, difference, religion and of the organization to follow with the analysis of how they are structured using the figure of the a rope in Wittgenstein terms which would be tied by the State.

Finally, to analyse the support for the content or discourse, the role of objects and artifacts as instruments of the national community are developed. Thus, the channel to spread nationality discourses is the material culture: objects that are sense and information carriers like stamps, banknotes, monuments, statues among others. In this manner, such national objects and images portray information and sense about nationality, are instruments of the imagination of that national community and have an active role in keeping national memory alive. However, to fully understand why this happens, the social role of images is developed in the next section.

In section III, different conceptualizations of what an image is are presented, which include the conceptualization of Lacan as a "a cut of interpretation" and other authors such as Barthes for whom an image is a cut-out that is understood as a whole. However, to put the concept of an

image into the aim of this research, an analysis of what gives power to images and the nature of such power is developed. For that reason, the social importance of the act of seeing, of representing, of interpreting, of imagining and of desiring as the sources that give power to images is deeply analysed. In doing so, in each case, the social importance of the design and designers of nationality done by the State is highlighted.

Finally, some conclusions will be developed.

Section I. The Ideological State Apparatus

The National State has been defined as a political association with sovereignty over a Nation, being the entity which exercises the territorial sovereignty, government and even the monopoly of physical violence over the nation (Weber, 1968: 904). The legitimacy of that modern state to have such powers is based on rules and any legitimacy needs to be recognized and would be validated on rational, traditional and charismatic grounds (Weber, 1958). As Weber highlights, rational ground rests "on the legality of enacted rules and the right of those elevated to authority", traditional ground rests "on an established belief in the sanctity of immemorial traditions and the legitimacy of those exercising authority under them" and charismatic ground rests "on devotion to the exceptional sanctity, heroism or exemplary character of an individual person, and of the normative patterns" (Weber, 1958:140).

However, other authors questioned such legitimacy of the state's affect on a nation because they consider that it should be reduced to limiting any attempt to condition the natural order of the market. As Hayek points out "we are mainly concerned with the limits that a free society must place upon the coercive powers of government" (Hayek, 1981: 41) and "the demands of those who suffer from state interference...are certain to receive popular sympathy and support" (Hayek, 2007: 150). In this context, for him, the affect of the state should be "minimal" (Hayek, 1981: 54). However, other authors, such as Rawls, believe that the state has the function of intervention in compensation tasks. For this reason, health, education and justice would be considered as places ruled by the state, and in favour of the disadvantaged. In that context, he noted that "the poor must be listened to" (Rawls, 2003: 219). However, even with this emphasis, politics seems to be absent and the problem becomes how to organize the coexistence between people with different conceptions of the good, divided by philosophical doctrines, religious and moral grounds.

The solution could be the construction of Rawls' principles of fair justice. Rawls, based on the idea of "public reason", seeks to answer how the plurality of a government should be respected. He claims that there is a duty of civility to prevent individuals' appeal to reasons that are specific to their religious, philosophical or moral beliefs, for the resolution of constitutional issues and basic questions of justice. Accordingly, questions of morality are located in the relationship between state and their people. He points out that "the state is not at liberty to abuse its own people (Rawls, 2000: 361) and "the individual's relation to the State was claimed to be determinate of his moral identity" (Rawls, 2003: 101). Therefore, to defend principles of political order, political neutrality should be respected and it would be necessary to avoid and ignore the philosophical and moral controversies and "public reason" to reach a consensus freely around the principles of justice.

A critic to such conception comes from Chantal Mouffe who believes that to reach a unique moral consensus in a well-ordered society such a society would be in fact free of politics. As a consequence, far from leading to a democratic pluralistic society, that society manifested a strong tendency towards uniformity leaving little space "for dissent and contestation in the sphere of politics" (Mouffe, 2005: 146).

Another point of view came from John Maynard Keynes, who contributed to changing the focus of this analysis when he considered that there is no incompatibility between capitalism and democracy. For Keynes, the State has an active role in macroeconomic management based on a commitment to antagonistic classes, manifested in the relationship between capital and labour. Then, for Keynes "it is not the ownership of the instruments of production which is important for the state to assume. If the state is able to determine the aggregate amount of resources devoted to augmenting the instruments and the basic reward to those who own them, it will have accomplished all that is necessary" (Keynes, 1997: 433). This could happen, even when "the Keynesian commitment became increasingly dependent upon economic concessions granted to groups of people organized as non market actors" (Ferguson and Rogers, 1984: 339).

Besides, the State could also be seen according to another dimension, one that sees it as an entity in itself or as a device whose existence depends on the human will. In the first case, for Guibert, the state would have to have "a simple, sound management, easy to rule. It shall resemble those big machines that by means of uncomplicated springs produce great effects. Such state's force shall be born from its own force, its prosperity from its own prosperity. The time that destroys it all shall increase its power" (Guibert, 1772: 1). In the second case, as Hayek points out "since man has himself created the institutions of society and civilization, he must also be able to alter them at will so as to satisfy his desires or wishes" (Hayek, 1994: 7).

However, for Marx and other authors, the State has not existed for all eternity. According to Engels "there have been societies which have managed without it, which had no notion of the state or state power. At a definite stage of economic development, which necessarily involved the cleavage of society into classes, the state became a necessity because of this cleavage" (Engels, 1972: 232).

For Lenin, the capitalist State creates an apparatus of rule which stands outside society as a whole and acts through coercion. He points out that "when there appears such a special group of men occupied solely with government, and who in order to rule need a special apparatus of coercion to subjugate the will of others by force-prisons, special contingents of men, armies, etc.-then there appears the state" (Lenin, 1929: 7).

However, other Marxist voices are contrary to this view about state coercion over subjugated people. Among them, Gramsci denies that the subordinate class is simply the passive tool of the dominant ideology, because, as he points out, “in the liberal nation the flows of power are multi-directional and the state nationalism becomes a popular movement founded on consent” (Gramsci, 1971: 322). Gramsci's essential question is how the state can dominate without constraint (Barret, 2004)¹ and his answer is that State can dominate through ideology and hegemony. For him, ideology plays an active role as a process of leadership through which dominated classes of nations consented their own domination by ruling classes, “as opposed to being simply forced or coerced into accepting inferior positions” (Gramsci, 1971: 53)². Besides, “hegemony is the principle that enables this tacit consent through popular consensus. Hegemony mediates between the individual and the exercise of choice, and hegemony permeates the structures within which choices are made possible; it alters our knowledge about the world.” (Gramsci, 2004: 82-83).

Althusser complements Gramsci's approach. He thinks that civil society, associations, institutions and organizations are part of this process of mass programming and the state is articulated with a number of groups within society, groups which depend on state support. As Althusser explains, no one can hold state power over a period without at the same time exercising its hegemony over institutions and organizations such as religion, education, the family, the political parties, the trade unions, the media and the cultural apparatus. In this way, as pointed out by Schmitt, “all matters that up to that moment were social, turn into state matters, and all sectors that were ‘neutral’ - religion, culture, education, economy - stop being ‘neutral’ in the sense of non-state” (Schmitt, 1996: 22) and they turn into State matters. In this way, Althusser includes institutions and organizations as part of the apparatus of the state which is producing in fact the hegemony of an ideology. As he said: “I shall call the Ideological State Apparatus a certain number of realities which present themselves to the immediate observer in the form of distinct and specialized institutions” (Althusser, 1977: 65).

He adds that the State apparatus functions by violence whereas the Ideological State Apparatuses function by ideology, a representational system that would explain the causes and effects of the lived experience and even the alienation in the imaginary representation of people's conditions of existence. For Althusser “ideology represents the imaginary relationship of individuals to their real conditions of existence (Althusser, 1977: 75). The definition of the word Ideology is similar to the

¹ Another question of Gramsci is how to make the revolution in Occidental Europe, basically Italy, when the state is not just the “committee of the Bourgeoisie” as Marx said (Marx and Engels, 2004: 64) but a state taken by the authoritarians models of Nazism and Facism.

² Another Marxist voice comes from Poulantzas. He argues that capitalist states do not always act on behalf of the ruling class, and when they do, it is because of the structural role of the state in ensuring the interests of capital. Besides, for him, the state is an agent of the capitalist with relative autonomy from one single class considering that civil society is placed between state and the economy and such relationship is producing variations in all of them (Poulantzas, 2001: 51). Besides, beyond the economy Poulantzas noted that the state is a social relationship, in a way that inside the state there are different alliances among classes depending on the historical juncture.

word Idea that derives from *Ideim*, which means 'to see'. Besides, according to Zizek, ideology could be considered as an unconscious fantasy³ that structures social life (Zizek, 1994). As Zizek states in his book "The Sublime Object of Ideology", "the fundamental level of the ideology, is not that of the illusion that masks the real status of things but that of a fantasy (an unconscious one) that structures our social reality. Ideology is not a dreamlike illusion that we build to escape the insupportable reality; in its basic dimension it is a fantasy-construction which serves as a support of our 'reality' itself: an "illusion' which structures our effective, real social relations" (Zizek, 1989: 45). In the same way, ideology "is needed to provide people with a kind of imaginary 'map' of the social totality, in a way that it helps people to find its path within it" (Eagleton, 1991: 150).

In this sense, from the Ideological State Apparatus, to the hegemony of a dominant group, a monopoly over cultural norms is exercised, producing the idea that existing norms, practices, beliefs and institutions are natural and inevitable. Once in the state, those elites need to constantly educate and re-educate their communities through the intervention over all discourses or fictions. An example of this type of intervention could be the idea of nationality. This could be done, among other resources, through the use of "compulsory state-controlled primary education, state-organized propaganda, official rewriting of history and militarism" (Anderson, 1983:101). Furthermore, as Edmund Morgan points out, "the success in the governmental tasks...demands fictions' acceptance, the voluntary suspension of incredulity" (Morgan, 1988: 13) and to tell the citizens a national common history and a national common myth of origin. This production of fictions could be called the state apparatus of cultural fiction. As Hommi Bhabba points out, "nations are imaginary constructs that depend for their existence on an apparatus of cultural fictions" (Bhabba, 1990: 49).

³ The word fantasy derives from the Greek word *Phos* which means "light" (Evans, 1996) or "illumination". Thus, fantasies would be something that illuminate, that allow to see, order and classify environments under its light, to see not only what one is or can be but also what a society is and also can be.

Section II. The State apparatus of cultural fictions

The way ideology structures social reality is by spreading symbolic fictions. As Žižek points out, “it should be accepted that everything we have are symbolic fictions”, and “all we are dealing with are symbolic fictions, the plurality of discursive universes, never the reality” (Žižek, 1994: 17). Those symbolic fictions project a light, a horizon, a vision that would contain people and make them feel that all the individual and collective efforts can have meaning if they follow a given idea.

Symbolic fictions are carried out by myths. In fact the origin of the word Myth comes from *Mythus* which means “story”, although “myth can also be taken more broadly as a belief or credo” (Segal, 2004: 4). The idea of Myth, can also be taken from Barthes, not only as an archaeological reservoir of magic Greek tales, but also as a current way of thinking that is culturally reducing the fact's interpretation by offering an accepted path to the reader of stories (Barthes, 1970). Besides, a myth, as stated by Levi-Strauss, could be understood as an instinct of knowledge that tries to find certainties by simplifying existing or non-existent possibilities from similar situations becoming a cause and effect from where the person disposes of the illusion by reading what will come. As Levi Strauss explains, referential myths respond to an organizational need in view of the existent options (Levi Strauss, 1964) and (Levi Strauss, 1966).

A myth could also be an attempt to organize the coming into being of life, which places the person as more or less active and ignorant of what life will reveal. Those myths would offer several essentialist and anticipatory thoughts, working as mechanisms to diminish the anxiety generated by the absence of absolute access to the real or by the impossibility of knowing what is to come. In such cases, a myth would be always a story, a story understood as “the period of delay between the setting of the enigma and the solution” (Cowie, 1996: 55).

Moreover, as Barfield pointed out, traditionally “myth is commonly used as a term for purely fictitious narrative that often involves supernatural people, actions, or events, but which also embodies popular ideas about the natural world and historical events in a given culture....Such stories have stood the test of time, sloughing off aspects of marginal interest and replacing them with a better match for the deeper, less-conscious anxieties of the listener. These imperceptibly evolving stories were accepted as factually true and had a profound influence on how the culture structured and interpreted the experiential environment” (Barfield, 1997: 334-335).

In this sense, as it has been mentioned above, the hegemonic elites disseminate their ideologies through the use of symbolic fictions taken from myths. Therefore, the arguments of national discourses could be reduced to mythologies, national mythologies that existed, were raked up and,

when they did not, they were invented with the aim of elaborating a feeling of belonging and of the common fate. In the last case, as Hobsbawn explained, the particularity of invented traditions is that they are responses to novel situations which take the form of reference to old situations. As he pointed out “Invented tradition is taken to mean a set of practices, normally governed or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past” (Hobsbawn, 1992: 1).

These mythologies, stories and plots are spread by the state by using particular objects provoking each person to feel part of their nation. In this sense, the plot of the nationality, the imagined community, is greatly written and propagated by the state and the discourse has to penetrate the whole society “not merely to illiterate masses, but even to literate masses reading” (Anderson, 1983:140). This is done in educational books and the use of flags, shields, banknotes and public sculptures among others⁴ which give the chance to massively reproduce the myths that sustain the event of the nation, fixing such discourses mind by mind and sector by sector of the nation. In this way, the state projects its own signs of nationality, confronted with the other signs fostering and settling its selective reading of the national reality. In doing so, the state tries to capture the power to embody national organizations and the power to define nationality as a whole and especially the ideal citizen who would inhabit this nation. As a consequence, the power of defining is a major act of exercising hegemony (Hall, 1997: 348).

In addition, the apparatus of cultural fictions is the process of shaping the person’s thoughts, ideas and frameworks, producing and reproducing the nation’s consciousness and ideology. It requires three main resources to work. These resources include an existing common content, the power to institutionalize an interpretation of nationality and support for the content which will be developed in the following section.

II.1. The resources of the state apparatus of cultural fiction

As it has been mentioned above, the apparatus of cultural fictions requires three main resources to work such as existing common content, the power to institutionalize a chosen interpretation of nationality and a support for the content.

To start with the existence of common content, it is necessary to highlight what a common-collective or national identity is and how it is created and maintained, starting with the concept of identity and going on to national identity.

⁴ According to Levi-Strauss, any society needs to represent the idea that is sustaining its existence, “the permanence and continuity of the clan require only an emblem” (Levi-Strauss, 1964: 130).

Different paradigms are competing in the conceptualization of identity. For instance some authors, such as Leibniz, understand identity as something fixed, as an entity identical to itself and yet other authors understand identity as a process of identification.

In the first case, the idea of identity lies in the existence of an entity with something pertaining to itself, “as the real nature of self” (Leibniz, 1996: 232), a testimony of the existence of a pure self. Accordingly, a common agreement based on etymology situates the word identity as from Latin *idem*, the same⁵. This traditional conceptualization offers the certainty of the impossibility to discern between identicals, an absolute correspondence that encourages people to define themselves as identical things coherent with themselves and to see some conditions of identity as something with a centre as a fixed quality. This would be something “unique and singular” (Jung, 1958: 9), crystallized in itself, the owner of static features beyond the eyes of the beholder. For that reason, that entity has to occupy the empty space of its inscription (Hegel, 1998: 7), taking such space by itself and just for its sake.

The problem with the conceptualization of believing in identities as something given, is that it defines a place of power by arguing the natural right to justify activities of limitation and exclusion to whom belong and do not belong to this body. It sustains the right of a natural order as coming from a gift of god or to invoke a natural selection law to interpret the social field, even if others could be left behind. Moreover, as this identity is supported in itself, it seems that it does not need anything or anybody else to be explained or even to transcend. Thus, this lack of any external ties or shared features detaches identity from the commitment to the deep recognition of the other as part of it, with no need for the “law of friendship and contracts” among parts (Mauss, 1990: 104), and is a kind of external and magic gift that is coming from the symbolic order. As Zizek points out, “the symbolic order emerges from a gift, an offering that marks its content as neutral in order to pose as a gift: when a gift is offered, what matters is not its content but the link between giver and receiver established when the receiver accepts the gift.” (Zizek, 2007: 12).

In the second case, other authors have another point of view, a view that understands identity as a process of identification which is the process of acquiring identity through shapes, contents and dreams from the outside. Identification can also be understood as the process through which an image is assumed as our own, as the transformation that takes place in a subject when such an image is assumed. Like a man recognizing himself in his image (Lacan, 1977: 1-18) or as Freud defines it, identification is when an attribute belonging to another is taken as belonging to him/herself (Freud, 1975: 50). Within this line of argument, the process of identification would be a process of making sense and of acquiring meaning, a process in which institutions and people would be made by a series of identifications.

⁵ Houghton Mifflin Company (2000). *The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language* (2000). Published by the Houghton Mifflin Company.

As a consequence of the process, any identity would be just a transitory moment in the process of identifying with something external, something different from other things that is producing the differentiation of an entity among others. That means to identify from a difference (Hegel, 1998: 229), because as also Heidegger points out "difference is identity" (Heidegger, 2003: 13). The mechanism to work is described by Chantal Mouffe who notes that "an identity's constitution is always based on excluding something and establishing a violent hierarchy between the two remaining poles" (Mouffe, 2005: 141).

The way that this process of identification can become a process of collective identity could be explained using the concept of inter-subjectivity of Lacan by which there is an articulation of reciprocity and symmetry in a dual relation of one with the other, just like one with one's image in the mirror, but now one with an enlarged image of us integrated by the people who compose that collective identity. Besides, to approach the concept of inter-subjectivity, Lacan focuses on questions of language due to its importance in each person's structure. He believes that language always implies the existence of another subject, as an interlocutor and highlights that "the unconscious is the discourse of the Other" (Lacan, 1977: 60). From this point, Lacan defines discourse as the essence of inter-subjectivity, as "a social bond founded in language" (Lacan, 1975: 21), while the existence of inter-subjectivity can be defined as the result of common and articulated discourses among its members⁶. In a Nation, the discourses that awake the process of collective identification could be real, invented or imagined and all have the same power.

In this way, Anderson remarks on the existence of imagined communities as the engine of nationalism and a collective's identification. For him, a nation is an imagined community⁷ because "regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship. Ultimately it is this fraternity that makes it possible, over the past two centuries, for so many millions of people, not so much to kill, as willingly to die for such limited imaginings" (Anderson, 1983: 7). Therefore, discourses and narratives could be considered as the agency of the event which symbolically structures the national imagination.

According to Anderson, a Nation is an imagined community constructed by new political entities which produce, reproduce and validate the figure of the Nation as the correct one for representing such communities (Anderson, 1991: 22). Consequently, the crystallization and materialization of a collective imagination is a "quilting point" in Lacanian sense, a point without positive identity but

⁶ Lacan establishes the existence of a structure to settle inter-subjectivity composed by four components which are the one, the other person, a common 'Other' in term of a shared reference and a support, a vehicle of transmission of any content, the discourse (Lacan, 1977).

⁷ As Anderson points out, "it is imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion" (Anderson, 1983: 6).

working just as a reference from where the rest of questions can be recognized and organized. For Lacan “this point around which all concrete analysis of discourse must operate I shall call a quilting point. Everything radiates out from and is organized around this signifier, similar to these little lines of force that an upholstery button forms on the surface of a material. It is the point of convergence that enables everything that happens in this discourse to be situated retroactively and prospectively” (Lacan, 1997: 267-8).

For Laclau, this quilting point would be expressed by the figure of the state which would have an institutionalized role as a mediator of nationalistic sentiments. He develops the concept of populism in understanding attachments of national sentiments fixed to a difference as a representation of collective identity⁸. For him, although there are differences between populism and nationalism⁹, “populism is settled in an open rhetoric that allows particularities to get involved in a discursive totality, incarnated in the name of people” (Laclau, 2004: 225). People are understood as a joining materialization of multiple demands which require a particular demand to assume and to institutionalize the existence of the whole social field as an entity (Laclau, 2004).

Besides, Laclau considers that popular identities are made around tension and negotiation, between universality and particularity, but producing the approach of the social field according to “the logic of hegemony” (Laclau, 2004: 226). That hegemony involves the pivoting of the national question over other collectives’ identifications and in order to do so a national representation needs to dominate other differences, consolidating and closing the rest of the differences and demands in its national totality. In this regard a Nation is a hegemonic construction where the national becomes the main way to understand any other social organization, placing other identities or belongings in second place.

As it was mentioned before, the state has an institutionalized role as a mediator of nationalistic sentiments. Those sentiments, as identity, change over time and the prevalence of one or of some of them depends on the historical context and the power of different groups to prevail, to become a hegemonic group and to narrate their version of nationalism. In this sense, the state has the power to institutionalize and interpret nationality.

To understand the different types of national sentiments that exists a deep description of each nationalistic sentiment and its structure will be developed. This conceptual work that follows will allow us to analyse the Argentine case in a historical context and to see what national sentiments

⁸ For instance, populism requests a dichotomized common imagination, where an inner enemy is essential to reach the unity of the self group, using enemies as scapegoats for a unifying cause. By its side, national sentiments used to require an external testimony or adversary to produce the differentiation and attachments.

⁹ To read more about this concept see Laclau “The populist Reason”, 2004) and Gramsci’s connection between nationalism and populism (in Gramsci, 1971: 322).

and national discourses have prevailed in different moments of the country, something that will be done in chapter 3.

The common content: National sentiments and its structure

Beginning with the analysis of national sentiments, it is found that during the last years of the 18th century and the first years of the 19th century, the idea of nationality was predominant in America and Europe and was spread to the rest of the world. As Shumway points out “notions of universal brotherhood gave way to an upsurge of nationalistic sentiment in which each country affirmed its ethnic, linguistic and mythical uniqueness” (Shumway, 2002: 1)¹⁰.

In modern times, the presence and persistence of national common sentiments become a central question of nationality. For some authors, people of the same Nation live their nationalistic feelings as something natural and given, where nations exercise individual love instances (Anderson, 1983)¹¹, satisfy recognition needs or bring them a sense of personal reference (Bhabba, 1990: 133). Meanwhile, for others like Harris, national sentiments give “a sense of stability and rootedness, a sense of difference, of distinctiveness and separateness, a sense of continuity with previous generations of the cultural unit and a sense of destiny and mission, of shared hopes and aspirations of that community” (Harris, 1995: 131).

On the contrary, for other authors, the idea of nation should include not only feelings, values, ideas and beliefs, but also the political dynamic of the self interest of particular groups that are trying to impose their own vision of what the nation is. As Gramsci says, “*patria* is a passion... though passions could be only synonyms of economic interest” (Gramsci, 2004: 404-405). In between, a plurality of discourses can be found that highlight specific sentiments or dimensions such as of belonging, of property, of difference, of sharing, of religion and of the organization of the social field.

II.1.a. A dimension of belonging: nationality as a home

The English word nation is derived from the Latin noun *natio* which means to be born. As Raymond Willams noted, “we are born into relationships which are used to being settled in a place” (Willams, 2003: 191). This original place, a territory, generates strong attachments, feelings

¹⁰ For Marxists, and even “we have to recognize that there is no Marxism theory of the nation” (Poulantzas, 2000: 93) the figure of nation was globally on contradiction with the self interest of the working class. Thus, Marx claims in the Communist Manifesto that “the working men have no country” (Marx & Engels, 2007: 28). For them, “since the proletariat must first of all acquire political supremacy, must rise to be the leading class of the nation, must constitute itself the nation, it is, so far, itself national, though not in the bourgeois sense of the word” (Marx and Engels, 2002: 220).

¹¹ As Anderson points out, “Nations inspire love” (Anderson, 1983: 141).

of belonging and become an identity definer. In Grosby words, “the nation is a territorial community of nativity, one is born into a nation” (Grosby, 2005: 7). When a person is born, he or she must fit into an already existing nation and that nation will hold that person to the stony materiality of its eternal figure. As a consequence of that, the nation gives the security of belonging to the permanent existence of that eternal being that the nation is supposed to be, by fixing certainties of a person’s and of a given community’s coming to being, even when the person ends its life.

Following this argument, national sentiments would be founded in that intergeneration experience, linking people to familiar, kin or ethnic ties, close to the Greek idea of *patris* to the Latin *patria* or fatherland (Strauss, 1993: 195). For this reason, nation and nationalism are also defined as the motherland or fatherland or even as "homeland" (Bhabha, 1990: 317), where a home means where I began, and where I shall return to an ideal place that will always be the same and will remain in its place. This eternal place, a Nation, has been placed for their descendants and ancestors too (Benjamin, 1979: 47).

For that reason, the nation can be seen as a home, as the “Real”, in Lacanian sense (Lacan, 1988: 141) a place where a member of a Nation can always return, something absolute that is beyond the person (Lacan, 1988: 66), but something that fixes the life, the social experience of that person and something structural for the mental stability of the person.

II.1.b. The proprietary sentiment

Weber defines national sentiments as “specific sentiments of solidarity” in the sense that “it is proper to expect from certain groups specific sentiments of solidarity in the face of other groups. Thus, this concept belongs to the sphere of values” (Weber, 1971: 172)¹². Renan also sees Nations as “having in the future a large scale of solidarity” (Renan, 1882: 19).

However, other authors, such as Locke, believe that solidarity grows not from values but because of interest¹³, in a utilitarian sense as belonging to the exercise of self rights and interest. Therefore, and based on this approach, a Nation could be considered as a framework from where an individual or a group would share values of solidarity but also a framework that can guarantee the interest of the proprietary of this territory. For this reason the purpose of the government of any nation is often seen as having no other end but the “preservation of property” (Locke, 1991, 329).

¹² Marxists deny national sentiments because they are seen as nothing but an expression of bourgeois interest to sanctify the right to property on a considerable scale.

¹³ For Locke, when one person is owner of a physical object that object is considered to be one’s own, and for that reason the right to keep the object with someone requires a community of believers in their right and institutionalized rules to support their right (Locke, 1991).

Besides, in the origin of modern nations the owner's condition resembled that of a citizen (Locke, 1963). By his side Rousseau includes non-owners in the social contract, but he excludes slaves and women in that membership (Rousseau, 1960: 188).

From the rights to private property and from the exercise of citizenship, the owners achieve their political rights over the rights of others, such as monarchs or non-owners. Therefore, modern time elites require that those who inhabit the common space called nation respect the established and constructed order, a mandate that replaces a monarch's divine mandate, a mandate that rules the group. In this sense, nationalism does not originate as a form of social commitment but as a result of the interaction of State elites and the people. As Marx points out, "in the early modern period states sought to legitimate their authority and the masses sought to contest or collude with states" (Marx, 2003: 258).

II.1.c. The principle of difference: our blood, our language, our culture

Nationality is given either by the right of soil or by the right of blood. In the first case, as in Argentina, nationality is given if someone is born within national boundaries independently of the origins of their parents. In the second case nationality is acquired by being a blood descendant of a person of that nationality. Thus, national legislation considers it possible to find the sharing of blood as something that defines nationality¹⁴, something that happened when nations or people themselves gave significance to the biological facts to classify their relatedness. For instance Weber highlights the importance of recognition or social classification according to blood or ethnic belonging while suggesting that it is possible to call ethnic groups those human groups that entertain a subjective belief in their common descent "because of similarity of physical type or of custom or of both" (Weber, 1919: 389).

However, the link between national belonging and ethnic origin is difficult to rationally sustain nowadays and can be seen just as a transit between a natural to cultural interpretation of the theme (Wade, 2007: 11). In that way, and as Hobsbawn points out about nations and nationalism, "yet the genetic approach to ethnicity is plainly irrelevant, since the crucial base of an ethnic group as a form of social organization is cultural rather than biological" (Hobsbawn, 1992: 63).

Ludwing von Mises points out something else which is that "a nation that believes in itself and its future, a nation that means to stress the sure feeling that its members are bound to one another not merely by accident of birth but also by the common possession of a culture that is valuable above all to each of them" (Mises, 2006: 76). In this way, the consolidation and transmission of the people's culture is what encourages national sentiments and ties people in terms of language, as a

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See for instance the Japanese or the Lithuanian case (in Wade, 2007: 13).

culture that can be expressed linguistically. Then, for Herder, “the nation in question is not racial but linguistic and cultural” (Herder, 2004: 29), while a shared common language is pre-eminently considered the normal basis of culture and nationality.

In addition, what defines how a group is, “what they speak, what they think, what they do or feel depends on the organization of their social experience, the data of immediate experience” (Chisholm, 1976: 23), and more so the differences of belonging. The difference pertaining to race, ethnic or social origin, culture, language or birth, only have meaning when its social significance is useful for another different “biological” group to justify their protection towards the first group, “as a doctrine of exclusion to legitimize domination of phonetically diverse groups” (Guibernau, 1996: 89). In this way, questions of classification according to physical differences “maintains an indisputable strength which derives from the visibility of physical traits” (Guibernau, 1996: 86).

Therefore and as Zizek says, there are no such people as Christians, Jews, or black people because there are only systems of classification induced by interests and fears of social groups (Zizek, 2000: 397). From there, it is possible to deduce that the threatening intruder, the foreigner, the weird or the different one, are nothing but a projection to the exterior, the incarnation of antagonisms and the embodiment of that antagonism in a stereotype which justifies a social reaction towards the one identified as the other. Meanwhile, it could be deduced that classification and difference or the social signification of the difference, and the social choice of acquiring a specific system of classification instead of another, are part of a game of power in itself, which is why the place where it settles is essentially political, in the general sense of the term.

In this context, in early modern times, as Marx points out “nationalism was the “glue” produced by an exclusionary state mechanism in which popular “passions” coincided with political efforts to secure loyalty and legitimacy. The exclusion of internal enemies was a means of achieving this unity: both States and peoples (but principally the former) seized on religious differences—of Catholics, Protestants, Jews, and Muslims—to draw the boundaries of the nation”. (Marx, 2003: 258).

II.1.d. The sentiment of sharing

To some authors, popular and national culture contains the essence of what joins and what gives each of its members the joy of being part of that group. This centre, that thing, can be seen as a magical spirit that inhabited a given people at a given time, like Hegel named as a “spirit of the age” (Hegel, 1997: 32). Renan focuses on his concept of the “will of the people” (Renan, 1982: 170) to produce a social contract, a voluntary ascription based on the right of the population to determine its own destiny. This sentiment is considered as a kind of joy among the individuals

who compose the national society and that is constantly reinforced by people boasting of having done great things together and the wishes to "do more things together in the future" (Renan, 2007: 49). Besides, it is possible to understand that thing belonging to a certain community, as Žižek put forth, as the referent that is holding together a given national community without depending on a theme. That "Thing" is materialized in a group of social practices, where the cause or national thing is nothing more than the way in which the subjects of a given community organize their joy. Thus, the bond that links the members of a community implies a shared relationship towards a "Thing", towards something that can be seen as the incarnation of the enjoyment (Žižek, 2006: 125).

For that reason and as defined by Žižek, "national identification is by definition sustained by a relationship towards the *nation qua* Thing, our thing... the *Cosa Nostra*: our nation, revolution, and so on" (Žižek, 2006: 305). This Thing is internally a tool for integration, for unification of the society in a tangible form, and is a consequence of the social ties that are growing inside the collective body. Then, as Žižek developed, the Thing revolves around the fact that it means something to us, conditioning our life style and mobilizing us to defend what we love most as a group, what is embodying our joy. In this manner, this relationship towards the Thing, would be what emerges "when we speak of the menace of our 'way of life'" (Žižek, 1993: 201), a menace incarnated by something as a socially constructed opposite to ourselves.

II.1.e. The religious dimension

In modern times, the figure of the Nation replaces past religious and spiritual sentiments. Accordingly, many feelings holding people's nationality are closer to sacred beliefs, just as the idea of being a chosen community, the nationalistic messianism, the religious imagining or the cult of the past. As Anderson explains, the Nation "suggests a strong affinity with religious imagining" (Anderson, 1983: 10). For Renan, the figure of the Nation is seen as a soul, a spiritual principle of sacrifice and devotion. For him, the national sentiments rest on "sharing, in the past, a glorious heritage and regrets" (Renan, 1996: 41). Then, in his view it is possible to realize how in modern times nationalistic sentiments are replacing past religious and spiritual sentiments, pushing spiritual beliefs into the national sphere.

As a consequence of that, belonging to the nation is transformed by the society into a kind of civil religion organized around a sacred flag, whose followers engage in periodic sacrifice to protect and unify the group. Thus, "when soldiers swore the oath of allegiance to the flag, the flag attained the status of a sacred shrine. The pledge to the flag assumed the function of a religious rite sanctioned by a priest. Enticed by the magic implicit in the pledge, millions of soldiers have marched to their death throughout history" (Hoffmann, 1996: 11).

The first reason that nations acquired for themselves religious sentiments can be found in questions related to time. A feeling that has mutated from the divine sphere to the national sphere is how time is experienced. In that way, nations bring "a messianic time, a simultaneity of past and future" (Anderson, 1983: 24), something that also gives sense of continuity with previous generations of the national unit. This is accomplished through memories, myths and traditions, giving a sense of destiny and mission to people by fixing certainties on the coming into being of the national life. Hence, as Brennan points out, in the daily national life "the ritualization of memory, celebration and all those forms of magical behaviour signify defeat of the irreversibility of time" (Brennan, 1988:51). The nation performs this by attaching the person to something that transcends him or her.

The second reason why nations took some aspects from religion can be found in the personal attempt to survive death¹⁵ and to belong to a nation that offers people a resource against the irreversibility of the passing of time, a kind of anti-death process (Brennan, 1999: 50). As a consequence of this fusion between national sentiments with religion, nations are transformed into a sort of divinity for their citizens acquiring power and natural rights. These natural rights can justify any action done just for the sake of the nation because of "spiritual motives and purposes of the nation" (Grimley, 2004: 99) and just for that reason, the nation can ask for any sacrifices (Balakrishnan and Anderson, 1996: 208).

II.1.f. An organizational dimension

Many individuals love their nationality. This is supported by their desire to have something from where to hold on to, something to be part of which would act as a principle of social organization as opposed to the nothingness. This kind of collective inter-subjectivity is achieved with the figure of the Nation and can act as a kind of defence against people's fear of lacking structure, the horror of social uncertainty, loneliness or of being in a collective fragmented body (Lacan, 1971: 4). Therefore, the acceptance of a principle of organization could be seen as a fundamental foundation which underlies all social relations and organizational laws and is what makes social existence possible¹⁶. The Law would appear as a mechanism to regulate the political and social relationship of the group. It is the reason why this law is already a "principle of organization as opposed to nothingness, is the acceptance of the law for the simple fact that it is law" (Zizek, 1993: 51), where the ruler is still the only source of social order, and where the individual wills are still fully structured or organized by such law. In this way, when people are challenged by a radical anomie,

¹⁵ As Grosby highlights "when an individual is born, he or she must fit himself or herself into the already existing nation, which continues to exist when the individual dies" (Grosby, 2005: 29).

¹⁶ It is possible to make a parallelism with Freud's figure of the horde on his book Totem and Taboo, from where after the murder of the omnipotent father, a law is assumed by the primal horde, generating the prohibition of incest and regulating the access to power and conforming then a sort of self-structured society (Freud, 2004).

the requirement of order is pushing people to accept any order. As mentioned by Hobbes, “the total emptiness, the nature, the total fragmentation or an essential disorder legitimizes any Leviathan’s action, if after that action the order is achieved” (Hobbes, 2007: 190).

On that account, it is possible to see the structure of nationalism as a channel or a mirage for the social order and for social integration, an integration of fragmented groups into a wider figure which can contain them. Thus, it is easy to find this figure in times of dynamic social masses, like modern times produce something that Grosby highlights when he understands nationalism “as a vehicle for this permanent, yet transformable, longing for community for the increasingly dislocated masses” (Grosby, 2000: 279).

As it has been described, there is no one dimension to analyse the existence of nationalistic sentiments. The complexity and consequent difficulty to define just one dimension would lie in the fact that those sentiments are flowing across political-economic and cultural dimensions that organize the world, the personal and social experience according to circumstances, such as historical background, productive demands and social and personal requirements. Besides, all mentioned dimensions are articulated by contextual particularities manifested in different contents or axes. The relationships and resemblance among those sentiments as long as they form bonds with each other are creating a sort of net among the various ‘threads’ of which nationalist discourse is woven and analysed using the image of Wittgenstein’s rope.

II.1.g. The structure of national sentiments: a rope

The relationship between those sentiments can be figured as a kind of textile or rope, using the idea put forth by Wittgenstein (Wittgenstein, 1953)¹⁷. Wittgenstein shows a rope as a complicated network of similarities and relationships overlapping and criss-crossing, in spinning a thread we twist fibre on fibre. As Wittgenstein points out, “what ties the ship to the wharf is a rope, and the rope consists of fibres, but it does not get its strength from any fibre which runs through it from one end to the other, but from the fact that there is a vast number of fibres overlapping” (Wittgenstein, 1953: 87). Besides, one of its constitutive fibres only could be visible for a while before being hidden underneath another in the next segment.

The rope could be seen as the representation of the nationalistic sentiments as a whole. This figure is used to understand that no dimension alone could represent or symbolize the whole collective sentiment due to the fact that national sentiment is formed by the weaving of the different constitutive dimensions and their inner relations. Furthermore, the figure of the rope is useful for

¹⁷ In his book *Philosophical Investigations* (Wittgenstein, 1953: 87) a figure of the rope is used to analyze as he pointed out about the family resemblances. This figure can contribute us to understand how those sentiments are working.

seeing how national sentiments are constituted and also to understand what gives strength to national identity. In that way, it can be said that in the dimensions of nationalities, such as the proprietary, belonging, difference, religion and organizational ones, sentiments are quilted, incarnated by one figure that is structuring all of them. This structural dimension, a quilting point, is the State and represents the whole nation. This State is also tracking the civil society, holding and tying the totality of the different dimensions of nationality at its end, and the one which keeps the woven fibres of the rope united producing what Gramsci defined as hegemony (Gramsci, 1996: 197). This state is also something so stable that it can support any movement of the rope, being that the state is the formation to the organization of Nations and their attached feelings.

Consequently, the State supports traditions, even invented ones, with the aim to empathize the invariability and stability of the socially woven nation. As Hobsbawm pointed out, the object of real or created tradition is to stress the invariability, stability and the embodiment of consensus of a given group (Hobsbawm, 2002: 140), while "their justifications are technical rather than ideological" (Hobsbawm, 2002: 3). Accordingly, Roberto Da Matta distinguishes between the "ritual of inversion" and "ritual of reinforcement". Thus, the first case is associated with a rupture of a social classification system, placing in the same area what was usually belonging to different spaces, integrating elements which otherwise would be normally excluded from each other. For instance, Peron founded in Argentina the cheerful festivity of the first of May as Labor Day taking an anarchist day that representing a worker's struggle. In the second case, the ritual of reinforcement tends to reinforce the validity of the existing social classification mechanism clarifying each place within the social stratum. As an example of both cases, Peronism considers the 17 of October of 1945 as the starting point of the transformation of the ritual of inversion, with workers taking former forbidden places such as a public space in the May square, and in a ritual of reinforcement assuming and confirming its own place beyond the workers and transforming the event into a spectacle (Da Matta, 1991: 93).

II.2. The power to institutionalize a chosen interpretation of nationality

The maintenance of one collective representation of the whole social woven nation also requires the power to be preserved as an organic and organized whole and to be fixed in all participants' communal imagination. In this context, national imagination can be seen as a theatre where the constituted power is displayed, applied and maintained. This theatre and space of power the state and the dominant groups have are the main authors of that idea of the imagined community and are responsible for the institutionalization of national sentiments. This is connected to memory because, as Connerton explains, the causes of what is happening in the present world could be interpreted as connected with past factors, which influence or distort the experience of the present (Connerton, 1989: 2).

Within this notion, the construction and maintenance of references that testify and give continuity to memory is the central practice in the attempt to keep the visualization of a collective identity throughout time, on the part of those that want to keep that identity or those that want to destroy it. But in order for all of this to be kept, an existing support system that allows identity to achieve continuity in time is required and memory is also very important. It would seem that without memory this laboriously found identity could get lost; it only lives in the moment, its conceptual capacities of connecting and relating issues that have been set from experience and to be located in the world would disappear. Thus, the owner of this identity would seem to break down into pieces and everything that was constructed by it or from it would seem to vanish. It would only remain a thinking substitute without duration, as put forth by Candeau, without the remembrance of its origin, without the conscience of itself (Candeau, 1998: 15), it would fall under the control of immediacy.

For this reason, and due to the importance of memory, the control of the basic objects that are supporting the collective memory could be seen as a resource to condition the hierarchy of power among different collectives' identities, redefining the shared memory as the constituent base of a social order. Connerton points out that "it is an implicit rule that participants in any social order must presuppose a shared memory to the extent that their memories of a society's past diverge, to the extent its members can share neither experiences nor assumptions" (Connerton, 1989: 3).

Otherwise, if a collective story has no limit and if everyone in a social group shares the same illusion, the illusion would be constantly confirmed and reinforced becoming a collective assumption. The myth, as a speech of the collective assumption and memory, starts to speak through the individuals (Barthes, 1990: 14) and circulates thanks to the existence of some support¹⁸ something that will be fully developed in next part.

II.2. A support for the discourse, a myth, a fiction

The idea of discourse may be thought of as different ways of referring or constructing knowledge, since any series of events exist as much as they are caught by the narrative of a discourse. In this way, discourses may be understood as the materiality of sense, but organized from the articulation and exhibition of a chain of associated attributes, being so, and according to Lacan, a device that dominates and rules all the words (Lacan, 2001: 117).

¹⁸ Lacan writes about the letter as the material basis of language itself, considering letter "that material support that concrete discourse borrows from language" (Lacan, 2001: 112). Such materiality of the language implies for Lacan the idea of locality and is connected with the real and means "the essentially localised structure of the signifier (Lacan, 2001: 116). In such a way, those signifiers are the basis of language and are what allow representing something for someone. Those signifiers are also the materialization of the symbolic order that will affect and condition the way both subjects will get their idea of nationality. Then, that letter, as an object, is the materialization of the common discourse among the parts.

Therefore, the Ideological State Apparatus and specifically the apparatus of cultural fiction contribute by action or omission, to form, consolidate and spread ways of seeing the national identity. This created representation of a Nation can be expressed through the channel of material culture just by the discourse that a simple and everyday object is carrying by the spectator's eyes. This is what makes objects very structural in the national inter-subjectivity because they are information and sense carriers such as those created and spread by the state through stamps, banknotes, monuments and statues among others. In this manner, such national objects that portray information and sense about nationality are also instruments of the imagination of that national community. Consequently, objects become fundamental elements in this process since their role in society is to make the social structure of the nation become tangible and visible, as well as to make visible the national fictions. In doing so, those objects are also transforming the matter and its visual presentation into meaning. As Bordieu believes, using meaningful objects, the state "contributes to the production and reproduction of the instruments to elaborate the social reality" (Bordieu, 1997: 230) and this is what makes national objects and images very necessary for the state.

Accordingly, the projection of image and identity through national artifacts would be understood not only as a container of the national identity, but also as a dynamic message about what someone considers that nationality is. In this way, all national objects act as educational institutions that work in valuing and rejecting some association about what the nation is, and control the parameters of knowledge, fixing the meaning of the experiences of the individual human subject and framing the social reality in a certain way as an ideological activity. Hence, this frame functions as the official symbolic matrix where the "me" of the individual socially participates (Lacan: 1971: 5-7). Moreover, such national objects are also instruments of the imagination of that national community by fixing a succession of common representations. Thus, as a marbled national hero is pointing with his finger at what needs to be done, the official apparatus of image and identity production is also telling that person how he/she should act and be. Then, nationality can be seen as a process of identification with a nation. Lastly, national objects could also be seen as the support of nationality, while they are the mediums of representation of that organized community and "channels of transmission, visualization, (reinforcement) and maintenance" (Levi-Strauss, 1964: 108) of that community as such.

As it has been developed up until this moment, the support for the nationalistic discourse is expressed through the channel of material culture, by the discourse that a simple and everyday object and image is carrying in the spectator's eyes. However, to fully understand why this could happen, the social role of images is developed. Thus, it is shown that different conceptualization of what an image is and the social importance of the act of seeing, of representing, of interpreting, of imagining and of desiring will be developed as the sources that give power to these images.

Section III. The social and political life of images

As it was mentioned before, national identities are built in a process of identification which is related to the social life of images. For this reason, it is important first to analyse what an image is.

There are many definitions of what an image is. As Mitchell pointed out, Plato relates the definition of image to that of an idea, whose root idea means to see (Mitchell, 2006: 348). Likewise, the image has also been defined as imitation in itself relating its name to the Greek term *imitari*, to imitate (Barthes, 1991: 21). Later, Maimonides defines the image as likeness such as in the “man’s creation in the image and likeness of God¹⁹” (Mitchell, 1986: 31), as a series of predicates, listing similarities and differences, as “this essential reality of a thing” (Mitchell, 1986: 32).

Second, as it has been developed in section I, there is no identity until it is materialized in some form. Accordingly, an identity would be no more than matter composed by a group of strokes, a beam of features that are summarized in a few traces that represent the “being” (Heidegger, 2002: 46). However, that traces must also contain something so valuable that it would speak in name of someone, transmit something that differentiates someone from other identities and from other marks in the self-reference within the universe of marks. This mark would produce a cut of what one thing is and what it is not, emerging from the action of assuming a particular image and leaving something aside. Thus, at the same time an image can be defined as an intentional cut-out of the world surrounding us, “a cut of interpretation” (Lacan, 1977: 270) which reaches the status of an entity in itself.

This “cut out” definition follows the idea that an image is the consequence of the crystallization of an instant and of isolating something from the visible surrounding world, framing or cutting the continuous picture that is around which appears to eyes as a whole. As Barthes describes “I am already cutting off the continuity that is before me” (Barthes, 2002: 225). Thus, an image is a cut-out that is understood as a whole, as a meaningful unit linked to the act of consciousness that accompanies it. In any case, “it is a captivating and fascinating whole” (Lacan, 1997: 3) from the natural and believable world, displaying the content that the image is performing. Furthermore, this act of marking implies the assumption of something and the rejection of other, as an act of cutting. As Saussure stated about how signs are made of a cut in language, a sign for him is based exclusively on “relations and differences with other signs...in the language itself, there are only differences” (Saussure, 1990: 116-118). In a parallel way, even identities can be produced by this act of cutting.

¹⁹ This concept can be found in the text of the Judeo- Christian Old Testament.

Third, and from a psychological point of view, an image is the integration of parts of what is seen as a fascinating totality by the mind, like the one someone saw with the image of his/her body in the mirror, an image “which establish[es] a relation between the organism and its reality” (Lacan, 1977: 4). Therefore, this totality is also working as an organizational anti-chaos mechanism that allows people to find sense. On the one hand, this sense can come from the information that each part of any image transports, acting as words which articulate information in the way of a text. On the other hand, the strength of an image arises from instantaneous, synthetic, organic and organized parts that confuse the perceptions in the spectator, naturalizing or presenting an assembly of fragments as some meaningful and a reliable totality.

However, to understand the effect that images generate in the way nationality and the national reality would be seen it is necessary to analyse the nature of the power of images. For that reason, the analysis of the social importance of the act of seeing, of representing, of interpreting, of imagining and of desiring will be developed as the sources that give power to images.

III.1. To see: my image, their image, our image

As Wally Olins reminds us, “what you see is what you get” (Olins, 1995: 9). Therefore, the sole exposure to a created image can influence the way someone reaches his/her order and can force someone to be in contact with a new possible order that can then produce an alternative classification of his/her daily experience. As Charles Newton notes about such created images, “they changed the perception of the world by thrusting forward pictures sometimes tinged with fantasy, sometimes composed of it, ineluctably creating a store of mental images in everyone” (in Timmers, 1998: 232).

The influence that other image can have on our sense construction process can be a non-spontaneous anchoring on the way we see reality, produced by those who wants to canalize someone else’s desires into certain particular fantasies. This can be done by those who want to define who is left outside that order, maintaining thus the capacity to define what or who is different. Those who want to have the “power to mark, assign and classify, power to represent someone or something in a certain way” (Hall, 1997: 259). Power by which that image will exercise a ‘hypnotic’ effect (Lacan, 1995: 176) on those who see, and consequently motivate people to behave in a certain way.

This can be seen inversely. For instance, even if an image failed in dominating a conscience, it could have helped someone to clarify their standpoints and fears, humbly contributing to reconsider any reading of a subject matter. Thus, stories portrayed by images allow possible alternatives of seeing the way reality and identity are. For instance, one of the ways through

which philosophy can circulate is by creating image²⁰, where this act of composing reality is forcing the spectators to answer, to think, to explain their positions. As Macaulay pointed out, in this field, the role of the image creator is based on questioning: “initially, [it] is knowing how to ask the right questions.” (David Macaulay in Baer, 2008: 45).

For that reason, when the relationship between images and nationality is analysed, the result is that the state becomes powerful when it enters in one or another domain of the discourses (Lupton and Miller, 1996: 66), because the state is there questioning or reinforcing the definition of what the nation is. However, in doing so, the state needs to have an active stance from where to think, to project and to produce this action of defining which is based on the apparatus of cultural fictions. This apparatus is specialized to embody the fiction in itself, to translate the narrations, myth and fictions to the material world, producing understandable and social known images of how the nation and nationality should be seen. Therefore, the state, as an image constructor, carries out the action of modeling, supporting, defending and fixing the images that express national identity allowing some image creators, such as painters, sculptors, architects and designers to work. As Garamond noted, a designer “in the broadest sense of the word is, above all, an image constructor” (Garamond, 1997: 21).

III. 2 To represent

Images are not only the reality but also representations in the whole sense, intermediaries between what is not physically present and our mind. As Mitchell points out, “an image is a reproduction in the mind of a sensation produced by a physical perception” (Mitchell, 1986: 12). Then, something could be represented by being conjured up in our mind’s eye, being this something a kind of resurrection, a living presence. In that way, for Stuart Hall “to represent something is to describe, to depict it, to call it up in the mind by description or portrayal or imagination” (Hall, 1997: 16). Afterwards, this representation would be internalized as a reflected double of a prototype of what the image represents, giving the beholder the mirage of making visible and alive what is absent. Thus, images can be seen as tokens, immaterial or material objects which serve as a channel to the matter and to the invisible, mediator objects between the soul and the being, between perceptions and ideas.

As a consequence of that, an image can represent something powerful for the beholder, something that can be present both before open eyes and before closed eyes. This enables the evasion of blindness in a world without images, transporting the spectator towards a likely parade of imagined scenarios, mobilizing “powerful feelings and emotions of both positive and negative

²⁰ Image creation or design, as part of the society, can also be seen as a place from where philosophy is developing. As Brennan pointed out “society itself supports philosophy and other intellectual activities” (Brennan, 1988: V).

kind” (Hall, 1997: 10). Moreover, images can project the spectator towards realities and illusions, their deepest desires or fears or even the materiality of what surrounds it, the recognition of something real that makes it possible to see the world right as it seems to be.

As Freedberg notes, by using images it is possible to register the perception of what the reality is, by having a kind of visual map of the world, allowing someone to have the feeling of knowing where s/he is or where s/he can go, by “mapping the space, the time and the sense of life have practical and effective ends such as keeping an individual on a course” (Freedberg, 1989: 440).

Then, it could be thought that constructing words and images is in part creating reality, where certain significant images act as supports for concepts and ideas, facilitating everything necessary for thinking (Levi-Strauss, 1968).

Hence, images help to deal with known issues, to allow the recording of perceptions of what the immediate world is, of what happened and what is happening by recording and processing past experiences. Consequently, images are stored in the mind allowing the memory recall them whenever necessary. Whenever they are needed they are recalled in order to remember and understand the world where someone is living, inducing the association of ideas and connections of meanings that help to reassure, comfort, and improve someone’s relation to the world. In this sense, Lacan points out that the “image has the advantage of being a captivating signal isolated from reality, which attracts and captures certain libido of the subject, some instinct thanks to which, in fact, the living being can almost organize its behaviours” (Lacan, 1999: 233).

Besides, among those images there will be stories and memories from where we can find the initial images, the visual basis of each person’s memory, images which somehow have conditioned the classification for the rest of the material that was added next. In this sense, such as Freud argues, in the first three or four years of someone’s life certain impressions stabilize our memory. As he points out on his writing about the uncanny, “our earliest childhood memories will always be an object of special interest, because the problem of why it is that those impressions that have the most powerful effect on our whole future need not to leave a memory image behind – leads us to reflect on the emergence of conscious memory in general... given the great sensory intensity of the images and the efficient functioning of the memory in the young” (Freud, 2003: 19-21).

Accordingly, different events and scenarios are seen as familiar and acceptable. For instance, the world becomes fixed because images in the mind are constructed on the basis of our memories of things (Levi-Strauss, 1971:71), offering information about who someone is in time, space and

sense. It is in this inter-textuality²¹, where an image triggers off in our mind an older image that we already had, connecting both into inter-referential chains of citation. Hence, visual representation immediately shoots the association chain that would catalogue anything under the cultural parameters possessed by the spectator, determining which of its attributes, which scene and belonging contexts are part of this information. Thus, to represent a reality, a representation must contain something so valuable that would speak in the name of someone or something; it must transmit something that differentiates values and it must customize its messenger. One of these “somethings” is information. Besides, portraying information socially helps those images to “communicate complex information in a rapid and simple way” (De Harak, 1997: 35) through a silence discourse of the image²².

However, the role of image as representation also involves the exercise of power that such representation can generate. Lacan highlights that the power of an image is due not to any intrinsic quality of the image in itself, but to the place which it occupies in a symbolic structure (Lacan, 2001: 369). Therefore, an image could be seen as something having an unwarranted irrational power over somebody just because it is a repository of power which someone has projected into it but which in fact it does not possess.

That implies, as Cowie argues, that “there would be no true image” (Cowie, 1997: 39). The meaning of an image is constructed using representational systems which generate this sort of language, where images are only a useful embodiment of concepts, ideas and emotions in a symbolic form, to be transmitted and meaningfully interpreted. In that context, created images project a picture that represents something; that is to say which publicly substitutes it, occupying the role of a narrator of the identity and contributing in fact to the “transformations of the identity” (Strauss, 1969: 89) of the one who is dealing with this picture.

Therefore, in a world in which people are mostly known through representations more than in person, images become an essential part not only of identities but also of all aspects of social life. Then, images are important for current life, for collective identities and for men and women’s souls, because they allow people to identify, organize, classify, embody and make sense of the world. Besides, images are not something given but rather fragments of reality that have sense just by being part of that sort of language, a language understood as the place where our ideas, thoughts and feelings are given meaning, a form that is structural for social life. In that way, as Saussure pointed out “language is nothing other than a social institution” (Saussure, 1990: 76).

²¹ As Mirzoeff points out “from a particular starting point, a diasporic image can create multiple visual and intellectual associations both within and beyond the intent of the producer of the image” (Mirzoeff, 2002: 209).

²² As Brenda Dervin highlights “there is nothing natural about information. Information, no matter what it is called-data, knowledge, or fact, song, story or metaphor- has always been designed” (in Baer, 2008: 14).

III. 3. To interpret

It is possible to think that images are powerful only if they succeed in being or becoming the reality rather than a masked discourse hidden and created by somebody. This fact drives towards the problem of separating the reality from the idea of the real. For Lacan, the real always has connotations of matter, beyond appearances, “like an absolute” (Lacan, 1997: 51). Hence, he defines the real as an absolute “without fissures” (Lacan, 1988: 97) that resists to be symbolized and which socially allows itself to be interpreted. Barthes also reflexes about that impossibility of the mind to get certainties of the real. He asks himself “But, what is real? It can only be known under the shape of effects (physical world), functions (social world) or ghosts (cultural world); in brief, what is real in itself is never more than interference” (Barthes, 2003: 224).

This issue reminds us of what Stanivslansky states about the truth in the theatre, as anything in which we sincerely believe, either in ourselves or in our partners’ souls. It is where the truth is inseparable from the belief, and the belief from the truth, because “one cannot exist without the other, and without any of them, it is absolutely necessary that you live your role like...a sense of faith in the reality of your sensations” (Stanislavsky, 1989: 141). Therefore, image’s actions involve not only the act of representing but also the interpretation of the real by ‘pretending’ to be the real and reality (Aumont, 1997: 158). In this way, it would be the reaction of the beholder that fixes the meaning so firmly that, after a while, it would be natural and inevitable that meaning and image are the same. Then, “images mean nothing until they are interpreted” (Gallie, 1952: 11).

For that reason, an image would evoke our imaginary world and neither an icon nor a symbol would function or be active unless or until it is interpreted by members of such culture²³, as well as assumed by the beholder in his or her imagination. This is because images express relations of identification and fear in the place where subjectivity rests, that is, in the imagination, in the unconscious, through fantasies, in visual scenery and language. This capacity of imagining the world, to be part of the process of “reality construction” (Cronin, 1998: 80), brings to the image a magic and mystery for being a possible medium for the creation of new realities where the society inhabits. Besides, image creation is also part of the way of seeing the social reality and attitudes. Then, “the arts and designs are also part of people’s set of cultural understandings of the world and reality, a reality structure so profound that it blinds us to certain dimensions of the universe even as it fixates us solidly on others” (Steiner and Haas, 1995: 6).

²³ Stuart Hall (Hall, 1997) defines culture as the production and exchange of meaning; giving and taking sense within the members of a community. On his part, Geertz (Geertz, 1973: 27) consider culture as systems where there is interaction of interpretable symbols. Then, both definitions seems to coincide that two persons come from the same culture as long as they interpret, share meaning and expressing themselves in a way intelligible to each other, while they can be mutually influenced in their behaviors.

III.4. To imagine

Images always make it possible to see something, acting as a door that give access to contents and pieces of information that are translated as narrations, stories, myths, memories, desires, fantasies and dreams. This is because an image, as Todorov points out, is defined as a medium that always arouses in those who observe it a story. A story that will always raise a message, something between what really happened and what can happen (Todorov, 1990: 105), or "when the event happened to me and the moment when I described it" (Todorov, 2002: 151).

Besides, the process of condensation of such a story in a single image rests basically on the usage of the pair of tools that both poetry and psychology value, which are metonymy and metaphor²⁴. First, metonymy would be understood as the briefing of what is most important in something that comprises it all, integrating a referent that by deploying its meaning involves all that it contains (Lacan, 1990: 20). Secondly, metaphor is conceptualized as the senses' game between what something means and something else that will be able to mean, playing with the senses, changing the sense of things, mobilizing meanings, imagining realities and possibilities, interpreting scenes, creating hopes and desires, giving that desire directions and form, teaching to desire, awakening or recreating feelings in our bodies. In other words, "generating meaning" (Lupton and Miller, 1996: 101). Therefore, the act of anchoring meaning, captures the ideological power to fill up the empty container of any expression, "giving suture to the fissure" (Barthes, 1977: 70) and offering a whole sense to the subjects. In this way an image could define things, while the act of image design could be considered as an action that is performed over the sense of a being.

Nevertheless, images also help to recreate, represent and to give protection in front of the unknown. For instance, if someone thinks in other times, an imaginary planet or anything else, there will always be a blurred image giving the slightest bit of comfort in front of the unknown. In other cases, a simple image from a fiction film or book is enough to have some protection in the face of the unknown, the fear of the unknown, and especially the fear of the future. Regarding that, Barthes describes that fantastic power of those images that represent the future as something deriving from some sort of clairvoyance that the creator of those images has in being able to see something that is beyond our immediate access (Barthes, 1989: 200), giving the supposition or affirmation that there is a link between that person, their images and the beyond. Nevertheless, it can also be thought that creators, due to their sensibility and involvement to a social context, can interpret the present day issues of society and people by collecting, organizing fragments and giving shape to questions that are latent in the community. For instance, social traumas and

²⁴ See Barthes, 1970 and Lacan, 1977.

symptoms that generate anxieties, desires, dreams, phobias and fears that need to be expressed or exteriorized, become a kind of escape valve²⁵.

In addition, images are also part of the art of the reconstruction of what is missing in our world by activating the spectator's interpretation. For that reason, Žižek goes deeper into the personal aspects of the interpretation which he defines as the decisive moment of the act of the perception, of the encounter of the sense (Žižek, 1998: 22). Therefore, as Žižek explains, those artists who are interpreting reality would have before them "meanings without a significant" (Žižek, 1998: 264) and from then onwards, they would construct possible shapes or imaginaries and the society could start having shape and being able to anticipate the future. In order to do so, those artists help society to get a self understanding and a knowledge of what can happen and they retain some relation with the truth because "art is knowledge; art itself knows truth" (Adorno, 2002: 179). In this manner, art can be a tool that allows society to recognize and organize the world and its task is "to bring chaos into order" (Adorno, 2005: 222).

Images also function as a vehicle where society's latent stuff manages to be projected, visible and with forms. In this direction, as described by Jorge Luis Borges, we are not afraid because we dream about Monsters, we dream about Monsters because we are afraid (Borges, 1999: 163). Thus, from the figure of the monster it is possible to understand the need of constructing images as the action of designing monsters on the part of the interpreter's fear. This spontaneous and personal act of dreaming about, creating or drawing a monster from a nightmare, can also be transported to the social ground as soon as the figure of the monster is produced, reproduced, taken and seen by a social group in the figure of the designer²⁶. In such a case, this situation can open up for the figure of the monster to be working as a social container of something that collectively is going on. This could be something that is integrating and going on between people of a given group, a group that needs to recognize in that monster the fear on the part of the spectators, in a communion where that drawn image articulates what many people have imagined. Accordingly, the magic possibility that an image created by someone would involve a plurality of fears together, also establishes a place where spectators' fear can be integrated in the common monsters' recognition with other members of their community. Here, spectators will have the shelter to share their monsters with their companions and not be alone facing their fears.

²⁵ This process is similar to the process done by therapeutical psychology. See Lacan, 1991.

²⁶ Image creators, designers, can also do something bad creating a monster where it was just happiness, for instance by virtue of the belief of the objects's sense, where the designed object -the monster- will keep on living in his solitary stillness, while for the rest there will remain a possible presence.

III. 5. To desire

Moreover, seeing images can mobilize, encourage to do and to feel things because as Benjamin points out, “only images in the mind vitalize the will” (Benjamin, 1979: 75). In this way, a flag, the photograph of a loved person, a Virgin statue or the image of a landscape invoking our home, bring the faces of the non-present to be kept in our mind. As Freedberg claims pictures have “an ontological communion of identification with what is copied” (Freedberg, 1980: 77). This mirage potentiality allows the beholder to be connected with prototypical places or people providing consolation for absence, making him/her believe that the substitute or double of the desire is present with the same capacity that the prototype has to give us consolation or anger.

In that way, images created by someone can be thought of as a kind of dream that someone is creating to condition our own dreams and our desires. Thus, constructing images can be seen as a resource which provides a screen or support that sustains the “orthopaedic experience of the collective power” (Buck-Morris, 2000: 171). These dreams and fantasies mediate between the formal symbolic structure and the objects encountered in reality. They provide a formula to which a representation can function as monsters or on the contrary as objects of desire. At the same time, it can be said that those designed images, which are vitalizing the will, show whom to desire (Barthes, 1990: 136).

Some conclusions

In this chapter a theoretical framework has been formulated to analyse how a State designs national identities through the creation and spreading of images.

In this framework, design is conceptualized as a political action and as the projection of a certain designation which transforms the way of seeing of the people involved and their identities.

Besides, a national State has been defined as a political association with sovereignty over a Nation, being the entity which exercises the territorial sovereignty and government which dominates through ideology and hegemony. According to Gramsci, hegemony is the principle that enables a tacit consent and ideology plays an active role as a process of leadership through which dominated classes of nations consented their own domination by ruling classes. According to the same author, nationalism becomes a popular movement founded on consent. Besides, Althusser includes civil society, associations, institutions and organizations such religion, education, the family, the political parties, the trade unions, the communications and the cultural apparatus of the State as part of this process of mass programming and part of the apparatus of the state which is in fact producing the hegemony of an ideology. He calls it the Ideological State Apparatus that works also through ideology, a representational system that would explain the causes and effects of the lived experiences and unconscious fantasy²⁷ that structures social life (Zizek, 1994).

From there, from the ideological state apparatus, from the hegemony of a dominated group, a monopoly over cultural norms is exercised to educate and re-educate their communities through the intervention of the state over all discourses. This production and spreading of symbolic fictions could be called the state apparatus of cultural fiction (Bhabba, 1990) which produces and reproduces the hegemonic ideology. It requires three main resources to work which are: existing common content, a support for the content and the power to institutionalize an interpretation of nationality.

The existence of a common content or discourse is important because the result of common and articulated discourses among the members of a group (the concept of inter-subjectivity of Lacan) allows a process of nationalism and collective identification. This is because identity is understood as a process of identification which is the process of making sense and of acquiring meaning, the process through which an image is assumed as our own, the transformation that takes place in a

²⁷ The word fantasy derives from the Greek word *Phos* which means "light" or "illumination" (Evans, 1996: 60). Thus, fantasies would be something that illuminate, that allow to see, order and classify environments under its light, to see not only what one is or can be but also what a society is and also can be.

subject when such an image is assumed and when an attribute belonging to another is taken as belonging to him/her. As a consequence of that process, any identity would be just a transitory moment in the process of differentiation.

This discourse or symbolic fiction is carried out by myths. A myth is a story, a belief or credo, (Segal, 2004). It is a way of thinking that culturally reduces possibilities by offering an accepted path to the reader of stories (Barthes, 1970) and an instinct of knowledge that tries to find certainties by simplifying existing or non-existent possibilities from similar situations (Levi Strauss, 1964-1966). Also, it is an attempt to organize the coming into being of time, which places the person as more or less active in as much as he/she is ignorant of what life will reveal. Moreover, myth is commonly used as a term for purely fictitious narrative that could involve supernatural persons, actions, or events and popular ideas about the natural world and historical events, have stood the test of time, were accepted as factually true and had a profound influence on how the culture structured and interpreted the experiential environment (Barfield, 1997).

Therefore, discourses, narratives and symbolic fictions are considered the agency of the event which symbolically structures the national imagination. According to Anderson, a Nation is an imagined community constructed by new political entities which produce, reproduce and validate the figure of the Nation as the correct one for representing such communities (Anderson, 1991). The crystallization of a collective and unified human will is a “quilting point” in Lacanian sense and is expressed by the figure of the State which has an institutionalized role as mediator of nationalistic sentiments (Laclau, 2004). In addition, Populisms become the way national sentiment attachments fix a difference as a representation of collective identity and popular identities are made according to “the logic of hegemony” (Laclau, 2001: 85).

In this regard a Nation is a hegemonic construction where the national becomes the main way to understand any other social organization, leaving other identities or belongings in second place.

The State has an institutionalized role as mediator of nationalistic sentiments or discourses (Laclau, 2004). Those sentiments, as identity, change over time and the prevalence of one or of some of them depends on the historical context and the power of the different groups to prevail, to become a hegemonic group and to narrate their version of nationalism. In this sense, the State has the power to institutionalize any interpretation of nationality in the representation of the self interest of particular groups that are trying to impose their own vision of what the nation is.

The most important nationalistic sentiments a Nation could awaken are to make a Nation feel like a home, to let people feel the country in a religious way, to feel that a citizen is proprietary, to let people have a sentiment of sharing a language, blood and a culture.

In the first case, a Nation is understood as a place, a territory that generates strong attachments, feelings of belonging, like a home or like the Real. That is where an intergeneration and social experience can be lived, close to the Greek idea of *patris* or to the Latin *patria*, fatherland, a place where a member of a Nation can always return.

Second, in the case of the proprietary sentiment, a Nation is considered a framework to guarantee the interest of the proprietary of this territory, the owner's condition resembling that of a citizen. Solidarity grows but as pertaining to the exercise of self rights and interest. For this reason the purpose of a government is the preservation of property.

Third, the feelings of the members of a Nation are bound to one another not merely by birth but also by the common possession of a culture that is valuable above all else to each of them. The consolidation and transmission of the people's culture are what encourage national sentiments.

Fourth, popular and national culture contains the essence of what is joining and what is giving each of its member the joy of being part of that group, the will of the people, a sentiment of sharing. It is constantly reinforced by the pride of having done great things together and the wishes to do more things together in the future. Besides, that Thing, as Zizek put forth, is the referent that is holding together a given national community without depending on the theme and is the way that a given community organizes their joy.

Fifth, in modern times nationalistic sentiments replace past religious and spiritual sentiments, pushing into the national sphere spiritual beliefs. Therefore, to belong to a nation offers people a resource against the irreversibility of the passing of time, a kind of anti-death process and a sense of continuity with previous generations, through memories, myths and traditions. It gives a sense of destiny and mission to people by fixing certainties on the coming into being of the national life.

Sixth, a Nation gives people something to hold on to, something to be part of that acts as a principle of social organization as opposed to the nothingness. This kind of collective intersubjectivity acts as a kind of defence against the person's fear of everything from the lack of structure, to the horror of social uncertainty, loneliness or of being in a collective fragmented body. On that account, it is possible to see the structure of nationalism as a channel for social order and for social integration, an integration of fragmented groups into a wider figure which can contain them.

The relationship between those sentiments can be figured as a kind of textile or rope, using the idea put forth by Wittgenstein who understood it as a complicated network of similarities and relationships overlapping and criss-crossing. Besides, one of its constitutive fibres only could be

visible for a while before being hidden underneath another in the next segment and no dimension alone could represent or symbolize the whole collective sentiment. This is because national sentiments are formed by the weaving of the different constitutive dimensions and their inner relations.

Thus, in the existing dimensions of nationalities and sentiments, such as the proprietary, belonging, difference, religion and organizational ones, sentiments are quilted and structured in a quilting point which is the State. This State is also tracking the civil society, holding and tying the totality of the different dimensions of nationality at its end, and the one that keeps the weaving and the fibres of the rope united producing what Gramsci defined as hegemony. The State and the dominant groups are the main authors of that idea of imagined community and responsible for the institutionalization of national sentiments. Thus, National imagination is a theatre where the constituted power is displayed, applied and maintained.

The State projects its own signs of nationality, confronted with the rest of the other signs related to fostering and settling its selective reading of the national reality. In doing so, the state tries to get the power to embody national organization and the power to define nationality, itself and especially the ideal citizen who would inhabit this nation. As a consequence, the power of such definition is a major source of the exercising of hegemony.

In this context, the Ideological State Apparatus and the apparatus of cultural fiction contribute by action or omission, to the forming, consolidating and spreading ways of seeing the national identity and national sentiments through the creation and dispersion of stamps, banknotes, flags, shields, monuments, and statues, among others. They portray information and sense about nationality, are instruments of the imagination of that national community and make the social structure of the nation tangible and visible. Therefore, the myth, as a speech of the collective assumption and memory, starts to speak through the individuals and circulate thanks to the existence of a support.

As it has been mentioned, National identities are built in a process of identification with images which get power because of the social importance of the act of seeing, of representing, of interpreting, of imagining and of desiring that images have. In this sense, first, images influence our sense construction process and the images and objects spread by the State questions and/or reinforces the definition of what the nation is and the view of a hegemonic group. Second, images are not only the reality but also representations that offer information about who someone or a group is in time, space and sense. Then, the role of images as representation also involves the exercise of power that such information can generate. Third, images contribute to the interpretation

of what reality is and is a medium for the creation of new realities where the society inhabits. Fourth, images always make it possible to see a story, a story that always raises a message from where society expresses, transmits and recognizes its needs. Last, images mobilize and encourage desire. In this way, images can be considered as a screen from where power shows whom to desire.

Chapter 2. Methodology

The present research is a case study. A case study is a detailed and deep description of the object under study. It is the discovery and explanation of essential and complex internal relationships and the production of creative information about singularities, particularities, actions and situations with a qualitative methodology. Moreover, it allows the researcher to address organizational and historical issues by looking at the origins and the institutional structure. It requires a theoretical assumption to explain the complex internal relationships and a theoretical framework guides and supports the production of data, information and research strategies.

Any case study could be structured and organized in three parts. First, as mentioned in the introduction, a problem to research must be established. Secondly, and as mentioned in chapter one, the elaboration of a theoretical and conceptual framework is needed. The methodology presented in this chapter is the methodology that was used during research. Lastly, it is necessary to design research instruments and strategies.

Focusing on the research topic, a bibliographical review was made looking for written works that dealt with this complex issue, theoretical approaches and/or case studies that situated the origin of the problem historically and some themes and authors were selected. As a result, some important works were found as a background of the current research. First, some works about the way the state projects images and why it does were found. For instance Regis Debray's work "The Seducer's State" (Debray 1991) is a clear exponent of that, by its concrete analysis of how the state is performing its own view about the nation, especially in France. Another example is the book "Political Propaganda" (Domenach, 2001) which deals with the Soviet and Nazi's regimens and the work of Karen Cerulo, "Identity Designs: The Sights and Sounds of a Nation" (Cerulo, 1995) who makes a comparative analysis of historical documents and national symbols.

Second, three important antecedents with special focus on the analysis, interpretation and contextualization of the devices from where the state is projecting images to affect nationality were found. "Dreamworld and Catastrophe. The passing of mass utopia in East and West" of Susan Buck-Morss, 2000 made an excellent record and interpretation of the images and object production on behalf of the Soviet state. Besides, "Blackletter: Type and National Identity" of Bain and Shaw, 1998 deals with the political life in Germany of the Gothic font. Last, the book "The Triumph of Propaganda: Film and National Socialism, 1933-1945" of Hoffmann, 1996 who

analyses the social effect of the national flag.

Third, using a nation as a case study, the Japanese case can be mentioned, among others, with Tessa Morris-Suzuk's "Re-Inventing Japan: Time, Space, Nation" (Morris-Suzuki, 1997). Other works include, the Mongolian case with "Nationalism and Hybridity in Mongolia of Erden Bulag, 1998), the Australian case with "Inventing Australia: Images and Identity, 1688-1980" by White, 1981, the African case "Nation-building, Propaganda, and Literature in Francophone Africa" by Thomas, 2002, the North American case with "The Boundaries of Citizenship: Race, Ethnicity, and Nationality" by Spinner and Halev, 1995 and "Federal Art and National Culture" by Harris, 1995. Last, the Latin-American case with "Images of Power: Iconography, Culture and State in Latin America" by Andermann and Rowe, 2005.

Fourth, the specific Argentine case, for which partial sources were found. On one hand, to understand the structure and history of Argentina's ideological setting the book "The Invention of Argentina" by Shumway, 1993 is a good groundwork from where to understand the 19th century ideological processes, as well as the book "Nationalism and Peronism" by Burchrucker, 1999 for the full scope of the origin of Argentine nationalism. On the other hand, for the analysis of the Ideological State Apparatus, Riekenberg's research "Latin-America, the education of History in scholar's text books and its historical consciousness" (Riekenberg, 1990) was important. Besides, during the year 2000, two interesting books were published which have a related approach to this research objective, but focus on the Peronism Ideological State Apparatus: "A happy word" by Gené, 2005 that records and interprets the communicational resources of the Peronist state and "Peron Willing" by Gonzalez, 2006 which is a good catalogue of the expression of such a state.

Once the state of the art was clear, it was necessary to go from the general topic, from the research question, to build a research object. According to Galeano Marín this movement "is a process with theoretical dimension (approaches, perspectives, categories, referents), methodological dimensions (strategies, assumptions, units of analysis, hypothesis) and a technical dimension (instruments and procedures)" (Galeano Marín, 2004: 31). The theoretical dimension has been presented in chapter 1. In order to develop the methodological dimension, it is important to highlight that the units of analysis are the banknotes, the flag and the Argentinean shield.

According to Winston Tellis, there are at least six sources of evidence in a case study which are documents, archival records²⁸, interviews, direct observation, participant-observation and physical artifacts²⁹ (Winston Tellis, 1997). Besides, the sources can be oral, written, visual and audiovisual

²⁸ For instance, service records, organizational records, lists of names, survey data, and others.

²⁹ Physical artifacts can be tools, instruments, or some other physical evidence that may be collected during the study as part of a field visit.

sources. In the documentary research the main sources are written, visual, audiovisual sources and the traces of material culture (Galeano Marín, 2004: 35). However, not all sources are relevant for all case studies (Yin,1994). In this case, two types of design to collect different type of data were pertinent.

In the first case, documents could be letters, memoranda, agendas, administrative documents, newspaper articles, or any document that is pertaining to the investigation and useful for making inferences about events. In this case, first, a bibliography and documentary revision was made through the analysis of several documents and was done by consulting books, articles, essays and newspapers. It was very useful to determine “the state of arts” of the topic, as it has been explained above, the development of the ideological and cultural State apparatus in a historical context and to get information about the nation brand. This process of bibliography revision was done during the entire research project. According to Galeano Marín, the literature review “runs in a parallel way to the process of problem formulation, information recollection and its analysis” (Galeano Marín, 2004: 35) and it was done to address different aspects of research. Moreover, some visual documents were collected. For instance, during 1998, the Argentine banknotes from 1880 to 1998 were compiled and analysed at the banknote collection of the British Museum (London), of Banco de la Provincia de Buenos Aires (Bank of Buenos Aires Province, Argentina) and of the Central Bank Museum in Buenos Aires.

Second, primary data was collected through interviews made with key informants. This is because interviews are one of the most important sources of case study information. There are several forms of interviews that are possible such as open-ended interviews, focus group interviews, and structured interviews or surveys. In this case, an open-ended interview was chosen and key respondents were asked to comment and provide insight into certain events.

The fieldwork was made working in the State, in three different moments and different data and information (visual, oral and written) were collected in each period. During this time, photographs were taken to illustrate issues of the Argentine flag, the shield and other state representation in public spaces in the period of time of the fieldwork from 1999 to 2005.

The first fieldwork period took place in the Fernando De La Rúa’s government from 1999 to the mid-2001. It corresponds to the author’s direct participation in the Alianza’s government as a free lance designer. At this moment, a whole compilation of the national symbols was collected at the Government Pink House and the Parliament. Besides, state buildings, used stationery, institutional folders, clothing, medals, monuments, cemeteries, propaganda, signs from public spaces, photographs of statues, ministries, Houses of government and national museums were also compiled. The focus was on the use of flag and the shield in all these objects and places. In

addition, twenty five interviews were conducted with related people of the government.

The second period took place in the years 2004 to 2007 where another (a different) political party was in power. It involved the development of the image and identity of the Scientific Technological System in Argentina as a free lance designer. In this stage, twenty interviews were conducted with employees and visitors of the National Museum of Natural History, thirty five interviews with employees and related people of the CONICET (National Commission of Scientific and Technological Research) and thirty interviews were conducted with employees of the National Agency of technological and innovation promotion and members of the SECyT.

Last, the third stage was from 2002 to 2006 when an Argentine brand was developed and proposed. In this case, sixty interviews with ambassadors, members of the Diplomatic Corp, entrepreneurs, intellectuals and specialist in the topic were made.

In all stages intense work and research were combined such as the analysis of images, as well as conducting interviews and doing participant observation, the most important and complementary research strategies. On the one hand, as Winston Tellis says, participant-observation turns the researcher into an active participant in the events being studied, and provides facts and unusual opportunities for collecting data (Winston Tellis 1997). On the other hand, interviews were made with key informants to collect information on several topics and with people with different points of view. In most cases, an in-depth interview was used.

Apart from that, from all the existing possibilities³⁰, the techniques used to register information were written field notes, memos and photographs. All of them are presented at the end of this written report in the Annex section along with the complete list of people interviewed during the whole fieldwork and the guide to the questions for each group of people. Besides, all the main characteristics of the fieldwork stages and the main characteristics of the data collected, can be found in the field notes chapter (Annex).

Finally, to analyse the evidence collected in the case study, two analytic strategies were developed to reach the conclusions.

First, the analysis of the historical context and the history of the ideological state apparatus were based on the theoretical propositions made in chapter 1 and the evidence was analysed based on those propositions (Yin 1994). This gave a high priority to direct interpretation of the events.

³⁰ "In the realm of possibilities, the techniques used to document the information were a fieldwork's diary, photography, thematic records, records of content, guidebooks and memos" (Galeano Marín, 2004: 37).

Second, the most relevant visual objects created by the State that structure nationality are banknotes, flags and shield (see Levi-Strauss, 1971). Their analysis was particular, and the methodology to analyse the images created by the Argentine State, especially banknotes, flag, and the shield, is based on a semiological approach. This method allows the examination of national images as units of meaning and specifically as the deliberate materialization of state messages. In that way, and according to Rose in his book "Visual Methodologies", this approach admits to exploring "the connections between signs and broader structures of meaning, considering the social modalities of the production and audiences of images" (Rose, 2001: 78). Thus, as Barthes noted in his book "The Responsibility of Forms" (Barthes, 1991), national images can not be analysed outside the general system from which they are part of. Therefore, images, as evidence of the state's intentions, are analysed in their social and political context by detecting the influences that have taken place around picture making (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998: 176-261).

Accordingly, acquiring the images was done by collecting existing images of the theme. In the banknote case, all national notes issued were analysed. The rest of the images historically spread by the Argentine Ideological Apparatus, were based on found material or "the analysis of existing images" (Emmison and Smith, 2000: 46) and consequently the examination of the content of that imagery (Ball and Smith, 2001).

The content analysis was focused on "the expressive content and compositional modality of the image" (Rose, 2001: 57), from where it was possible to discover patterns, historic appearances, disruption, changes, material lacking, differences and similarities.

To get such information, three charts were developed, from where visual information was classified. The first chart was on banknotes. In this chart, in the form of a matrix, the answers to the following questions about each banknote were written in a file: When was the note issued? What or who is the main figure of the note? What activity is performed? What is the background portraying? Is there any other relevant object, persona, animal, place or ornament detectable? Which artistic style is used for the overall representation? Is it possible to find historical or aesthetic continuity with other banknotes? What disruptions and continuity has the note got with others?

Once each one of the banknotes had been analysed, a second chart was made. In the files there were the answers to the questions mentioned before and the year and image of the banknotes were in additional columns in order to compare the answers.

The second chart analysed the national shield and flag's copies. In these cases and as a consequence of the continuity of the same structure of the images since 1813, what was searched

for was the "minimal variations" (Barthes, 1994: 49) of information that each image is carrying. After that, and as Barthes pointed out on his book "The Semiotic Challenge", this information was compared with representative parameters. In both cases, the textual transcription of the component of the images (constitutional character of the images) was put in a matrix and used as guide, as well as the initial reproduction of the shield and flag. In the case of the shield, the first reproduction of the shield used by Argentina is the one in figure 1-Shield. This was the shield that was set as the parameter of the research. As for the flag, the supposed first flag of Argentina (figure 1-Flag) was used as a parameter.

The third chart was performed by the analysis of all collected images issued by the state, as part of the historic investigation about the history of the Argentine Ideological State Apparatus. The matrix from where information was classified was similar to the one developed by Prosser (Prosser, 1998). In that matrix, images were classified due to the categories of that historical period. Afterward, events and grouping similarities were detected by answering questions such as "What are we actually looking at? How can we describe it? What are its characteristics? What is its place and status in respect to the communication system or systems it is a part of? What was it intended for?" (Prosser, 1998: 252).

Chapter 3. The history of the Argentinean Ideological State apparatus and the associated apparatus of cultural fiction

Introduction

As it has been defined in chapter 1, national identification design by the State is understood as the embodiment of an ideological representation that attempts to create, re-create and maintain the identity of the citizens and the support of the dominant groups. In this context, the state works jointly with institutions and organizations as part of the apparatus of the state which is producing in fact the hegemony of an ideology, what Althusser calls the Ideological State Apparatus. It also works by ideology which, according to Žižek, structures our social reality, by spreading symbolic fictions to have monopoly over cultural norms and discourses. This is what Bhabha calls the State apparatus of cultural fictions.

The apparatus of cultural fictions requires three main resources to work which are: an existing common content, the power to institutionalize a chosen interpretation of nationality and a support for the content. The common content, nationalistic sentiments, the imagined communities of Anderson, national discourses and mythologies are all parts of the engine of nationalism and collective identification. They are created according to "the logic of hegemony" and the crystallization of a collective and unified human will. This human will is a "quilting point" expressed by the State as the one who is tying and closing the structure of national imagination, the one who mediates nationalistic sentiments and the one that has the power to institutionalize a hegemonic interpretation of nationality. Once in the state, those elites need to constantly educate and re-educate their communities by the intervening in all discourses or fictions.

The State spreads nationality through hegemonic groups by material culture, objects and images. These are sense, information and memory carriers like the national flag, shield, arms uniform, stamps, banknotes, monuments, statues, state-organized propaganda, state-controlled primary education, official rewriting of history and militarism among others. In the present chapter, all the support is analysed as a group that gives a general vision of how an ideological state apparatus is materially expressed. In the next chapters, there will be a deep analysis of the flag, shield and banknotes because they are considered national symbols that were used considerably in all historical periods of Argentina.

In what follows, the history of the Ideological State Apparatus in Argentina and the apparatus of cultural fictions are deeply analysed. In doing so, twelve different historical periods were determined according to important changes that the ideological state apparatus suffered. Each period corresponds to a particular discourse or national sentiment. Each one is analysed in a separate section where the hegemonic dominant ideology, the main discourses and the different support systems which distributes them are analysed. Then, the same information is analysed in a different way. In section 13, a comparative analysis of the national sentiments that exist throughout the Argentine history is made and in section 14 an historical analysis of the different supports and their relative importance is developed. After that, some conclusions will be given.

At the end of the chapter, a group of tables is presented. Table 1 shows the complete list of the presidents of Argentina ordered chronologically and how they ascended to power, Table 2 is composed by eleven tables that show the main characteristics of each Ideological and cultural State Apparatus. In Table 3 there is a historical summary of the National sentiments and from Table 4 to Table 8 the historical evolution of the use of the rosette, the army uniforms, stamps, public architecture and public sculptures and monuments are developed. Finally, many figures are presented.

Section I. Nationality as a home for the Argentines or Argentina in times of independence.

This period starts in 1810 and ends at 1820 (see table 1 and 2.a). Most of the local historiography agreed, the starting point of Argentina as a country can be formally traced back to its independence day, the 25 of May of 1810. At that time, while simultaneously other independence uprisings were taking place in the Americas, Argentina declared its independence from the so-called motherland Spain. Until this moment, the current territory of Argentina was within the bounds of the Spanish domination scheme, under the name of Viceroyalty of the Rio de la Plata. However, the political and administrative figures that governed the colonies were in crisis due to several factors.

First, this administrative model was interrelated with the rest of the existing institutions of the new world but its heart and brain were in the Iberian Peninsula, a fact that resulted in "Spanish colonies governed during almost 300 years by a centralized bureaucracy" (Shumway, 1993: 3). Within a context of great distances to connect a geopolitically declining government, this in fact favoured a certain executive autonomy to the local Spanish management. This generated on the part of these temporary officials in the Viceroyalty, a management of public affairs vitiated by lack of control, corruption, generalized smuggling and lack of respect and representation that citizens felt towards their leaders (Halperín Donghi, 1972: 27).

Second, Argentina, with no gold and silver to extract, had not historically been a central node of interest of the Spanish Crown. Thus, the Viceroyalty of the Rio de la Plata, as Paterson pointed out, "for two centuries [it had] *sic* remained a minor star in Spain's firmament of New World cities" (Paterson, 1964: 7). In this way, this colony was only considered important for its role as a stopper against the possible interference of Portugal and England in Spain's possessions. The conflicts with Portugal were constant and prolonged since 1700 and with England the colony faced two direct invasions in 1806 and 1807 which were repulsed by the local inhabitants without the Spanish central government support (Ferns, 1966: 19).

Third, the economic activity of the colony generated a certain standard of life for a business class grouped around the port of Buenos Aires and a newly appeared cattle raising sector in the adjacent area to the port (Floria and Belsunce, 1975: 246). For this reason, a demand for industrialized products existed. As Puiggrós explains it, "the political independence of Argentina and of the rest of the Hispano-American colonies was only conceivable within the framework of the worldwide growing capitalism" (Puiggrós, 2006: 55).

Fourth, the emergence of the republican and liberal ideas in the world were very much accepted in this colony while an ideological, economic paternalist model of a Catholic Spain and 15th century

political thinking that was still influencing society. It considered the “Emperor and the Pope as temporal masters of any world” (Floria and Belsunce, 1975: 30). In this sense, there has been a clash between the ruling ideas and the ideas of local people.

Finally, Spain fell under Napoleonic control. According to Chiaramonte, the independence was imposed as a state power legitimization instrument in the face of the collapse of the monarchic legitimacies (Chiaramonte, 1979: 352).

From that moment, before the collapse of the monarchic legitimacies, a group of people from Buenos Aires and delegates from the inland called Creoles, imposed the independence from Spain as a legitimization instrument to have access to the state power. They changed the name of the territory, from the Viceroyalty of the Rio de la Plata to be called United Provinces of the Rio de la Plata.

This beginning found united people from the province of Buenos Aires which comprised of the administrative head of the Viceroyalty and the biggest port and the rural area (Floria and Belsunce, 1975) with people from the rest of the inland provinces. In this manner, a diffuse idea of a nation and autonomy were consolidated in the totality of the territory. For this reason, once the Napoleonic wars were over and Spain wanted to reconquer its former possessions the independence group were united and could maintain and preserve its independence.

The Argentinean history narrates that the first ideological apparatus of the Argentine State that ever existed as such was born within those national governments (1810-1820). It had to project a world of new symbolic references to legitimize its authority and be preserved under the wing of the newly created State, the interests and expectations of the groups that make up the new country. At that stage, as will be later developed, the most transcendental visual elements designed by the government were the rosette, the flag, the shield, the coin and the national anthem. Likewise, the national army's uniforms were created, the paraphernalia of the *Fiestas Mayas* (May celebrations, anniversary of the Independence) were established, together with the construction of the May Pyramid which took place at that stage of supposed national integration (figures 1 to 9).

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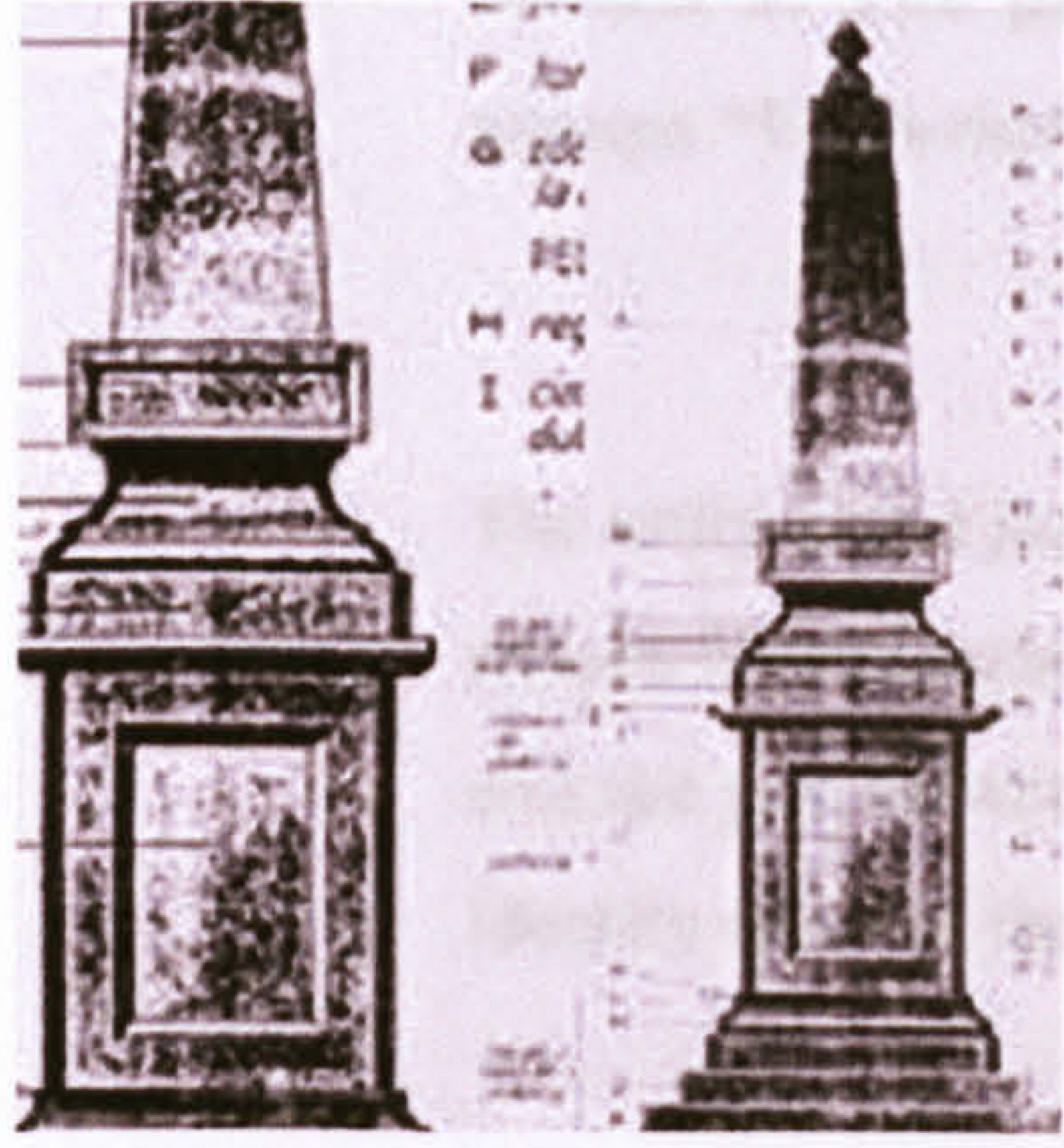


Figure 1 . 1811, Pyramid of May



Figure 2. 1812, rosette



Figure 3. 1812, first flag



Figure 4. 1813, first coin



Figure 5. 1813, first shield



Figure 8. 1817, uniform



Figure 6. 1816, Independence Congress

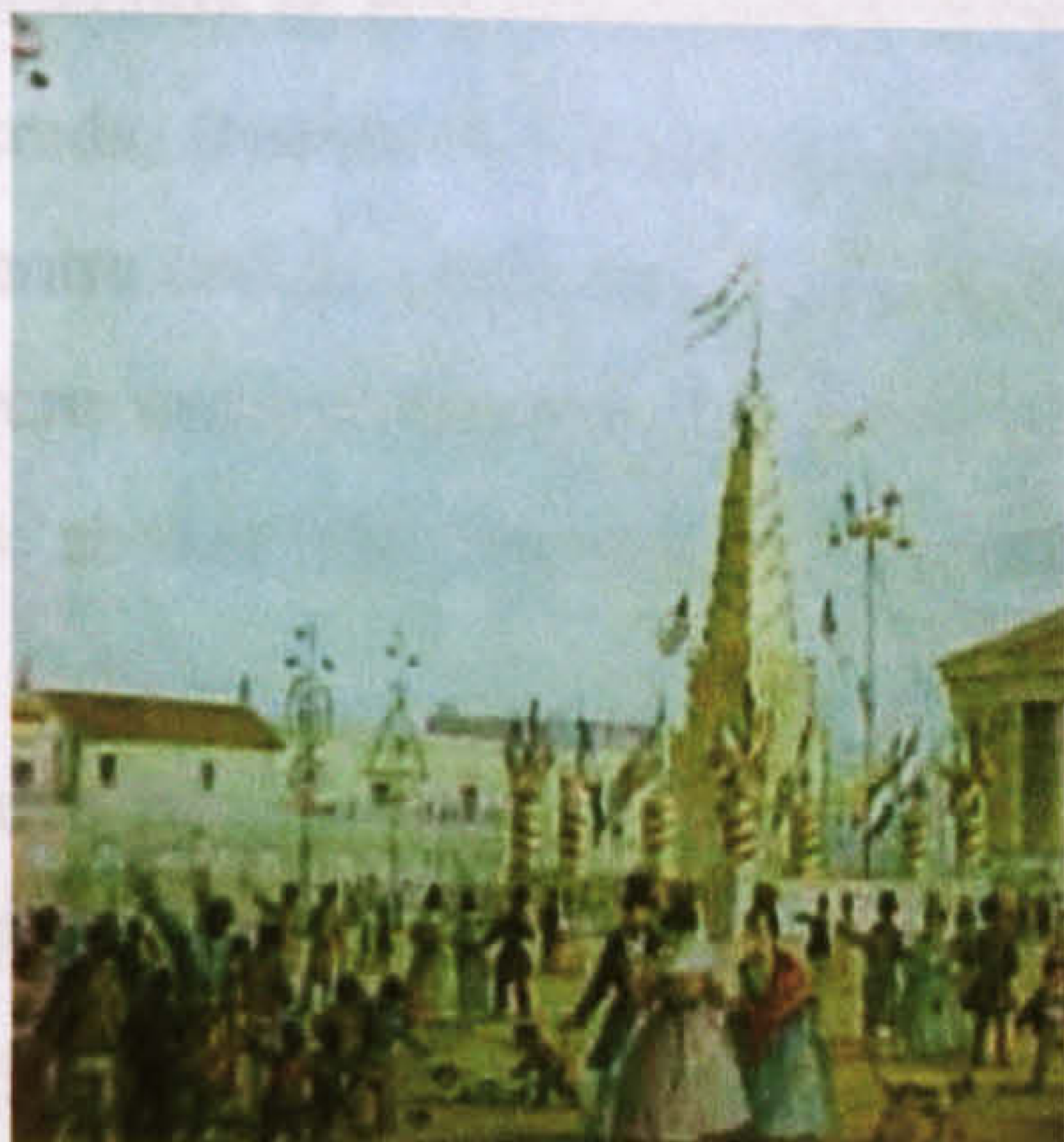


Figure 7. 1817, Fiestas Mayas



Figure 9. 1818, the fort of Buenos Aires

Section 2. The principle of difference: when Argentines belonged to the two confronted groups “Unitarios” and “Federales”

The unity lasted just a decade and this new period runs from 1820 to 1850 (see table 2.a) The main reason for the internal fight was that within the local population there were two divergent realities and the gap between both in terms of economic and cultural interests explained the first national identity crisis of the recently born country.

On one hand, people from the inlands had less contact with Europe and its ideas due to geographic isolation and long distances. It was a rural inland as opposed to an urban Buenos Aires. They became a politically conservative region and had to face the strong filter of Buenos Aires, a powerful city, port and capital of the old Viceroyalty. There, their issues of incipient autonomy were solved with a centralized political form around town councils of landowners and neighbours but whom started to depend more and more on their strong local figures facing a deemed modern Buenos Aires. It was, as stated by Goldman “an inland that was a synonym of Spanish American at the independence moment, while Argentinean is a synonym of *rioplatense*³¹ and its area of influence” (Goldman, 1998: 49).

On the other hand, the other group of Buenos Aires possessed the conviction of being the new motherland, from the conception of this new country’s history, ideas and power. Likewise, as put forward by Martínez Estrada, Buenos Aires adopted and repeated internalized features from the relationship between a centre and its parts, like Spain and its colonies, but now as the capital and its delegations which were metaphorically recognized as the inland and where Buenos Aires seemed to be Argentina’s ‘abroad’ (M. Estrada, 1991: 336).

Other differences between people from Buenos Aires and people from inlands were that the former had “more than 71% of a white population” and the latter with more than 60% of mixed race population (García Belsunce, 1999: 64). Besides, the Buenos Aires intellectual elite started to agree with Freemasonry while that of the inland continued to cling to Catholicism.

2.a. The *Unitarios*

In economic terms, since 1810 the rural sector had been consolidated as the central power group in the national economy. They were characterized by the pursuance of an absolutely open economic frontier generated by the government aiming at facilitating international agreements with foreign markets. That would make their commodities’ exportation possible even at the expense of holding

³¹ From the Rio de la Plata river.

back any local attempt to develop the national industrial production. This is due to the fact that, during a long significant period of the history, this sector pursued and achieved the maintenance of a fixed assets importation scheme to support their raw material exportation.

However, after the independence proclamation, a new sector was born and the interests of different sectors, that in the past openly clashed, started to be consolidated. Thus, after the war against Spain, between 1820 and 1830 each province became institutionally and economically stronger. In Buenos Aires, as posed by Shumway, “towards the year 1820, prosperity gave rise to the acquisition of more and more lands by traders, while landowners devoted themselves to urban businesses; from this union of the landowner and business classes, the Argentinean oligarchy was born” (Shumway, 1993). Therefore, having the agricultural sector added to the current head city and port, Buenos Aires forged an alliance that from 1810 started to be of central economic importance (Lynch, 1973: 70). This alliance was added to the port's liberal sectors and to its foreign partners and it produced the consolidation of a coherent economic, social and cultural model. Characteristic of this relationship were the management of Customs and of the industrial objects importations in exchange for raw material exportations, which enabled the growth of Buenos Aires. In this way, the government, which was under the motto of Peace, Civilization and Progress, gained autarchy and autonomy in relation to the rest of the country and allowed its uneven growth, with respect to the rest of country.

Before these economic benefits, the Buenos Aires government signed treaties with Great Britain in which, in fact, it committed itself not to develop its own industrial development or make navy improvements. At the same time it received significant loans to supposedly finance infrastructure but those resources were not used in any significant action (Ferns, 1966: 127). This credit, which was given by an English company called Baring Brothers, became the first Argentinean foreign debt, “a transaction of vast proportions but of an obscure nature” (Ferns, 1966: 127).

Meanwhile, the provinces of the inland were organized into independent states among themselves but recognized the existence of a common bond, more of an ideal type than of a real one. It was ideal, since during this period most provinces were undergoing rebellions, economic failures and frustrations (Luna, 1980: 113). There, as it happened in almost all Latin America, the provinces started to be represented by the figure of the *caudillo*, in most cases leaders with origins in the most traditional landowner's families. They started to centralize in their person the sum of public power thanks to family alliances, economic power and, especially, their ancestry and charisma towards their farm workers, soldiers and followers “as a power legitimization tool” (Riekenber, 1990: 185).

Besides, and within this framework, there was not a shared law between the provinces and Buenos

Aires. The attempts to create a common constitution clashed with Buenos Aires' interests of granting free trade and the provinces' exertion of industry protectionism and their different interests on issues such as unified international relations, a tax scheme and an agreed standardization of the port.

With all these differences, there was not a collective sense of belonging to a same project. Buenos Aires believed to have the historic right to command the destiny of the country, defining for such purpose a centralist model called Unitary, while the provinces, the Federales, were reflected in a model similar to the provinces federation or confederation imported from the United States.

From this standpoint, back in 1820 "Rivadavia dreams of recreating Europe in the south of the continent, an idea that became a powerful guiding fiction which continues giving shape to the hopes of many Argentines." (Shumway, 1992: 108). Accordingly, the Unitarian governments were characterized by a production of images to associate the recently created country with Europe, especially France and England, both in the architecture produced and in its soldier's uniforms, seeking in both cases to establish a differentiation from the Hispanic root as well as from the autochthonous of the country.

In Buenos Aires' art, the French influence started at these time. This influence on local painting started with French "drawing travellers" who through their drawings reflected the landscape, customs, and the diverse aspects of the *rioplatense* (from the Río de la Plata) society (Pérez-Embid, 1962: 464). Architects also, from the year 1820 were especially hired by the Unitarian government, contributing in the early 19th century to the imposition of new ideas regarding urban design and architectonic forms as part of a bigger project that hoped to overcome the Spanish inheritance. Among many buildings, during this time "the Buenos Aires cathedral, the Recoleta cemetery, the fort and the house of government" (Zucchi, 1998: 60) were designed. Besides, French influence can also be found in the military uniforms of the *Unitarios* (figures 1 to 9).

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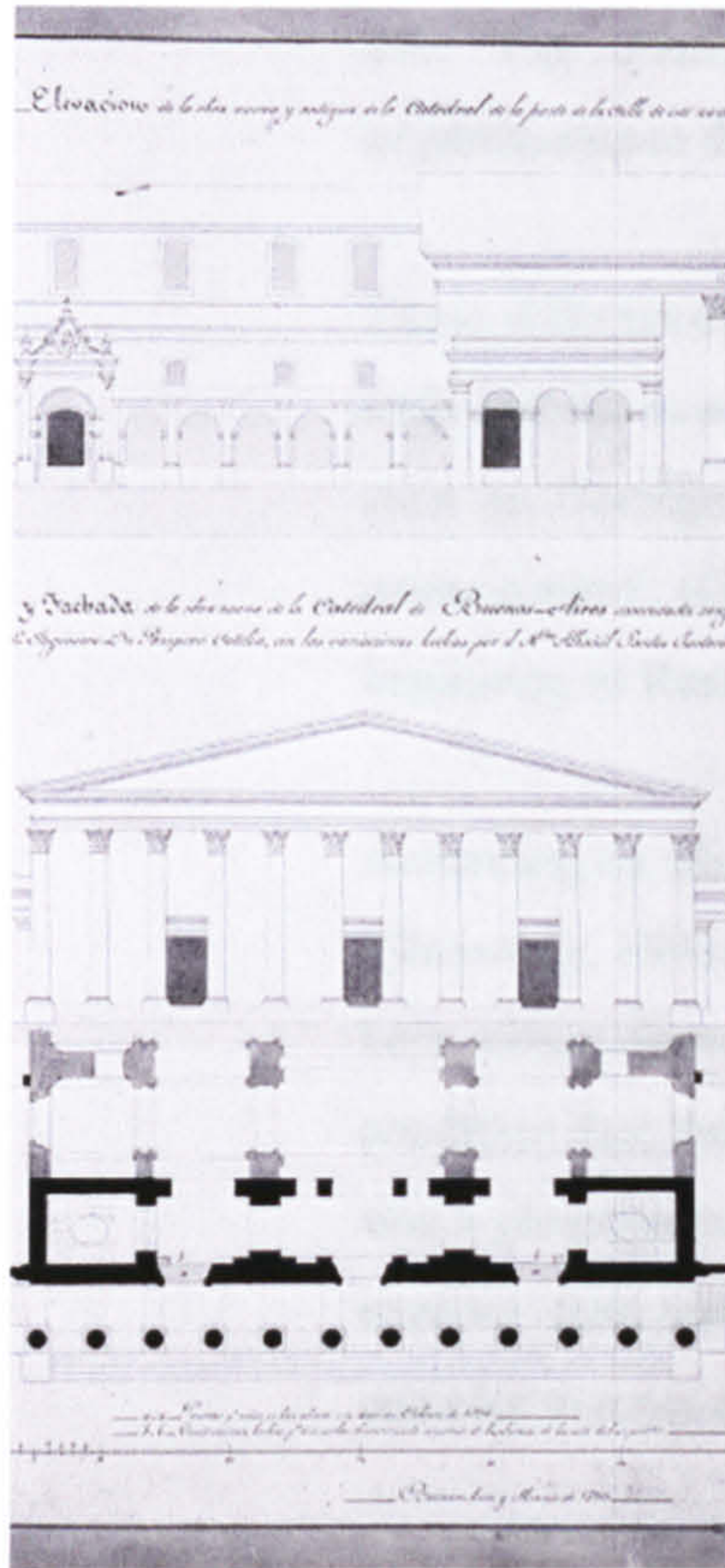


Figure 1. 1820's Buenos Aires Cathedral



Figure 2. 1820's Buenos Aires Cathedral



Figure 3. 1820, Recoleta cemetery



Figure 4 . 1820's fort of Buenos Aires



Figure 5. 1826, soldier



Figure 6. 1826, memorial flag



Figure 7. 1829, uniform



Figure 8. 1829, uniform

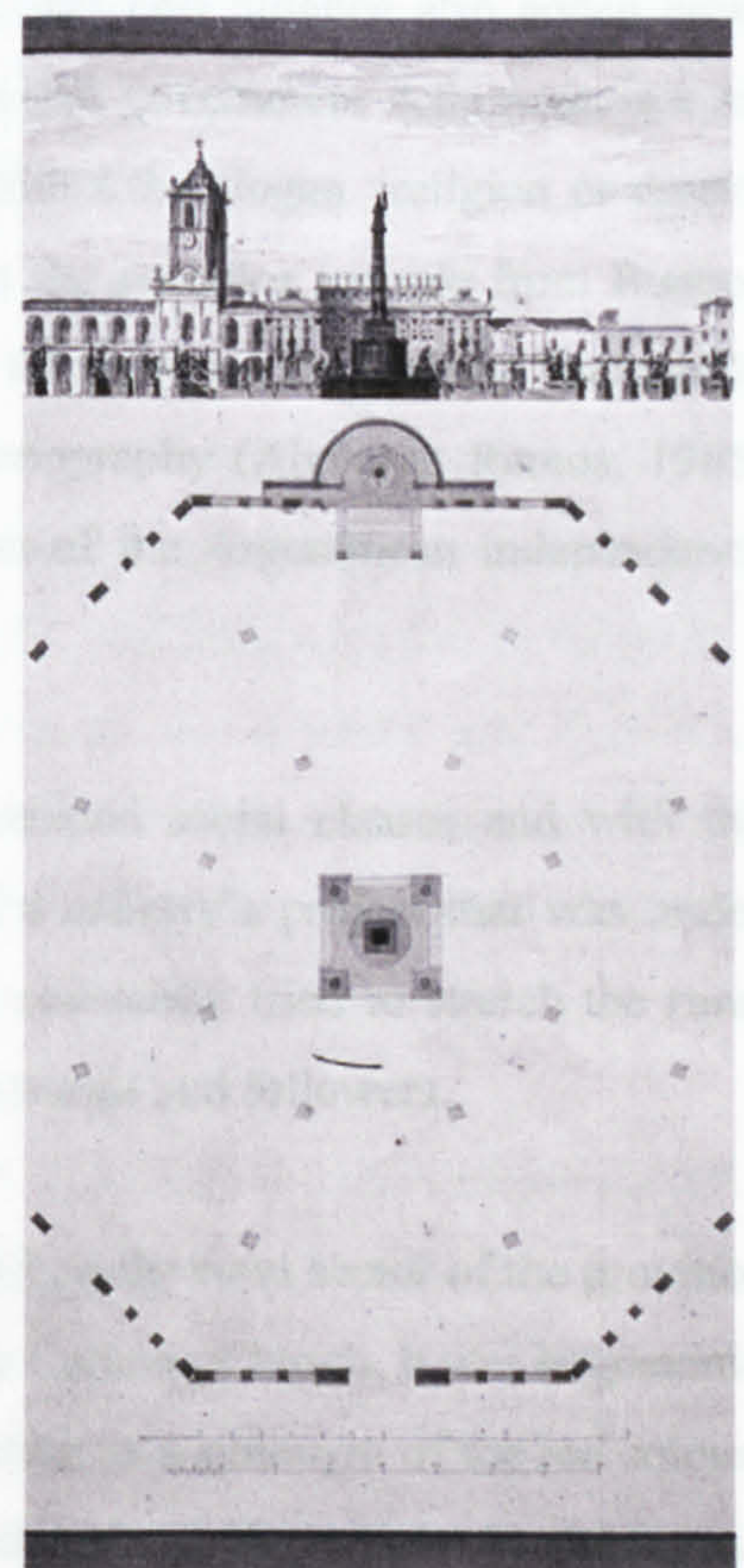


Figure 9. 1820' Fiestas Mayas's stage

2.b. The *Federales* and the Red Federal Argentina (Argentine Federal Net), an organizational dimension

These differences and circumstantial crisis triggered the 1830 economic chaos and civil war that included the execution of federal leaders and the exile of others in the hands of the Unitarians, such as Dorrego's case, which later "unleashed the civil wars that divided Argentina by his assassination" (Gorriti, 2003: 89). The result was the fall of the Unitarian government and the beginning of Rosas' office.

According to Shumway, Rosas generated the power and subordination to a central government (Shumway, 1993: 151). On one hand, Rosas created the conditions for the existence of a state that kept ruling from Buenos Aires and that observed certain provincial autonomies only on the condition that they did not interfere with the central government's interests. On the other hand, it was a government characterized by a strong hand that rolled the heads of criticism and opposition, exerting state terrorism to its detractors (something that Unitarians had also done) and leading its enemies to mass exile.

The alliance between inland peoples of the rural sector benefited from exports and the power continued to reject industry protectionist laws. (Luna, 1993: 90) This alliance also added extra economic components, such as those resulting from the Unitarian government actions against all church interferences in public life, which was a fact that justified the slogan "religion or death" carried by the *Federales* (figure 1) in their war flags against the *porteños* (people from Buenos Aires). Thus, Rosas -its main *caudillo*- was considered an advocate of the porteño mercantile bourgeoisie's interests by one part of the Argentinean historiography (Abelardo Ramos, 1965: 150) and by the other part, he was considered the champion of the Argentinean independence against the alienating Unitarian liberalism.

Rosas' government set a different relationship with marginalized social classes and with the Indians, whom he included for the first time as an actor of a country's project that was under construction, negotiating and fighting with him. Besides, he constantly tried to stretch the rural borders and keeping the "*gauchos*" and lower urban classes as troops and followers.

Juan Manuel de Rosas's Ideological State Apparatus was based on the rural sector of the province of Buenos Aires, alliance with other inland "caudillos" and the Catholic Church. It was hegemonic during 1829 to 1852 and it produced the Argentine representation as a synonym of the red colour, Rosas's colour. Its application was corporatively systematized in the uniform worn by the Army, who were called "*los colorados del Monte*" (the Hills's reds) (figure 2), for their red uniforms. In 1935 Rosas prohibited the use of the blue white uniform, associated with Unitarians (Indarte,

1853). The red colour was also present in flags and shield, where the red colour modified the light blue and white from the country's original representation, for which reason dark blue and pure red became the colour of the national identification (figure 4 and 5).

Rosas was also supported by a para-police force organization called the "mazorca" (name given to the *Sociedad Popular Restauradora*) which also dressed in red. According to the claims of Rosas's adversaries, in the Buenos Aires of those times, wearing the Unitarian's light blue instead of red laces might sentence anyone to death in the hands of the State (Echeverría, 2000). Another narration says that in July 1840 Rosas' aide-de-camp reported to the Police Chief that the Chief Police Inspector was wearing light blue underwear (Garaviglia 2000: 686).

In architecture and public works, Rosas's state constructions can be seen having continuity with the colonies aesthetics, "the postcolonial style living together with the classical one" (Gutierrez, 1973: 71). For instance, one of the avant-garde objects produced by Rosas's state was the Catafalque, some sort of travelling pyramid that was horse driven and that made it possible to pay tribute to somebody without the need to stay in a fixed place. According to Vedoya, the first catafalque was in Dorrego's honour in 1829 (Bedoya, 1975: 18) (figure 3).

Rosas's State production of image returned to the Hispanic aesthetics and included the inclusion of local expressions and places (figure 2, 6 and 7). For instance, its troop's uniform was no longer designed in the traditional European fashion; contrarily, it incorporated the gaucho's everyday clothing.

At the end of a government that lasted until 1851, Rosas was substituted by another inland *caudillo* called Urquiza (see figures 8 to 13). He formed an alliance with Unitarian sectors in exile, Brazil and Uruguay and was supported by France and England³² (see their uniforms in figure 8, 9 and 13) and his government was called "Confederation". Urquiza was a leader and landowner from the Argentinean coastal region (Levenne and Robertson, 1837: 464), a coastal region that had grown enough due to the exchange of its own production and that had their own ports. From this background, Urquiza governed the Argentinean territory.

During his term in office, the first agreements that would culminate in the federal national constitution -the basis of the current one- (figure 10) were reached, as well as the change of the capital from Buenos Aires to Paraná, Urquiza's head city.

The short Confederation government following Rosas's, can be thought of as a producer of images that are articulated between the Unitarian European ones and the Federals' autochthonous ones,

³² As part of this army, it is interesting to note Sarmiento's French uniform (figure 2)

leaving its trace in the San José Palace in Entre Ríos (built in 1848, see figure 11), and especially in Paraná city's public architecture, seat to Urquiza's government and the confederation. The shield used was formed surrounded by flags, each one of them represented his allied provinces (figure 10). The flag was light blue (figure 12) and sometimes the flag light blue crossed by a red band belonging to the province of Entre Rios and used as a national flag. Since that time, French influence started to be present again in the Confederate and then in the Argentine military uniforms.

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Figure 1. 1830's, La Rioja Federal's flag



Figure 2. 1830, uniform



Figure 3. 1836's hearse



Figure 4. 1840's flag



Figure 5. 1840's flag



Figure 6. 1840's, meeting



Figure 7. 1843, coins

Section 3. Nationality as a home for white people and white culture: “Governing is inhabiting” with “Order and Progress”

Buenos Aires’ reaction managed to overthrow Urquiza’s government in 1861 and the central power returned back to Buenos Aires. Thus, Mitre (President from 1862 to 1868) suggested at that time that “in spite of the fact that thirteen out of fourteen provinces supported Urquiza, Buenos Aires still had the right to act as the national guide” (Shumway, 1993: 213) (see table 1 and 2.b)

Since 1863, the power exercised by the former Unitarian elite respected the current federal constitution but interpreted the framework of what was stated in it according to their best interests, developing a country scheme that continues up to the present time, where the regional economies are practically articulated from Buenos Aires, from the financial, the technological or the logistical point of view (see figures 1 to 4).

Mitre, the great and first Argentinean fiction and reality creator (figure 5), synthesized this will for a change and considered himself a “tutor and political guide of the nation’s formation” (Riekenberg, 1990: 15)³³. As Shumway points out, “Mitre sees history as an exemplary tale, a means to shape the future. He deliberately uses the past to create a national mythology, a guiding fiction whose main object is to justify the Argentina he perceives” (Shumway, 1993: 194). Therefore, Mitre set the foundation of how Argentina should and would be, establishing his own vision or imagination of the future, inventing (Masiello, 1992: 38) the initial idea of Argentina, the myth of a new Argentina. As Martínez Estrada points out about Argentina “the promoters of civilization were the fiction creators” (Martinez Estrada, 1991: 336). In order to do that, Mitre, wrote two books. First, he wrote the long biographies of San Martín and Belgrano where they were idealized as the fathers of the homeland. In addition, Mitre built the first monument to San Martín in 1864 (see figure 6). Second, he wrote a collective history where, even nowadays for the most part of Argentineans, the liberal *porteño* stories constituted as the Argentinean Official History (Shumway, 1993: 188). Those two aspects, and his national vision, were taken as true by Argentinean historiography and have continued to be so up to the present.

This view was organized by the so called Generation of the 1837, who proclaimed the month of May of 1810 as the founding moment of nationality (Romero, 1983: 30). This group was a proscribed generation that had spent years in exile during Rosas’ government, had positivist ideas and was integrated by, among others, Mitre, Juan Bautista Alberdi and Domingo Faustino Sarmiento. This generation believed that some characteristics present in the country such as the

³³ For instance, Mitre, in his more than 2000 pages written on San Martín’s story, starts his preface by saying: “the main object of this book is to relate the correct and complete story of the General Jose de San Martín” (Mitre, 1890: 1 preface).

race of the population, the emptiness of land, the Spanish tradition and the lack of education of “barbaric” were a problem for the future development³⁴. This view constituted the hegemonic ideology of that time.

First, Sarmiento wrote that the gauchos³⁵ and the Argentinean Indians resembled Middle East Bedouins for which reason no nation could be established on that social basis (Sarmiento, 2003: 19). Consequently, the proposed solution was to stimulate immigration from the north of Europe, especially English white people, to improve this “genetic weakness” of the Argentinean inhabitant. This explains how the immigration policies applied, most of which did not bring a massive transference of northern Europeans but modified Argentina’s dominant ethnic and cultural composition of those days with people coming from Italy and Spain.

Second, this group stated that the exercise of the land’s domination was essential to progress. For them, the territory was almost empty because they considered the territory under the power of the Indians as “deserted” (Hasbrouck, 1935: 195-228). For this reason Alberdi declared that “governing is inhabiting” (Alberdi, 1981: 21) and, as it was mentioned above, massive immigration was promoted.

Third, the Group Generation of '37 was very critical of Spanish culture, which was considered to have strong deficiencies and this view is maintained until 2008. For instance, Marcos Aguinis, a current intellectual, even today considers this national nature problematic. He says that “the Iberian tradition contained authoritarian, hierarchical and conservative elements. The non-Iberian one committed itself to democracy, progress and individual rights” (Aguinis, 2001: 28).

The economic and social politics of the established Group led to the constitution of a formal democracy, restrictive of the popular masses’ direct and indirect votes. As stated by Shumway “for the generation of '37, and for the Unitarians preceding them, democracy was defined as a government for the people and not by the people” (Shumway, 1993: 151). Therefore, the figure of the politician or enlightened intellectual, messianic owner of the truth, the civilization and the future justified a guardianship of many on the part of a few. According to Félix Luna, the result of this ideological scheme produced a hegemonic regime, instead of a party of democracy, because

³⁴ Barbarism “represent for Sarmiento “the indomitable spirit of the pampas” (Shumway, 1993: 134) something savage to conquer by civilization.

³⁵ The inhabitant of the Argentine inland was commonly called *gaucho*. The Argentine *gaucho* is a social layer initially composed of local lower classes formed out of the social merger between native peoples’ descendants, former slaves’ descendants and Europeans’ descendants. They lived in rural areas as rural worker integrated to the agricultural live-stock breeding sector or having a nomadic and gathering life. The first political visibility of this economically lower sector of the Argentine society arrived at Rosas’ hands in 1833, who with his paternalistic side valued and prioritised it as a social class. Then, this group moved to ostracism during liberal governments that denigrated it.

“regimens could guarantee the institutional continuity better than parties could do” (Luna, 1988: 58).

Fourth, another problem was the existence of people without education, the so called “barbarianism”, as opposed to “civilized people”. As a consequence this generation understood that free public education was the solution to achieve civilization. Sarmiento, a writer, journalist, politician that became a President (1868-1874) set the basis of what would be a redeeming education system. He publicly claimed that “we must educate the sovereign” (Sarmiento, 1948:25) and with that purpose he initiated the massive construction of schools and higher education institutes and “facing the lack of pedagogues in the country, he appointed North American educationalists” (Ibañez, 1962: 358). In this way, with the appearance of Mitre and Sarmiento’s Modern State the masses’ schools emerged as a branch of the State with an aim at educating citizens. According to Wainerman, “national reading books expansion and their message content control should be considered, then, as part of a strong state initiative that attempted to define, while also founding, the moral standards of the young nation” (Wainerman, 1999: 33) (see text books in figure 7). Besides, this state, through education, had a regulatory character and sought to modify the society homogenizing the cultural, economic and racial differences through reason and formal education. Therefore, the national education project tried to erase the past in order to start thinking of a new country.

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Figure 1. 1862, stamp



Figure 2. 1864, Constitution station



Figure 3. 1860's uniform



Figure 4. 1872, document



Figure 5. 1862, Mitre's presidential uniform



Figure 6. 1868, first Monument to San Martin

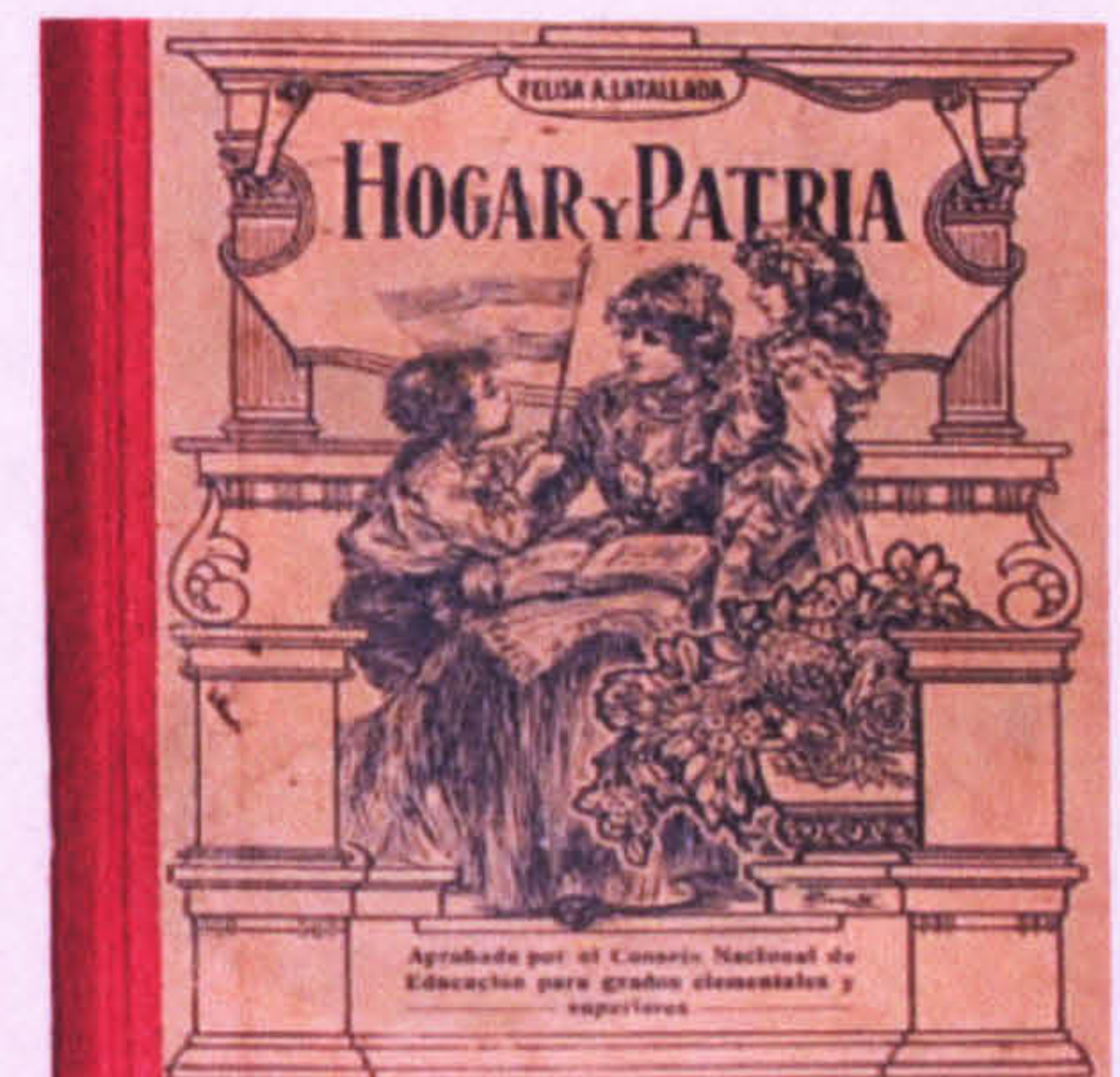


Figure 7. 1875, textbook



Figure 8. 1850's, uniforms



Figure 9. 1852, Sarmiento with uniform



Figure 10. 1853, first Constitution



Figure 11. 1850's, Palacio San José



Figure 12. 1852, Urquiza's flag



Figure 13. 1852, "Kepi"

3.a. The consolidation of the agroexport model

The following decades shaped Argentinean institutions up to the present time.

From 1880 to 1916 there were in Argentina a series of governments which consolidated the political unificatory processes between old factions (*Unitarios* and *Federales*) and translated their liberal ideas into stable governmental forms through the consolidation of a successful agricultural exportation model

During these decades, the so called generation of the 80's, the elite of intellectuals and leaders, managed the country under the slogan "Order and Progress" (Alberdi, 1992: 210) (see table 1 and 2.b). During this agricultural and livestock breeding period, liberal sectors made trade agreements with Great Britain which came to make investments in the country's infrastructure development, mainly in the railway and port areas, especially in Buenos Aires, that were necessary to increase the exportation of raw materials. All the rail-roads were made to converge to Buenos Aires while hinterland cities were not connected among themselves and other ports were denied train service to send the production. In this context, the city of Buenos Aires planned the development of the infrastructure of Argentina based on its own interests and was the result of lobbying exercised during the liberal governments against the growth of other possible ports that could have framed the national infrastructure (Rappoport, 1994: 357).

Therefore, for Bethell "the outstanding feature of the 1880-1912 period...was rapid economic growth" (Bethell, 1991: 74) where foreign investment, the adoption of modern agricultural techniques and integration fixed Argentina into the world economy in the late 19th century.

In order to implement this model, the rural sector needed to obtain and preserve peace to get the land occupied by indigenous people and to start the agricultural and livestock production. To obtain that, the rural sector was in alliance with other sectors, mainly the Church, which contributed to ideologically controlling indigenous people and worked as a pressure group (Bottarini, 1998). For instance, Estanislao Zeballos thought of two possible alternatives to end with the continuous fights among indigenous and white people which were "the submission of these bandits by force...or their conversion to Catholicism through bodies of missionaries" (Zeballos, 1994: 14) (figure 1). The first option won and a policy of extermination of indigenous people was implemented (see figure 2 "Indian Hunters").

3.b. Homogenizing the society for the economic model: the indian extermination and the nationalism

In 1880s, the "Conquest of the Desert" executed by Roca (figure 3), exterminated or enclosed (figure 4) the remaining indigenous tribes of the Pampas, Patagonia and Chaco and defined the final shape of the newly born nation. As Julio Argentino Roca pointed out "our self-respect as a virile people obliges us to put down as soon as possible, by reason or by force, this handful of savages who destroy our wealth and prevent us from definitely occupying, in the name of law, progress and our own security, the richest and most fertile lands of the Republic" (quoted from Roth, 2002: 45).

The indigenous extermination is, even today, an issue of dissent between Roca's followers and detractors. This generation's mortal effects towards the Indian that caused the decimation of entire tribes were a consequence of the military actions and combats, the removal or exhaustion of the groups' means of survival and life. Thus, the Onas (Selknam) disappeared from Tierra del Fuego due to both illnesses, lack of food and the hunting of gangs paid by farm owners (Magrassi, 1987: 24) as the Mapuches' and other Indians group suffered. Therefore, during the 19th century and as a consequence of the military actions in the Pampa, Patagonia and Chaco and of the colonising campaigns undertaken by the state "no less than 20,000 natives died just violently" (Martinez Sarasola, 1998: 154), others were silenced and all of them were made invisible to society.

At the end of the Conquest of the Desert, the frontiers were extended and the property of the land was concentrated in few new landowners³⁶. On one hand, the government gave land directly to military officers that performed the indigenous displacement as a reward. On the other hand, traders from Buenos Aires, those coming from families of the independence times, bought for little money the land or obtained it through government transferences. Both groups lived between the big city and the countryside and built neoclassical palace residencies in Buenos Aires and on their farms such as the cases of the families Anchorena, Alsaga and Martinez de Hoz. In those families, it was also frequent to find priests and military officers among their members.

At that time, immigration was promoted. However, this concentrated land distribution meant that a low percentage of immigrants arrived to rural areas and many stayed in big cities, mainly port areas such as Buenos Aires. The only cases of successful land distribution took place in the so called "productive colonies", many of which belonged to the Jewish community and European temporal migration in times of harvest.

³⁶ Rapoport points out that "67 landowners owned 6,062,000 hectares and in 1914 this upper or aristocratic class of landowners represented one percent of the population" (Rapoport, 2000: 27).

Regarding social transformation, once the state's construction was completed in 1880, the national society homogenization started to be seen as a national cause, awakened by the war threat with Chile and especially by the magnitude of the immigration process. As put forward by Devoto, "it has been said that no country in the world, with the exception of Australia, has ever received an equivalent immigrant's percentage in relation to the population. In this sense, Argentina duplicated the United States' percentage in the immigration movement during the 19th and 20th centuries" (Devoto, 1999: 7). Hence, the irruption of new social groups, together with limited changes at the productive level. For instance, the tractor's appearance (Barsky and Gelman, 2001: 240) generated fractures prompted by an accelerated modernization process.

In the big cities, where the immigrants stayed, the relationships built around immigrant community centres and around the social life in newly expanded neighbourhoods favoured the sector's progressive inner integration. It established the starting point of their struggle for rights along with growing interests deeply entrenched in the political and economic power. This immigrants' generation and especially their descendants were constructed as a political group in the fight for universal, secret suffrage that the liberal party in office denied. Consequently, once it gained access to vote, in 1916 it seized power together with the rest of the already existing middle sectors.

Thus, as a local response within a context of worldwide nationalities emerged, they resorted to the construction of a patriotic imaginary able to agglutinate a society that the State considered excessively heterogeneous and potentially segregationist for its leaders, especially due to the relative weight of the immigration trends. Therefore, historic expression defines Argentina as "a melting pot" (Jmelnizky and Villavicencio, 2003: 40), an expression and ideology that lasts to 2008.

On one hand, the homogenization process was stimulated by the society's massive education based on common established principles. Thus, with the turn of the 20th century, José María Ramos Mejía from the National Education Council, shaped the principles of a "patriotic education" (figure 5, 6 and 7), in which, according to Romero, "a group of historians undertook the task of elaborating an account of the past in accordance with this objective of a Nation (Romero, 2004: 40)³⁷. Within this context, the school played a decisive role in defining elements of the national identity that are still current nowadays. This was carried out at the curricular level through Language, Geography, Argentine History, teaching and patriotic cult symbols. The schooling

³⁷ As Romero points out, "during long decades of intense activity, this group elaborated such a consistent image of the Argentine past that it was turned into common sense, to such an extent that that even nowadays it is easy to find its traces in different educational and academic environments" (Romero, 2004: 40).

words and actions ³⁸constituted an effective contribution to achieve the integration of a society made up of natives and immigrants such as to establish Spanish as the only school language.

On the other hand, the compulsory military service created by Roca during his second term of office (1898-1904) was also important to this process of unification, homogenization and nationalization of the Argentine culture. The object of the so-called conscription was not only to have a large army at disposal but also to consolidate the nationality, and in some cases, to supplement a deficient and incomplete education. By these means, the Argentine man was inculcated with national values. Besides, the figure of the Argentine soldier served to merge regional and social class identities (see figure 8 and 9).

3.c. Shaping the culture for the economic model: the European Argentina

Althusser explained that the ideological apparatus of the State encompasses a constellation of related sectors that are involved with the regime in charge of running the government such as private agents, the Church, municipal and provincial States, social organizations, schools, among others (Althusser, 1977). As a matter of fact, this is a period of the Argentinean history when the political hegemony of that cluster of sectors irradiated the most coherent image of the values and representations Argentina should adopt. As historian María Saenz Quesada points out, these sectors express a “desperate claim of being the most European and the intermittent appearance of native or Africans ethnic roots usually prove to be uncomfortable for many” (Saenz Quesada, 2001: 8)³⁹.

As it was mentioned in the theoretical framework, the ideological state apparatus works through the apparatus of cultural fictions that function with a message and a support. In this period, the most important objects to establish the dominant ideology of the State were the settling of sculptures and monuments. As W.J.T. Mitchell pointed out “sculpture is the most ancient, conservative and intractable of the media” (Mitchell, 2000: 166) and by regulating the national public space it is the State who is indirectly expressing itself by means of the whole statue⁴⁰.

In addition, printed stamps issued by the state started to circulate from 1858. Glued to personal or institutional letters, the images printed on the stamps have helped to spread a series of issues,

³⁸ It is enough to read the Minister of Education’s speech on the scholar changes based among other reasons on this unity, to understand the historic role of the school in Argentina (see www.clarin.com from July 7th 2006).

³⁹ It is also interesting the research about Africans culture at that time, done by Lic. Cristina Crespi (Director of Documents of the General National Archives). She expressed during her inventories in 2000, that “we can often find registries of black people that even they were registered as black, their families buried them as white, because of the social prejudices of the society of that time”.

⁴⁰ A space made up of fiscal land, national routes, the federal capital city, etc.

places and characters within the country and to the world in an effective way. During this time, stamps portrayed national heroes, such as Sarmiento (figure 10) and General San Martín, though in those days he was not an accepted figure since he had been associated to adherence to Rosas but he was chosen because he was internationally renowned as coming from Argentina. However, the most popular stamps of this time represented the Republic or the Progress (see figure 11 and 12), while the first national banknotes were issued during 1880's (figure 13).

In the country's centenary celebrations in 1910, this regime became interested in issuing postcards and images showing Europe and Buenos Aires as a synonym of Argentina. Its buildings are shown as the Republic's French representations or like the Pallas Athena of the British Empire (see figure 14, 15 and 16) and the May Avenue (Avenida de Mayo) is adorned for the celebrations appearing more European maybe than the Madrid of those days (figure 17).

During this period of time, French influence was extended to urban design, interior decoration and landscape paintings. Among the architects, Gaston Louis Mallet was the author of the project of the Naval Centre's headquarters; Norbert Maillart designed big public buildings, such the Central Post Office, Buenos Aires National School and the Courts Palace. Furthermore, the house of government (*Casa Rosada*) was rebuilt and the Congress started to be built (see figures 18, 19 and 20).

Elites looked towards France in search of inspiration for the building of bridges, paths and public buildings, an influence that continued for a long time. In 1882 Pedro Benoit (junior) (1836-1897) designed the urban development model of the capital of the province of Buenos Aires, the city of La Plata (see figure 21). Furthermore, the task performed by Charles Thays (1849-1934) during his long years of residence in the country was of great importance designing the Botanical Garden, the Centenary Park and the fulfilment of the Palermo Park (figure 22), diverse parks in public spaces and private residences across several provinces.

Moreover, France became an unquestionable point of reference to belong and share Argentine upper class social life⁴¹. Thus, in 1880 copying the French was prestigious (Campos, 2001) and nobody could talk about art or ideas if there had not been a previous initiating trip to this country.

In this cultural model, it is understood that French sculptors were hired by the local aristocracy and by their government to relate the local history from their sculptures. Sculptors such as Rodin, Cain, Gasq, Charpentier, Greber, Carlus, Vermare, Peynot, Nenot, Coutan, Bourdelle, Cordier Belleuse, Dubourdieu were some of the ones who, from the discourse that their work generated, appropriated the national public space (Gelós, 2004). Then, it is highly likely to encounter a statue of liberty dating from the very same Revolutionary Europe in Macachín, La Pampa province (see

⁴¹ See in Devoto and Madero, 1999: 11

figure 23) , some metres away from cows grazing in front of the infinite horizon, and where travelling even further ahead, human presence can only be perceived in the presence of some wire-fencing or wind-mill. Furthermore, in Mendoza, the monument of the Cerro de la Gloria was set up among the mountains in the Cuyo area in 1910 (figure 24), and in Salta, a province in the north of Argentina whose climate resembles that of the north Sahara, it is easy to find small places that make you believe you are in Vienna or Luxemburg (see figures 25)

In Buenos Aires anyone can believe that s/he is in Europe because the most remarkable statues have been given as presents by several European nations and because statues, monuments and architecture with a European style inhabit the public space of the city. For instance, the statue from Spain to Argentina (1911, figure 26), the English Tower (1910, figure 27) sent by England, Cristoval Colon sent by Italy (1908, figure 28) and from Germany to Argentina (1908, figure 29)⁴². As a result, “in the early 20th century, the Nicaraguan poet Rubén Darío called Buenos Aires the South American Paris” (Seoane, 2004: 17).

This presence contributed to anchor the aesthetic code of what is public as official. That process was accompanied by the systematic hiring of European artists and sculptors to make representations of some Argentine men and to make representations of the independence, the Republic and Argentina, among other things. They were also hired to build institutions such as the already mentioned Congress, the Government House or the new capital city of the province of Buenos Aires.

At the beginning of this period till 1900 it is common to find statues produced by the State in a seducer attitude, showing women and children with smiles, happy soldiers and workers, the richness of such figures as livestock, lamb, wheat, the values of this territory (see figures 30 and 31). The same images can be found in the banknotes of that period (figure 32), as it is going to be deeper analysed in chapter 6. However, in the last stage of this period, statues, monuments, stamps and banknotes images seemed to be stronger; they no longer smiled or seduced showing the plentifulness of resources from a privileged land, but they rather seemed to be figures slightly exerting authority on its spectators (figure 33, 34 and 35). Also, at the end of this period the systematic construction of Belgrano's (1903), San Martin's (1910) and Moreno's (1910) statues started.

Besides, as it has already been said, this presence of the state apparatus included the messages issued by other two groups associated with the state, authorizing them the use of the public space as a representation of the whole of the society. One of them was the train system which originated from England. In this way, every train station and train infrastructure along the country had an

⁴² All these statues can be appreciated in the books “Buenos Aires escultórica” (Gelos, 2004) and “Buenos Aires de piedra y Bronce” (Vaca and Von Wartenberg, 2006).

English style which is present even today. For instance, this is seen in spots in Chubut plateau (figure 36) and in rain forest landscapes in Corrientes (figure 37), in towns in the plains (figure 38) as well as in mountainous towns (figure 39). The English style is also present in the construction of ports like the Buenos Aires Port (Puerto Madero, figure 40) or in Rosario which even today preserve a physiognomy similar that of the 1880 Manchester (figure 41). Consequently, the English styles contribute to the state's scheme of resembling Europe and adopting it as Argentinean.

The other group was the Catholic Church, which was also instrumental in those European parameters, since it used the Romanic or Classical Gothic aesthetics for the construction of churches and Cathedrals, many of them built with national State support such as in the La Plata Cathedral. The construction of later Cathedrals in La Plata were finished in the early 1900's, being the biggest Gothic church built in the world in the 19th century (figure 42) and the Lujan Cathedral was finished in 1910 (Romero, 2000: 98) (figures 43).

As it has been mentioned, this Ideological State Apparatus had two important and different moments. The first moment was "a seducer State" at the end of the XIX century. This state wanted immigrants to come and as a consequence planned persuasive images that tried to involve and retain newly arrived groups into Argentina. Those images showed the benefits of being part of this nation by explicitly representing the question of prosperity, containment, friendship and glory. The media for spreading such messages were monuments, banknotes and stamps.

With the change of the century, a second period started. The aim of this period was to organize the recently arrived immigrants in Argentina. In this way, idealized figures of Progress, Liberty and the Republic shaped the public space of the society. They were no longer the seductive women but serious representations of Argentina, based mostly on Palas Athenea or by a portrait similar to the French Republic. The supports of these messages were statues, banknotes, stamps and postcards.

Besides, as Rosende-Santos pointed out, by 1908 "the influence and activities of the German military mission had gradually expanded into other areas of the Argentine military system" (Rosende-Santos, 2007: 204). From that time, German uniform started to be a model for the Argentine's one. However, the navy's uniforms still followed the English influence.

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Figure 1. 1880, Indians and missionaries



Figure 2. 1880's, Indian hunters



Figure 3. 1880, Roca's army

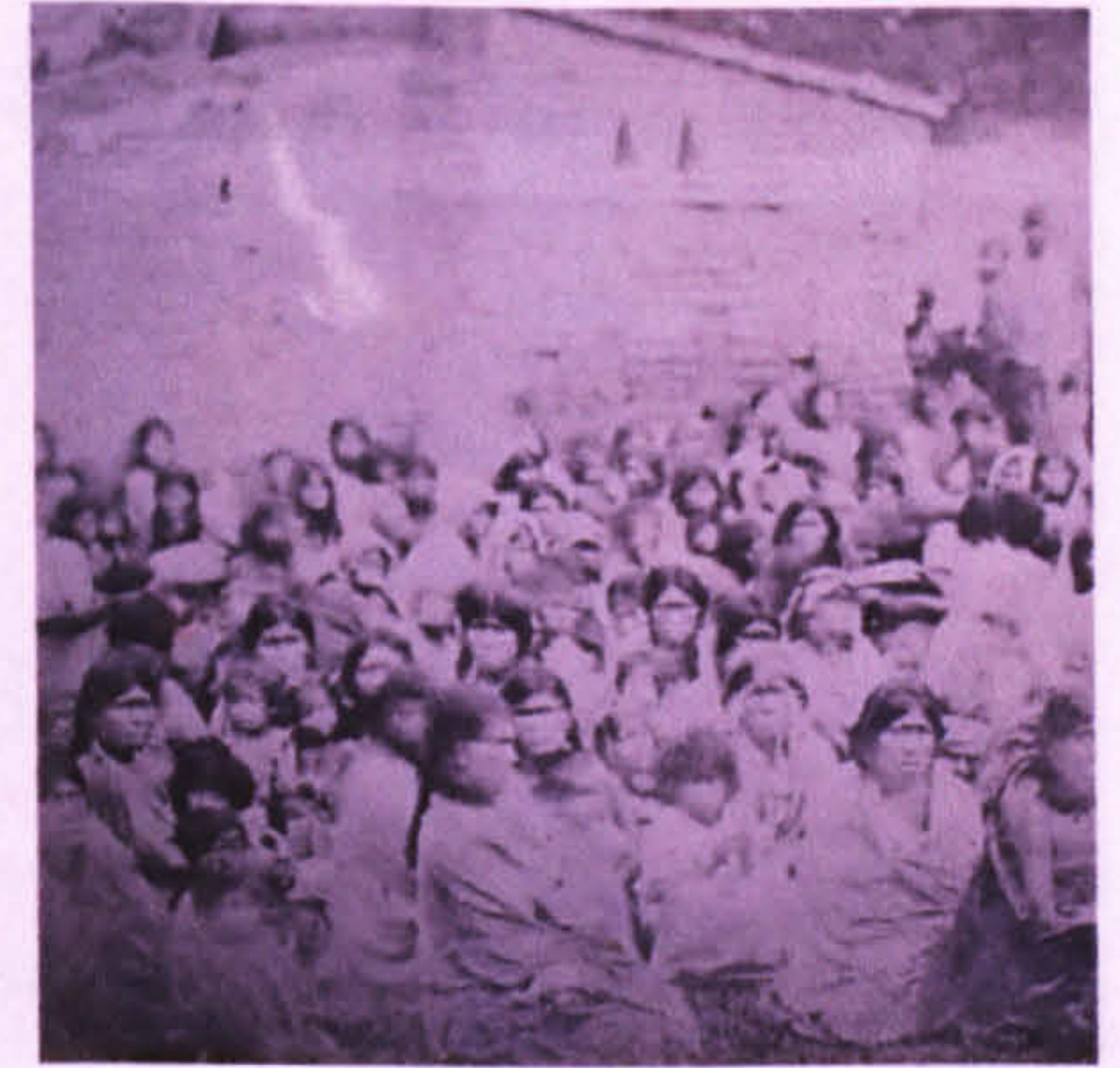


Figure 4. 1880's, Indians enclosed



Figure 5. 1894, textbook

Figure 2. 1880' Indian hunters



Figure 6. 1900's, textbooks



Figure 7. 1916, textbook



Figure 8. 1900's, conscription



Figure 9. 1905, Navy officials



Figure 10. 1880, stamp



Figure 11. 1901, stamps



Figure 12. 1912, stamps



Figure 13. 1884, national banknote



Figure 14. 1910, postcard



Figure 15. 1910, postcard



Figure 16. 1910, postcard



Figure 17. 1910, May Avenue



Figure 18. 1888, Central Post Office



Figure 19. 1897, National Congress

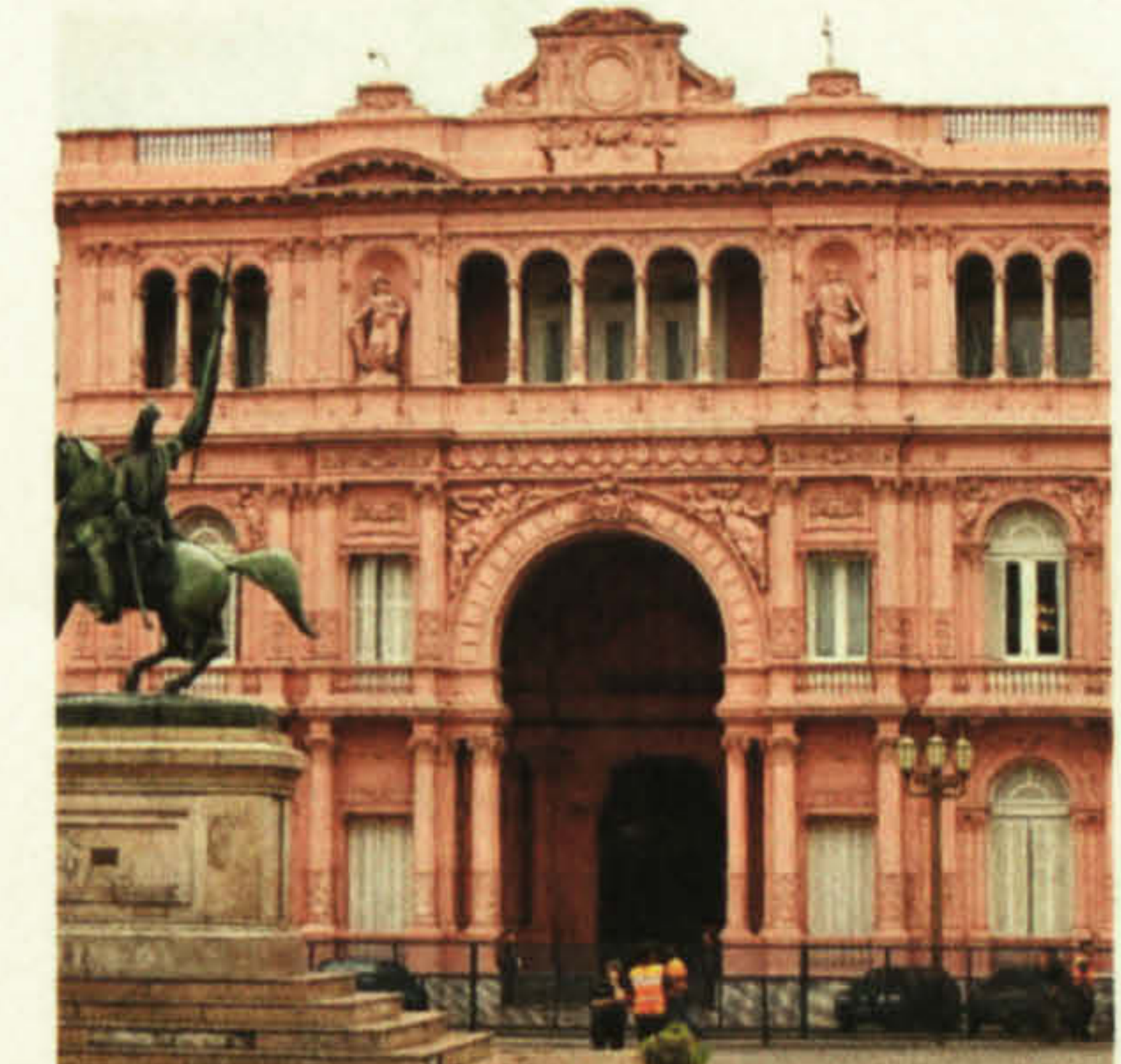


Figure 20. 1898, House of Government



Figure 21. 1882, La Plata foundation



Figure 22. 1890's, Palermo Park, B. Aires



Figure 23. 1900's, Macachín, La Pampa



Figure 24. 1910, Cerro de la Gloria, Mendoza

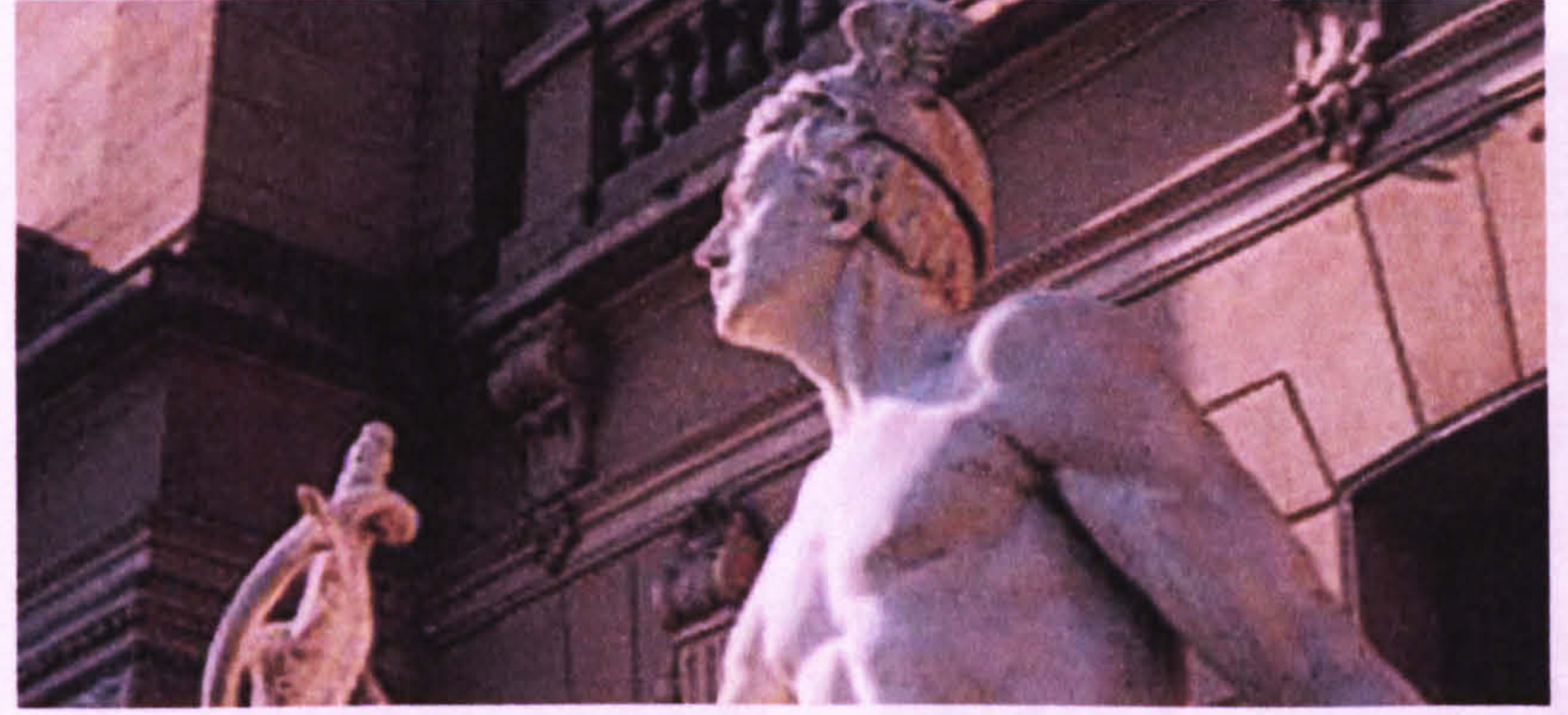


Figure 25. 1900', Government house, Salta



Figure 26. 1911. Monument from Spain



Figure 27. 1910. Monument from England



Figure 29. 1909. Monument from Germany



Figure 28. 1908. Monument from Italy



Figure 30. 1900', Monument to San Martin in Buenos Aires



Figure 31. 1902, Las Nereidas fountain



Figure 32. 1884, banknote



Figure 33. 1910, stamp



Figure 34, 1910, banknote



Figure 35, 1914, Monument to Two Congress



Figure 36. 1890's, Train station, Chubut



Figure 37. 1890's, Train station, Corrientes



Figure 38. 1890's, Train station, Chascomus



Figure 39. 1887, Train bridge, Salta



Figure 40. 1907, Madero port, Buenos Aires

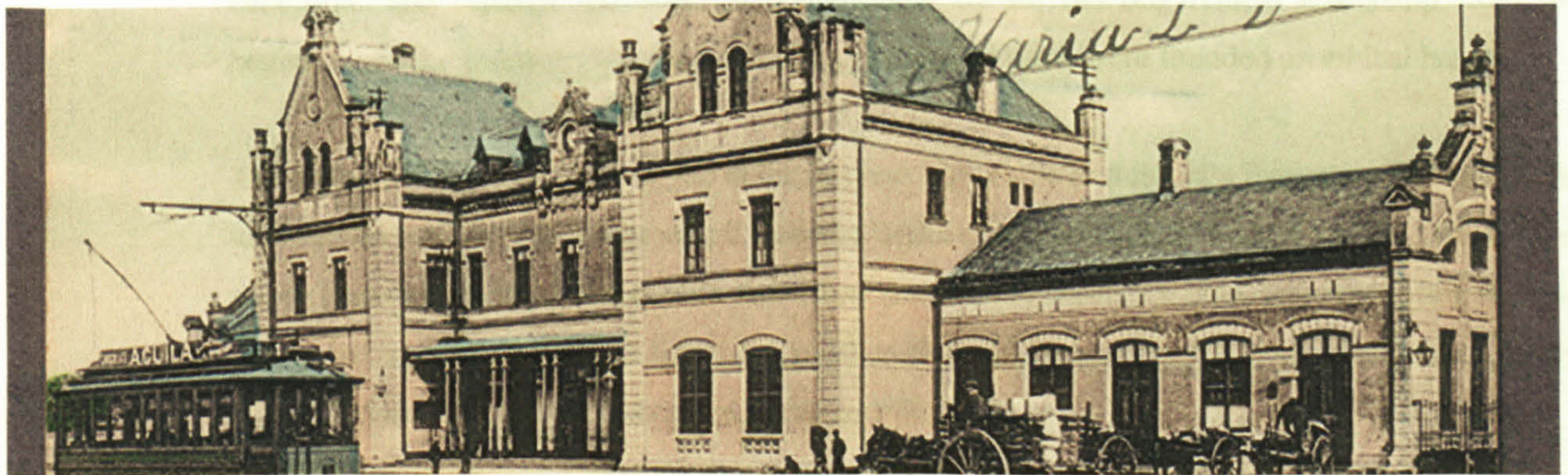


Figure 41. 1912, Train station, Rosario

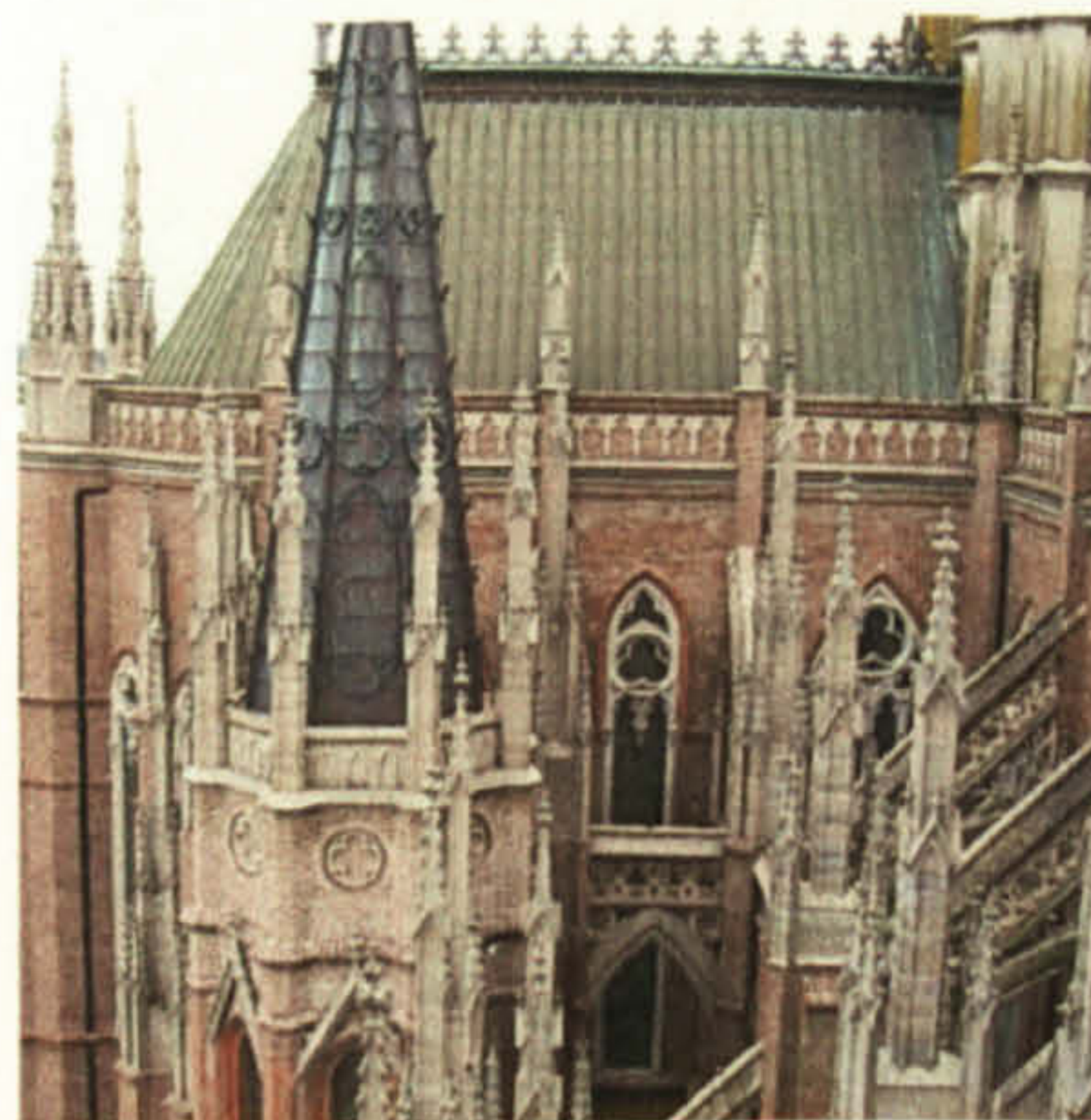


Figure 42. 1884, Cathedral, La Plata



Figure 43. 1910, Cathedral, Lujan



Figure 44. 1911, uniform of the army

Section 4. The sentiment of sharing: the beginning of the Republican Argentina

In 1912, the social pressure to have a plain democracy brought the application of the Sáenz Peña Law of Universal Suffrage. This law allowed transparency in the vote and the middle class's arrival to power in the hands of the *Unión Cívica Radical* with its candidate Yrigoyen, who achieved a victory over the Conservative party from the old regime in 1916 (see table 1 and 2.c). Since that time, the radicalism has been the political party that based its political proposal on the defence of the Republican system (Luna, 1988: 116).

As it has been mentioned in chapter 1, the sentiment of sharing is considered “as a kind of joy among the individuals who compose the national society and that is constantly reinforced by people boasting of having done great things together and the wishes to “do more things together in the future”” (Renan, 2007: 49). In this case, through the defeat of fraud, democracy was reached and this fact joined people under a same core of values.

President Yrigoyen represented the lower and middle sectors of society that had developed an important collective conscience, demanded political participation and improvements in labour conditions and rejected the political management of the old oligarchical leadership from the beginning of the century. His philosophical and political ideas were founded on ethical bases.

According to Alvarez Guerrero, the emphasis was put on the individual's inner transformation, the ideals to be reached being reason and freedom while ethics was considered an absolute value from where assumed responsibilities with individual and social conscience would emerge. They were an approximation of ideas of the Spanish Krausism that had been spread in Argentina since 1880 by many hispanic immigrants (Alvarez Guerrero, 1986: 38).

In addition, the economic and social plan of the government was based on a social economy. From there, Yrigoyen tried to share in a more equitable way the state's profits generated by the current agricultural and live-stock breeding exporting model. He passed laws such as those concerning the retirement of private company's employees, an eight hour working day, Sunday rest, minimum wages, collective employment contracts, etc. Also, he repeatedly protected the indigenous, legally settling them on their lands.

Yrigoyen was considered a pioneer of economic nationalism. For instance, he bought second-hand ships and set in motion the National Merchant Navy, he encouraged the railway's nationalization that was in English hands and supported oil exploitation found by chance in 1907 and in 1922 he created the *Yacimientos Petrolíferos Fiscales* (Fiscal Oil Fields), the national company that would

extract oil and sell petrol until 1991. This reference point created by Hipólito Yrigoyen set a dangerous antecedent for the old regime because it stopped foreign company's monopolization attempts and showed that the State could be a means of national recovery (Sommi, 1947: 38).

Those policies pertained to the changes that were running in the economic structure of the country. In that context, and as also happened in the rest of Latin America, the local bourgeoisie of the first century after Independence were weak in the economic field but during the next century they managed to successfully dispute power with oligarchies, as it happened first, in Mexico after 1910, then 1918 in Chile and in the twenties in Argentina (Riekenberg, 1990). To ensure power, local bourgeoisie developed a strategy characterized by a renewed close symbiosis with the State. Thus, "State power is exercised with the aim of consolidating the local, wealthy population's new achievements, important positions are achieved and subtracted from the market's influence" (Riekenberg, 1990: 28).

Accordingly, while the agricultural exports provided enough resources for the Argentine State, the income of that state power was used to a certain extent to support a bourgeoisie that otherwise would have been economically weak. As Whitaker points out, "a national bourgeoisie began to emerge as an influential factor in Argentina" (Whitaker, 1964: 79). As a consequence, state cyclic interventionism in the economy tried to democratize a local centred economy and to buffer the consequences of the market's current fluctuations.

From a political point of view, the government sought youth and students' support and validated an "University Reform" (figure 1) they had been demanding. (Del Maso, 1955: 141). This Reform was a protest movement against the ecclesiastical interference and influence on education and an opposition to obsolete teaching methods. They were students that had inherited the Russian and Mexican revolutions' socialist ideas, and the results of their struggles enabled the opening of the students' massive admission to university lecture rooms. From that moment on, Argentine universities were considered massive, unrestricted and of free admission for anyone that wanted to study, contributing to the passing in time of the consolidation of a distinguished and numerous professional middle class. In a context of greater prominence, that middle class was characterised by their children and grandchildren's rapid transformation given the social promotion and mobility that characterized the old Argentine middle class (Germani, 1969: 114), mainly through a profession and public employment. From then on, an important part of this middle class would be defined as Republican, which nourished the Argentine historical and democratic movements and that looked for the Rule of Law from the state to meet their rights and ensure their interests.

The apparatus of cultural fictions of the State in these democratic governments (Yrigoyen 1916, figure 2, Alvear 1922, figure 3 and Yrigoyen 1928, figure 4) was not quite visible. Among the

material intervention that the state had performed, some sculptures can be highlighted, most of them being implemented in the city of Buenos Aires, such as the “Canto al Trabajo” (figure 5) of Rogelio Yrurtia (Rodriguez, 1983: 245), the most important representation of a collective activity authorized by the state. That sculpture was initially designed to be a three-figure formation, “but it finally ended up being a fourteen-figure one” (Romero, 2000: 73). The statue of Alem in Buenos Aires was also constructed in 1925 (figure 6) and the statue of Carlos de Alvear in Buenos Aires in 1926 made by the French sculptor Bourdelle (figure 7). Moreover, in banknotes, stamps and institutional stationery the figure of Palas Athenea was kept as the representation of the nation but named as the “Republic” instead of “Progress” (figures 8, 9 and 10). The architecture of the time followed with French influences. The University of Litoral and new ministries were built accordingly.

The rural oligarchy reacted to this republican model with the support of the army, even though the decline of this new model started with the explosive international crisis of 1929. This crisis was rooted in the basis of the economy that was still operating with indebtedness and under speculative capitals (Rapoport, 2002: 243), within a scheme still relying on agricultural exports and without any genuine investments in the industrial sector from local capitals, landowner bourgeoisie or English capital⁴³. Within this international and national context, the economic scheme fell down. As posed by the economist Aldo Ferrer, “if the boosting external effects disappeared or if the productive frontier ran out, the system would have to enter into a crisis. This is what happened in 1930, inaugurating, thus, a new phase in the country’s economic development” (Ferrer, 1980: 141).

⁴³ As Scalabrini Ortiz points out, “England’s interests started to get divorced from Argentine conveniences” (Scalabrini Ortiz, 1973: 19).

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Figure 1. 1918, University Reform



Figure 2. 1916, Yrigoyen

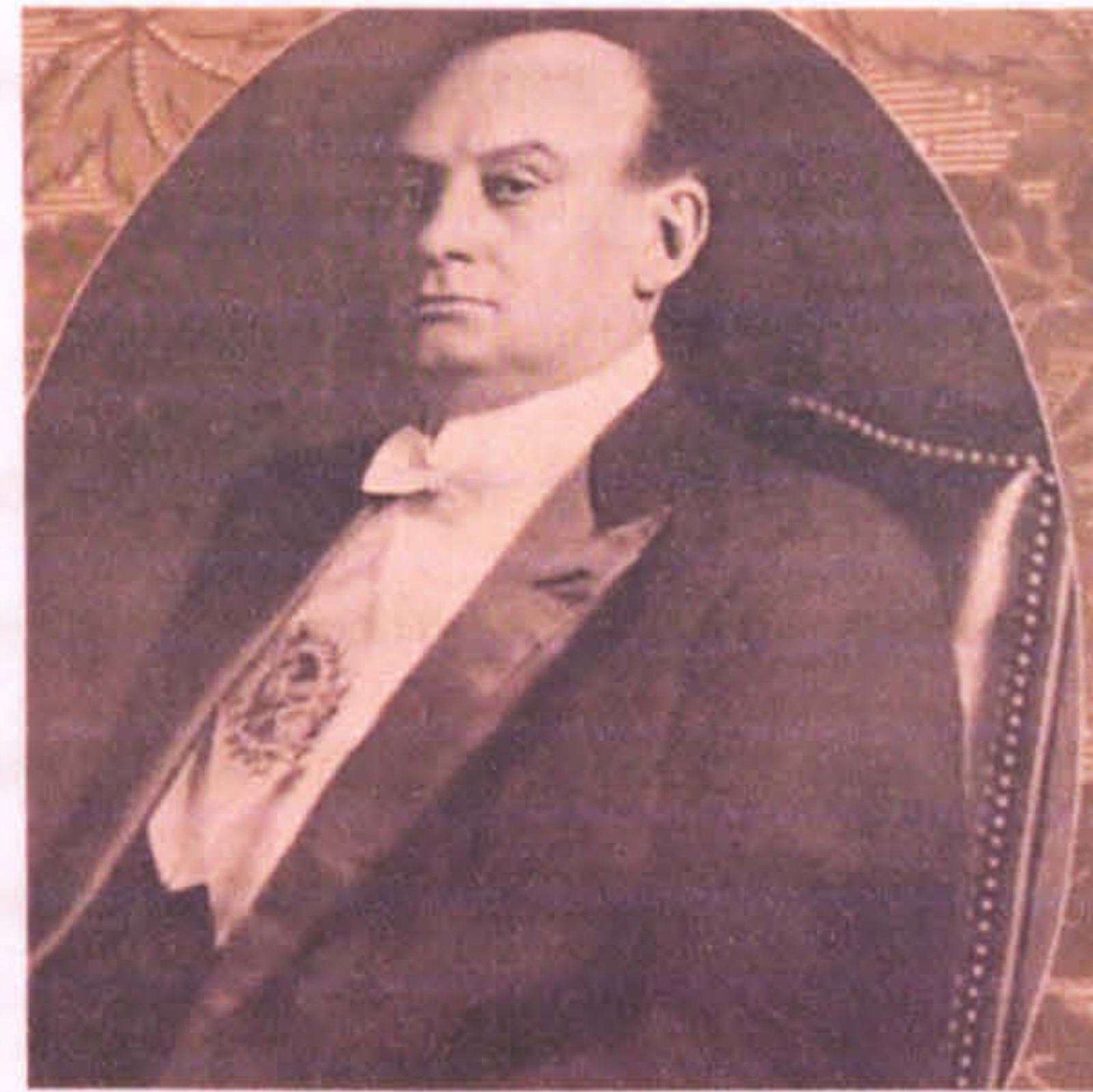


Figure 3. 1922, Alvear



Figure 4. 1928, Yrigoyen



Figure 5. 1927, "Song to work" statue

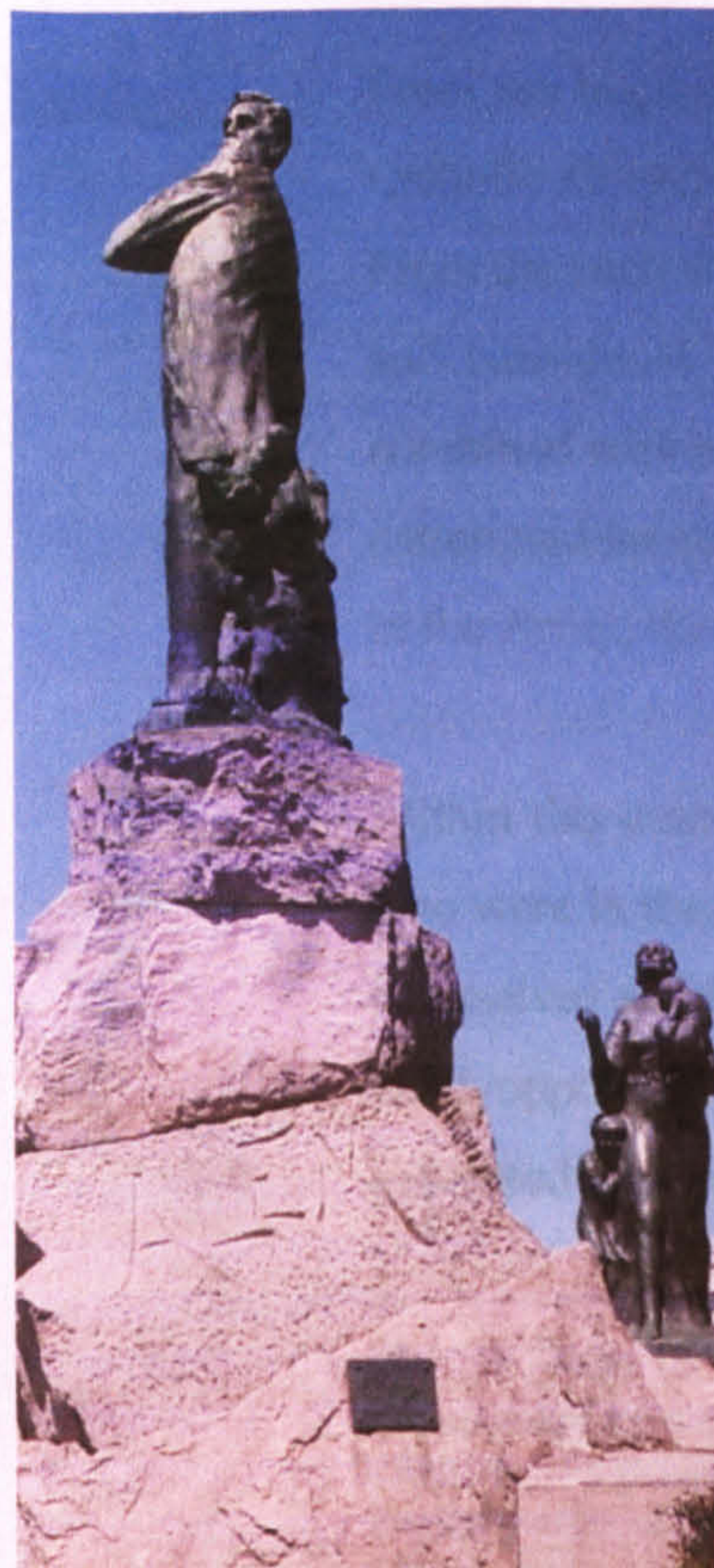


Figure 6. 1925, statue to Alem



Figure 7. 1926, statue to Alvear



Figure 8. 1922, decree



Figure 9. 1927, stamp



Figure 10. 1928, banknote

Section 5. The religious dimensions of nationality: the Nationalist Argentina

As it has been mentioned in the theoretical framework, in modern times, the figure of the Nation replaces past religious and spiritual sentiments and many people's feelings towards nationality were closer to one's set of beliefs. In this period of time, in Argentina, military forces that were in power had strong Catholic values and they gave religion a very important place in the dominant hegemonic ideology.

It began in 1930. Neo-fascist sectors of the army⁴⁴ and the intelligentsia took control of the state by force. The 1930's military coup meant the first interference of the military to rule Argentina's modern period and would last until 1983. The de facto President, General Uriburu, was the first of a long series of "Argentine's general-presidents" (Potash, 1996: 79). Soon after his taking office, he announced a profound institutional reform because he condemned politics and disregarded democracy. However, this Germanophile and catholic general or integrist (figure 1) held power for a short time and he was substituted in 1935 by the conservative pro-English General Justo (figure 2). This fact showed a division in nationalists between Germanophiles and Anglophiles from this point to 2008. (see table 1 and 2.d)

From the beginning, the Argentine nationalism was supported by a traditional high class and the Catholic Church. Afterwards, members of the army and the police forces massively joined in. From the early 20th century, the military institution associated the nation and its destiny with itself, and considered itself as the ultimate support of the nation's values. This "military mark" was combined with another complementary and parallel idea which was that Argentina was a Catholic nation and its comprehensive realization as such required a strong political willingness, embodied in the Army, the traditional sword at the cross's disposal (Rouquié, 1982: 340).

Within this context, the armed forces would constitute a selection of the best men of the nation, who were in the flower of their youth, were the nobility of the Republic and were qualified to lead themselves and to lead others. This sharp conception of Argentina formed nationalist Lodges and were opposed to the new languages and ideas that immigrants introduced to Argentina and generated the formation of "an elite nationalism"⁴⁵ in Argentina (Rock, 1977: 13-52). Besides,

⁴⁴ After the 1880's national unification, the prevailing dominant inspiration of the Argentine militaries was characterised by its closeness to Germany. As put forth by Romero, in 1893 rifles started to be purchased in Germany; in 1901, the compulsory military service was deployed like the German model; in 1905, the Ministry of War decided that the study trips of the officers corps should only take place in Germany; in 1915, the future general in favour of a coup Félix Uriburu supported the German position (Arriagada Herrera, 1986: 140).

⁴⁵ However, in Argentina "there was an elitist, doctrinal, theoretical and intellectual nationalism, but there was another kind which was branded as populist and street kind and also as being a simple crash force" (Bra, 1980: 83). This second group is mainly the result of a reaction coming from middle class sectors in response to the abuses committed by the ruling classes in their almost symbiotic relationships with the First World (Borón, 2002: 347) at the expense of local

there were nationalists looking for an occidental Argentina. Accordingly, for McGee Deutsch, "Nationalism became intertwined with Catholicism. Young Nationalists read European Catholic and counter revolutionary works... Although some were suspicious of Mussolini's autocratic tendencies, most approved of his strong corporatist government, repression of the left, and cordial relations with the church" (McGee Deutsch, 1999: 196).

As it was mentioned before, for this author, Argentina's political right nationalism was divided between integrist and conservatives, a unique division only in Argentina (McGee Deutsch, 1999) even though they shared something belonging to the historical moment. According to Blinkhorn "the objective role of inter-war right-wing authoritarianism was the defence of capitalism through the violent destruction of the left" (Blinkhorn, 1990: 9). In this manner, integrist and conservative Nationalists regarded democracy and Marxism as linked and dissolvent. Besides, as Sandra McGee Deutsch pointed out, "the Argentine rights united around the issue of co-opting and repressing the working class" (McGee Deutsch, 1993: XVI).

However, these two groups had differences. The first nationalism was ideologically structured by a group of intellectuals connected with military circles who proposed the restoration of the Spanish traditions and values. In this context, some authors considered that democracy is by nature anti-catholic and, therefore, incompatible with Argentine institutions. Other authors highlight that values such as homeland, faith, family, blood, tradition, race are those of the past (Burchrucker, 1999). The ideology of this group was also based on Neo-Thomism theories which turned, at the end of the 19th century, into the Catholic Church philosophy by which a nation by means of the State is the one that informs "what the patriot values are" (Puiggros, 2003: 219).

The Conservative group is linked to the landowner's oligarchy pursued for the creation of an European Argentina by assuming nationalist and militaristic actions. In this way, these Anglophiles formed alliances with the Germanophiled right in order to guarantee the continuity of what Zizek defines as the rational "legitimation of the existing order" (Zizek, 2007: 71).

As a result of this alliance between the integrist and conservatives and military and oligarchy sectors, together with the domestic repression, social peace, as they defined it, was achieved. This political process in which military and civilian administrations alternatively traded power through election fraud called "patriotic fraud" (Potash, 1996: 217), corresponds with a historic period known as the "Infamous Decade" which started in 1930 after the first military government.

During the Second World War, different identifications of each of the rights caused a division in the core of the nationalism and separations between sectors of the army. On one hand, a sector was

interests; something that, as history has shown, dates back to the earliest periods of the country.

characterized by its closeness to the Axis⁴⁶. On the other hand, the other sector was characterized by its reference towards United States and England, while the navy kept England as a role model.

From the economic point of view, these coups also meant that the conservative forces were to rely on a mechanism that avoided popular democracy and allowed them to continue with their economic models without contemplating the social consequence of the agricultural led exported model. Consequently, in 1930, the landowners' oligarchy sector was allied to the military in favour of the coup against a democratic government. At that time, a modification of the sector's strategy was produced given that Great Britain had progressively turned towards its former colonies and stopped trading with Argentina. In parallel, the growth of the United States' presence replaced England's within the productive services sector, with the trading war for the control of the supplies between Swift and Armour cold storage plants being won by the United States (Puiggros, 2006: 133).

As Pereira pointed out, it was the time then of the return to the agricultural live-stock breeding republic of 1880s, but without this epoch's splendour, when Argentina "produces meats and cereals but does not control transportation such as railways or ships, or cold storage plants and insurance companies, not even imports and exports. National enterprises are no longer the big trading houses of the centre of Buenos Aires" (Pereira, 1983: 9).

Regarding the economic and social aspects, under the effects of a great depression, the foreign markets started to close for Argentine products⁴⁷ and "the conservative government proclaimed that in order to overcome the crisis it was necessary to protect the genuine wealth sources, by chance, those sources were of the property of the men who were in office" (Luna, 1996: 192).

Within this context, the conservative government, worried by England's distance as a commercial partner, made an agreement with England that "restructured our international trade and had to be complemented by production regulatory measures" (Halperín Donghi, 2006: 99). Within this scheme the Argentine economy was regulated and organized according to the interests of the live-stock breeding sector at the expense of the whole group. This submissive situation towards England awakened nationalist feelings in several middle class sectors that were not so much in favour of the Germany of those days but rather against conservative policies. Those policies in fact were sectarian and murky, as shown by the assassination of "a senator fairly involved in an

⁴⁶ Within this context, in 1939 Colonel Perón was trained in Mussolini's Italy, and during war dinners in honour of the German ambassador on the part of Generals in charge were usual. (Romero, 2000: 120).

⁴⁷ However, as expressed by Halperín Donghi "Argentine devaluation was the only one from that period whose aim was not only to avoid the consequences of the drop in export products international prices, but also to bring improvements to those export products producers if compared to other domestic groups" (Halperín Donghi, 2006: 99).

investigation on foreign investors, in that particular case, regarding cold-storage plants” (Halperín Donghi, 2006: 103).

Moreover, mainly from 1930 but especially during the 1940's, as a consequence of the crisis that affected the Argentine export scheme, the need to substitute imports boosted the existence of a domestic market that demanded consumables that used to be imported. Accordingly, a local production and industrial business sector emerged, constantly growing and being reduced up to the present depending on the indiscriminate opening or local production protectionism. Thus, at the economic level, a substitutive industrialization process was the result of an alliance between the dominant class factions such as greenhouse live-stockbreeders oriented towards exportation and the new industrials (Germani, 2003: 101), service companies of foreign capital (cold-storage plants) and a State that had already started to absorb labour force in the processes previous to the economy nationalization.

At the same time, the crisis affected the most vulnerable social sectors severely. The socialist national representative Alfredo Palacios, after having covered all the provinces in the north of Argentina, points out that “I saw children arrive at school with their starving pale complexion and clothed in rags” (Pereira, 1983: 120). Indirectly, one of its consequences was seen in the fostering of domestic migration from rural to urban areas. Consequently, the number of workers from the urban working class increased, a class comprised by the descendants of immigrants in addition to the new migrants from the rural area. With the passing of time, this social group acquired the possibility of raising their life standards.

5.a. The Ideological State Apparatus of the nationalistic State

Nationalism took over Argentina for a period of more than 25 years through governments that promoted nationalistic values. The totalitarian conception of State messages in those times could be called rightist expression (Barthes, 1991: 19)⁴⁸, functions that defined the national being from a militarist (figure 3 and 4), catholic (figure 5), capitalist and western point of view. Among the means of projection of this conception of the nation, the military and civic-military governments that ran the State until 1945, the written production of the history of the nation, the school manuals (figure 6 and 7), the statues and the mass media could be highlighted. In this way, the organization of the Eucharistic Congress in 1935, supported by the government, encouraged the catholic position (see figure 8).

First, the design of the content of the education was a systematic practice of these governments. For instance, with government's political and financial support, the American History and

⁴⁸ As Barthes states “I call rightist art that fascination for the immobility that makes us describe without ever wondering anything... I do not mean wondering about the causes but about the functions” (Barthes, 1991: 19).

Numismatic board was transformed into the National Academy of History in 1938 (Romero, 2004) where an important amount of historians participated and were constructors of a past that has become useful for this present state and which would shed its reduction into the official history of the nation. As result, the official history and the ideal public behaviour were massively reproduced.

Besides, the military tried to manage the patriotic symbols for their interest and systematized the representation of the nation. One of the mechanisms was the intervention in the national public space by renaming squares and central spaces not only in the big cities already designed, but also in every flourishing community. In fact, most of the main streets in towns were then named after San Martín, Belgrano, Roca and their statues were set up.

With reference to the statues and sculptures, it is worth highlighting that San Martín was implanted in a systemic and almost corporative way during that historic period, as the bronze that every Argentine square should possess. Consequently, every main square of each of the Argentine cities had since then a bust of San Martín. During those decades important statues of San Martín on horseback were set-up or remodelled in big cities like Rosario, La Plata, Posadas, Mar del Plata, Paraná, Córdoba or Tucumán or in medium-sized cities like Trenque Lauquen, Bolívar, Morón, among others. In addition, in thousands of small villages inhabited by only thousands of people like Doblas, in La Pampa, América in Buenos Aires or Monte Buey in Córdoba or María Grande in Entre Ríos, statues were placed (figure 9 and 13).

In some cases, the monument of San Martín replaced other monuments such as was the case in the city of Santa Rosa, the present day capital of La Pampa province in 1941. In the main square of the city there was a monument of the republic built in 1898 but a military governor, General Miguel Duval, wanted to have San Martín in its place. According to Leonardo Sanestevan “from there the statue would make the passer-by meditate on the Nation’s superior destinies. For the governor it was not simply in his honour. The statue and the space it would take up were mainly the urban materialization of the place the military should occupy in” (Sanestevan, 2002: 11). Finally, in 1942 the pyramid of the republic was demolished and a bronze 4,000 kg statue was set up in its place (figure 14).

It is important to note the big-scale production of busts, statues and monuments portraying the warrior San Martín as a synonym of Argentina were produced by the ironworks belonging to “Fabricaciones Militares” (the military factories) (De Paula, Martín, Gutiérrez, 1980: 70) which turned cannon construction into reproductions of the General San Martín.

At that moment other symbols were disseminated by the state. First, it was the figure of a condor

as a personification not only of San Martín's soul (the condor especially inhabits the Andean mountain range that San Martín crossed over to liberate Chile and Peru) but also of the magic soul of the Argentine (see figure 15).

Second, other significant monuments were built at that time. The most known is the Obelisco in Buenos Aires in 1936 which, in a totemic way, signals the centre of the country since its construction by the state (figure 16). Another significant monument was the martial statue of Roca constructed in Buenos Aires in 1941 (Gerlós, 2004: 98) (figure 17).

Third, the monumentality in public architecture is representative of this period. Among many buildings, the National Art Museum (1931), the National Bank designed by Bustillo and the ministry of Economy (1940) can be highlighted. Also to be highlighted are the monuments and buildings made by the architect Salamone for the State of Buenos Aires during the 1930's decade (figure 18). Some authors consider that all those eclectic buildings were made with "a monumental architecture Hellenic style" (Buntinx, 1994: 17), but for others, the direct influence is clearly "the fascism rationalism" (Gutiérrez, 1998: 574) (figure 19, 20 and 21).

Fourth, in 1937 National State Radio, later called National Radio, started to emit a programme (Levene, 1939: 130) "a word to serve the great interest of the nation"⁴⁹, as President Justo said. In that way, the start of radio and cinema in the continent helped the emergence of a nationalistic and sentimental mass culture (O'Phelan and Aguirre, 2003: 143). As Hobsbawm points out in South America since the 1930's "the most decisive force for creating national consciousness was undoubtedly the development of modern mass culture, especially as reinforced by technology" (Hobsbawm, 2003: 320). Thus, the unification of an audience, that at that time cinema and especially radio started to achieve, allowed the promotion of state-invented or reinforced traditions and commemoration, contributing to fixed rituals belonging to nationalism. Besides, in Argentina, it is important to mention the influence of the state over the news program called "Sucesos Argentinos" (Aznar and Wechsler, 2005: 83) that was projected from 1938 in cinemas all over the country⁵⁰.

Last, during its time in office and from its military conception, that integral nationalism developed the idea of autarchy as a strategic model. This later led to the growth of state companies mainly related to the army. As a consequence, the images of the state oil company YPF (*Yacimientos Petrolíferos Fiscales*), of the coal company YCF (*Yacimientos Carboníferos Fiscales*), gas and oil

⁴⁹ In www.radionacional.gov.ar

⁵⁰ This question related to radio, cinema and television don't be focus on this research because of the own complexity of these communicational media.

refineries and military factories FM (*Fabricaciones Militares*) produced by the state occupied part of the public space of those times (De Privitellio, 1997) (see figure 22 and 23).

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Figure 1. 1930, General Uriburu



Figure 2. 1935, General Justo



Figure 3. 1930, stamp



Figure 4. 1930, stamp



Figure 5. 1935, stamp



Figure 6. 1932, school manual



Figure 7. 1933, textbook "Camarade"



Figure 8. 1935, Eucharistic Congress



Figure 9. 1940's, Bolivar



Figure 10. 1940's, Doblas



Figure 11. 1935, statue of San Martin, Posadas



Figure 12. 1940's, Venado Tuerto



Figure 13. 1942, Paraná

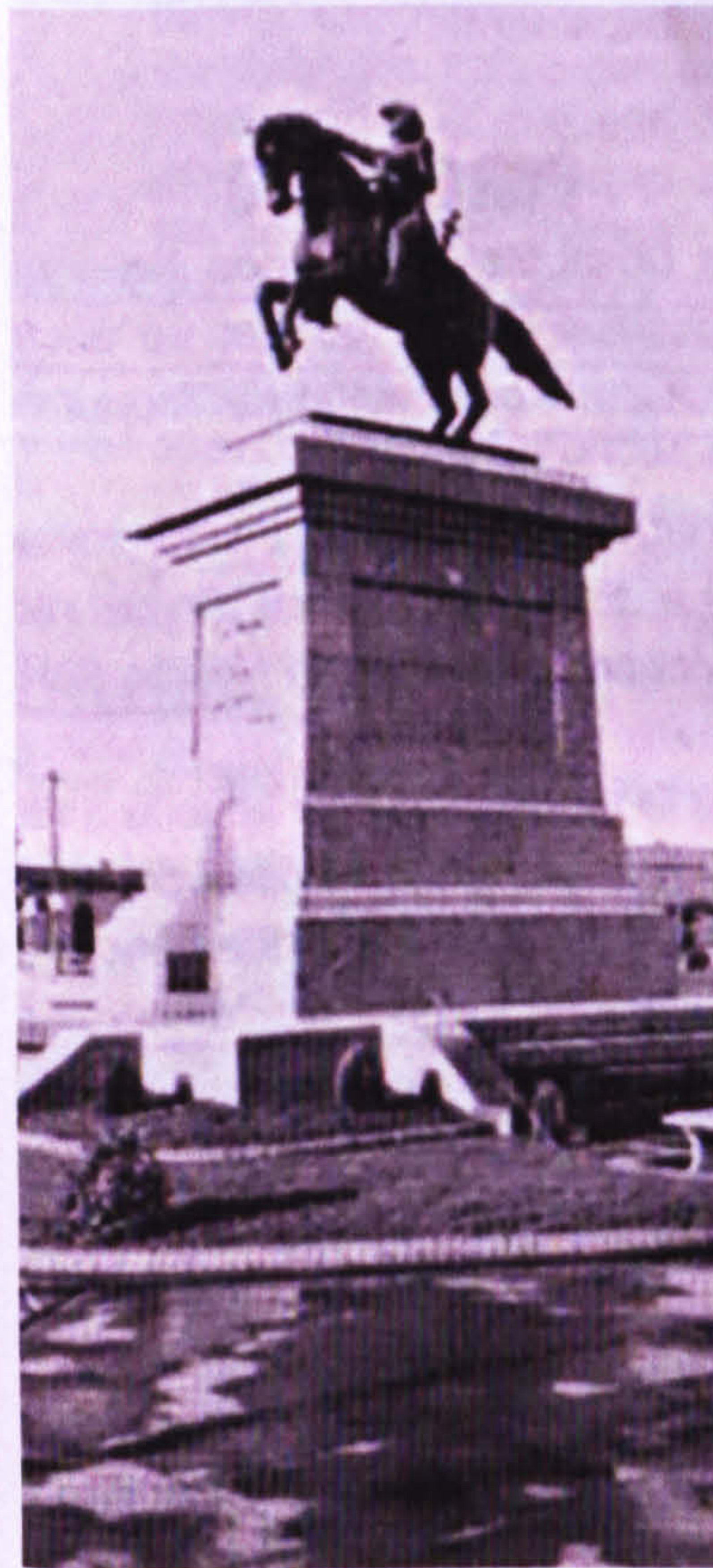


Figure 14. 1942, Santa Rosa



Figure 15. 1938, stamp



Figure 17. 1941, monument to Roca

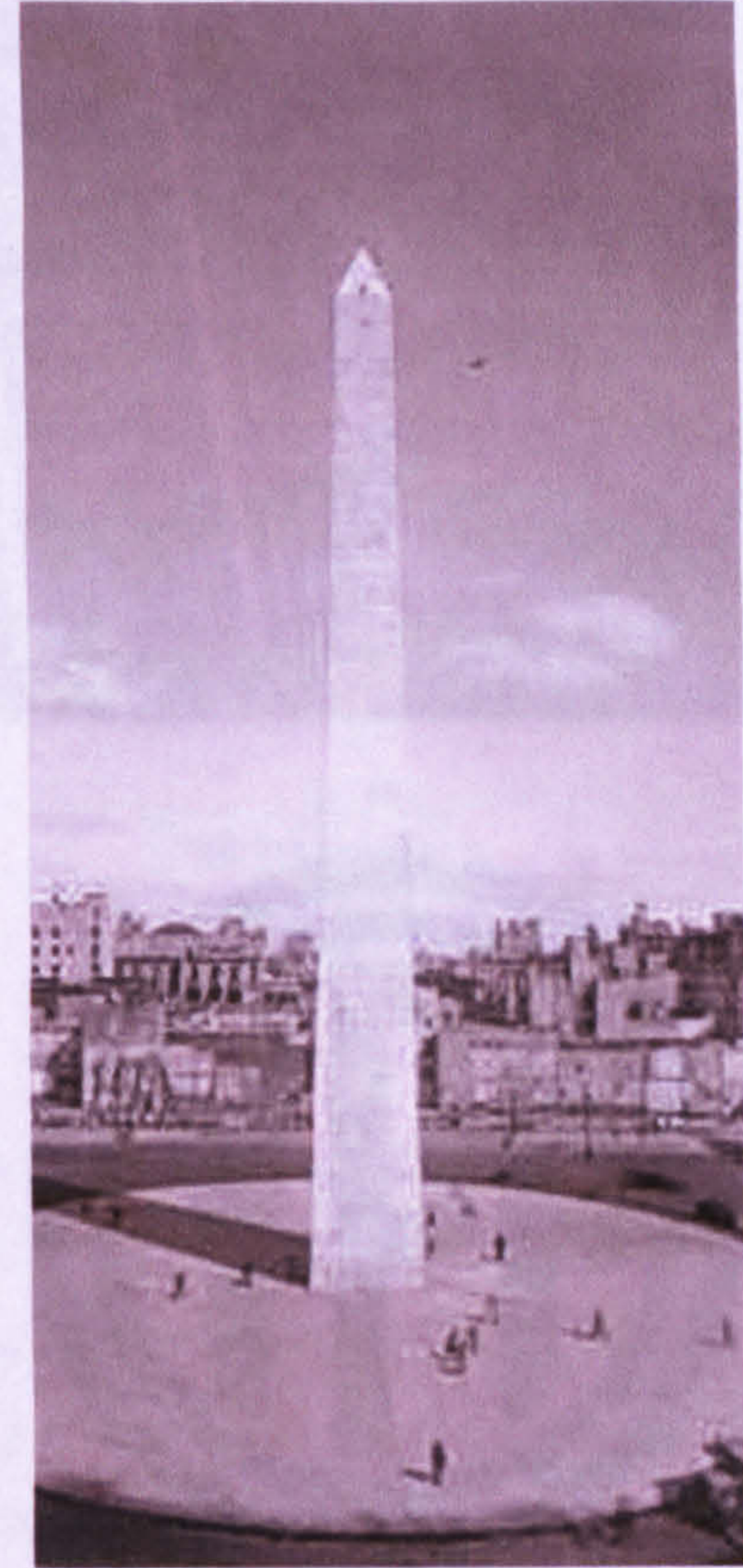


Figure 16. 1936, Obelisk



Figure 18. 1937, Azul cemetery



Figure 19. 1931, Art Museum



Figure 20. 1940, National Bank



Figure 21. 1940, Ministry of Economy



Figure 22. 1943, Militaries Factories logo



Figure 23. 1943, YPF logo

Section 6. The principle of difference: the nation of the Peronist workers

In 1943 nationalist sectors of the army overthrew President Ortiz, the last conservative president who had gained power fraudulently. One of the members of the military then in power was General Perón. During that government, Perón was in charge of the National Social Welfare Secretary and from that space he implemented social aid policies and empowered the figure of the worker and of the lower sectors (figure 1). In 1945, the attempts by his colleagues to remove Perón resulted in a popular reaction that enthroned him as a main popular figure. As a consequence, in the following national elections of 1946 he gained the power by democratic means, beating an alliance from an opposite spectrum that included radicals, conservatives and socialists. Perón governed for two periods (see table 1 and figure 2)

The Justicialism or Peronism, which was the political party created by Juan Domingo Perón, built its essence on the representation of the working sectors (Chávez, 1984: 10). Within this social basis, Perón laid the foundations of the local welfare State, implementing basic rights accessible to the majority of the population, such as women's suffrage, labor and social laws, as well as improvement of their living conditions by distributive income. As a consequence of that, the workers' standard of living was proportionately raised to a higher level than that of the rest of middle sectors. For instance, the working class for the first time was able to build a house, such as the so-called 'chalet' (Devoto, 1999: 43), to have holidays at the sea side at the trade union's hotels and clubs and also to play sports with their children in the parks built, like the so called 'La República de los Niños' (The Children's Country) and to have free medical care. Schools, medical clinics, orphanages and housing for transit were built in working class districts (figure 3, 4 and 5).

During his first government, Perón had the political help of his charismatic wife, Evita. Among the different activities Evita did for that government, it is important to highlight the social benefits of the government channeled by the Evita's Welfare Foundation (figure 6 and 7). People were invited by radio to write to the foundation, as 12,000 did each day. Evita personally embraced them all (McGeagh, 1987: 206).

Perón's decline started in 1950. Moreover, he lost some of his appeal especially after Evita's death in 1952 (figure 8). From that time, European purchases of Argentine beef and other foodstuffs were falling and Argentina's position in the world economy was declining. Perón launched a mild austerity program, which was not well accepted among workers. Inflation continued, wages and prices remained frozen, and Perón continued to lose support. That period of "skinny cows" marked his second term in office.

Peron had a comprehensive management of the antinomy-like public power together with the successive clashes with the church, political parties and with part of the military force, who plotted against him. In this context, the Church incited mass demonstrations against him and asked the question "Is it Christ or Perón?" (Ferguson, 1965: 123). That was the situation when navy airplanes attacked the symbolic *Plaza de Mayo* (May Square), site of Perón and Evita's famous speeches. Perón survived but 350 civilians died in the assault. As told by a witness "the *Casa Rosada* (Pink House) bombing started at the exact moment when people were filling the centre and the *Plaza de Mayo*...bombs and shellfire burst poured down on Buenos Aires's heart" (Caraballo, Charlier and Garulli, 1999: 27). After that, Perón's supporters burned several Catholic churches. By 1955 liberal/conservative revolution deposed and sent Perón into exile and resisting followers of Perón were executed.

6.a. The economic and ideological background

The emergence of Peronism meant the beginning of a historical cycle characterized by income redistribution and a strong emphasis on national economic industrialization. Peron's economic model is defined as nationalistic populism, a version of import-substitution industrialization that favored national capitalists over foreign investments. As Zanetta points out "Perón adopted a national populist model during his two terms in office... which made the state a central actor in directing and administering the economy. During his two terms in office, Peron transformed the mild protectionist measures that had been place since 1930 into a formidable web of entrenched interests that had the state at its centre. In only two years, he completed the nationalization of major services" (Zanetta, 2004: 159). Accordingly, Perón nationalized the railways and the communication system. His regime started building Argentina's steel, iron industries and subsidizing the manufacture of farm and industrial machinery. Argentina began making airplanes, and ships for its merchant marine.

On the contrary, from its critics' point of view, Peronism "transformed the State into an enormous company that absorbed a huge bureaucracy". Thus, in 1951 one half out of 5 million of Argentine wage-earners worked in the public sector" (Kalfon, 1967: 62), including those who worked for state companies.

The ideological background of the Peronism can be understood by analysing five aspects.

First, for Peron, the role of a leader was central, an idea translated from his military knowledge to the political arena. As Perón wrote on his book "Conducción Política", "the value of the people...does not reside in the number of men who are organized. Its value resides in the rulers who lead the people, because action is never generated by the mass or by the people, but by the

rulers who lead them. The mass goes wherever its rulers take it, it overflows and God forbid!" (Perón, 1982: 210). Therefore, he created a doctrine where all have to be ruled by a single thought and where "the state needed to inculcate this doctrine to the degree that it became a kind of collective mental framework through which all reality had to be interpreted" (Plotkin and Zahniser, 2002: 22). Therefore, in his doctrine, the state fixed the objectives of the whole nation guided by a leader (figure 9).

Second, the Populism could be considered an open signifier of the discourses of the leader. Thus, for Plotkin and Zahniser, Perón's doctrine was in no sense the result of theoretical consideration but "is in fact fragments of Perón's speeches that do not constitute a coherent corpus of thought but a collection of concrete ideas on how to deal with politics and society (Plotkin and Zahniser, 2002: 196). However, that open discourse allowed people from different ideologies and from antithetical reason to be involved in a general body, working as a caption point where "the wider the social tie, the emptier will be the unifying signified of the chain" (Laclau, 2005: 129).

As it is mentioned in Chapter I, it is important to rescue Laclau's theory of the populism as a system of ideas, values and beliefs that is the matrix of Peronism. On that account, for Laclau "there was a permanent chasm between Perón's acts of enunciation (which were invisible) and the contents of those enunciations. As a result of this chasm, those contents – in the absence of any authorized interpreter – could be given a multiplicity of meanings...as a result, Perón's word lost none of its centrality, but the content of that word could allow for endless interpretations and reinterpretations" (Laclau, 2005: 216).

In this way, and following the definition of the leader as the rule, it is possible to make a parallelism of Peron with the figure of a father, because "love for the father is the only tie between brothers... the love for the leader does not crystallize in any institutional form" (Laclau: 2005: 218)

Third, the identification between members or brothers of the group rests in the love for the leader and "on any positive trait shared by the leader and the led" (Laclau, 2005: 83). Hence, a positive and negative identity was in fact produced by the content of the discourse of Perón. The positive one is the figure of the people because "people are a way for making the unity of the group" (Laclau, 2005: 97). On the contrary, the negative identity is the counterpart of the people "the regime, the oligarchy the dominant groups" (Laclau, 2005: 114). Then, placing such opposition, Perón crystallized and closed with all the members of his group the positive national identity of the people or workers.

As a consequence of that, the Peronist discourses and actions invented the worker's identity as an articulation between lower and lower-middle class sectors in a unique political body. This identity

was invented but it also granted a hierarchy to this person's values, ideas and beliefs, provided them with an entity proud of themselves, made them the protagonists of their present and the constructor of a great future for themselves and their families. Accordingly, he produced the figure of the worker as the protagonist of the Peronist ideology (figure 10).

Fourth, it is necessary to highlight the essence of the Justicialism. Perón labeled his rule with a philosophy called Justicialism, with a stated balance between individualism and collectivism and between "idealism and materialism" (Martz, 1965: 78). Even though the Justicialism acted as a political party, its objective went beyond that, trying to incorporate even antagonist conceptions into its matrix. As Perón said, "the Peronist movement is not a political party; it is a national movement; we are a movement and as such we do not represent sectarian or partisan interests...we only represent national interests" (Perón, 1982: 271). In this conception, and as Oscar Landi pointed out "the political argument of the Peronism opposed the real democracy (based on the social justice) against the liberal-conservative democracy" (Landi, 1988: 190).

Fifth, Perón aims were to reach a free, just and independent Argentina, economically independent from foreign influence. According to that, Peronism was, from its very beginning, situated in a third position between capitalism and communism (Perón, 1974: 55-96), which was a nationalistic tendency similar to that of non-aligned countries close to Nasser in Egypt or Vargas in Brazil. For that purpose, this new position was required to be deeply explained and clearly understood not only by the educated classes but by the whole country. In this direction, in 1950, the Peronist administration initiated a strong ideological offensive on the educative system, creating two years later the primary and secondary school basic cycles subject called National Doctrine and City Life Culture, which replaced the old Civics classes. Its first aim was the teaching of the so called new 1949 Justicialist Constitution, where there is reference to a "socially fair, economically free and politically sovereign nation" (Martinez Paz, 1980: 169).

However, the effect of this ideological framework projected by Peronism was that it conditioned all national ideas that were running in that time in the society. As Oscar Landi points out, "the organics and corporative conception of the justicialist doctrine could be conditioned by the recessive economic effects of 1952 and for the increment of labor strikes. On other hand, its central effects were received in the political system, widening the fracture of the regimen with respect of the democratic middle sectors" (Landi, 1988: 191). Consequently, by searching social justice, some questions pertaining to the liberal democracy were conditioned, such as the generation of consensus, freedom of speech, the improvement of institutions, among others, all aspects that Perón used according to his own vision.

Furthermore, a recurrent idea of identifying the worker with the nation and, therefore, the Peronist

movement too, was not conceivable within the normal functioning of political party pluralism. This caused a polarization among social classes and political groups. Thus, as Aguinis points out “it was blackmail difficult to avoid: ‘Peronismo’ means people, which means the poor, which means homeless people, which means nation. It is the fusion of leader, government, state and society” (Aguinis, 2001: 107). With this idea, it seemed there was no nation for the ones who were not workers.

6.b. The working class’s apparatus of cultural fictions

According to Laclau, “the attempt to overcome the division of the political spectrum requested the creation of an integrated space between different social groups” (Laclau, 2005: 214), and to encourage this space, the State’s Ideological Apparatus worked efficiently. Thus, the Peronist state ideological apparatus was no doubt the one that best interpreted or re-created a national identity and Argentina became a synonym of workers. This apparatus corresponds to the ruling office by Perón until he was overthrown in 1955, and even if it started functioning 60 years ago, the result of this apparatus can currently be seen in today's society (see table 2.e)

According to Gené, Peronism presented an unprecedented propaganda apparatus in Argentina. It was based on “posters, shield and souvenirs of the Peronist State, whose function was redefined as a complementary visual effort to the messages issued by other channels” (Gené, 2005: 35) (figure 11 and 12). Other media such as the radio or the cinema. In this way, Peronism organized communicational machinery that produced and coordinated multiple channels and messages and were issued daily. It ranged from supplying and distributing the party’s shield that were compulsory in the public administration, to the elaboration of propaganda material such as school books. All this was performed under the control over the media, a centralized design of messages and contents and the concentration of the financing resources aimed at the “National Broadcasting Directorate”, a body in charge of this development. (Gené, 2005: 36). Thus, in 1946 Perón created the Official Broadcast Service (*Servicio oficial de Radiodifusión*).

In its mechanics, this identity constructor apparatus was based on a deep and efficient use of all possible means to spread messages, to project a new reality for modeling new Argentine men and women. Consequently, Peronism introduced itself to the society as a fracture with the past that was only comparable in the Argentine history to the fracture produced by independence, from the breakage from Spain and surpassing it by the revolutionary symbology taken from France.

In the Peronist State Apparatus three icons were systematically executed. First, the representation of a social sector as a synonym of the Argentine national identity was carried out. Second, the confirmation that the state could positively project a new nation, by conducting a centralized figure

of Perón. Third, the Peronist State Apparatus constructed the idea of those who do not share his vision as marginal and defined them as the “anti-nation”. Thus, as Laclau pointed out “the symbolic changes in the regime’s discourse bear witness to this mutation: the figure of the *descamisado* (literally shirtless, the Argentinian equivalent of the sand-culotte) tended to disappear, to be replaced by the image of the organized community. The need to stabilize the revolutionary process became a leitmotiv of Peronist discourse” (Laclau, 2005: 214).

The first icon was the worker’s figure that replaced the traditional republican symbology (Gené, 2005: 65) and even competed with the military one of the previous period. The figure of the worker in a first period of the Peronism was constructed in its different versions by the “descamisado” (un-shirted), who was a kind of hero in the movement’s origins that was associated with the industry worker or the rural worker. His female equivalent was the figure of the “nurse” (Gené, 2005: 12), prototype of a socially active woman and in accordance with the place that she starts to take up in a government that gives her the right to vote for the first time in the country. Therefore, this icon of the laborer became the emblem of the body’s consciousness constructed by Perón, turning it then into a key symbol for the materialization of the new social identity designed by that state (figures 13 to 16).

The second icon is the State itself “since it is a protector and omnipresent state” (Gené, 2005: 12), a producer of that national community’s new life styles and an issuer of the hegemonic discourse over that worker’s sense of life. It was a State that either directly or indirectly watched over the workers and which even organized their weekend activities and offered summer camps and recreational activities for their children. It was a state that provided the necessary stuff for living with dignity, ranging from household appliances to housing. It was thus a sort of a paternalist state, efficient in the immediate redistribution of the nation’s resources (see figures 17, 18 and 19)

The Peronist state not only projected into the spectator the traditional density of the state discourses but also projected pleasure and enjoyment as a national feeling. That state showed, especially to its followers, a kind of social evangelism, with a significant aphoristic potential in the expression of community happiness (Gonzalez, 2006: 232). Consequently, those messages were designed with lively and strong colours and with people smiling in a proclaimed image of social harmony. They were messages depicting family scenes full of confidence in the present and with the social hope that it was possible then to have access to a better way of life. At the same time, allowing the acknowledgment of that society as a place for integration, where the individual identity could be submerged within a surrounding social space. However, the State also projected the force of the reaffirmation of that identity. Those messages were endowed with more passion and epic and they stimulated living and exercising the heroic drama of the compensation and emancipation (Lopez, 2006: 236) implied by the construction of this new Argentina. That is to say,

“the imaginary construction of a new world” (Santoro, 2006: 21) forms a position of strength. In this sense, according to Romero, there is a core idea which is the people identified with a nation that, from that position unfolds all the repertoire of national grandeur, like strength, bravery and glory (Romero, 2004: 131), based on the certainty of a venturous future but resorting to commitment, confidence and individual effort (figure 20 and 21).

The materialization of the Peronist, transmitted by the Peronist state apparatus, is the presence of Peron’s and Evita’s image as a reference of power, something that was intensified during his second office. Those images left the representations of the smiling crowds in the background and put in the foreground images of the same crowds cared for, guided and empowered by their leader. Therefore, in the state’s worker valorization, Peron and his wife Evita are the parental symbols of a newly born sector that recognized itself as the protagonist of Argentine history (figure 22, 23 and 24).

Third, another icon associated between the Peronism and the “Argentinism”. Within this scheme, Argentinean and Peronist were “two not easily-defined definitions that do not seem to be contingently divided between themselves” (Indij, 2006: 7). This contributed to the construction of the ghost’s image in Lacanian terms (Lacan, 2001: 229), as the excluded from the national social reality and from that identity that needs necessarily to belong. The most common ghostly figures from these days were those called as imperialism, the oligarchy and communism. The Peronist symbols have been highly effective in their purpose of mixing the Peronist idea with the Argentine one. They did so by borrowing Argentine symbols and representing the Peronist party. In fact, it has also been the only political party with electoral weight to gain such political advantage, contrarily to what happens to other countries where there are several parties representing features that can be associated with that country itself. Those symbols are mainly the national flag and a modified version of the Argentine national shield, where basically the hands clasped together were then a hand helping another hand. In Peronist symbology, Perón and Evita’s portraits and the V as a symbol of Viva Perón (Long Live Perón!) and Perón Vive (Perón Lives) are also remarkable in the Peronist symbology and mythology. All of these are icons of easy social access and de-codification (figure 25 and 26).

Besides, the Government House balcony, where Perón and subsequently Evita spoke to a crowd, can be seen as one of the most important communicational resources organized by the Peronist State. The balcony had two shields on both sides, one of the Justicialist party and another one of the Nation and surrounding the speaker there was a big number of personalities showing support, while smiling and applauding the speakers (figure 27). The balcony was the Peronist Olympus scenery where gods were in the magical height of the *Casa Rosada* (Pink House) elevated above the square’s present crowds. The balcony was a window through which the leader became tangible

and visible, and from which a magical and clear message to his followers was issued. That message was narrated from Perón's and Evita's charisma and speaking capacity, who, from those gifts, helped to construct part of that marvelous stage production of the pantheon of nationality.

Meanwhile, below the balcony and in other public spaces, civic parades could be seen where there were allegoric decorated carriages, like those of the Worker's Day and the constructions allusive to scenographic monuments highlighting those memorable moments (figure 28).

Some sculptures of Peron and Evita were placed in public spaces but most of them did not survive to present days. For instance, the most important of those sculptures was the monument in honour of Evita. As the Magazine "Primera Plana" wrote in an article⁵¹, in 1952, a commission for the creation of a monument to Evita was approved by the parliament. That commission conferred the design of her pantheon to the Italian sculpture Leone Tommasi. He designed a monument that was 170 meters tall, that had at the top two 45 meters sculptures, one of Evita and another of the "Descamisado", a worker figure, all surrounded by Peronist's history marbles (figure 29 and 30). The monument could not be made because of the 1955's coup⁵².

However, sculptures and monuments built in honour of the centenary of San Martín's death in 1950 are still visible in Argentina. Those representations showed him as an elderly person already, while their motto no longer portrayed the general as the Liberator but rather as the "Immortal Grandfather" (Gerlos, 2004: 35). In this way, it is also interesting to note a printed poster dating from that anniversary where Perón relates his name to San Martín's. The poster reads "San Martín, political independence; Perón economic independence" (Romero, 2000: 146) (figure 31, 32 and 33). Here, Perón is assuming his role as young captain of Argentina and deliberately introduced San Martín as his mentor, replacing him in the present and placing himself in a role of spiritual guide.

Besides, Peronist architecture showed on one hand, "the predominium of the neo-colonial and Californian style in social houses" (Gutiérrez, 1992: 210). On the other hand, modern and monumental style architecture of public building can be seen such as the Ministry of Public Works and CGT building (see building in figure 8 and figure 34).

Another resource used by the Peronist State was the school text books. Those Peronist text books were the most controversial element of those produced by this state, since they deliberately

⁵¹ Primera Plana Magazine N° 284, 4 of June 1968. Edited by Jacobo Timmerman.

⁵² At soon as the 1955's coup started, a militar command attacks Tommasi atelier and decapitate the already sculptures samples of the statues of Eva and the Descamisado. At the already built basament of the statue, the militaries made a big fire where all emblems, posters and peronist affiliation cards were burned.

presented Evita as the Argentine men and women's mother or Saint. For instance, in those books there were some phrases like "I love my mom, I love Evita" that were taught to children when they were learning to read from books such as "La Argentina de Perón" (Perón's Argentina) "Aventuras de dos niñas peronistas" (The adventures of two little Peronist girls) "Obreritos" (Little workers) or "Privilegiados" (The privileged)⁵³. As Horacio Gonzalez states it, "even though those initiation books succeeded in being naive, they had the explosive seed by means of which Argentina was split in several versions of social life". (Gonzalez, 2006: 15) (figure 35, 36 and 37). Likewise, and as Romero describes it, in the texts corresponding to the "Doctrina Nacional y Cultura Ciudadana" (1950-1955) (National Doctrine and Citizenship Culture) there was an almost absolute identification between the nation's values with the Peronist movement, since the nation was Justicialism, and that those who attacked Justicialism, attempted an attack against the nation. Also included were the "others", already mentioned, that from the beginning of history were opposed to the people's Argentina.

The last and essential medium for the Peronist State Apparatus were the radio, documentaries, newspaper and magazines. In 1946 Perón created the Official Broadcast Service (*Servicio oficial de Radiodifusión*). There, all private radio licenses were conduced and four new networks were made⁵⁴. Mainly from loans from the nationalized Central Bank, Eva and friends bought up magazines and newspapers, such as the important newspaper called *Democracia*, along with a radio network. In this context, as Alabarces noted, "radio was the predilect media" (Alabarces, 2002: 70). In this context, in 1951, there was a coup that attempted to overthrow the government and after that, the regime restricted public meetings and forbade talk of politics on the radio with exception for the regime's political messages. As it was mentioned, the *Sucesos Argentinos* and *Noticiero Panamericano* documentary news were a significant resource that the Government used for their propaganda in cinemas all over the nation. In this case, the state conditioned the information by economically subsidizing the companies which produced such films (Argentina Sono Film and Antonio Diaz's company) (Gené, 2005: 42).

⁵³ All of these books can be seen in the Teacher's Museum (Museo del Maestro), Buenos Aires.

⁵⁴ In www.radionacional.gov.ar

List of illustrations



Figure 1. 1943, Peron



Figure 2. 1946, President Peron



Figure 3. 1949, Popular tourism promotion

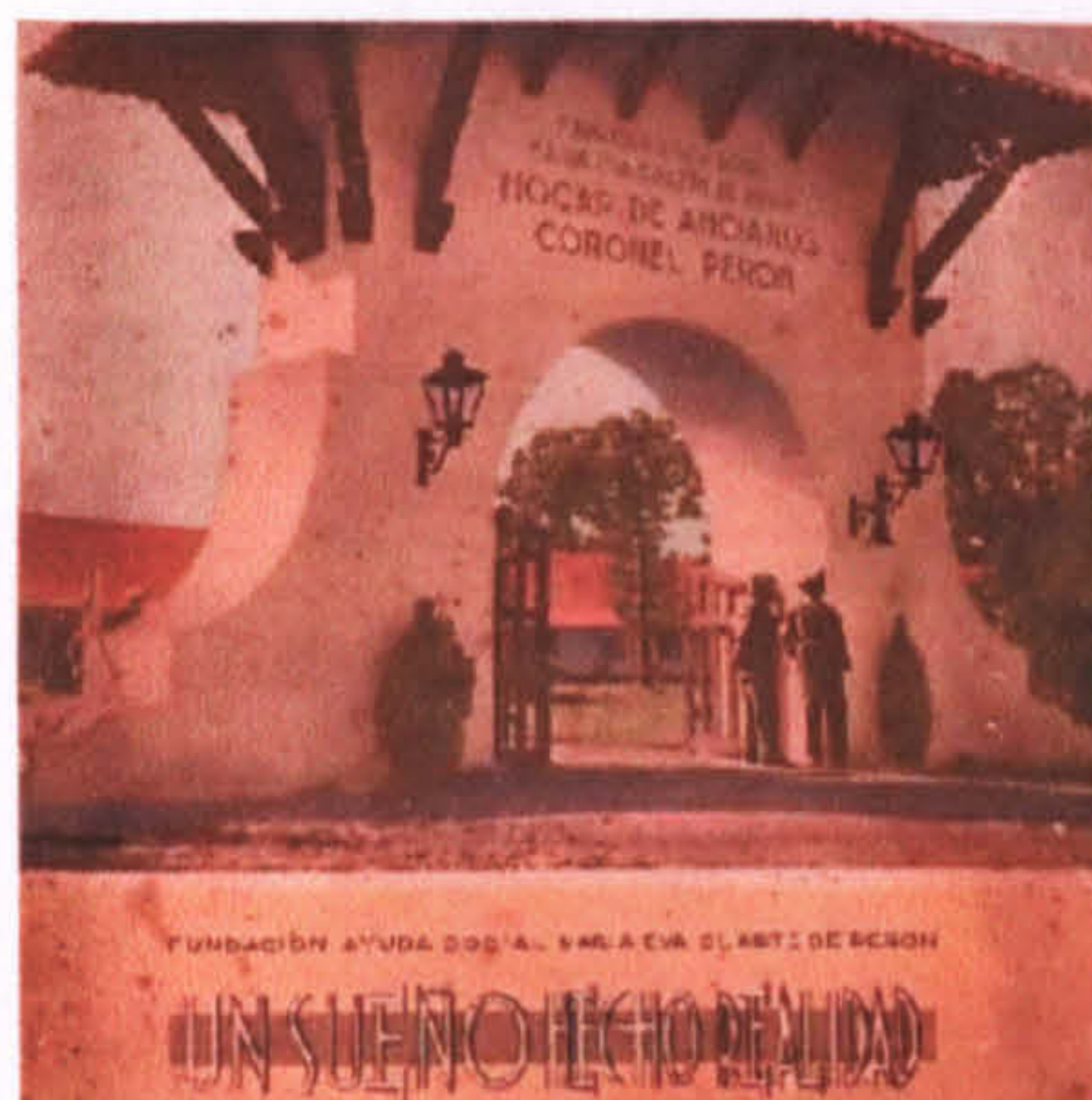


Figure 4. 1950', Housing for elders people



Figure 5. 1951, The Children's Country



Figure 6. 1948, Evita



Figure 7. 1948, Foundation store



Figure 9. 1950's, poster



Figure 10. 1950's, leaflet



Figure 8. 1952, funeral of Evita

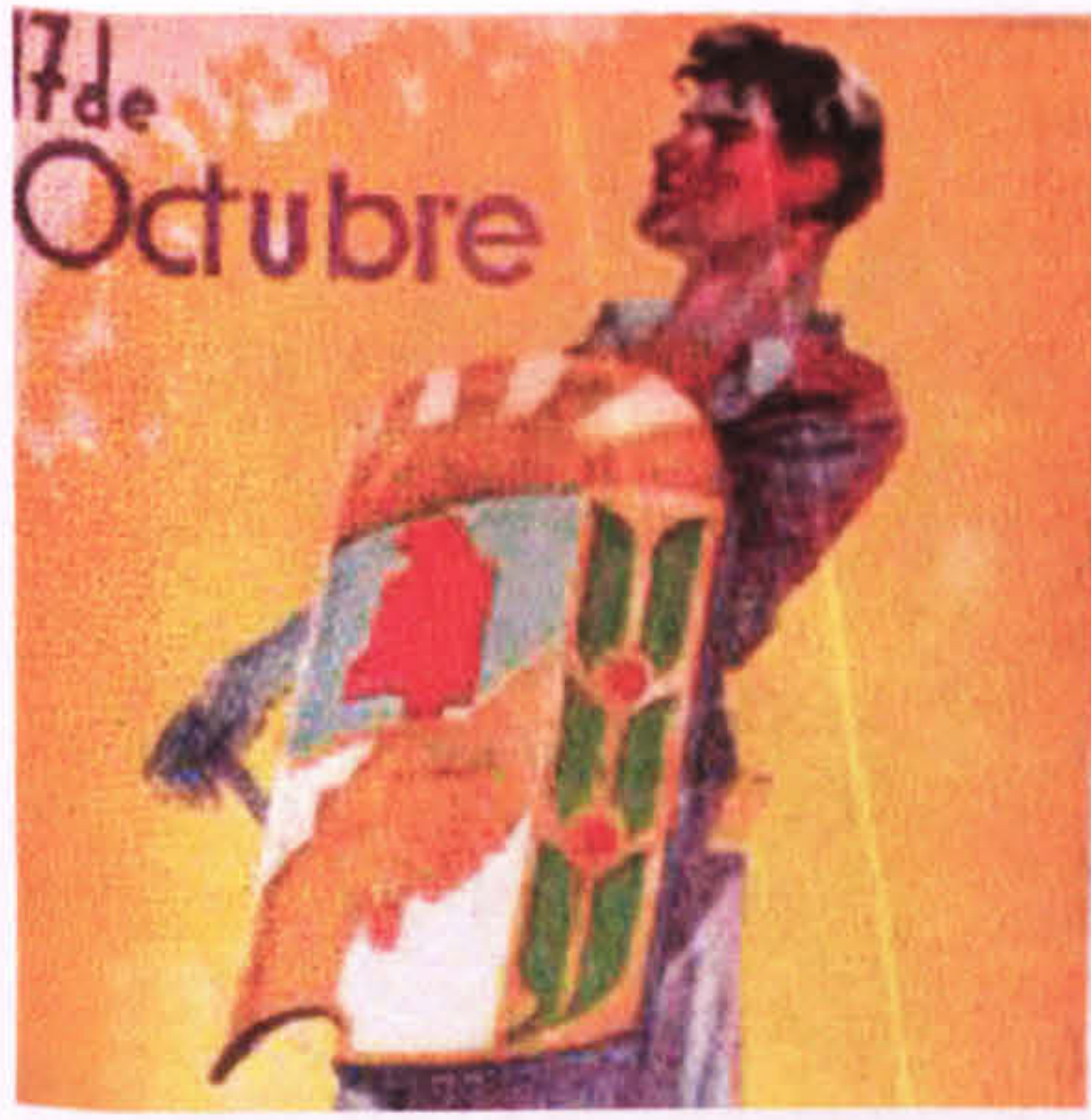


Figure 11. 1950's, poster



Figure 12. 1950's, souvenir



Figure 13. 1950, poster



Figure 14. 1946, stamp



Figure 15. 1950's, poster



Figure 16. 1948, poster



Figure 17. 1952, school manual



Figure 26. 1953, school manual

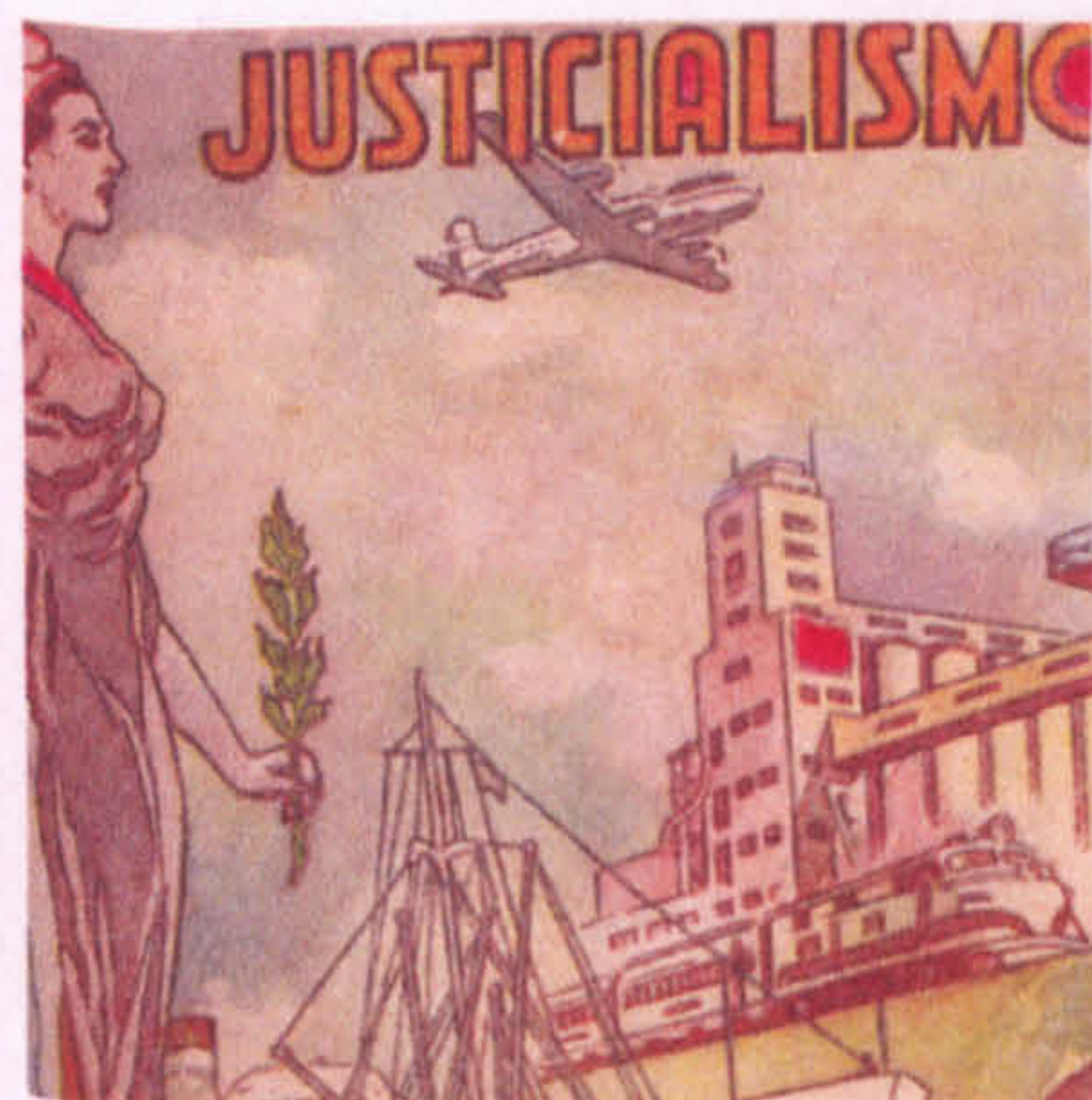


Figure 18. 1950's, magazine



Figure 19. 1952, poster



Figure 20. 1950's, poster about social help



Figure 21. 1948, poster

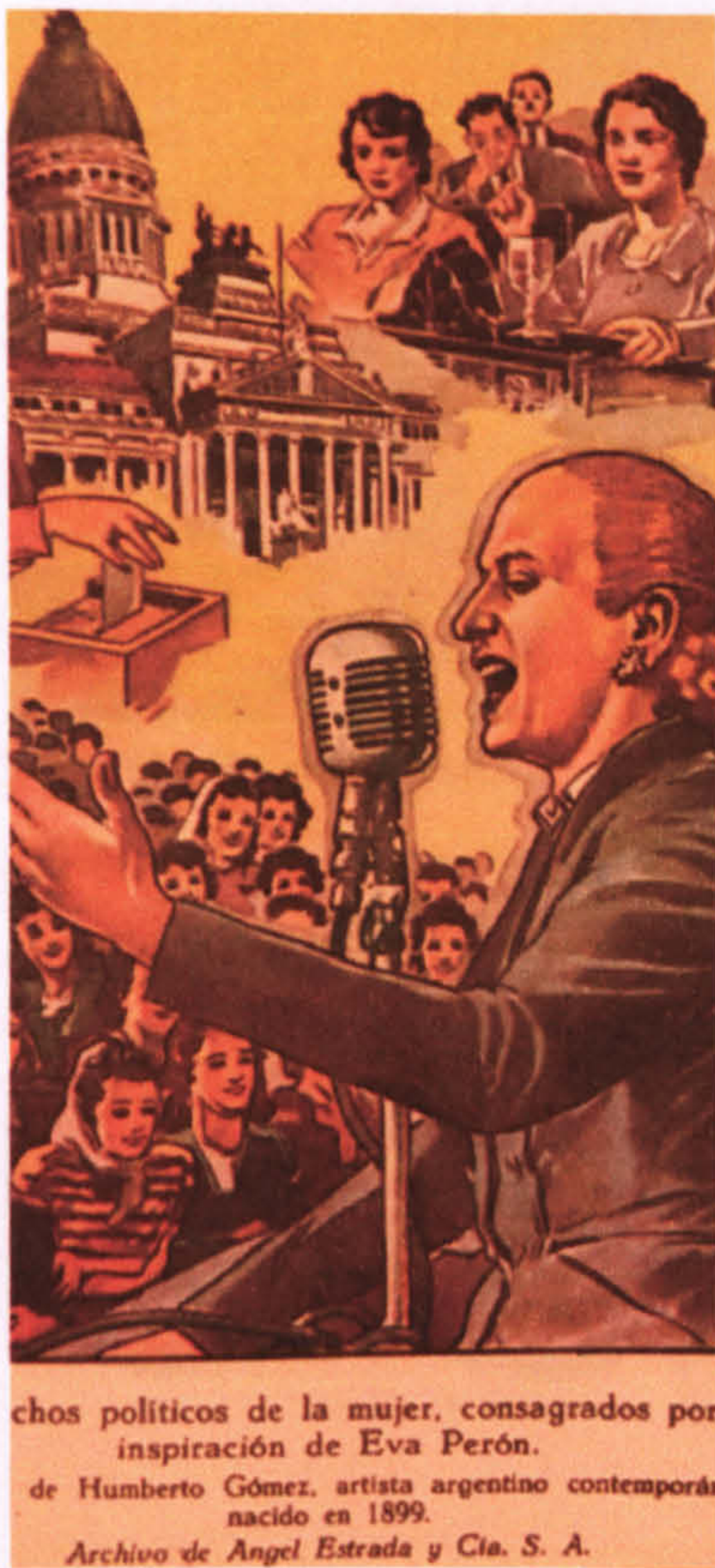


Figure 22. 1952, leaflet



Figure 23. 1952, leaflet



Figure 24. 1953, brochure



Figure 25. 1953, textbook



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Figure 27. 1952, Casa Rosada balcony



Figure 28. 1953, stage



Figure 29. 1955, sketch for statue



Figure 30 1955, sketch for statue



Figure 31 1950, poster



Figure 32. 1955, coin



Figure 33. 1950, statue



Figure 34. 1955, popular house



Figure 36. 1950's, school manual



Figure 35. 1950's, school manual



Figure 37. 1950's, school manual

Section 7. An organizational dimension: the internal fights between the military force and democratic political parties

From 1955 to 1983 military and civilian administrations were alternatively in power (see table 1 and figure 1 to 6). After Perón's fall until his return in 1973, the next governments did not have the supporting votes necessary to obtain power. Peronism was politically pro-scripted, and military forces interfered in politics. Frustration about the attempts to gain democracy, the presence of the Cuban Revolution as a political alternative, the explosion of May '68 and its aftermaths in Mexico, polarized society. In addition, the figure of the Argentine "Che" Guevara, with his enlightened heroism, emerged as a role model for certain youth sectors. As described by Rodolfo Walsh "the myth, the person, the hero conducting the revolution instead of being the mass of people, in this case, was Che Guevara" (Saitta and Romero, 1998: 324). In this circumstance, a nationalist reaction contrary to the interests of Europe and the United States took shape in an anti-capitalist nationalism, which was initially expressed in the Peronism and, partly, in some national leftist forces within and outside the Peronism in the 70's⁵⁵.

On the other side, nationalist right sectors fluctuated in their articulation. Even though there were nationalist integrist sectors linked to the Peronism (Godio, 1981: 33) all integrist and pro-european nationalist sectors coincided on two issues. First, both were always connected with military groups and second, they joined against any form of socialism. Consequently, after the Second World War, the United States managed to agglutinate the Argentine nationalism in the Armed Forces through its anti-communist sermon. Consequently, Argentine military forces were educated in the sadly famous *Escuela de las Américas* (Americas' School) in Panama (Viñas, 1977: 47), where domestic repression practices were taught to Latin American militaries by the United States.

Thus, for those sectors, the Cold War finished shaping their definition about Argentina's identity and located it in a worldwide context, as the Military Circle's Magazine noted: "Argentina belonged to the western and Christian orb". Then, the enemies of Argentina were hidden within the borders' inland and should be expurgated (Círculo Militar, 1960: 42).

In 1972, due to social pressure, the de facto government called for free elections, a fact that allowed Perón's later return. In 1973 once again Perón won the presidential elections, however, his return found an 80-year-old Perón on charge of a fragmented and disarticulated Argentina. Thus, his arrival triggered a battle between the two ideological trends that supported him, the extreme

⁵⁵ As an example, it can be seen how the urban leftist guerrilla group Montoneros, started off as Catholic confessional groups called Tacuara (Morello, 2003: 329). It is also worth noticing that the name of the group was taken from the armies of the caudillos, which were called *montoneras* and that the symbol of this organization was the federal star, symbol of Juan Manuel de Rosas back in 1833.

right and the left, being a constant feature in his short government. In 1974 Perón died and his third wife Isabel, the Vice President, succeeded him in office.

With Perón's death, the country's conflicts deepened and the public inrush of radicalized groups led to, on one hand, the agglutination of the Peronist left mainly into the urban guerrilla called *Montoneros*, with a supporting base constituted mainly of university students⁵⁶. On the other hand, the rightist groups agglutinated into the triple A (Argentine Anticommunist Alliance) of extreme-right catholic civilians groups, police and military para-policy groups with support on the part of the government. An analysis of the *Montoneros* phenomenon gives opposing results according to the views of the person that makes the analysis. Thus, Giussani in his book "Montoneros: armed arrogance" (Giussani, 1984: 99) reviles them while others justify them (Sosnowski and Bayer, 1988: 89). The everlasting doubt about the reasons of *Montoneros*' radicalization remains in debate. Meanwhile, in this period of time, the economy grew strongly and poverty declined (less than 6% to 1975) while political violence continued escalating.

Finally, even though *Montoneros* and the other groups were already defeated, the 1976 coup d'état took place. This dictatorship started with the workers' movement and the civilian referents' repression, the dissolution of the parliament and of the parties, as well as the end of freedom of the press, and ended with the "disappearance" of 30,000 people –according to human rights organizations⁵⁷- and the exile of the thousands that survived. In this sense, that dictatorship was defined by the de facto President Videla as the "National Reorganization Process" (see Zemelman, 1990: 57) that lasted six years, from 1976 to 1982.

In 1982, the military government used violence against social demonstrations and workers' strikes. Furthermore, "the three-digit inflation" perversely combined with recession forced the population to gain the streets once again (Borón and Faúndez, 1989: 393). The pressure of the exiled from abroad with the consequent support of socialist governments, and especially the 1982 Malvinas'(Falkland's) war, that left "the military emperor unclothed" without the exercise of his omnipotent powerful image, accelerated the decline of this dictatorship. This war was the type of war that should also be considered an aggressive act on the part of the armed forces towards the youth of the country, given that they sent untrained young men without any preparation or logistical resources to the front, without even letting them take preventative measures against the

⁵⁶ Besides, other groups were also actives, see Santucho, 2004: 7-16.

⁵⁷ Historia de las madres de plaza de mayo (History of the mothers of Plaza de Mayo). Madres de Plaza de Mayo Association. Published by the Asociación Madres de Plaza de Mayo, 1989.

extreme cold weather conditions prevailing there, thus engendering another dead or living-dead generation as a consequence of their state policies⁵⁸.

7.a. The economic model of the last dictatorship called “The process of National Re-Organization”

The main objectives of the Military Process were, according to Tedesco "the removal of the guerrilla, the social *disciplinamiento* through the subordination of the working class in both the political and the economic sphere, and the recovery of the state as the guarantor not of the immediate interests of the bourgeoisie, but of the ensemble of social relations that establish the bourgeoisie as the dominant class" (Tedesco, 1999: 24). Accordingly, two aspects can be highlighted from the aforementioned process. First, the imposition of social discipline on the basis of State terrorism, as it was called. Second, there was an economy unilateral opening and the possibility of benefiting from the credit facilities available in the world market. These policies favoured some economic sectors to the detriment of the whole population by the indiscriminate opening of the economy, devastated local small and medium enterprises. As put forth by Svampa, "the junta opened the doors to a dramatic change in the social power distribution. The "social draw" that had been ruling since the '50s was violently defeated. Instead, the social foundations for middle and popular sector's impoverishment were laid aside in the interests of the big economic groups. Not only were the asymmetries deepened, but the expectations with which the Argentine people had socially and culturally grown were smashed to pieces" (Svampa, 2006: 46).

Therefore, as a consequence of this 1976 military coup, a drastic change would take place in the points of social and economic reference that so far had been shared even by opposite sectors, given that, inconveniently, the dictatorship -according to Sidicaro- aimed at "disarticulating the economic interventionism and restoring the free market economy, which was something that went beyond the economy since its search was, after all, a social, political and cultural general reorganization" (Sidicaro, 2001: 39).

Besides, the Military Process's actions affected the state enterprises, which were essential to the country's economy due to their volume. In that way, the public companies were distributed among the three armed forces and their deterioration worsened since they were left out, in fact, from the centralized management control system and from the accounts and activities supervision, suffering then from a kind of state feudalization.

⁵⁸

Such as the testimony of Malvinas' veterans in the book "Malvinas" (Estevan and Borri, 1999: 11) written by a veteran of war.

The Process' economic alliance was composed, on the one hand, of the agricultural live-stock breeding sector that benefited from the opening of the economy. It is worth noting that the junta's Minister of Economy was José Alfredo Martínez de Hoz, who was a member of a traditional family from colonial times, a founding member of the *Sociedad Rural Argentina* (Argentine Rural Society) and a faithful exponent of the landowner bourgeoisie.

On the other hand, the Dictatorship formed an economic alliance with the so called 'patria contratista' (contracting homeland). The latter was a group constituted by big State suppliers who, according to Sidicaro, contributed to "making up economic deficits for the State while the financial capital was benefited from the unnecessary foreign indebtedness" (Sidicaro, 2001: 45-46). The *Patria Contratista* origin, deepened at the times when the State acquired prominence in the management of natural resources and public services; moments when the sector was the natural partner of those processes, whether as contractor, as associate or as a service agent. Thus, construction companies that performed national public works, oil companies that got exclusive rights of exploitation and those who managed privatized public service companies were grouped as a set of ongoing presence from the defence of their corporative interests. These interests turned them into partners of the military's mega-enterprises during the dictatorship. One example of that was the debt nationalization mechanism, which implied the private debt transference to the State, especially from such related enterprises. That was a process that continued until the very last day of the junta government, on December 9th 1983, the previous day to the assumption of the next democratic government⁵⁹. Thus, unrestrained works followed during this time. All these big scale works were made possible due to both the fact that the dictatorship received the support of the International Monetary Fund, which had denied a monetary reserve to the last Peronist government but immediately granted it to Martínez de Hoz, and to the support of certain governments that understood dictatorship as a fence against communism.

Consequently, the dictatorship profited from the favourable financing conditions to accept the loan with which it set a rental economic system that made it possible to profit from the financial arena, from speculation, which was at the same time detrimental to production. All this was financed by the domestic and foreign indebtedness (Calcagno, 1989: 75) that are still being paid today. This also meant that domestic consumption production was displaced as the economy's engine by the capital's financial valorization.

In this sense, the economist Eric Calcagno defines the model set and initiated during the Process as a financial rental model constituted by enterprises, banks, natural resource operators and by external creditors. From 1976 up to present times, they have been managing the politics and economy in a well-defined social alliance that has emptied the country for their own benefit. It is

⁵⁹ "The nationalization of the private debt was done by Domingo Cavallo, then President of the Central Bank" (Aiori, 2005: 246).

an economic model that destroyed the national productive system, that lived from its indebtedness and that was unable to implement a scheme of sustainable accumulation, especially regarding wealth distribution, "whose main consequence was a social catastrophe" (Calcagno, 2005: 92).

7.b. The apparatus of cultural fiction from 1955 to 1976

Perón fell in 1955 and a military government, called by themselves "the Liberating Revolution" (*Revolucion Libertadora*) (figure 7), came there after (Ferns, 1983: 273). This government established a decree banning all Peronist expression (figure 8 and 9). It is noted that, "the use of any photography, portrait or sculpture of Peronist officials or their relatives, the Peronist shields or flag, the declined president's first name or that of his relatives, the expressions: "peronism", "peronist", "justicialism", "justicialist", "third position", the abbreviation "V.P." (Peron lives), the musical compositions called "Peronist male's march" or "Captain Eva" or their fragments, the piece of work "La razón de mi vida" (The reason for my life) or fragments wherein and discourses by the declined president or his wife or fragments wherein were banned. That was a ban on elements for ideological affirmation or of Peronist propaganda on decree 4161 from 1956" (in Caraballo, Charlier and Garulli, 1999: 35).

The school manuals where Evita and Perón were mentioned were also substituted by others. In the first ones workers were mentioned and there were also illustrations portraying Argentine men and women with dark hair. However, they were replaced by others where the human figures were mostly blonde teachers together with blond children, like in the book "Aula cordial" (Kind Classroom) (see figure 10 and 11 ⁶⁰).

Besides, due to the military uniform used during Peronism which was a German one, the "Libertary Revolution" considered such helmets as emblematic and they were substituted in 1957 by the M.I north-American model (see figure 12 ⁶¹) (see table 3.f)

Between 1958-1961 and 1963-1966 two islands of civil governments were in power (see table 1). Those radical governments did not produce images or important national images. In the rest of the time taken up by de facto governments, the sculptures constructed by this State Apparatus can be highlighted like the one dedicated to Urquiza set up in April 1958 to commemorate his birth anniversary. The fact is that Urquiza had beaten Rosas and his statue was symbolically looking into the direction where, some metres away, Rosas lived in the city of Buenos Aires. At the bottom of the statue the female figure called "The Liberated Republic" (Gelós, 2004: 18) is seen, which, in accordance with the historic moment when the statue was designed, makes us think that it was

⁶⁰ It can be seen in the Teacher's Museum. National Ministry of Education.

⁶¹ www.cascoscoleccion.com/argentin/argm1.htm

not settling accounts with Rosas but with the already beaten Perón, who had many times during his office been associated with the former (figure 13).

However, the biggest national monument constructed during this stage to define nationality was the Flag Monument, the biggest in the country and which was inaugurated in 1957 in the city of Rosario, Santa Fe (figure 14). The visitor has the chance to take in the official version of what the country, the history and Argentines are like. Besides, the sub-fluvial tunnel and other monumental infrastructure works were done during this time.

During this period, an important amount of public space was taken up by other non-habitual referents representing aspects of the nation, such as the monument to the *Indio Tehuelche* in Puerto Madryn in 1965 or the monument to the petrol worker in Caleta Olivia in 1969. In this case, the construction of Saint's figures, maternities and local referents was also increased in the accesses to inland villages, most of ventures designed by the same communities and where the municipal space use seemed to cease, depending exclusively on the discourses set by the State. Regarding that, it is relevant to note that until that time, the local space was usually representing national expressions (figure 15, 16 and 17).

During the short-term administration of Peronism, from 1973 to 1976, the State was fragmented by diverse political factions that were in charge of different ministries but none of the sectors succeeded in imposing a clear and stable national image's policy. Thus, there are no traces of significant production of images in this period, except for the speeches of Juan Perón and his successor Isabel from the balcony of Plaza de Mayo, where they were not flanked by the Peronist Party's emblems that were distinctive of his first period, but surrounded by the national flag and shield (Caraballo, Charlier and Garulli, 1999: 192) (see figure 5).

7.c. The dictatorship's apparatus of cultural fiction (1976-1983)⁶²

The Military Dictatorship tried to define the political reality and the values of the nation, using the totality of existing media for its purpose. On one hand, the Dictatorship did so by affecting and censoring all transmitted contents, without contemplating ownership or theme of the media. Then, all existing mass media was under control or censored by the State, and any newspaper or written publication related to opposing ideologies was closed. Thus, the official apparatus which included the state media, private media and other censored private media, delineated the political agenda for the entire population. In this context, one remarkable characteristic of that period were the Presidential speeches broadcast by radio and television to the whole country, with a message that

⁶² It has to say that it is currently difficult to find relevant information about that Apparatus, because much information was destroyed by the same militaries groups and even many of their protagonist tried to hiden their participation.

tried to impose the State's single view of social life and behaviour, by the so called "cadena nacional" (Blaustein and Zubieta, 1998: 80).

On the other hand, the Dictatorship produced specific campaigns that showed the official version of what was going on in the country. Regarding that, mass media such as newspaper advertising, billboards, TV and radio campaigns were the support of those messages. The purpose of such campaigns was to legitimize the military government, to ideologically indoctrinate the citizenship and to try to neutralize the international critics about the human right violations of these governments.

In that way, the Dictatorship tried to transmit the idea that those who did not support the military forces were not real Argentines. That was also in line with the attempts to silence human rights campaigns abroad, labelling those activist groups as "anti-Argentina activities". That can be found in the Burson Marsteller's 1978 campaign "Los argentinos somos derechos y humanos"⁶³ (Argentines are morally right and human) (figure 18), developed as a response to the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights and its requests to investigate possible violations to human rights in the country. This legend was written in a national flag.

Other examples were the 1981 Videla's phrases "Los desaparecidos no están, no son" (The disappeared are not anywhere, they are not anyone) and the phrase "Algo habrán hecho" (They must have done something) in reference to the disappeared and were profusely transmitted by the mass media. Besides, such campaigns also tried to gain support for the economic model. For instance, the official propaganda advanced against the local industry by highlighted the quality of imported products and the opportunity that having a cheap dollar offered to Argentines⁶⁴ (figure 19, 20 and 21).

By producing all of these campaigns, as Dreyffus certified (Dreyffus, 1991: 97), the mayor advertising agencies of that time worked for the dictatorship⁶⁵.

The symbols the military process used were basically the figure of young soldiers as opposed to the communist demons, the own account of the national history, the political use of the Football World Cup and the construction of monumental works.

First of all, the Dictatorship's objective was to glorify the soldier as the emerging figure of that pure nation. In that way, the State issued explicit campaigns which settled the figure of the young

⁶³ In Anales, Instituto Ibero Americano, 1989: 188.

⁶⁴ As the site www.24demarzo.gov.ar launched by the government in 2007 shows.

⁶⁵ Among them, De Luca and Casares Grey and the Argentine Advertise Council.

soldier as the last resource to defend the cultural essence of the nation. For such purposes, advertising campaigns were launched in newspapers and billboards, such as the one "you are not alone" (figure 22 and 23).

Statues and monuments were built characterizing and glorifying the defence of the country as the supreme act of nationality (see table 2.f) They were intended to drum into the citizens the idea of nationalism, partly due to the impending war with Chile and, later, the Malvinas (Falklands) War. The statues praised military actions, comparing them with a divine act. In this sense, the monuments to the Argentine army built in Comodoro Rivadavia and Junín de los Andes are clear examples. Besides, the Condor was also represented in monuments (see figure 24 and 25). Most of these monuments were set up in strategic spots of the country and were replaced after the return to democracy, like the statue of the Argentine Army situated at the entrance of the city of Santa Rosa which was changed for a reference to the La Pampa province in the nineties. Therefore, there are few testimonies left of the self-referential tribute developed by the State to the armed forces in power. The remaining ones are located in scarcely visited places of the country and in spaces related to the armed forces, such as the statues that can still be seen in the Ministry of Defence (figure 26), in the Metropolitan Airport, as well as in places in Patagonia and the Andes, where most of the armed forces are positioned at present.

Besides, the dictatorship used the presence of soldiers and tanks in the streets and public places not only to exercise its power but also to build its image of how the nation should be structured and who its owner was. In this way, the parades and exhibitions of their fire power, the military forces built their image and showed themselves as the State itself.

Another example of how the dictatorship tried to impose its vision of a nation can be found in the textbooks which showed a gap in the national time-line at the beginning of the twentieth century, leaving aside any reference that might bring to light the existence of political parties (Ibañez, 1961 and Floria y Belsunce, 1975). Similarly, the images of the stamps and of the banknotes of that time issued by the State portrayed government actions surrounded by a tense atmosphere, cold representations of the country and past military images, all creating a lack of time's atmosphere in a kind of static and eternal place (figure 27, 28 and 29).

The Football World Cup of 1978 should be also interpreted as a resource used by this State to get the population closer to the government and gave the dictatorship an agenda from where the enjoyment of belonging to a successfully productive system (Argentina was the World Champion) was performed. In that way, the Dictatorship used the event as a symbol of Argentina as a successful nation (figure 30 and 31).

The material constructions of referents and the monumental structures are another testimony of this State Apparatus. For instance, the monumental Yacireta Dam was built, highways such as the Highway number one was built by demolishing thousand of houses or the Argentine Theatre of La Plata, by demolishing the older Classical style theatre. Besides, the already mentioned World Football Cup's infrastructure, which included not only stadiums but also created channel ATC's offices (Argentina Colour Television) (figure 32 to 33).

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Figure 1. 1955, Almirant Rojas



Figure 2. 1963, President Illia



Figure 3. 1966, President Onganía



Figure 4. 1973, President Peron



Figure 5. 1974, President Isabel Peron



Figure 6. 1976, President Videla



Figure 7. 1955, Military coup



Figure 8. 1955, burning of Peron pictures



Figure 9. 1955, mutilated statue of Evita

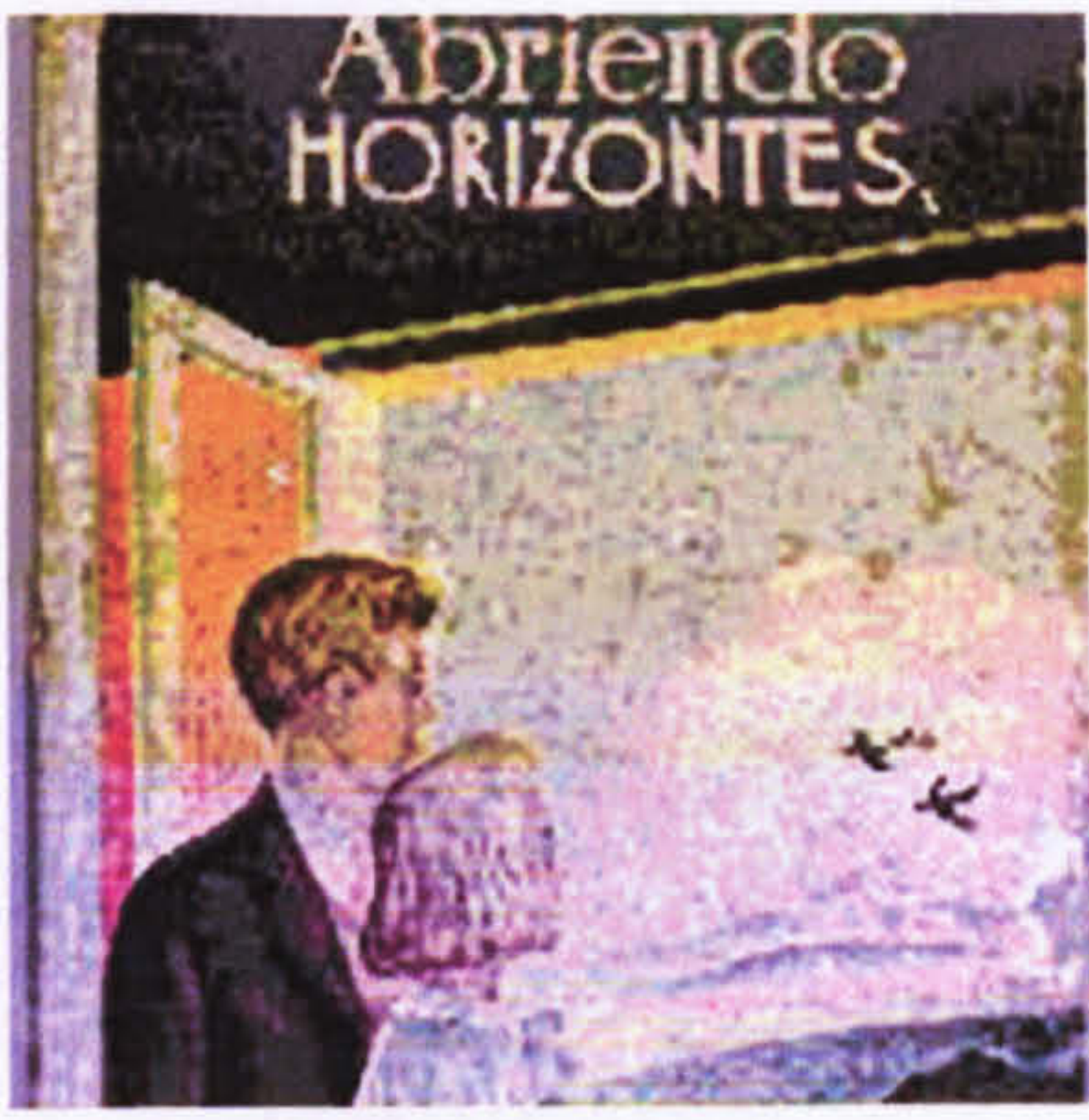


Figure 10. 1956, school manual



Figure 11. 1957, school manual



Figure 12. 1957, helmet



Figure 13. 1958, Urquiza monument

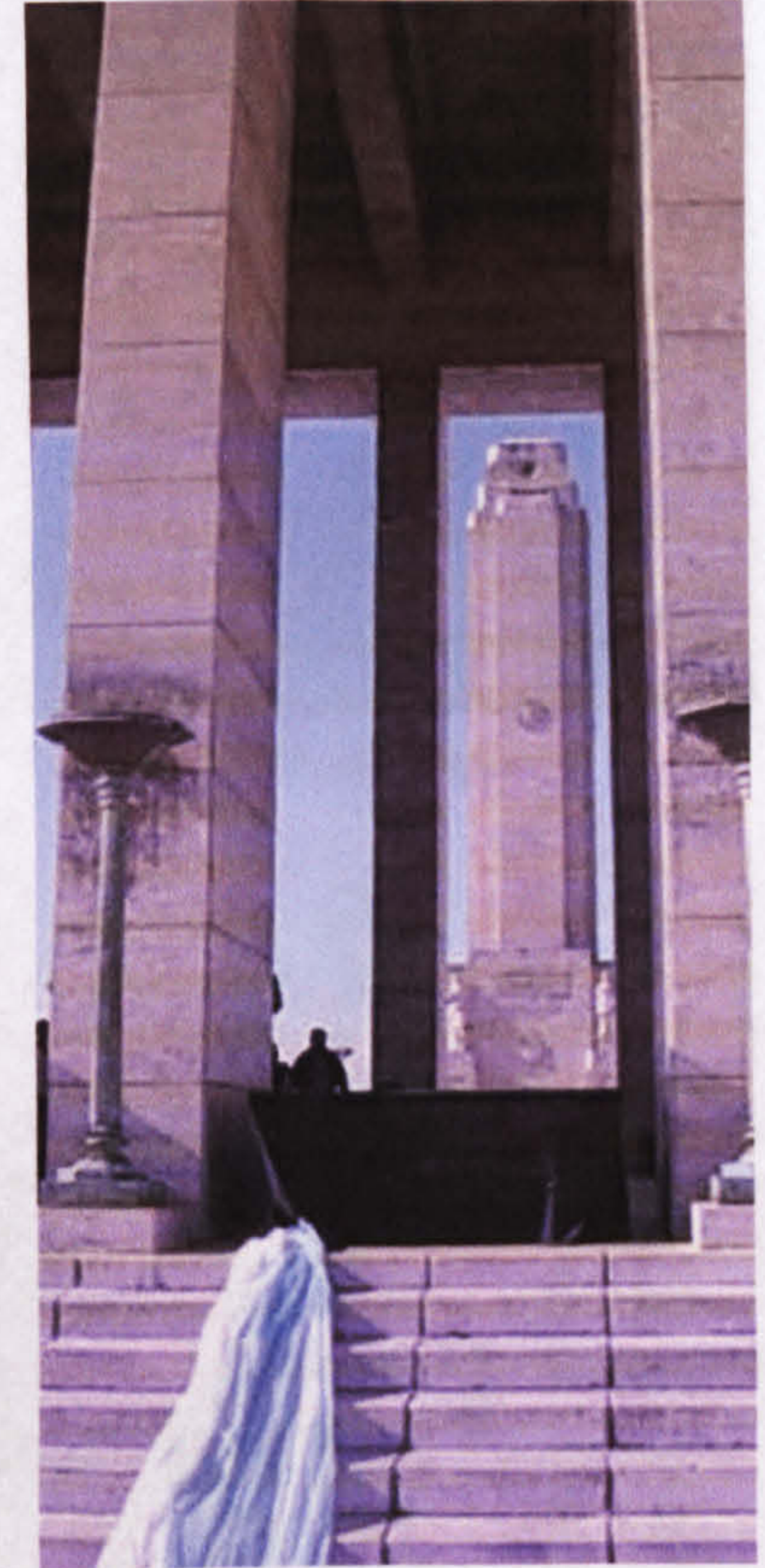


Figure 14. 1957, Flag monument



Figure 15. 1965, Puerto Madryn



Figure 16. 1969, Caleta Olivia

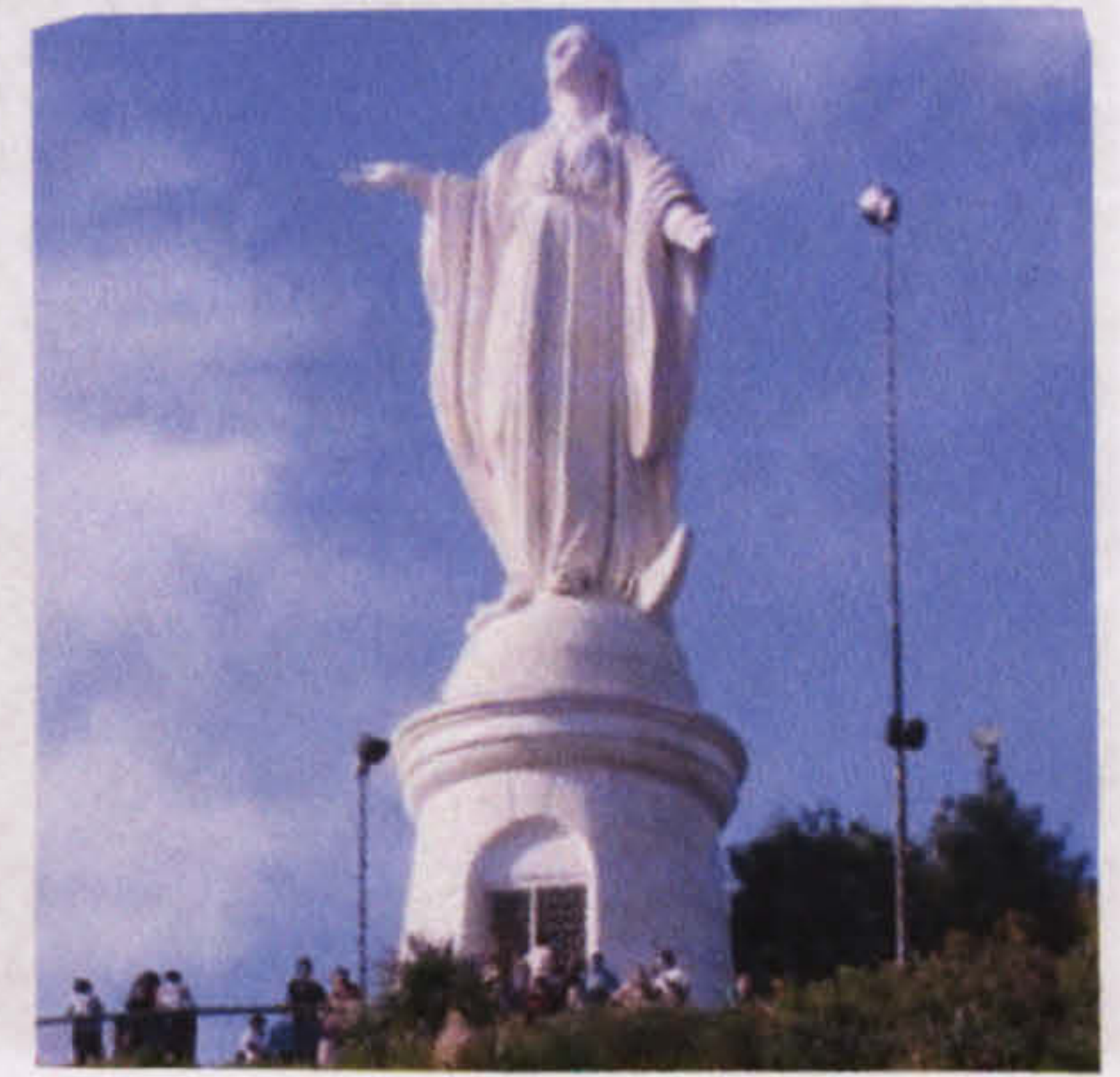


Figure 17. 1960's, Virgen, Santiago del Estero



Figure 18. 1978, campaign



Figure 19. 1979, campaign



Figure 20. 1979, campaign

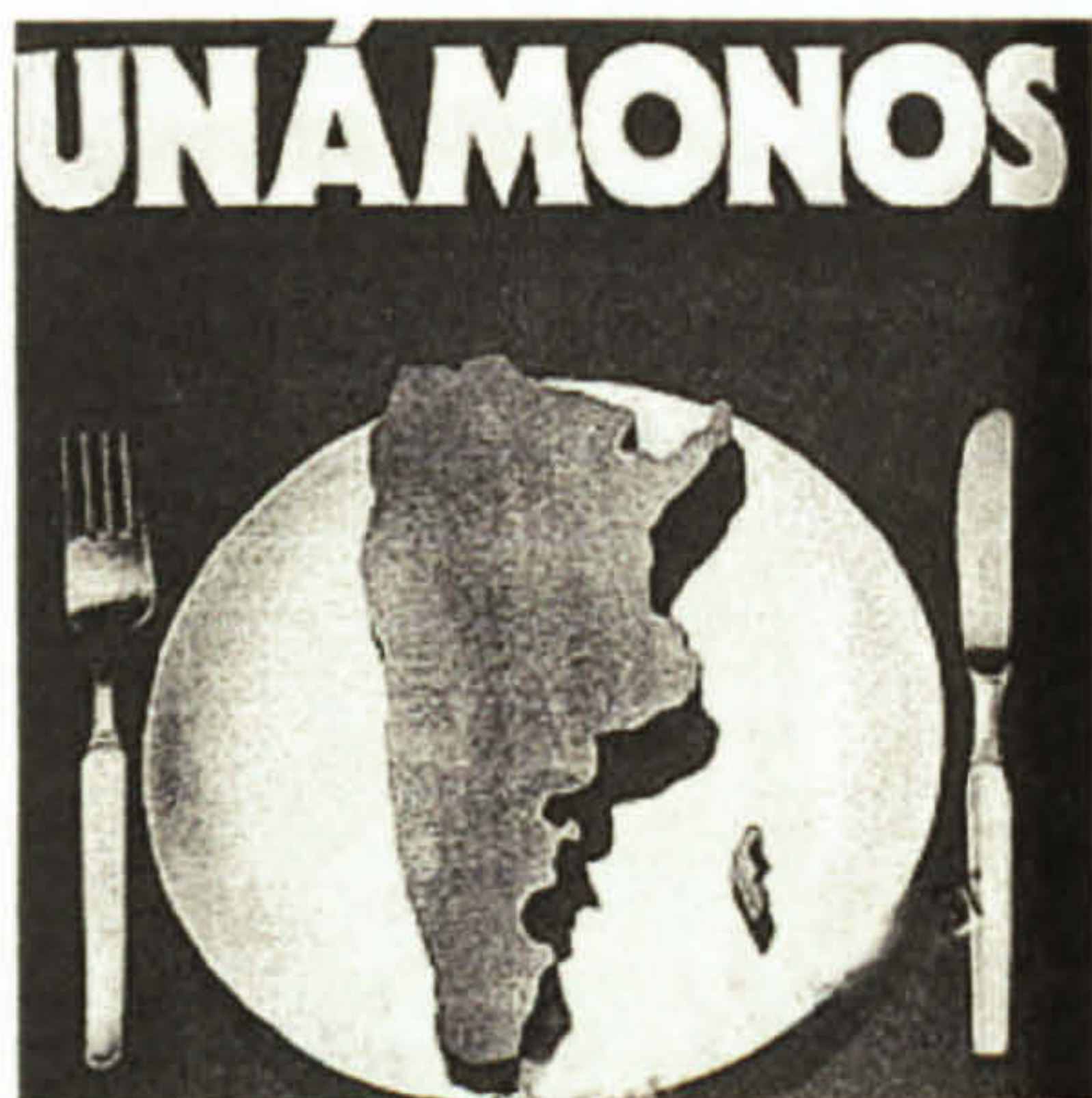


Figure 21. 1977, campaign



Figure 22. 1977, campaign



Figure 23. 1977, campaign



Figure 24. 1980, Comodoro Rivadavia



Figure 25. 1978, Buenos Aires



Figure 26. 1970's, Ministry of Defense



Figure 27. 1981, stamp



Figure 28. 1980, stamp



Figure 30. 1978, World Cup campaign



Figure 29. 1981, banknote



Figure 31. 1978, World Cup stamps



Figure 32. 1980, Argentino theatre



Figure 33. 1978, ATC building

Section 8. The sentiment of sharing: the new beginning of the Argentine Republic

In 1983 the Radical Raúl Alfonsín won the national election. According to Félix Luna, “the radicalism is a historical force which is turned to in difficult times as a safe, soothing point of reference that rejects tyrannical dogmatisms or extreme ideologies” (Luna, 1988: 116). The arrival of democracy in 1983 allowed for the creation of important social agreements based on the acceptance of a constitutional state and the Constitution as a rule. The latter made it possible to organize a society that was tired of authoritarianism, that respected a law that -though beaten, insufficient and inefficient- would encompass the whole population under the culture of the formal acceptance of the others as their equals, allowing democracy to continue to exist up to present times in spite of the economic and social crises that have followed.

The roots of these new crises that once again expelled thousands of Argentineans from the country, in an economic exile this time, can be easily found as a consequence of the Dictatorship's former regime that created a State without strength, unable to act, without hands or eyes. This State lacked the minimal resources to survive, where even the historically famous public hospitals, schools and universities lacked basic resources such as gauze, chalk or teacher's wages, leaving future democratic governments almost no space for manoeuvre and at the mercy of the powerful groups, such as the armed forces, the church, the landowners, the foreign capital and the international loan organizations to which the local enterprises and trade union corporations were added, that would soon be publicly visible.

Within this context, the State's capacity to plan depended on any decision taken by the international loan organizations. Organizations such as the International Monetary Fund or the Paris Club strove to reduce the State, to have a high-valued dollar in order to collect their debts and to make foreign utility companies have high profitability, especially until the 2001 economic outbreak and even up to the present time. That is to say, it has been an economic scheme meant to regress to the social and agricultural live-stock breeding economy of the military dictatorship. Thus, the economic crises, one at a time, absorbed the democratic governments, which, with different intentions, tried to satisfy the conflicting trends.

8.a. The hegemonic ideology: Democracy as an ideology

The first of these democratic governments was that of Raúl Alfonsín (figure 1). The ideological framework of this government located democracy as the answer toward the problems of the country and as structural of the nation. As Alfonsín pointed out several times "With democracy you eat, you cure, you educate" (Smith, 2005: 308).

In that way, some authors such as Portantiero (1982 and 1988) O'Donnell (1983 and 1986) point out that the notion of democracy was the organizing medium of the social thought and "where a rule and an institution were the materialization of an essential social pact" (Gonzalez, 2008: 22). Thus, the main focus of the government was on issues of democratization and of politics through a cultural revolution. It also focused on terms of the materialistic concept of that ideology "such as practices, rituals and apparatus" (Zizek, 2003: 149), that affect the common everyday life of the population. With this aim in mind, the government implemented a significant cultural transformation attacking at many angles.

From one angle, the transformation of the educative content, which also included the implementation of a national literacy plan, making access to universities free and unrestricted and settling the freedom of educational content. At that level, it was understood that the school should "educate spirits under the influence of freedom and with a critical nature. Schools should promote, therefore, comprehension and acceptance of the theoretical and practical principles on which modern democracies hinge" (Bravo, 1983: 50).

In addition, essential to this government was the restoration and deepening of civil rights. For this reason, the government enacted divorce and parental rights laws, but in particular the government created the "National Commission on Disappeared People (CONADEP), a report with registered cases of human rights violation on behalf of the former dictatorship (figure 2). In that way, a symbolically important aspect was the perception of equality in the face of the law, and the actions taken against those responsible for the military dictatorship were revelant. As a result, the members of the three military juntas were prosecuted and sentenced to life terms (figure 3).

Moreover, the government established civilian control of the armed forces, and consolidated the democratic institutions. In this instance, the use of the State as an element for the promotion of democracy in cultural and in all aspects of social life has been of utmost importance. Besides, this government signed a peace and friendship treaty with Chile and founded the Mercosur, two important acts of continental integration.

On the other hand, the attempt to move the seat of the capital of the nation from Buenos Aires to Viedma to stimulate the federal idea and to democratize workers's unions failed. Besides, the National Pedagogic Congress, created to debate and generate consensus about the educational system, was taken over by the church and blurred an important definition.

However, the most important problem of this government was its incapacity to democratize two coordinated enemies. First, the existing military forces⁶⁶, which as a consequence of the justice on

⁶⁶ Something that requested a generation to be possible.

human rights violations, the government was permanently under the pressure of their power. The second resistance against that government came from the economic power. Consequently, the intention of the first Minister of Economy, Bernardo Grispun, to "not subordinate to private interest nor to involve the national economy in particular business" (Galasso, 1992: 66), produced the reaction of the concentrated economic groups with the support of the international financial community, causing Grispun to resign. After that, the failure to resolve economic problems and an inability to maintain public confidence destroyed the government's credibility. Finally, it was a markets' coup d'etat that caused, in 1989, the 200% monthly hyperinflation, producing a chaotic scenery of riots. Alfonsín resigned six months before the end of his term.

8.b. The apparatus of cultural fictions in a state devoted to democracy

Alfonsín argued that "to democratize the culture means to operate not only over a delimited area of our national life but over all national life"⁶⁷. With this aim, from the very beginning Raúl Alfonsín paid attention to how to communicate his government actions, with special care in the discursive construction of messages. For that purpose, a group called the "Esmeralda group" (Ollier, 2001: 56) was conceived as dedicated to context and discourse analysis. The group was composed of important personalities such as Portantiero and Ipola that had been living in exile and became counsellors of the government after their return to the country. As well as former members of the group Daniel Lutkin and Luis Sthulman. According to their testimonies, it could be inferred that in those days the whole ideological apparatus of the State was built upon words rather than upon the construction of objects and images to represent its ideas.

In this way, it is interesting to note that photographic representation of that time's period found in archives⁶⁸ mostly showed the debate's instances, especially based in the Parliament, where all important questions⁶⁹ had resonance (see figures 4 and 5).

The remaining visual testimonies of that period could be arranged in four axes. First, social and political campaigns, such as the Alphabetization Plan campaign (figure 6), and many other designed by Guillermo González Ruiz (González Ruiz, 2004) and distributed by mass media. Among them, it is worth mentioning the, the Alimentary National Plan (PAN) (figure 7), and the Pedagogical Congress (figure 8). But the most concrete communicational actions were planned by David Ratto, who, "with range of Secretary of State" (Baiman, 2008: 34) was the communication advisor of the government. As he narrated during a field work interview, he considered the law

⁶⁷ Alfonsín's discourse to members of the first meeting of members of the National Programme for the Democratization of Culture. Buenos Aires, 6 of June, 1986.

⁶⁸ For intance the Clarín and Página 12 Photographic archives.

⁶⁹ Such as Limit controversy, Divortion law, Syndicate law, etc.

that regulated the national flag use as one of his most important inputs. Moreover, among other activities he designed the official campaign during Chile and Argentina's treaty plebiscite (figure 9).

Second, the State began to use its resources to shape the national space according to its own criteria. Therefore, in order to demilitarize the representation of society, military forces were moved away from urban areas and their presence in the most populated public places was diminished. Another example of this democratization of public places was the increasing presence of diverse aesthetic movements and artistic expressions. It is worth noting that from that period onwards, Juan Perón and Evita or Yrigoyen and Alem's busts were erected in practically all the entrances of towns and cities even though in this period relevant statues and monument were not found.

Besides, as the then Culture Secretary Marcos Aguinis pointed out during a field work interview, the democratization of culture was a state policy, something that was also systematized by Aguinis in the "National Programme for the Democratization of Culture" (Aguinis, 1987: 95). As part of this programme, the open use of the public space was a stated policy and for that reason popular free musical concerts and their promotion constituted clear examples of such state apparatus.

Third, a material action of this State Apparatus was the use of paper money and stamps as a positive communicational recourse in the beginning of the administration, because of their novelty and hopeful aspect. Then, a number of stamps were issued to celebrate the return to democracy after the military government and since then stamps have varied in style, colours and theme, depicting more unconventional subject matters (see figures 10, 11 and 12). However, at the end of the period, banknotes turned out to be a negative element due to the economical catastrophe and high inflation rates. In this situation, paper money lost all of their seriousness as communication instruments of the nation.

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Figure 1. 1983, President Alfonsín

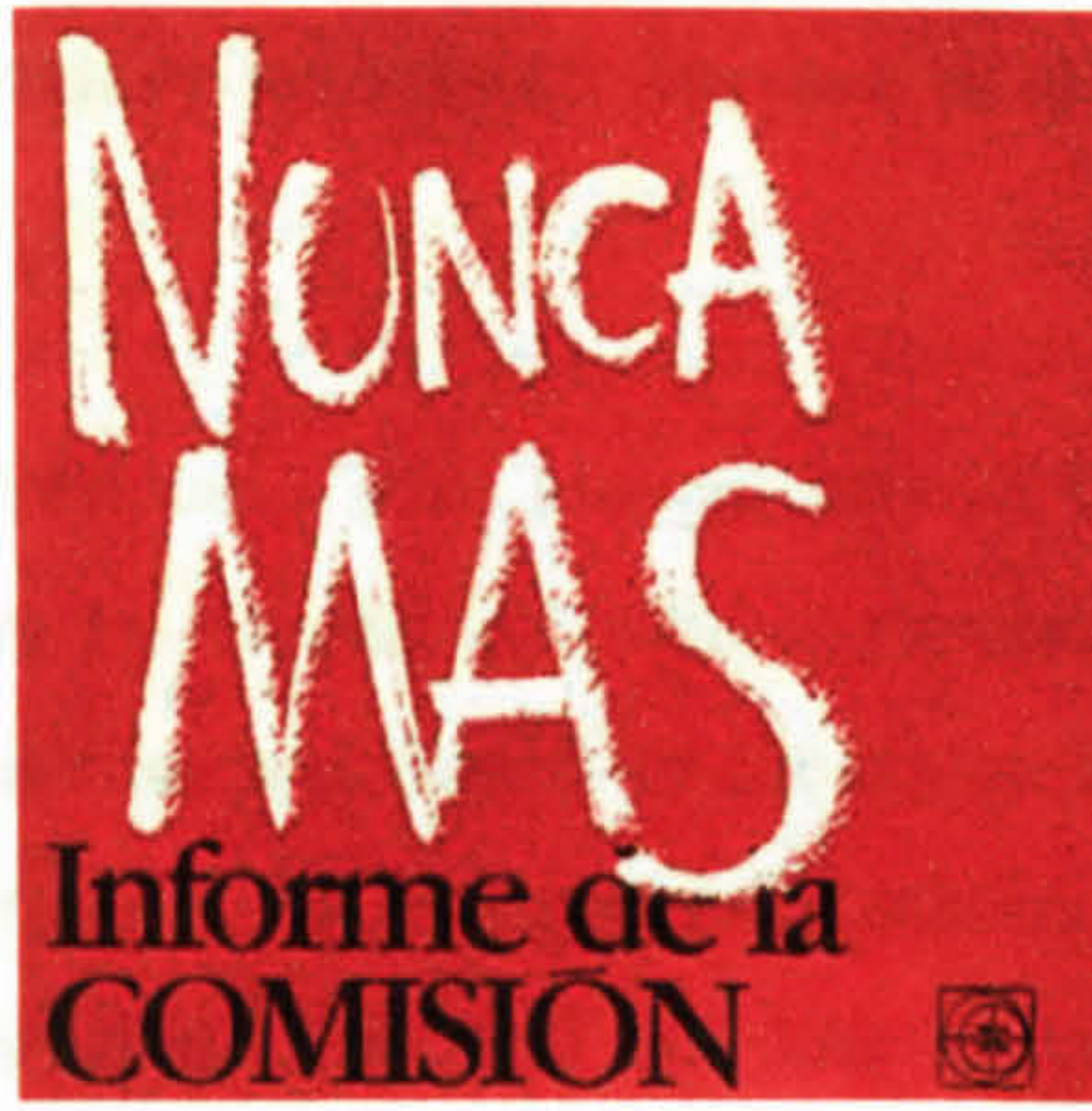


Figure 2. 1984, Report



Figure 3. 1985, Lawsuit against juntas



Figure 4. 1985, Congress debate



Figure 5. 1986, political debate



Figure 6. 1987, Alphabetization campaign



Figure 7. 1987, PAN visual identity



Figure 8. 1987, Pedagogical Congress logo



Figure 9. 1985, Plebiscite campaign



Figure 10. 1985, stamp



Figure 11. 1987, banknote



Figure 12. 1988, banknote

Besides, Menem implemented a policy of subsidies of powerful groups in his aim of political

Section 9. The proprietary sentiment: the use of public resources to support the private interests

In 1989 the Peronist President Carlos Menem entered into office, and remained there until 1999 (see table 2.g and figure 1). During his political campaign, he projected Peronist based promises. However, his representation was based on the union between the Peronist electoral base with nationalism, the conservative, the integrist and catholic one. In other aspects, this social support could be seen as a coalition from high and low social classes, contained by the structure and representation of Peronism (Brennan, 1998).

For Mansetti, even Menem had promised a distributive policy, as soon as he took office he implemented "a sweeping market-oriented reform program worthy of Thatcher and Reagan" (Mansetti, 1993: 66). In doing so, Menem posted former military dictatorship officials in government, such as Domingo Cavallo, his Minister of Economy, and María Julia Alzogaray, national deputy and member of the influential conservative sector, together with traditional Peronists. He imposed a Structural Adjustment Programme called the Convertibility programme. In 1991, he imposed a peso fixed to the dollar in order to stop hyperinflation and adopted far reaching market-based policies, dismantling protectionist barriers and business regulations. Besides, he implemented a privatization program which consisted of private companies being taken over, mainly by foreign enterprises, and in some cases by enterprises linked to the dictatorship's 'patria contratista'. These reforms were made with the previous agreement of the International Monetary Found and contributed to significant increases in investment and growth with stable prices through most of the 1990s.

According to Zaneta, Menem's program subordinated all decisions to the requirements of macroeconomic stabilization. Thus, "the Convertibility plan placed a strong emphasis on the privatization of nationally owned services and enterprises...in a period of just four years (1989-1993), all mayor public enterprises at the federal level were privatized, including the national airlines, banks, railways, oil, natural gas, electricity, telecommunications, ports, water and sewerage services, and defence-related industry. The privatization of nationally owned enterprises generated large cash receipts, which helped to close fiscal accounts in the short run" (Zanetta, 2004: 168).

Another aspect of this government was the decentralization of national resources management towards the provinces, especially public health and education areas, what represents a loss of presence of the national state apparatus as a promoter of national life and identity.

Besides, Menem implemented a policy of seduction of powerful groups in his aim of political

agreements. As he pointed out "the social pact will be a fundamental tool for tracking Argentina into the economic growth and social justice" (Menem and Duhalde, 1989: 35). This social pact involved not only the workers trade union catchments but also the seduction of military groups. By doing so, Menem implemented an amnesty with former dictators.

On the other hand, Menem symbolically seduced liberals (conservatives), by proclaiming and acting in favor of the European Argentine against its Latin American belonging. Therefore, he declared that "Argentina belongs to the first world" (Petras, 2004: 136), but more importantly than that for this sector was the privatization of state companies, something that brought first world service companies to Argentina.

In this way, this allowed Menem to build a strong political structure based on the purchase of wills that was called "a political of seduction" (Cecchini and Zicolillo, 2002: 17). The Supreme Court's composition was modified and, as the journalist Horacio Verbinsky pointed out, "the control and justice bodies were silenced" (Verbinsky, 1991: 70).

However, the consequence of the breakage of the local cultural and productive reference widened the inequality in income distribution, generating 20% unemployment rates, and a de-industrialization process with an industry deprived of competitiveness and exportation due to the high production costs. Then, the country started to demand a constant foreign debt and the sale of companies and state resources to preserve the life of the economy. As well as that, a generalized corruption resulting from the use of public resources for unclear aims was publicly visible. All of this meant that middle sectors in the society coincided in their demand for a political renewal.

9.a. The apparatus of cultural fiction that fostered Menem's progress

Carlos Menem's government used all available State resources to broadcast its messages. Among them, the following should be mentioned. First, the utilization of mass media -especially television, radio and advertisements- was paid for with public funds to broadly publicize Menem's actions and his political agenda. Therefore, the advertising campaigns of that period merged the State with him showing both the state interest and Menem's interest as equal, or as one thing. For instance, an intense campaign was projected called "Menem did it" (Bielsa, 1999: 172), showing the act of governing by his administration (figure 2).

The second construction of this image-building apparatus was the intention to associate the figure of Menem with that of the historical Argentine *caudillos* and to included in his government nationalistic symbology⁷⁰. For Menem, as he wrote in his book "Hope and Action" (Menem, 1990:

⁷⁰ Even his administration sold most of the national resources to foreign companies.

216), Rosas was a central symbolic representation of his state policies and still the reference of the integrist and catholic nationalism. Consequently, Menem produced a series of actions to associate his figure with himself such as to return the Rosas ashes from England to Argentina (1989), the construction of a monument to Rosas in Palermo (1990) created by the sculptor Ricardo Dala Lasta, and the issuance of the \$20 banknote with Rosas' face (1992) (figure 3 and 4).

Likewise, something similar happened with General Julio A. Roca, a symbol of the conservatives and pro-european argentinians, with the construction of his monument in Bariloche (1991), despite the disapprovals of the aboriginal communities, as well as the printing of images and quotations related to Roca and the Conquest of the Desert in the paper money (1992) (figure 5 and 6).

Futhermore, Menem also inaugurated monuments dedicated to those who fell in the Malvinas War (Buenos Aires, 1990) and the statue "Héroes de Malvinas" (Malvinas War heroes), in Pilar (1992), in the city of Escobar (1997) and the Monument to Malvinas in Quequén (1999); the Malvinas legacy being a national cause for the nationalist (figure 7 and 8).

Moreover, Menem's government built the statue of Evita in Buenos Aires (1999) (figure 9), and inaugurated among others the statue to Pope John Paul II (1999). His attempt to build a monument as a reconciliation in a former detention centre of the dictatorship failed.

Last, during his administration, the Condor was the representative figure for the promotion of tourism in the country, even though it had a negative symbolic connotation⁷¹ (figure 10).

Besides, the transformation of public space that this government enabled is important to point out. Accordingly, the interest of Menem to seduce social groups and resources, generated the transference of particular sectors to the national patrimony. For instance, Menem donated federal lands to the Muslim community to build a mosque; he transferred public places to workers's Central Unions and Puerto Madero's docklands to private hands.

In summary, Menem's government extensively used the public space and the settling of concrete references to project his vision of the nation, according to Mori and Roemmer's surveys of 1997.

⁷¹ The Condor is a carrion bird but more relevant than that, the "Condor Plan" (Baltasar Garzón, 1999: 34) was well known during Menem's time, which was the systemic disappeared of people by the coordinated action of South American's dictatorships. Besides, the condor was cleared associated with military sectors.

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Figure 1. 1989, President Menem



Figure 2. 1999, campaign



Figure 3. 1990, Buenos Aires



Figure 4. 1990, banknote

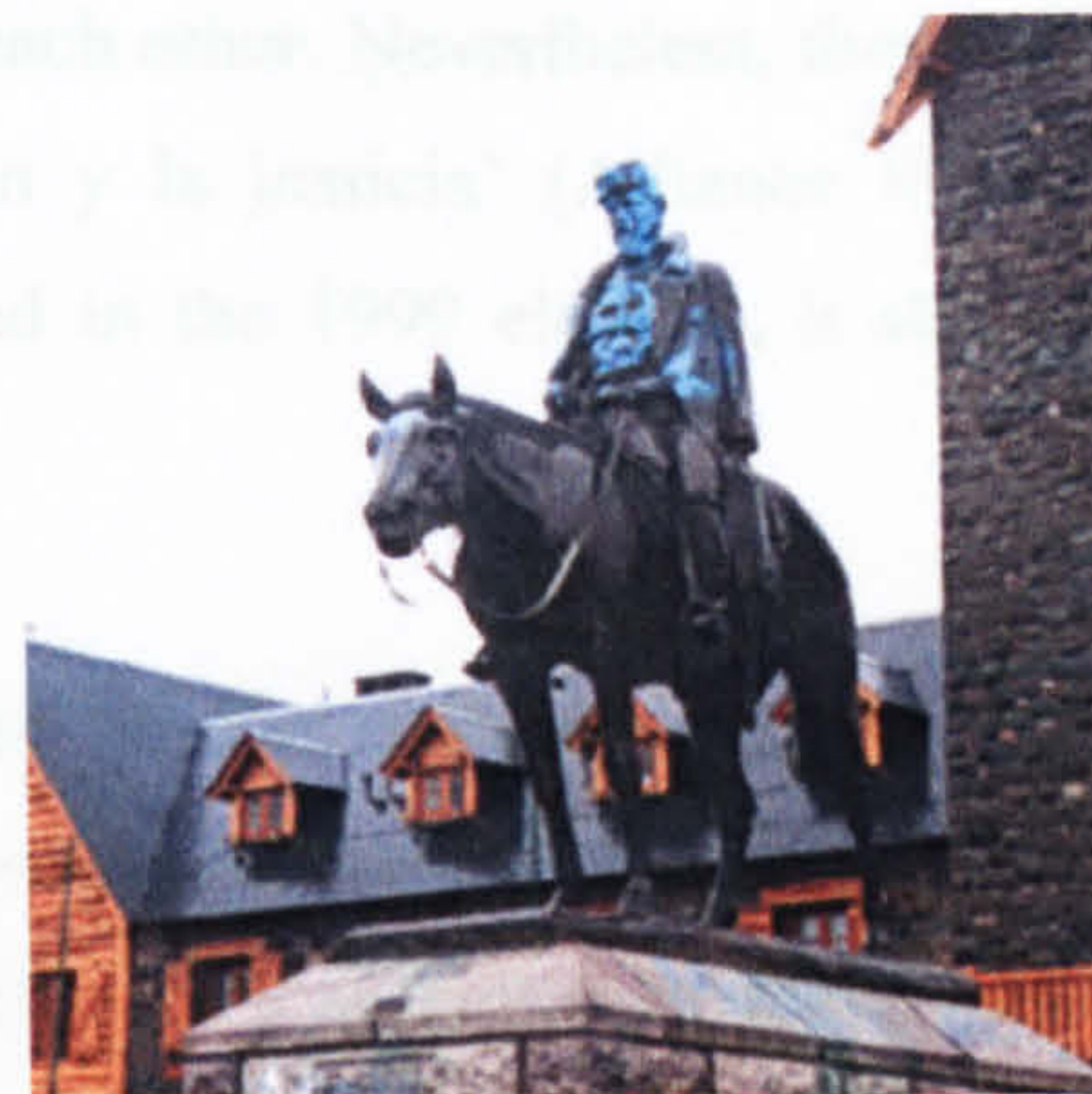


Figure 5. 1991, Bariloche



Figure 6. 1991, banknote



Figure 7. 1990, Buenos Aires



Figure 8. 1997, Escobar



Figure 9. 1999, Buenos Aires



Figure 10. 1999, brand nation

Section 10. An organizational dimension: to end corruption, to stop the use of public funds to benefit private interest through the creation of a political alliance (the Alliance)

The Argentine middle class was excluded from the real or symbolic benefits of the Menemist government and it was an electoral sector divided until 1997, being represented by the Radicalism and the Frepaso, each of them having a 20% share of the electorate before the election, while the Peronism had 40% acceptance, according to Catterberg's survey⁷².

Historically, both radicals and frepasist had been jealous of each other. Nevertheless, they created for that election the 'Alianza para el trabajo, la educación y la justicia' (Alliance for work, education and justice)⁷³. The Alliance won that election and in the 1999 election, it allowed a radical candidate to reach the presidency of the nation.

Thus, in 1999 president De la Rúa came into office (figure 1). The electoral proposal of the Alianza rested on the good intentions to end corruption and to improve the life of excluded social groups. The cultural climate of his government was initially seen as closer to the return of democracy with Alfonsín. However, De la Rúa's personality and the internal and international context were different.

In this way, the first important actions of this government were conditioned by the agreement that De la Rúa made with the International Monetary Fund, such as the reform of retirement conditions and the reforms of the labor and social care system. The political cost of such attempts affected the relationship of De la Rúa with the Frepaso.

Besides, in less than a year, De la Rúa showed himself incompetent and indisposed to tackle corruption and to save the Argentine economy⁷⁴. On one hand, in the year 2000 a scandal caused by accusations of bribery involved members of the Congress and of his cabinet generated the breakdown of the Alianza. As a consequence of that, the Frepaso's vice-President resigned. De la Rúa started then to make ties with other parties, such as members of the conservative right like Domingo Cavallo, who was appointed again as Minister of Economy.

⁷² Catterberg y Asociados surveys, data from 900 individuals in a random household sample.

⁷³ See more details in Section 1, Fieldnotes.

⁷⁴ See more details in Section 1, Fieldnotes.

On the other hand, the economy of De la Rúa faced a diminished competitiveness of exports, massive imports that damaged national industries, chronic fiscal and trade deficits and an outflow of capital that triggered a wider recession⁷⁵.

Then, the government totally froze bank accounts by "the corralito"⁷⁶ (financial fence), generating a financial panic. The social situation worsened. Demonstrations became more frequent and pot banging demonstration 'cacerolazos', were frequent in urban streets, while people shouted "away with them all!"⁷⁷ (figure 2).

In December 2001, social explosions, outbreaks of looting, bloody riots and general chaos, some of them encouraged by the Peronist party itself, forced De la Rúa to resign and brought an end to the Alianza.

10.a. The apparatus of cultural fictions of the Alliance

De la Rúa's office would not manage to leave any significant or systemic testimony of his intentions and vision about the nation, basically due to the absence of skill or clarity in his administration. Besides, the lack of experience of the members of cabinet operatively delayed definitions of many subjects, producing a communicational emptiness about the political aim of the government. Besides, any effort to produce images resembling the promotion of a republican State, crashed against the social and economical agenda that politically weighed on Argentina at the time. Consequently, that agenda blurred any cultural or utopic will.

In this circumstance, four aspects can be highlighted. First, the intention to magnify the figure of De la Rúa due to the emerging critics about the weakness of his figure. In that way De la Rúa's State finally used the same communicational resources that Menem used, such as funding advertising campaigns with public funds in order to promote his speeches and political goals widely. Thus, at the end of his government, the motto "Gestion De la Rúa" signed his administration's works, like in the external debt mega-swap called "Blindaje"⁷⁸. Furthermore, as a last attempt to gain support, De la Rúa used television to narrate his view and actions. That sequence of messages ended with one where De la Rúa said that he resigned the presidency (figure 3).

⁷⁵ Already in December 1999, the assets of Argentine people living abroad were estimated at 8.9271 billion dollars. See Ministry of Economy, Quarterly Estimations of payments, assets and external liabilities balance, 1998-1999, Buenos Aires, 2000: 26).

⁷⁶ See Garretón, 2004: 50.

⁷⁷ See Jozami and Gonzales, 2004: 18.

⁷⁸ The communicators that worked on those campaign were sociologist Luis Stuhlman and Analía del Franco, the publicists Carlos Souto and Ramiro Agulla. All coordinate by Antonio De la Rúa. See Field Notes, Section 2.

Third, no monuments were built, with the exception of the monument "Tribute to Democracy" (Gerlós, 2004: 81) created by Kosice in 1986 but erected in Buenos Aires in 2000 (figure 4). Fourth, several images were projected through designs that intended to represent Argentina as an articulation of differences (see figures 5 to 8). In parallel, the institutional identity of the government was systematized together with visual adjustments to the national shield⁷⁹ (figures 9). In addition, the Tourism Secretary changed the former condor to an abstract representation of Argentina, composed of a white triangle in a blue circle (figure 10).

⁷⁹ See more details in Section 1, Fieldnotes.

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Figure 1. 1999, President De la Rúa



Figure 2. 2001, "Cacerolas"



Figure 3. 2001, De la Rúa resignation



Figure 4. 1999, Buenos Aires



Figure 5. 2001, Non-violence campaign



Figure 6. 2001, Children's Council



Figure 7. 2001, Woman's Council



Figure 8. 2001, House of Government



Figure 9. 2001, brand of Argentina

Section 11. The sentiment of sharing: Hope, self esteem and organization in Duhalde's administration

After De la Rúa's fall, the National Congress elected a provisional President. One by one, three Peronist senators assumed and resigned because of their lack of political consensus, until Eduardo Duhalde, former vice-president of Carlos Menem was appointed as President of the nation. Duhalde governed Argentina from 2002 to 2003 (see table 1 and figure 1).

Even as he assumed in the middle of the crisis, during his short period of government Duhalde was able to stop the chaos in which Argentina was immersed. This was accomplished by the government massively distributing social aid to the population. As Godio pointed out "in 2002 Duhalde motorized the plan Home's Chief that feed 2 millions people then" (Godio, 2003: 137) (figure 2). At the same time, he declared the debt default and modified the exchange rate of the dollar to the peso, generating thus an improvement of the exchange trade situation and an incipient process of substitution of imports. As a result, slowly and without financial facilities, the local industry started to produce again.

As a consequence of the lack of credibility of both former administrations, Duhalde's ideological state apparatus tried to empower the self-esteem of a broken Argentina. That was a time of lack of credibility in presidential discourses and as a consequence Duhalde tried to insistently bring hope Argentines, showing them an horizon. For instance, he repeatedly reminded the public: "Argentina is condemned to succeed", exploiting popular beliefs to stimulate a magic determinism.

The state's economical circumstances did not allow the launch of expensive advertising campaigns nor the construction of significant statues or monuments. It was only possible to find a few communicational campaigns of this state (figure 3 and 4), because most of the time Duhalde used press conference as the selected media (figure 5, 6 and 7).

In addition, the previously designed institutional identity of the government was applied deeper and a variation of the logo for the tourism promotion was designed (figure 8 and 9). An attempt to modified the light-blue color of the national flag by blue, was blocked⁸⁰ (figure 10).

⁸⁰

This attempt was encouraged by Peronist deputies. Among them, Lorenzo Pepe from Buenos Aires.

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Figure 1. 2002, President Duhalde

Plan Jefas y Jefes de Hogar Desocupados



Figure 2. 2002, plan Home's Chief visual identity



Figure 3. 2002, campaign



Figure 4. 2002, campaign



Figure 5. 2002, press conference



Figure 6. 2002, press conference



Figure 7. 2003, press conference



Figure 8. 2002, MECON visual identity



Figure 9. 2002, Argentina brand



Figure 10. 2002, blue flag arrempt

Section 12. The sentiment of sharing: an hegemonic left wing populism with Kirchner governments

Duhalde called for elections and helped the candidature of Nestor Kirchner. He won that election against Carlos Menem with 23% of electoral support. Nevertheless, in few years he built an impressive popular approbation that lasted until 2007, when his wife, Cristina replaced him in office (figure 1 and 2).

Kirchner's main success was his management of the national economy reaching an incredible and unique economical growth. As Svampa argued, "taking place at a time of economic recovery and fiscal surplus which have reduced unemployment to 11.4, but also led to a widening gap between social classes" (Svampa, 2007: 46).

The performance of his economy was contextualized in a so called "left wing nationalism" or "left populism"⁸¹, that the Kirchner couple created, a political position that granted them access to middle class sectors beyond Peronism.

The political actions of these administrations could be resumed in three aspects:

First, Kirchner's international policy moved Argentina from the former "carnal relationship"⁸² with the United States to stress ties with Latin America, politically working together with left wing government from the continent, especially with Brasil and Venezuela. As Maristella Svampa pointed out "the present government has favoured the emergence of an antiliberal Latin American space, in which governments and social actors converge" (Svampa, 2007: 46-47). In this context, the reivindication of a self-development growth also allowed Kirchner the projection of an originally left wing nationalism approach.

Second, he attempted to create a national economy less dependent on foreign investments. On the one hand, it started a process of nationalization of services companies. This involved a direct or indirect control over companies by using their dependence on governmental subsidies to compensate the cost of their services in dollars. This happened with the former Argentine airline, the railways system, energy and water providers. On the other hand, and as it can be read in section 3 of the Field Notes, he tried to incentivate the national development in which the science and technology system was considered essential. As result, this politically ignored sector until that time received an extra flow of resources and in the Cristina Kirchner administration, Science and Technology heightened their status from being a Secretary to a Ministry. As well as that, the

⁸¹ See interview to Ernesto Laclau about Kirchner's government in www.revista-noticias.com.ar/comun/nota.php?ari=448&ed=1587-22k –

⁸² As a former Menem's Chancellor said (Kirchner and Di Tella, 2003: 205).

encouragement of the local industry was focused on giving incentives to exports using national agencies (as can be seen in Field Notes, Section 4).

Third, Kirchner's most important political creation was the establishment of a left space articulated by the state. In that way, Kirchner's re-vindication of the 70's generation can be consequently understood. Thus, his focus on the memory of the repression allowed him to build a social and electoral alliance not only with the left side of Peronism but also with human rights organization and left wing groups from outside Peronism. For Svampa, Kirchner's actions "have resulted in fragilizing certain political parties and causing the decline of others, as well as the government co-opting of many workers' organizations and human rights associations" (Svampa, 2007: 46).

Related to that, shortly after coming into office, Kirchner changed the conformation of the Supreme Court, breaking its former dependency with Menemism and generating an almost independent and more prestigious court. That action not only was a popular policy, especially for middle class sectors, but also allowed the end of the impunity of former repressors through re-opened law suits against them.

Kirchner completed his mandate in 2008 with high approval rates⁸³, and consequently his wife Cristina easily won the election, producing a political continuity between both administrations. However at the very beginning of her government, both Kirchners' popular support started to fall. Besides, corruption cases and the confrontational performance of their politics affected her image.

Kirchner's tendency towards a hegemonic concentration of power, authoritarian attitudes and the Kirchner's re-evaluation in 2008 of the figure of the Peronist party, generated uncertainties about the future of their political construction. However, the most relevant doubts came from the economic and social situation. The increment of inflation, the transference of resources to concentrated groups of the economy and the increase of poverty and unemployment increased the gap between social classes and are all incompatible with a left wing discourse.

12.a. Kirchner's ideological state apparatus: the seventies as a national quilting point.

The state's symbolic resources that both Kirchners used can be summarized in the creation of a story about the political reality. Accordingly, all questions were translated to the requirement of that story which is the revival of the hidden generation of the 70's. That story includes a diagnosis of the structural enemies of the people, reivindicative aspects and the projection of an horizon. That diagnosis is consistent with the 70's militant logic and with Ernesto Laclau's concept of

⁸³ 71% according to Ipsos- Mora & Araujo.

populism's requirements. In fact Laclau repeatedly saw Kirchners' administration as an example of his thoughts⁸⁴.

This logic saw a dichotomized Argentina composed of two confronted fields, with a clear division between people and anti-people, trying to "simplify the political space, replacing a complex set of differences and determinations by a stark dichotomy" (Laclau, 2005: 18). Furthermore, according to the government and Laclau's view, "we know that populism involves the division of the antagonistic camp, the 'regime', the 'oligarchy', the 'dominant groups', and so on, for the enemy; the 'people', the 'nation', the 'silent majority'" (Laclau, 2005: 87).

However, for Laclau, populism required not only antagonism but an equivalence among the many actors involved in its action, closing its identity by a quilting point. As he asked "what is missing? The identification with some highly cathected image of the identity of the group as such" (Laclau, 2005: 51). That image came from the figure of the people or the blurred figure of the 70's utopia.

As an example of this ideological mechanism, the Kirchners' confrontation against the rural sector in 2008 can be mentioned (figure 3). For that reason, even though the major affluence of resources of the state were coming from the rural sector's exports, the Kirchners deliberately hid its importance in the Argentine economical growth and continuously confronted with the sector. Therefore, especially during the rural crisis of this year, the Kirchners located the rural sector as a whole as the opposite of "people", defining this sector as "the oligarchy", using repeatedly the seventies motto, even though the sector had suffered an important social, economical and political transformation during these decades.

After that, hundreds of artists and intellectuals supported the government position, although most of them worked for the Cultural Media and Communication national secretaries in activities such as concerts, debates or TV programs in the state broadcast⁸⁵ (figure 4),. One of the resources that this group used for doing so, was the publishing of an open letter's manifesto, called "carta abierta"⁸⁶ (figure 5), where 750 intellectuals and artists valued the government actions and attacked the rural sector. It was spread by mass media and an email chain. Besides, mobilization was organized by the state to show popular support for Kirchner's position, and advertising campaigns were launched polarizing the political field. Thus, those artists, intellectuals, mobilised demonstrators and ad campaigns can be considered an essential component in Kirchner's ideological state apparatus.

⁸⁴ See interview to Laclau in Clarín newspaper. www.clarin.com/diario/2007/05/19/elmundo/i-04201.htm and in La Nación newspaper www.lanacion.com.ar/nota.asp?nota_id=719992.

⁸⁵ And creating a new one called Encuentro Channel. It is an educative channel.

⁸⁶ www.lacapital.com.ar/contenidos/2008/05/15/noticia_0031.html.

The second story is about people's reinvigoration that includes the structural discursive construction of the social justice as the key motive of the political actions, pertaining to all Peronism, plus the exercise of power over enemies. This question of symbolic power was especially emphasized over the military, a cause that was well received by their electorate. In this way, the transformation of the military dictatorship's former confinement centres into museums of horror, the retirement of military symbols and the preservation of the memories of the seventies's violence, were relevant aspects of Kirchner's actions (figure 6 to 9).

The last story is about a growing and independent nation. In that way, the communicational interest in the projection of science, technology, and innovation⁸⁷ (figure 10), the promotion of the cultural industries and of successful experiences of local exporter companies and the launch of the Argentina national brand are significant. To launch the national brand the State spent a large amount of money, for instance, to promote it in the International Film Festival of Cannes (figure 11).

⁸⁷ See Section 2 and 3 Fieldnotes.

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Figure 1. 2003, President Nestor Kirchner



Figure 2. 2007, President Cristina Kirchner

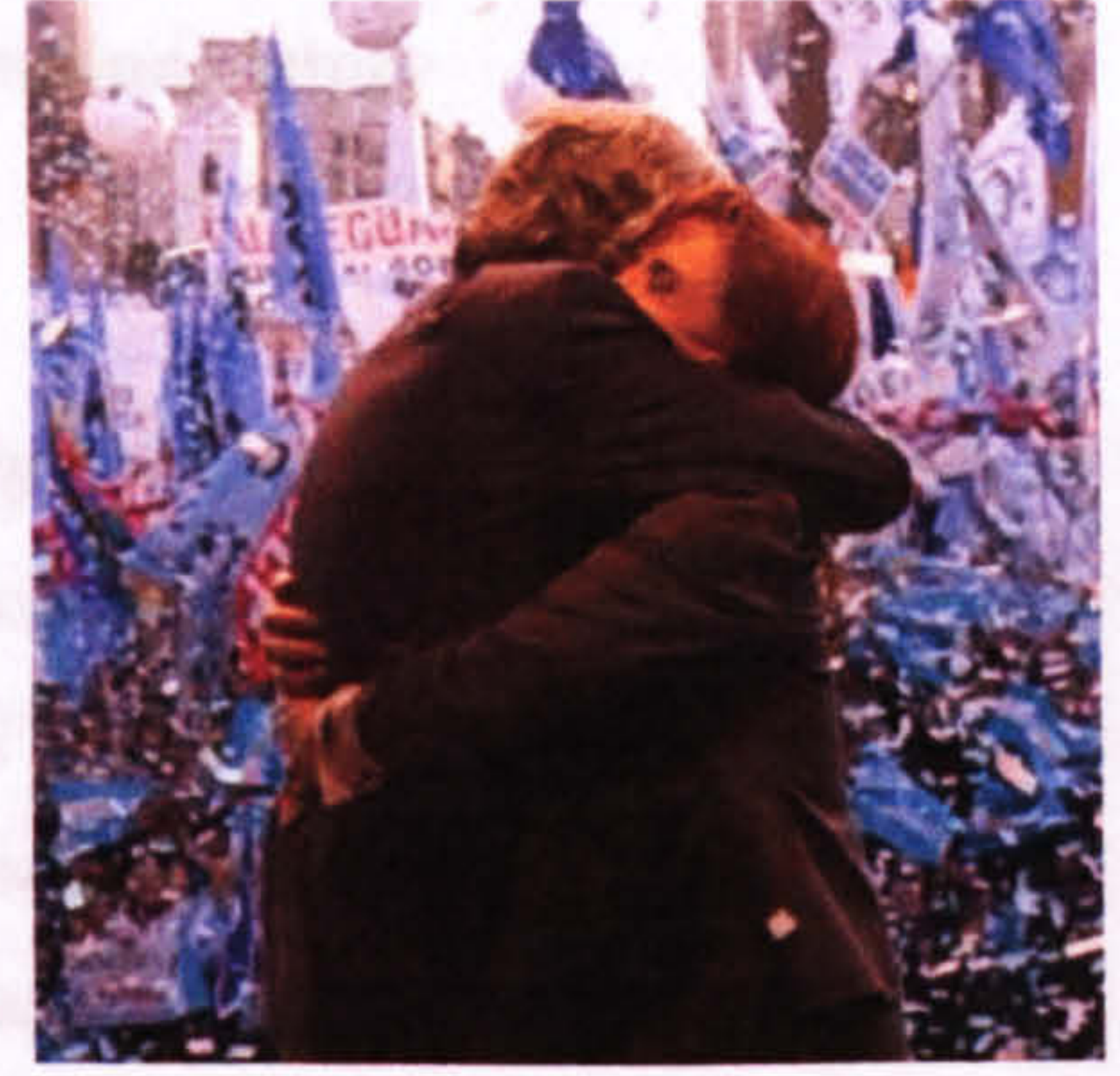
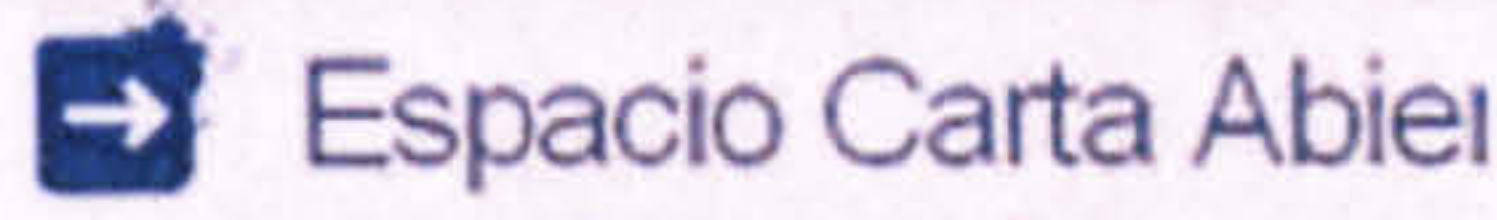


Figure 3. 2008, government demonstration



Figure 4. 2007, Encuentro channel



LUNES 16 DE JUNO DE 2008

Espacio Carta Abierta se moviliz Mayo

El Espacio Carta Abierta, conformado por persciencias, el arte y el periodismo, entre otras dis participar del acto que se realizará el miércoles defensa del gobierno democrático y popular al c evidencia con total claidad en estas últimas ho destituir.

Figure 5. 2008, Open Letter group



Figure 6. 2005, replacement of Videla portrait



Figure 7. 2006, Museum of Memory



Figure 8. 2006, Monument to Victims



Figure 9. 2008, Monument to Victims of 1955



Figure 10. 2005, science related brands



Figure 11. 2007, brand of Argentina

Section 13. Analysis of the national sentiments in the Argentine history

As it was mentioned in the chapter of theory, the relationship between national sentiments can be figured as a kind of textile or rope. It can have vast fibres overlapping (Wittgenstein, 1953) that could be visible for a while only to be hidden underneath another in next segments and their strength and structure is given by the figure of the State. This State is very stable, can support any movement of the rope and tracks the civil society to hold and to tie the totality of the different dimensions of nationality at its end. In addition, it is the one that keeps the woven fibres of the rope united producing what Gramsci defined as hegemony (Gramsci, 1996).

In Argentina, and according to the information that arises from the table number 3, there are six different national sentiments that appear during the history of the country. Of the six sentiments, the proprietary and the religious dimensions of nationality appeared only in one historical period each. The nationality as a home appeared in two periods while the organizational dimension and the sentiments of sharing are the most common sentiments, appearing in four different historical periods each.

The sentiment that interprets nationality as a home is found in Argentina at the beginning of the Nation, in times of independence and till 1820. It is a sentiment that is hidden for almost 41 years to appear again once internal differences and fights were over and a new sentiment of a united country emerged. In the middle, an organizational dimension during 1852-1861 existed because of the implementation of the first national Law that gave to all Argentines the same rights and obligations. After that, from 1862-1880 the so called Generation of '37 awoke again the hidden sentiment to feel Argentina as a home, with its slogan "Governing is inhabiting" that positioned the country as a receptive place to come and start a new life. Before that, in the period of 1820 to 1852 and between 1880 and 1916 the main sentiments were sentiments of the difference. In the first case, internal differences represented by different groups of people, the *Unitarios* and *Federales*, were alternatively in power and spread their dominant ideology during 32 years. In the second case, from 1880 to 1916, the hegemony in the government was total and the dominant ideology was to obtain "Order and Progress" led by and obtained for white people and culture. After that, the nationality understood as a home did not appear again in Argentine history.

Historically, there follows a period characterized by the emergence of the sentiment of sharing from 1916 to 1928 with the beginning of the Republican Argentina and democracy. In this period, the will of the people to get more democracy and participation was satisfied and this fact gave the popular sector the joy of being part of a represented group. The same sentiment and the same reason can later be found in the period of 1983 to 1989 with the end of a strong dictatorship, the

arrival of democracy and the new beginning of Republican Argentina. In addition, a new sentiment of sharing grew in 2002-2003 when, after a deep economic and representation political crisis, the sentiment of hope, self esteem and the ability to organize themselves again was stimulated in Duhalde's administration and continued during the Kirchner period of 2003 to 2008. Therefore, considering the four mentioned moments where this sentiment of sharing appeared, it can be said that they are important after profound political crisis because of the lack of democracy by the military in power or by a lack of political representation of the politics in power.

Going back to the beginning of the XX century, the joy obtained in the democratic period of 1916 to 1928 was disrupted by the military force that governed from 1930-1945 and spread a sentiment in relation to the Nation very close to a religious dimension. They created the Nationalist Argentina where faith, family, blood, tradition and race were their most important values. For instance, in this period of 1930-1945 the representation of the Luján Virgin as mother of the Argentines was spread. The Virgin wears the colours of the Argentine flag (light blue and white), while the national shield and provinces are at the bottom part of her tunic. However, even when the military were in power in other periods, this religion dimension in such a strong way did not appear again but the catholic values were always close to the military values.

This period is followed by a period of sentiments of difference, when excluded people, the workers, become represented by Peron but it provoked internal dichotomies where the workers, the people were opposed to a previous dominant oligarchy. After Peron, between 1955 and 1976, there were internal fights between the military force and democratic political parties to be in power. For this reason, they spread the idea of a need for organization, even though each sector considered completely different values to reach such organization that ranged from democracy and freedom to dictatorship with censorship, exclusion and death. An extreme sentiment was expressed by the last dictatorship from 1976 to 1983 with the so called "Process of National Re-Organization". Then, democracy came again and after a radical government the State represented by Menem, from 1989 to 1999 spread a sentiment of proprietary when public resources were used to support private interests.

As it was mentioned in the chapter of theory, in the case of the proprietary sentiment, a Nation is considered a framework to guarantee the interest of the proprietary of this territory. The owner's condition resembled that of a citizen and solidarity grows but belongs to the exercise of self rights and interest. For this reason the purpose of a government is the preservation of property. In this case, this was done by an intense and corrupt process of privatization of State companies and more than a million Argentines were propelled to poverty. After that, during 1999-2001 a sentiment of organization was created by the Alliance in order to end corruption, to stop the use of public funds to benefit private interest but it ended very quickly. Finally, a period of sharing sentiments arose as

it was mentioned above.

All the mentioned sentiments were spread by the Argentine State through history using different supports which are analysed in next section.

Section 14. Historical analysis of the different supports and their importance

14.a. Flag, shield and banknotes

In the Argentine case, looking at the different tables in number 2 that give information of each Ideological and cultural State apparatus, it is possible to say that the flag, shield and banknotes were used throughout history. Moreover, they carried a dual discourse and use.

In the case of the flag, the sun has been an element that has been changed through history depending on intention or the use of the flag. For instance, a flag with the sun is military war flag while a flag without the sun is used for civilian people. In the case of the shield, the duality is given by the use of a shield that represents a federal country (the one that has surrounding flags) and the use of a shield with no surrounding flags and with no other reference to diversity that represents a country led by Buenos Aires. In the case of banknotes, the main duality is found between the alternate presence of the figure of the Republic and the figure of San Martin that represents the military power. In the three cases, how the three supports are designed is according to the political aims and models of the country that each government had. In a broad sense, what has been analysed above shows an Argentina divided by military and democratic governments.

These three supports, the flag, shield and banknotes are present in all the countries of the world and it is a State obligation to put them in circulation in every moment. The information they give about how the State designs identity is very rich and for this reason they are going to be deeply analysed in a separate way in the next chapters, after having made a global analysis of the other used resources in each period in this chapter.

14.b. The Argentine rosette

As it can be seen in the table 4, the rosette was used by all the governments. The colours light blue and white are maintained throughout the Argentine history except from the Rosas' period where a red ribbon rosette is used as it happens with the flag and shield. The main uses of the rosette were for military identification and official ceremonies event though since the return of democracy in 1983 it was not used any more for ceremonies. Furthermore, from the beginning of the country till 1828 and then with Peron again, the ribbon rosette was used by the civil population as a national emblem.

14.c. The Argentine army uniforms

The uniforms of the Argentine army reflect how the military wanted to be and from whom they were influenced. As it can be seen in table 5, at the beginning, the Argentine army uniforms had an European soldier's uniforms style that sought to establish a differentiation from the Hispanic root as well as from the autochthonous of the country and had English and French influence. Then, the *unitarios* had European influence while the *federales* had an autochthonous influence with the use of the clothes similar to those used by gauchos. From 1853 till 1900 the French influence was back and from 1909 till 1955 a German influence arrived, in line with the Argentine army admiration for the German army, even though the navy kept the English influence. From 1955 till now the style of the uniform has been influenced by the North American style and it has not been changed since then. The use of this uniform coincides with the political alignment of the Argentine army with the army of USA. In this sense, the variations in the style of the uniforms show the political alignments with different countries, armies and cultural models that prevailed in each historical period.

14.d. The Argentine stamps

The first stamp was created in 1858 and represented the shield. Since 1863 stamps have portrayed San Martin. Then, from 1880 to 1928 there were images of Palas Atenea with the word Republic and local heroes installing the idea of a new Republic. During the period of 1930 to 1945, military figures, the shield, and productive figures were used, changing during the Peronism to figures of workers, Evita and the new constitution. From 1955 till now there has been a high diversity of topics, themes and figures as well as a high diversity of aesthetic trends. Last, since 1989 to present times, the post office has not any more belonged to the State because it has been privatized. For this reason, in this period the stamp is no longer a support for the design made by the State (see table 6)

14.e. The Argentine State architecture

At the beginning, the architecture was influenced by the colonial style and until 1930 the most important influence was the European aesthetics that responded to the tastes of the dominant rulers for a French parameter of beauty and the English influence that came with the hands of economic infrastructure. From 1930 to 1983, German and eclectic influence grew in importance and produced a public architecture that was characterized by its monumentality. As a consequence, the distance between the citizen and the public buildings get wider and colder, a typical influence of the military scheme of power. After that, from democracy in 1983, the architecture created by the State was not relevant (see table 7).

14.f. The Argentine State monuments and sculptures

The use of sculptures at the beginning of the Nation and till 1862 was not relevant and only a Pyramid of May was constructed.

Again, during the democratic period of 1983-199 and 2002-2003 the production of public sculptures and monuments by the state was not relevant. From 1880 till 1916 the main themes of the sculptures and monuments were the representation of the values and cultures of the period such as figures of liberty, the republic and progress. In addition, in 1862 the first monument to San Martin was made and his statues and bust is systematized during 1930-1945 with a nationalist government. Peron did not leave testimony of statues because he used scenographic supports. In 1957, an impressive Flag Monument in Rosario was built and since then till now the importance of the use of monuments and sculptures made by the State has diminished, even though is it possible to find the Monument to the Falklands in the 90's and the monument to memory in 2003 and the monuments in times of Menem in memory of Rosas (see table 8).

As a general conclusion, it can be said the right governments used sculptures and monuments to crystallize their political discourses and to settle their presence inside the communities. On the contrary, the democratic governments did not use this support as a political discourse and action. From 1983 till now, the use of monuments and sculptures has not been relevant.

14.g. The use of other supports: the case of mass media

In 1937 the National Radio was created and State propaganda also started in cinemas with the projection of the news *Sucesos argentinos* (Argentine news). From then onwards, the propaganda released in mass media increased while other supports such as architecture, monuments, sculptures, stamps, the rosette and the shield become no longer relevant in order for the State to design nationality.

During the period of 1946-1955 there was an unprecedented propaganda apparatus in charge of the created National Broadcasting Directorate (1946). It controlled the media, a centralized design of messages, contents and the concentration of the financing resources. Then, censorship came for all the elements of Peronist propaganda during the dictatorship periods between 1955 and 1976. During the democratic governments, a Radical and a Peronist one, there was no strong use of mass media and there was no censorship. Then, during the Military Dictatorship of 1976 and 1983, they tried to define the political reality and the values of the nation using the totality of existing media for its purpose that were under control and censored. Presidential speeches were broadcast by radio and television to the whole country and the dictatorship produced specific campaigns in newspaper advertising, billboards, TV and radio. For instance, the "Argentines are morally right and human"

campaign and the Football World Cup of 1978 which was used as a symbol of a successful Argentina in the national and international media.

In the next democratic period of 1983 to 1989 there was no more censorship and the State launched social and political campaigns. Menem used mass media, especially television, radio and advertisements, paid with public funds to broadly publicize his actions and political agenda. Later, during 1999-2001 mass media was used to promote the actions of the government and in 2002-2003 there were no expensive advertising campaigns.

As a general conclusion, it can be said that the use of media of democratic and non-democratic States increased throughout the history but in times of military government there has been censorship of the mass media to have a total control of the messages emitted by them and to not allow the appearance of other discourses.

Some conclusions

In the whole history of Argentina, it is possible to find the expression of six different national sentiments, twelve historical periods that correspond to different Ideological State Apparatus and a differential use of supports of the cultural apparatus of the State in each case to express and design their political ideas about the Nation.

In the first case, there are six different national sentiments that appear during the history of the country. Of the six sentiments, the proprietary and the religious dimensions of nationality appeared only in one historical period each. The nationality as a home appeared in two periods while the organizational dimension and the sentiments of sharing are the most common sentiments, appearing in four different historical periods each. In some cases, the sentiments are not very strong.

Those sentiments are materialized in different supports. In the Argentine case, it is found that the flag, shield, banknotes and rosette are used throughout the Argentine history with a light blue and white colour except from the Rosas period where they became red. However, the four mentioned symbols can carry different messages according to the elements, images and figures that are designed in them. In the case of the shield, it could represent a federal government and country if the shield is surrounded by flags or it represents a central government led by Buenos Aires if the shield has no external elements. In the case of the flag, it can be used to strong military values if the flag has a sun or to be a symbol of civil citizens if the flag has not a sun. In the case of banknotes, the main duality is found between the alternate presence of the figure of the Republic as a representation of democracy and the figure of San Martin that represents the military power. In the case of the rosette, the main use was for military identification and official ceremonies, even though from the beginning of the country till 1828 and then again with Peron, the ribbon rosette was used by the civil population as a national emblem. In this sense, the four symbols can carry messages associates to democratic or military governments, can represent a federal country or a non-federal country and a military or a civil society.

Furthermore, it is important to highlight that, since the return of democracy in 1983, the four symbols have almost not changed, the rosette has not been used any more for ceremonies and their use has decreased in importance as an identity designer. The same has happen with the stamps that are not issued any more by the State and with army uniforms. In the last case, the last change was in 1955 and till now the style of the uniform has been influenced by the North American style. At the beginning, they ranged from an European style to get differentiated from the Hispanic and from the autochthonous of the country. The *Unitarios* maintained the European influence while the

Federales had an autochthonous influence with the use of the clothes similar to those used by gauchos. Last, from 1853 till 1900 the French influence returned and from 1909 till 1955 a German influence arrived. In this particular case of the uniforms, they reflected the political alignments with different countries, armies and cultural models that prevailed in each historical period. However, as democracy has consolidated, the army uniform has no longer become important as an identity designer.

The architecture shows a similar tendency to that of the uniforms because it had colonial and French influence by election and English influence that came with economic infrastructure. Then, German and eclectic influence grew in importance and produced a public architecture that was characterized by its monumentality typical of a military power. With the return of democracy in 1983 the architecture created by the State was not relevant any more.

The use of sculptures responds to the same parameters mentioned above because from 1983 till now, the use of monuments and sculptures has not been relevant. There are periods with no production of sculptures and monuments, especially since the establishment of a durable democracy and before with Peron. The periods most important for sculptures and monuments were from 1880 till 1916 with the figures of liberty, the republic and progress. In addition, in 1862 the first monument to San Martin was made and his statue and bust was systematized during 1930 - 1945 with a nationalist government. In this sense, it is possible to conclude that the right governments used sculptures and monuments to settle their presence and military discourse inside the communities. On the contrary, the democratic governments did not use this support as a political discourse and action.

The use of all mentioned supports have decreased since the arrival of the democracy and coincided with the major use of other supports such as mass media, especially with the use of television. The use of media has been equal to democratic and non democratic States and has increased throughout history. However, in times of military government there has been censorship to have a total control of the messages emitted by them and to not allow the appearance of other discourses.

The twelve mentioned Ideological State apparatus emitted six national sentiments and used different supports to design nationality. As it has been mentioned, some of them were not relevant as image producers. In general, the apparatus of cultural fictions of the State of democratic governments did not make a strong use of the apparatus of construction of national imaginations such as happened during the Radical governments of Irigoyen and Alvear (1916-1928), the periods between 1958-1961, 1963-1966 and 1983-1989. The same happened during the short-term administration of the Peronism, from 1973 to 1976 that did not produce a clear and stable national image's policy and during the Alliance, Duhalde and Kirchner from 2001 to 2008.

Other governments created some new images that supported previous identities such as the case of Menem that used the images of Rosas and Roca in banknotes and monuments in an attempt to associate his image with that of the historical Argentine *caudillos* and to include in his government nationalistic and eclectic symbology.

However, there are some governments that generated a break with the past and created a new identity by using strong visual objects and images. In this sense, it is possible to find four identities generated by the images produced by the Argentine State which are the European identity, the Nationalist identity, the identity of the workers, and the Republican identity even though some of the characteristics of each identity appear in different moments or identities.

The European identity grew with the *Unitarios*, from independence to 1829, and started again in 1862 to 1916. Some of characteristics can be traced in the whole history of Argentina. This identity is characterized by a negation of the local culture and Buenos Aires is considered the centre of the country. In this period, the most important public infrastructure was created and many sculptures were created by French sculptures. The French and English aesthetic influence was extended to architecture, monuments, banknotes and others arts. The European soldier's uniforms style sought to establish a differentiation from the Hispanic root as well as from the autochthonous of the country. Stamps had the images of Palas Atenea with the word Republic, San Martin and local heroes installing the idea of a new Republic.

The Republican identity started in 1916 to 1930 and got stronger again from 1983 till 1989 through present times during democracy. It has not only one version of Argentina and it has no strong visual testimony as could be found in other identities. The apparatus of cultural fiction rests more on words than in images. From 1985, the flag with a sun could be used with no restriction by civilians.

The Nationalist identity started with Rosas as an opposition to the *Unitarios* and European model. It appeared again during the military governments of 1930 till 1983. Rosas gave value to the catholic Spanish and inland culture. There was a massive use of the image of San Martin in banknotes, stamps, sculptures and monuments. The German influence was important in the uniforms and in the architecture that was characterized by its monumentality. The flag was with a sun and the shield had no external elements.

The workers identity started in the government of Peron in 1945 and lasted till 1955, even though some of the icons or images are still circulating in the country. The Argentine symbols were borrowed to represent the Peronist party, mainly the national flag and a modified version of the Argentine national shield . He used the worker's figure in its different versions of shirtless men, workers, Evita and Peron in stamps, posters, sculptures and school text books. The messages were

designed with be lively with strong colors and representations of happy people. He replaced the traditional republican symbology and even competed with the nationalist symbology.

Table 1 National Governments

Date	Power obtained by	President
1810-1826 (United Provinces)	Restricted election	Junta of government
1826-1827 (National Government)	Restricted election	Bernardino Rivadavia
1827-1827 (National Government)	Restricted election	Vicente López y Planes
1827-1828 (State of Buenos Aires)	Restricted election	Manuel Dorrego
1828-1829 (State of Buenos Aires)	Restricted election	Juan José Viamonte
1829-1852 (State of Buenos Aires)	Restricted election- self proclaimed	Juan Manuel de Rosas

Date	Power obtained by	President
1854-1860	Auto designated	Justo José Urquiza
1860-1861	Elected	Santiago Derqui
1862-1868	Auto designated	Bartolomé Mitre
1868-1874	Elected	Domingo Sarmiento
1874-1880	Elected	Nicolás Avellaneda
1880-1886	Elected	Julio Argentino Roca
1886-1890	Elected	Miguel Juárez Celman
1890-1892	Elected vice president	Carlos Pellegrini
1892-1895	Elected	Luis Sáenz Peña
1895-1898	Elected vice President	José E. Uriburu
1898-1904	Elected	Julio Argentino Roca
1904-1906	Elected	Manuel Quintana
1906-1910	Elected vice president	José Figueroa Alcorta
1910-1914	Elected	Roque Sáenz Peña
1914-1916	Elected vice president	Victorino de la Plaza

Date	Power obtained by	President
1916-1922	Election	Hipólito Yrigoyen
1922-1928	Election	Marcelo T. de Alvear
1928-1930	Election	Hipólito Yrigoyen

Date	Power obtained by	President
1930-1932	Military coup	General José F. Uriburu
1932-1938	Restricted elections	General Agustín P. Justo
1938-1942	Rigged elections	Roberto M. Ortiz
1942-1943	Ortiz resigned	Ramón S. Castillo
1943	Military coup	Arturo Rawson
1943-1944	Military coup	General Pedro Ramírez
1944-1945	Military designation	General Edelmiro Farrell

Date	Power obtained by	President
1946-1952	Election	General Juan D. Perón
1952-1955	Election	General Juan D. Perón

Date	Power obtained by	President
1955	Military coup	General Eduardo Lonardi
1955-1958	Military coup	General Pedro Aramburu
1958-1962	Restricted election	Arturo Frondizi
1962-1963	Military coup	José María Guido
1963-1966	Restricted election	Dr. Eduardo Illia
1966-1970	Military coup	General Juan C. Onganía
1970-1971	Military coup	General Roberto Levingston
1971-1973	Military coup	General Alejandro Lanusse
1973	Election-resign	Hector José Cámpora

1973-1974	Election-died	Juan Domingo Perón
1974-1976		María Estela M. de Perón
1976-1981	Military coup	General Jorge R. Videla
1981	Military designation	General Roberto E. Viola
1981-1982	Military designation	General L. F. Galtieri
1982-1983	Military designation	General R. B. Bignone

Date	Power obtained by	President
1983-1989	Election	Raúl R. Alfonsín
1989-1995	Election	Carlos Saul Menem
1995-1999	Election	Carlos Saul Menem
1999-2001	Election	Fernando de la Rúa
2001	Chambers designation	Ramón Puerta
2001	Chambers designation	Adolfo Rodríguez Saa
2001	Chambers designation	Eduardo Camaño
2002-2003	Chambers designation	Eduardo Duhalde
2003-2007	Election	Néstor Kirchner
2007-2008	Election	Cristina Kirchner

Table 2.a Independence and the fights between *Unitarios* and *Federales* (Section 1 and 2)

Historical period	1810-1820	1820-1829	1829-1852	1852-1861
A common content, national sentiments, myths, discourses	The nationality as a home for the Argentines or the Argentina of the independence.	The principle of difference: when Argentines belonged to two confronted groups: internal fights between unitarios and federales 1820 -1852		An organizational dimension: the first national Law
Ideological State apparatus and the hegemony of an ideology	Creoles of Buenos Aires and inland people were united. The rural sector was consolidated as the central power group in the national economy	"Unitarios" Peace, Civilization and Progress <i>Unitarios</i> were from Buenos Aires, mostly white people, they believed in freemasonry. They became new landowners devoted themselves to urban businesses. From this union of the landowner and business classes, the Argentinean oligarchy was born. They were allied with port's liberal sectors and to its foreign partners	"Federales" <i>Federales</i> were people from the inlands, they were a mix of races, <i>mestizos</i> and Catholics. They were in alliance with indigenous people and gauchos. They created independent states (provinces) guided by <i>Caudillos</i> , local leaders with origins in the most traditional landowner's families. They also created the Argentine Federal Net It was supported by a para-police force organization called the "mazorca"	"Confederation" Creation of the first national Law (the national constitution)
Support for the discourse				

National Flag	Creation, light blue and white	Light blue and white	Dark blue and pure red with the words "religion or death" in war flags against people from Buenos Aires.	White and blue and White and blue flag with a red band
Rosette	Creation 1812 - Bent band From 1812, a light blue and white ribbon for official use in ceremonies. Popular use	A light blue and white ribbon for official use in ceremonies. Popular use	A red ribbon for official use in ceremonies. Popular use	A light blue and white ribbon for official use in ceremonies. Popular use
Shield	Creation Light blue and white It was modified very soon with surrounded flags	Light blue and white With open crowns laurels The use of the shield with surrounded flags was not very frequent.	Red and blue/black Most of the time surrounded by flags Use of legends	Light blue and white Most of the time surrounded by flags or the oval was rotated
Architecture	Paraphernalia of the <i>Fiestas Mayas</i>	English and French aesthetics The Buenos Aires cathedral, the Recoleta cemetery, the fort and the house of government	State constructions have continuity with the colonies aesthetics	San José Palace in Entre Ríos. Mayor public building in Paraná
National army's uniform	Creation French and English influence	European soldier's uniforms style that sought to establish a differentiation from the Hispanic root as well as from the autochthonous of the country.	Red army uniforms and "gaucho" style	French influence
Public sculptures and monuments	May Pyramid at the May Square Buenos Aires	Not relevant	Not relevant	In 1856 the May Pyramid was remodelled
Stamps	No	No	No	In 1858 the first provincial one
Banknotes	Not analysed	Not analysed	Not analysed	Not analysed

Other characteristics			Red colour Hispanic aesthetics and the inclusion of local expressions.	Production of images articulated between the Unitarian European and the Federals' autochthonous ones
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Table 2.b. The consolidation of the agroexport model (Section 3)

Historical period	1862-1880	1880-1916
A common content, National sentiments, myths, discourses	Nationality as a home: Governing is inhabiting	The principle of difference: white blood and white culture for "Order and Progress"
Ideological State apparatus	Generation of '37 (From Mitre to Sarmiento) There was a political unificatory processes between old factions of <i>unitarios</i> and <i>federales</i> . Economic development through an agroexport model. Regional economies articulated from Buenos Aires Hegemonic ideology: the problem of the future development of the country was the race of the population, the emptiness of land, the Spanish tradition and the lack of education of the "barbarie" Gauchos and indigenous people were marginalized and immigration and occidental education were promoted.	Generation of 80's (From Roca to Roque Saenz Peña) The consolidation of the agroexport model: adoption of modern agricultural techniques, foreign investment in trains and ports. There was a promoted homogenization of the society through the conquest of the Desert, massive inmigration, especially from Italy and Spain, massive State and free education in Spanish and compulsory military service. A urban middle class was born Gauchos were marginalized and indigenous people were killed and made invisible for society.
Support for the discourse		
National Flag	Light blue and white	Light blue and white
Rosette	Light blue and white ribbon For official use in ceremonies. Popular use	Light blue and white ribbon For official use in ceremonies. Popular use
Shield	Light blue and white Most of the time surrounded by flags Most of the time the sun has the face of a young boy	Light blue and white Half of times the shield is used surrounded by flags Most of the time the united hands are highlighted The laurel crowns are open
Architecture	French influence in central. Schools, Post Office.	French influence in Buenos Aires National School and the Courts Palace. Rebuilding of the <i>Casa Rosada</i> and the Parliament English railways station and ports
National army's uniform	French influence Navy with English style	Since 1908 German style Navy with English style
Public sculptures	1862 First San Martin Monument in	French sculptors

and monuments	Buenos Aires	In a first period, the monuments showed seducer figures and forms. In the second period, there was a massive production of statues of Belgrano (1903), San Martin (1910) and Moreno
Stamps	From 1862 stamps portrayed a young General San Martin and other local heroes.	Images of Palas Atenea with the word Republic. Figures with local heroes.
Banknotes	No analysed	Creation of the first national banknotes in 1880 Images of Palas Atenea with the word Republic
Other characteristics		

Table 2.c. The beginning of the Republican Argentina and democracy (section 4)

Historical period	1916 to 1930
A common content, national sentiments, myths, discourses	The sentiment of sharing: the beginning of the Republican Argentina and democracy
Ideological State apparatus and the hegemony of an ideology	Great importance to the value of free elections and democracy Local and national bourgeoisie, protected by the national State, disputed power with oligarchies and emerged as an influential sector in Argentine. Argentine middle class gained social promotion and economic mobility. They applied an economic nationalism with the creation of national companies such as Fiscal Oil Fields and the nationalization of foreign companies such as the English railway.
Support for the discourse	
National Flag	Light-blue and white
Rosette	Light blue and white ribbon for official use in ceremonies. Popular use
Shield	Light blue and white. Not surrounded by flags, surrounded by ornaments
Architecture	Ministries and university. The same aesthetics as the previous period.
National army's uniform	German style. Navy English style
Public sculptures and monuments	Monument to "Canto al Trabajo" in Buenos Aires Monument to Urquiza in Paraná in 1920 Statue to Carlos de Alvear in Buenos Aires in 1926 made by the French sculptor. Mitre's statue
Stamps	Figure of Palas Athenea with the word "Republic" Figures with local heroes and a young San Martin
Banknotes	Figure of Palas Athenea with the word "Republic"
Other characteristics	The apparatus of cultural fictions of the State of these democratic governments did not make a strong use of the apparatus of construction of national imaginaries.

Table 2.d. The Nationalist Argentina (section 5)

Historical period	1930-1945
A common content, national sentiments, myths, discourses	The religious dimensions of nationality: the Nationalist Argentina. Homeland, faith, family, blood, tradition, race
Ideological State apparatus and the hegemony of an ideology	<p>Alliance between integrist, conservatives, military and oligarchy sectors governed for decades and there was no popular democracy</p> <p>The military institution considered itself the Argentine nation and the support of the Nation's values which were the Catholic Religion values.</p> <p>The political right nationalism was divided between integrist and conservatives. The integrist nationalism was ideologically structured by a group of intellectuals connected with military circles who proposed the restoration of the Spanish traditions. The Conservative group is linked to the landowner's oligarchy pursued for the creation of an European Argentina by assuming nationalist and militaristic actions.</p> <p>A local production and industrial business sector emerged as a consequence of a substitutive industrialization process guided by an alliance between the dominant class factions such as greenhouse live-stock breeders oriented towards exportation and the new industrials (Germani, 2003: 101), service companies of USA foreign capital (cold-storage plants) and the State</p>
Support for the discourse	
National Flag	Light-blue and white with sun for official use
Rosette	Light-blue and white with sun for official use in ceremonies
Shield	<p>Light-blue and white</p> <p>Not surrounded by flags</p> <p>The use of the shield was regulated</p> <p>The laurel crowns are most of the time closed.</p> <p>The sun most of the time has an adult men face</p> <p>The sun and laurels are hierarchized</p>
Architecture	Monumentality, German and art deco influences. 1931 National Art Museum, 1940 National Bank and ministry of Economy
National army's uniform	German style. Navy and army sectors English Style
Public sculptures and monuments	<p>Massive use of the statues and bust of San Martín in every square</p> <p>statue of Roca constructed in Buenos Aires in 1941.</p> <p>Obelisco in Buenos Aires in 1936. Catholic figures.</p>
Stamps	<p>Military figures (people supporting the military coup) and productive figures (cows, sheep, industries)</p> <p>Shield.</p>
Banknotes	San Martín's figure
Other characteristics	<p>Creation of National Academy of History, the National Radio in 1937 and the projection of the news Sucesos argentinos at the cinemas.</p> <p>The main streets in towns were named after military past heroes</p> <p>The figure of a condor as a representation of San Martín and Argentine souls</p> <p>The representation of the Luján Virgin as mother of the Argentines was spread. She wears the colours of the Argentine flag (light blue and white) and the national shield and provinces at the bottom part of her tunic.</p>

	The images of the state companies related to the army such as YPF (Yacimientos Petroliferos Fiscales), of the coal company YCF (Yacimientos Carboniferos Fiscales), gas and oil refineries and military factories FM (Fabricaciones Militares) occupied part of the public space
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Table 2.e. The nation of the Peronist workers (section 6)

Historical period	1946-1955
A common content, national sentiments, myths, discourses	The principle of difference: the nation of the Peronist workers
Ideological State apparatus and the hegemony of an ideology	<p>Peron created the Justicialism or Peronism political Party in representation of the working sectors. Peronism was, from its very beginning, situated in a third position between capitalism and communism. He implemented a politics of industrialization import substitution. He nationalized the railways, the communication system and created new state companies and industries. Peron found the local welfare State and implemented basic rights access for the majority of the population, such as women's suffrage, labor and social laws and by the improvement of their live conditions by distributive policies of the income.</p> <p>In the first government he was accompanied by Evita, his wife.</p> <p>In his doctrine, the state fixed the objectives of the whole nation guided by a leader. He had successive clashes with the church, political parties and with part of the military force. The leader was Peron and those who did not share his vision and politics were considered as marginal and defined as the "anti-nation". They were the people, the workers, and their counterpart was the regime, the oligarchy the dominant groups.</p> <p>The worker's identity was an articulation between lower and lower-middle class sectors in a unique political body.</p>
Support for the discourse	
National Flag	Light blue and white and blue and white
Rosette	Light-blue and white, official and in ceremonies. Popular use
Shield	Light blue and white Not surrounded by flags or ornaments. Most of the time the shield was used together with the Peronist shield. It was an obligation to use it in public administration places.
Architecture	Monumentality, rationalism influence and Neo-colonial and Californian influence in social housing
National army's uniform	German style, navy English Style
Public sculptures and monuments	<p>The installation of scenery paraphernalia in public acts Sculptures of Peron an Evita</p> <p>They created sculptures and monuments built in honor to the centenary of San Martin's death in 1950. They showed him as an elderly person already, while their motto no longer portrayed the general as the Liberator but as the "Immortal Grandfather"</p>
Stamps	Workers Evita New constitution (woman with a bonnet)
Banknotes	The non-blinded justice

Other characteristics	<p>There was an unprecedented propaganda apparatus in charge of the created National Broadcasting Directorate (1946). It controlled the media, a centralized design of messages, contents and the concentration of the financing resources. It borrowed the Argentine symbols to represent the Peronist party and the representation of a social sector, the workers, was a synonym of the Argentine national identity.</p> <p>They used posters, souvenirs of the Peronist State, radio, cinema, documentaries, newspaper, magazines and propaganda in school books. It generated a paternalist, omnipresent and happy state which was designed in lively colours and with people smiling and family scenes in a proclaimed image of social harmony.</p> <p>The icons were the “descamisado” (un-shirted) and a nurse for women, Perón and Evita’s portraits and the V as a symbol of Viva Perón (Long Live Perón!) and Perón Vive (Perón Lives).</p> <p>The balcony of the Government House was the Peronist Olympus</p>
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Table 2.f. Between democratic and military governments (section 7)

Historical period	1955- 1976	1976 – 1983
A common content, national sentiments, myths, discourses	An organizational dimension: the internal fights between the military force and democratic political parties	An organizational dimension: Dictatorship called “ Process of National Re-Organization”
Ideological State apparatus and the hegemony of an ideology	<p>Military and civilian administrations were alternatively in power. For the military force, Argentina belonged to the western and Christian orb.</p> <p>The Peronism party was proscribed.</p> <p>Between 1958 and 1961 and between 1963 and 1966, radical party was in power.</p> <p>The Peronism was a short period on power, from 1973 to 1976</p>	<p>The economic model was as a financial rental model constituted by enterprises, banks, natural resources operators and by external creditors (IFM). Open economy.</p> <p>The public companies were distributed among the three armed forces</p> <p>The Process’s economic alliance was composed with the agricultural live-stock breeding sector, the so called ‘patria contratista’ (contracting homeland) and the financial sector.</p> <p>The dictatorship transmitted the idea that those who did not support the military forces were not real Argentines</p>
Support for the discourse		
National Flag	Light blue and white	Light blue and white
Rosette	Light blue and white used in military uniforms and vehicles and in ceremonies	Light blue and white used in military uniforms and vehicles and in ceremonies.
Shield	<p>Light blue and white</p> <p>Most of the time not surrounded by flags or ornaments</p> <p>The laurels are joint and the face of the sun looks worried and frowns.</p> <p>They were bigger than others.</p>	<p>Light blue and white.</p> <p>Most of the time not surrounded by flags or ornaments.</p> <p>The laurels are joint and the face of the sun looks worried and frowns.</p> <p>They were bigger than others.</p>
Architecture	Monumentality in buildings	Monumentality in buildings. ATC and World Cup stadiums.
National army’s uniform	North American influence	North American influence
Public sculptures and	Flag Monument in Rosario in 1957	Monuments to the Argentine army

monuments	Sculptures to Urquiza in 1958 Construction of Saints figures, maternities and local referents in small villages and towns	The statues praise military actions, comparing them with a divine act Condor figure
Stamps	Government actions such as productive and telecommunication conference Sports	They portrayed government actions surrounded by a tense atmosphere, cold representations of the country and past military images. World Football Cup
Banknotes	Landscapes and San Martín	Landscapes, San Martín and Belgrano
Other characteristics	There was censorship for the whole elements of Peronist propaganda The radical governments did not produce images or important national images The short-term administration of the Peronism, from 1973 to 1976 did not produce a clear and stable national image's policy	The Military Dictatorship tried to define the political reality and the values of the nation using the totality of existing media for its purpose that were under control or were censored Presidential speeches broadcast by radio and television to the whole country Dictatorship produced specific campaigns in newspaper advertising, billboards, TV and radio. For instance, the "Argentines are morally right and human" They used a figure of young soldiers as opposed to the communist ones The Football World Cup of 1978 was used as a symbol of a successful Argentina.

Table 2.g. A new beginning of the Republican Argentina (section 8)

Historical period	1983-1989
A common content, national sentiments, myths, discourses	The sentiment of sharing: the new beginning of the Republican Argentina
Ideological State apparatus and the hegemony of an ideology	Democracy as an ideology, the answer to solve the problems of the country and as structure of the nation. The focus was on the democratization of politics through: the civilian control of the armed forces, the transformation of the educative content and the restoration and deepening of civic rights. It had to confront the pressure of the military force and its associated economic power It ended with an economic crisis because of hyperinflation.
Support for the discourse	
National Flag	Light blue and white. The use of the flag was regulated.
Rosette	Light blue and white used in military uniforms, vehicles and in ceremonies
Shield	The same as the last period but the face of the sun looks like a woman
Architecture	Not relevant in this period
National army's	North American influence

uniform	
Public sculptures and monuments	Not relevant in this period
Stamps	Natural (butterflies), cultural and social themes such as indigenous hand-crafts, tango, sculptures.
Banknotes	Groups of former president
Other characteristics	<p>Esmeralda group was dedicated to context and discourse analysis. The photographic representation of that time shows debate instances, especially based on the Parliament</p> <p>There were social and political campaigns for the Alphabetization Plan, the Alimentary National Plan (PAN) and the Pedagogical Congress.</p> <p>There was a democratization of public places allowing the open use of the public space and increasing the presence of diverse aesthetic movements and artistic expressions</p> <p>Busts of Perón, Evita, Yrigoyen and Alem were erected in practically all the entrances of towns and cities even though in this period relevant statues and monuments were not found</p>

Table 2.h. The use of public resources to support the private interests (section 9)

Historical period	1989-1999
A common content, national sentiments, myths, discourses	The proprietary sentiment: the use of public resources to support the private interests
Ideological State apparatus and the hegemony of an ideology	<p>"Argentina belongs to the first world".</p> <p>The government was based on the union between the Peronist electoral base with both nationalism (the conservative and the integrist), the catholic church, the workers trade union and military groups. He created a strong political structure based on the purchase of wills through a "a politics of seduction". For instance, he implemented an amnesty to former dictators and took the issues of Malvinas island as a national cause</p> <p>He implemented a market-oriented reform program, a IMF Structural Adjustment Program called <i>Convertibilidad programme</i> by which the economy was open and the mayor public enterprises at the federal level were privatized, including the national airlines, banks, railways, oil, natural gas, electricity, telecommunications, ports, water and sewerage services and defence-related industry</p> <p>He decentralized national resources management towards the provinces, especially public health and education areas</p>
Support for the discourse	
National Flag	Light blue and white
Rosette	Light blue and white used in military uniforms and vehicles
Shield	Each area of the government used a different version of the shield
Architecture	Not relevant in this period
National army's uniform	North American influence
Public sculptures and monuments	<p>Monument to Rosas in Palermo, Buenos Aires (1990) Monument to Roca in Bariloche (1992)</p> <p>Monuments dedicated to those who fell in the Malvinas War (Buenos Aires, 1990), the statue "Héroes de Malvinas" (Malvinas War heroes), in Pilar (1992), in the city of Escobar (1997) and the Monument to Malvinas in Quequén (1999)</p>

	Statue of Evita in Buenos Aires (1999)
Stamps	The post office is privatized and stamps are not analysed
Banknotes	With the figure of Rosas With the figure of Roca and the Conquest of the Desert (1992)
Other characteristics	<p>There was a decentralization of national resources management towards the provinces that represented a loss of presence of the national state apparatus as promoter of national life and identity</p> <p>He used mass media, especially television, radio and advertisements, paid with public funds to broadly publicize his actions and political agenda</p> <p>He tried to associate his image with that of the historical Argentine <i>caudillos</i> such as Rosas and Roca to include in his government nationalistic symbology</p> <p>He transferred sectors of the national patrimony to private hands</p> <p>The Condor was the representative figure for the tourist promotion of the country</p> <p>This government used the public space to settle concrete references for projecting his vision about the nation</p>

Table 2.i. The Alliance for work, education and justice (section 10)

Historical period	1999-2001
A common content, national sentiments, myths, discourses	An organizational dimension: to end corruption, to stop the use of public funds to benefit private interest through the creation of a political alliance, the so called Alianza (Alliance)
Ideological State apparatus and the hegemony of an ideology	<p>Alliance for work, education and justice</p> <p>Radical and Frepaso (part of the Peronism) political parties were conditioned by the IMF.</p> <p>The economy faced a diminished competitiveness of exports, massive imports that damaged national industries, chronic fiscal and trade deficits and an outflow of capital that triggered a wider recession. <i>Corralito</i> (financial fences that not allowed to take out the money from the banks)</p>
Support for the discourse	
National Flag	Light blue and white
Rosette	Light blue and white used in military uniforms and vehicles
Shield	Visual adjustment to the national shield. The shaking hand are highlighted, the pike is smaller, the bonnet is bigger and the face of the sun looks like a woman.
Architecture	Not relevant in this period
National army's uniform	North American influence
Public sculptures and monuments	No monuments were built, with the exception of the monument "Tribute to Democracy" created in 1986 and erected in Buenos Aires in 2000
Stamps	The post office is privatized and stamps are not analysed
Banknotes	Not relevant

Other characteristics	<p>The cultural climate of his government was initially seen as closer to the return of democracy with Alfonsín. However, De la Rúa's State finally used the same communicational resources as Menem, such as affording advertising campaigns with public funds in order to promote his speeches, actions and political goals widely</p> <p>Images were projected through designs that intended to represent Argentina as an articulation of differences</p> <p>In parallel, the institutional identity of the government was systematized together with visual adjustment to the national shield</p> <p>The Tourism Secretary changed the former condor to an abstract representation of Argentina, composed by a white triangle in a blue circle. The rosette was used as a political symbol in the political campaign</p>
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Table 2.j. Hope, self steem and organization in Duhalde´s administration (section 11)

Historical period	2002-2003
A common content, national sentiments, myths, discourses	The sentiment of sharing: Hope, self steem and organization in Duhalde´s administration
Ideological State apparatus and the hegemony of an ideology	"Argentina is condemned to succeed"
Support for the discourse	
National Flag	Light blue and white
Rosette	Light blue and white used in military uniforms, vehicles and logo
Shield	The same of previous period
Architecture	Not relevant.
National army's uniform	North American influence
Public sculptures and monuments	Not relevant
Stamps	The post office is privatized and stamps are not analysed
Banknotes	Not relevant. Creation of national bonus
Other characteristics	There were no expensive advertising campaigns

Table 2.k. An hegemonic left wing populism with Kirchner governments (section 12).

Historical period	2003-2008
A common content, national sentiments, myths, discourses	The sentiment of sharing: an hegemonic left wing populism with Kirchner governments
Ideological State apparatus and the hegemony of an ideology	<p>They attempted to create a national economy less dependent on foreign investments, a growing and independent nation and close to Latin-American governments with a left wing nationalism or left populism discourse</p> <p>That populism involves the division of the antagonistic camp between the oligarchy or the dominant groups or the enemy and between the people, the nation, the silent majority.. Besides, the reivindicacion of social justice as the key motive of the political actions, all pretaining to Peronism, plus the exercise of power over the mentioned enemies</p> <p>They established a left space articulated by the state reivindicacion of the '70 generation and a focus on the memory of the repression of the last dictatorship</p>
Support for the discourse	
National Flag	Light blue and white
Rosette	Light blue and white used in military uniforms and vehicles
Shield	The same as the last period
Architecture	Not relevant
National army's uniform	North American influence
Public sculptures and monuments	Monuments to the memory
Stamps	The post office is privatized and stamps are not analysed
Banknotes	Not relevant
Other characteristics	<p>There was a communicational interest in the proyection of science, technology, innovation, the promotion of the cultural industries and of succesfully experience of local exporter companies</p> <p>Argentina brand nation was launched</p> <p>There were propaganda and advertising campaigns made by intellectuals to support the government through newspapers, emails chains polarizing the political field</p>

Table 3. A summary of the National sentiments through the Argentine history.

Historical period	1810-1820	1820-1829	1829-1852	1852-1861 1860-1861	1862-1880	1880-1916
A common content, national sentiments, myths, discourses	<i>The nationality as a home</i> for the Argentines or the Argentina of the independence.	<i>The principle of difference:</i> When Argentines belonged to two confronted groups: internal fights between <i>Unitarios</i> and <i>Federales</i> 1820 -1852.	<i>The principle of difference:</i> When Argentines belonged to two confronted groups: internal fights between <i>Unitarios</i> and <i>Federales</i> 1820 -1852.	<i>An organizational dimension:</i> The first national Law.	<i>Nationality as a home:</i> Governing is inhabiting.	<i>The principle of difference</i> : White blood and white culture for "Order and Progress".

Historical period	1916- 1928	1930-1945	1946-1955	1955- 1976	1976 – 1983
A common content, national sentiments, myths, discourses	<i>The sentiment of sharing:</i> The beginning of the Republican Argentina and democracy.	<i>The religious dimensions of nationality:</i> The Nationalist Argentina. Homeland, faith, family, blood, tradition, race.	<i>The principle of difference</i> the nation of the Peronist workers.	<i>An organizational dimension:</i> The internal fights between the military force and democratic political parties.	<i>An organizational dimension:</i> Dictatorship called "Process of National Re-Organization".

Table 4. The rosette through the Argentine history

Historical period	1810-1820	1820-1829	1829-1852	1852-1861	1862-1880	1880-1916	1916-1928	1930-1945
Rosette	Creation 1812 Bent band From 1812 a light blue and white ribbon for official use in ceremonies Popular use	A light blue and white ribbon for official use. Popular use	A red ribbon for official use. Popular use	A light blue and white ribbon for official use. Popular use	Light blue and white ribbon for official use. Popular use	Light blue and white ribbon for official use. Popular use	Light-blue and white, for official use. Popular use	Light-blue and white with sun for official use.

Historical period	1946-1955	1955-1976	1976 – 1983	1983-1989	1989-1999	1999-2001	2002-2003	2003-2008
Rosette	Light-blue and white, official use. Popular use.	Light blue and white used in military uniforms and vehicles.	Light blue and white used in military uniforms, vehicles.	Light blue and white used in military uniforms and vehicles.	Light blue and white used in military uniforms and vehicles.	Light blue and white used in military uniforms and vehicles.	Light blue and white used in military uniforms and vehicles.	Light blue and white used in military uniforms and vehicles.

Table 5. The National army uniforms through the Argentine history

Historical period	1810-1820	1820-1829	1829-1852	1852-1861	1862-1880	1880-1916
National army's uniform	Creation. French and English influence	European soldier's uniforms style that sought to establish a differentiation from the Hispanic root as well as from the autochthonous of the country.	Red army uniforms and "gaucho" style	French influence	French influence Navy with English style	Since 1908 German style Navy with English style

Historical period	1916-1928	1930-1945	1946-1955	1955- 1976	1976 – 1983	1983-1989
National army's uniform	German style. Navy English style	German style. Navy and army sectors English Style	German style, navy English Style	North American influence	North American influence	North American influence

Historical period	1989-1999	1999-2001	2002-2003	2003-2008
National army's uniform	North American influence	North American influence	North American influence	North American influence

Table 6. The stamps through the Argentine history

Historical period	1810-1820	1820-1829	1829-1852	1852-1861
Stamps	NO	NO	NO	NO

Historical period	1862-1880	1880-1916	1916-1928	1930-1945	1946-1955
Stamps	The first stamp was created in 1863 and portrayed a young General San Martín and other local heroes.	Images of Palas Atenea with the word "Republic". Figures with local heroes.	Figure of Palas Athenea with the word "Republic". Figures with local heroes and a young San Martín.	Military figures (people supporting the military coup) and productive figures (cows, sheep, industries) Shield	Workers Evita New constitution (woman with a bonnet)

Historical period	1955- 1976	1976 – 1983	1983-1989
Stamps	Government actions such as productive and telecommunication conference Sports	They portrayed government actions surrounded by a tense atmosphere, cold representations of the country and past military images. World Football Cup	Natural (butterflies), cultural and social themes such as indigenous hand-crafts, tango, sculptures.

Historical period	1989-1999	1999-2001	2002-2003	2003 to present
Stamps	The post office is privatized and stamps are not analysed	The post office is privatized and stamps are not analysed	The post office is privatized and stamps are not analysed	The post office is privatized and stamps are not analysed

Table 7. The Public Architecture through the Argentine history

Historical period	1810-1820	1820-1829	1829-1852	1852-1861	1862-1880
Architecture	Paraphernalia of the <i>Fiestas Mayas</i>	English and French aesthetics . The Buenos Aires cathedral, the Recoleta cemetery, the fort and the house of government.	State constructions have continuity with the colonies aesthetics	San José Palace in Entre Ríos. Mayor public building in Paraná.	French influence. National Post Office

Historical period	1880-1916	1916-1928	1930-1945
Architecture	French influence. National School of Buenos Aires, the Courts Palace. Rebuilding of the Pink House and the Parliament English railways stations and ports	Ministries and university. The same aesthetics as the previous period (French influence)	Monumentality for instance in big State companies of energy and military factories German and art deco influences 1931 National Art Museum 1940 National Bank and ministry of Economy

Historical period	1946-1955	1955- 1976	1976 – 1983
Architecture	Monumentality, rationalism influence, Neo-colonial and California influence in social housing	Monumentality in buildings	Monumentality in building. ATC (the Argentinean Colour television building) and World Cup stadiums

Historical period	1983-1989	1989-1999	1999-2001	2002-2003	2003-2008
Architecture	Not relevant in this period	Not relevant in this period	Not relevant in this period	Not relevant in this period	Not relevant in this period

Table 8. The public sculptures and monuments through the Argentine history

Historical period	1810-1820	1820-1829	1829-1852	1852-1861
Public sculptures and monuments	May Pyramid at the May Square, Buenos Aires	Not relevant	Not relevant	In 1856 the May Pyramid was remodelled

Historical period	1862-1880	1880-1916	1916-1928	1930-1945
Public sculptures and monuments	1862 First San Martin Monument in Buenos Aires	French sculptors In a first period, the monuments showed seducer figures and forms. In the second period, there was a massive production of statues of Belgrano (1903), San Martin (1910) and Moreno.	Monument to "Canto al Trabajo" in Buenos Aires Monument to Urquiza in Paraná in 1920 Statue to Carlos de Alvear in Buenos Aires in 1926 made by the French sculptor. Mitre's statue	Massive use of the statues and bust of San Martín in every square. Statue of Roca constructed in Buenos Aires in 1941 <i>Obelisco</i> in Buenos Aires in 1936. Catholic figures.

Historical period	1946-1955	1955- 1976	1976 – 1983
Public sculptures and monuments	The installation of scenery paraphernalia in public acts Sculptures of Peron an Evita They created sculptures and monuments built in honour of the centenary of San Martin's death in 1950 . They showed him as an elderly person already, while their motto no longer portrayed the general as the Liberator but as the "Immortal Grandfather"	Flag Monument in Rosario in 1957 Sculptures to Urquiza in 1958 Construction of Saints figures, maternities and local referents in small villages and towns	Monuments to the Argentine army The statues praise military actions, comparing them with a divine act Condor figure

Historical period	1983-1989	1989-1999	1999-2001	2002-2003	2003-2008
Public sculptures and monuments	Busts of Perón, Evita, Yrigoyen and Alem are erected in practically all the entrances of towns and cities even though in this period relevant statues and monument were not found	<p>Monument to Rosas in Palermo, Buenos Aires (1990)</p> <p>Monument to Roca in Bariloche (1992)</p> <p>Monuments dedicated to those who fell in the Malvinas War (Buenos Aires, 1990), the statue "Héroes de Malvinas" (Malvinas War heroes), in Pilar (1992), in the city of Escobar (1997) and the Monument to Malvinas in Quequén (1999)</p> <p>Statue of Evita in Buenos Aires (1999)</p>	No monuments were built, with the exception of the monument "Tribute to Democracy" created in 1986 and erected in Buenos Aires in 2000	Not relevant	Monuments to the memory

Chapter 4. The Argentine National Flag

Introduction

The aim of chapter is to understand how the Argentine State designed nationality through the use of the flag. In order to do that, the chapter is structured as follows: In the first section, a brief history of the social importance and role of the flag in history is developed in order to understand how flags became an important symbol of recognition of a national state. Then, in section two the role flags play in promoting certain national sentiment on behalf of the Ideological State Apparatus will be analysed.

In the third section, the semiotic analysis of the Argentine flag will be developed following the same methodology used to analyse the Argentine shield and the one described in chapter two of methodology. First, a textual transcription of the constitutional character of the flag was put in a matrix and used as guide, as well as the initial reproduction of the flag which is the one that further samples will be compared with (see Flags-Tables 1-97). Then, all collected images of flags issued by the state were ordered according to the historical classification used in the chapter of the history of the Argentine Ideological State Apparatus and the historical components of the Argentine flag such as its colour, the sun, the sun expression, the rays, if it has incorporated objects and legends and the use of the flag were deeply analysed.

After that, in section four, a history of the changes of used colours and the sun in the Argentine flag and its meaning made in different Argentine historical periods is developed. They become the evidence of the state's intentions to design specific nationalities that respond to the hegemonic dominant ideology.

Finally, some conclusions will be given and then a list of illustrations and tables are shown.

Section 1. The historic importance and role of flags

The most ancient record related to the use of flags for social representation comes from Egypt. It states that “every territorial district [in Egypt] had its standard which was used both as point of muster for its military forces and as a device by which its authority was recognized” (Friar, 1997: 1). Other records describe metal flags in Iran in 3000 BC. For instance, “Persians portrayed golden eagles on their banners” (Cirlot, 1992: 92) and there were silken flags about that time in China (Smith, 1975). Besides, in the bible, flags are widely mentioned immediately after the Jewish Exodus from Egypt, where each tribe had a different flag of a particular colour (Kashani, 1998: 107). However, the Romans adapted the meaning of the flag to the contemporary one. As defined by Whitney Smith, this kind of flag was called “vexilloid”¹ and was used by Roman legions during the classical era, made of a post or pole bearing a solid symbol or symbols. In fact, this word comes from a Latin word which means “guide” (Smith, 1975: 276).

During the Middle Ages, flags were used in battles in Europe, China and Japan by knights and warriors and in the Crusades, the group organization was maintained “by the use of mustering flags bearing the personal devices of commanders, and it is clear that these were sufficiently distinctive to be recognized, even in the heat of the battle” (Friar, 1997: 28). In the 17th Century, knights were replaced by the army (Perrin, 1922), and those armies also used flags for their own identification and that of the units to which they belonged. By World War I flags were withdrawn from the battlefields because of the implied risk of carrying them.

Since the first flag to the present one, colours, figures and meaning have been added and several symbols have appeared on flags. For example, a white flag meant a negotiation request or surrender; a red flag signalled a general warning; a black flag signalled sinking or flood alert and a red cross (or half moon) meant a site of neutral immunity (Polanyi and Prosch, 1977: 74, 1998). Now each nation has its own flag symbolizing their national identity.

According to Connell, the flag of Denmark is the oldest national flag of the present day state. He points out that “tradition holds that the flag was adopted in 1219” (Connell, 2004: 131). However, the flag that can be said to have greater influence is the three coloured French flag, given that the French Revolution ruled history, language and the western political symbolism, until the period after the First World War. Therefore, according to Hobsbawm, “the three-coloured French flag was used as a model for most of the states that achieved independence or unification after a long century and a half” (Hobsbawm, 2002: 57-58). Within this context, most national flags were

¹ This is the origin of the word Vexillology, which means the study of flags.

formally adopted in the 20th Century. Nowadays when a new nation is born, it must be publicly defined through the symbolic resource as it is the flag which contributes to distinguishing one nation from the other nations of the world.

According to Perrin, the word "flag" is derived from the old Saxon word "flakken" which means "to fly or to float in the air" (Perrin, 1922: 18). The Spanish term *bandera* derives from the Germanic voice band (or *banda*) and the Latin *bandum* or *bandus* (Wedgwood and Atkinson, 1872: 44), being the word linked to the sense of "partiality" or a group of people that follows a political party. Likewise, the very same sense of the word can be thought to derive from the words "band" or "bandit" original from the European feudalism to refer to those who used to invade and rob under their own flag (Curtis, 1839: 456).

Besides, a flag can be defined as an insignia made of a rectangular piece of cloth, usually taffeta or silk, fastened to a stick called a flagpole. Likewise, a flag is an intentional combination of colours and shapes in a fixed and ordered pattern governed by design rules based on Heraldic principles. The distribution of colours, disposition of stripes, ornaments and other messages indicate the nature of the entity to which the flag belongs, being a political or social communication media between its users (Smith, 1975: 124). In that way and as Hoffman noted, "the flag continued to be a vehicle of non verbal communication (Hoffman, 1996: 30).

As we have seen before, modernity requests nations to have emblems to identify and differentiate one from each other and to articulate and integrate all its inhabitants. This demand calls for flags to be such an emblem, because of its simplicity, its capacity to speak for everyone and for allowing the immediate recognition of its users. But beyond that, flags also became emblems of the meaning people placed on them, such as love, hatred, veneration and passion. As a consequence of that, flags became an object of reverence, reaching the status of being an emblem which people fought and died for and an object to be conquered as if it were endowed with greater value. Thus as Durkheim pointed out, "the soldier who dies for his flag, dies for his country; but as a matter of fact, in his own consciousness, it is the flag that has the first place...the soldier loses sight of the fact that the flag is only a sign, and that it has no value in itself, but only brings to mind the reality that it represents; it is treated as if it were this reality itself" (Durkheim, 1975a: 183).

For Hoffman, the flag functions as a sign, a sign from where to organize and visualize totemic forms of belonging to the part of a reference group. That means that the flag, through the mere combination of its colours and shapes, can achieve the immediate identification of a person or something's origin with its sole presence. As he said, "flags are like bits cut from clouds, nearer and more varied in colour, tethered and given permanent shape. In their movement they are truly striking. Nations use them to mark the air above them as their own, as though the wind could be

partitioned" (in Hoffman, 1996: 5). For instance the instantaneous recognition of friends and enemies, as Hoffman noted "to identify themselves in the total confusion of a battle (Hoffman, 1996: 36) while the flags are flying when nations are disputing something."

Likewise, for Durkheim the flag is also a totem of each clan (Durkheim, 1975a: 183). As he highlights "it is its flag. It is the sign by which each clan distinguishes itself from other clans, the visible mark of its personality, the sign which is borne by everything that is in some way a part of the clan" (Durkheim, 1975b: 124-125).

Apart from that, it is important to consider the practical and economical aspects of this communicational resource, which can express many things from just a piece of coloured cloth and carried by anyone anywhere. Besides, it can be located in the most relevant areas of the State. For instance, in Argentina it can be in the presidential sash (figure 1 to 12), in the house of government (figure 13 and 14) or it can be flying in the most relegated places of the country (figure 15 to 21). Likewise, it can be held by the high bourgeoisie, the state representant, an anonymous mass or by each individual of the nation. It can wave alone or be waved by millions. It can reach great heights or be pinned close to a heart. Hence, the simplicity for both its production and distribution has caused the flag to be socially accepted as the most efficient emblem, generating thus its "metaphorical omnipresence" (Hoffman, 1996: 23).

In this sense, flags become expressive mechanisms that characterize a national group. Then, a flag is above all a symbol, a material expression of other things. Among them, the most important of these things is that the flag symbolizes and is seen as the nation in itself, because, as Wuthnow noted "the national flag is an image which the nation-state projects of itself" (Wuthnow, 1992: 112). Accordingly, when a new nation is born, its flag starts to embody complex ideas, feelings, attributes and experiences from the society it represents. In that manner, a flag can then suggest symbolic characteristics of the group of reference. Thus, some people believe that "symbols have the mythical prestige of relics. They are born to be eternal and to represent their homelands. Nations condense into visible signs the idea of unity, love and civic duty, as well as the collective idea of nation, a principle that becomes the sign that we take to battles and that acquires an ideal existence in the popular belief" (Corvalan Mendilarasu, 1942: 241). In that way, and as result of its signal, symbolic and practical value, the flag achieves the role of being the emblem per excellence belonging to a clan and to a nation.

As Donnan and Wilson pointed out, "each of the symbols of a ritual may serve to condense many meanings into one object, such as a nation's flag" (Donnan and Wilson, 1999: 66). Thus, a single flag can condense many meanings, allowing people to project on it what they consider relevant about their relationship with the nation. In that manner "the national flag today performs a

symbolic function, being a 'condensation symbol' and a focus for sentiment about society" (Spenser and Wollman, 2005).

This act of signifying condensation of the nation into the figure of the flag, can be observed quite openly as a metaphor (Lacan, 1988 :247 and Lacan, 1997: 61). This metaphor condenses not only people's feelings and personal experiences about their nation, such as the incorporation of national sentiments into the citizen's symbolic structure.

Section 2 The role flags play in promoting national sentiment

The role flags play in promoting certain national sentiment on behalf of the Ideological State Apparatus is based on the flag being a symbol of attachment for different dimensions of nationality. Among these dimensions it is possible to highlight religiosity, social organization, membership and differentiation dimensions.

First, it can be said that the flag is the best resource that a nation has for incarnating the religious dimension. As Baumann said, "religions are, after all, concerned with the seemingly absolute matters of life and death, good and evil, merit and failure-in other words, the meaning and morality of life" Baumann, 1999: 21), and is in all aspects connected with the national performance of the flag. The religious dimension of the flag can be easily found. For instance as Marvin and Ingle point out, "in its male aspects the flag on its pole sits at the outermost point of its staff. This is a border, the point of crossover from human to divine, from profane to sacred, from centre to periphery. The flag soldiers carry into battle signifies their willingness to go to the border between life and death and also signifies sacrificial willingness, and recalls the origins of European nation-states within the sacrificial system of Christianity. The myth of the sacrificed Christ who dies for all men makes every sacrificed soldier a re-modelled Christ dying to redeem his countrymen" (Marvin and Ingle, 1999: 69).

The idea of offering life for the flag's sake can be interpreted as believing that flags mean more than death (Hoffman, 1996: 24). The flag questions and involves people into the national doctrine and into the practice of sacrifice and death. Thus, as Hoffman noted of a flag "on days of national mourning it stands at half mast. At state funerals it is draped over the coffin to show that the deceased has been accepted into the immortal community of the nation. It is a symbol that is understood throughout the world like no other" (Hoffman, 1996: 4).

Furthermore, the flag is just a piece of something, just "something flapping in the air" (Perrin, 1922: 18) and one of the central attractions of the flag may consist of the apparent visibility of the invisible, produced by the wind. As Canetti expressed, "flags are wind made visible (Canetti, 1984: 2). The wind thus is the counterpart of the flag, it is what gives its life, and produces the sensation that the flag is alive to spectators as if it were saying something to them. After the flag is taken by the wind, it is expressing its voice and gesture and generating a kind of song and dance. Thus the wind's possession of the flag seems to incarnate life and death or even the nation's soul awakening, a national soul that catches people's attention by the absorption and theatricality² of

² See Fried, M. Absorption and Theatricality. The University of Chicago Press. Chicago (1980).

the dance the flag produces. As Hoffmann noted, "the flag blowing in the wind, as a sign of movement: the optical opium of the people, forests of flags as a psychological field of force" (Hoffmann, 1996: 13).

However, as Durkheim noted, "everything depends upon the circumstances which lead the sentiment creating religious ideas to establish itself here or there ... therefore, the sacred character assumed by an object is not implied in the intrinsic properties of the latter: it is added to them. The world of religious things is not one particular aspect of empirical nature; it is superimposed upon it" (Durkheim, 2004: 116). Therefore, the supposed mute discourse of that soul of the nation is a consequence of each participant's desires and beliefs, as Theweleit pointed out, "a flag can be seen as containing and displaying the tamed instinctual life of the men who are its followers; its colours are those of their desires" (Theweleit, 1987: 261).

The second dimension transmitted by the flag is a symbolic structural mandate as if the nation were part of the structural signified of the personal identity. That mandate is closer to "the Law of the Father" (Lacan, 2001: 166) than can be represented by the flags's metaphor and whether the figure of the nation acts as a father as the signifier. As Lacan highlights, "a father who makes the laws or whether he poses as the pillar of the faith, as a paragon of integrity and devotion, as virtuous or as a virtuoso, by serving a work of salvation, of whatever object or lack of object, of nation or of birth" (Lacan, 2001: 166).

Besides, this mandate helps project the idea of a common national identity. Laclau, referring to the flag, pointed out that "if the main goal to be achieved is the welding of the nation into a unified whole, the creation of a nation, then it is tempting to conclude that a single dramatic symbol can achieve this more effectively than a whole legislature of representatives" (Laclau, 2005: 160). Hence, the flag does in effect do so in helping to structuralize the social and political experience of their users, by offering them the experience of participating in the political event and being part of the nation just by holding the nation flag. In that way, for Hoffman "as in every other area of political life, signs, symbols, and rituals play an important part in structuring political experience, especially in establishing collective identities" (Hoffman, 1996: 28).

In that way, Laclau points out that a representation, in terms of visibility, gives the sense of unity to a discursive totality (the people/the nation), in a process where social experiences are always mediated by such symbolization. For Laclau, "representation becomes the means of homogenizing of what I called a Heterogeneous mass into a single representation that contains a wide range of diversity" (Laclau, 2004: 159). Then, politically speaking, the flag becomes a tool for social integration and unification.

Last, as Hoffman pointed out, a flag is an imperative, an object which heightens the sense of fellowship. As he refers, "psychologists teach us how easy it is to fill an emotional vacuum by forming a powerful affective bond with a leadership figure or a flag" (Hoffmann, 1996: 13). Thus, this piece of cloth that represents so much for the state and for its people, is understood as a symbol that may stimulate the membership to the national group, bringing cohesion and the emotion of being part of something, even on dissidence. Thus, from its positive aspects and the tacit agreement to see the symbol as representative of the group, it is possible to find that potentially the flag has or is an element that allows the articulation of vast amount of areas and activities related to the nation, as Zizek suggested, "the enjoyments" of the citizens (Zizek, 2006: 246).

In the Argentine case, the flag is an object with an intense political use along the history. Historically speaking, the abusive use of the flag in extreme life and death situations (figure 58 to 61), the recurrent presence of the flag as background of any dictatorship's discourse, the appropriation by the Army or the military government of this symbol, as well as the subsequent attempts to associate it to different sectors (figure 62 to 73) led the flag to be a resource from where different representations of Argentina have been struggling for control. As a result of that, this flag has abandoned its immaculate and idealized character of the past to be spoiled and bastardized. So, as Belgrano wrote "when words become empty and meaningless they prostitute themselves, and the same happens to symbols" (in Eloy Martines, 2001: 25).

However, even though such association of the flag endures in people's mind³, it is possible to find still the flag inside almost any social expression of the Argentine people. Nowadays the flag is found in schools (figure 74 to 81), where standard-bearers carry it proudly, where it is hoisted at the beginning of the day and folded and put away at the end of the day, while everyone sings in its honour. Otherwise, we also see flags in football stadiums and it is on the streets after each victory. We can see flags in political and even religious meetings, in product packaging that resort to the "Made in Argentina", in taxicabs, in homes of high and low socio-economic levels (figure 82 to 89).

³ For some Argentine people the flag could mean, as José Pablo Feinmann suggested, the most negative aspect of community life in the country. As he points out "that flag expressed, in the 19th century, the interests of Buenos Aires – the province–metropolis as Juan Bautista Alberdi used to call it. The Federal inland of the country, devastated by Buenos Aires internal colonialism, did not find identification with the blue and white flag. The latter was the symbol used during Paraguay's devastation, the Conquest of the Desert, the Immigrants' repression, Patagonia's massacre. Colonel Varela celebrated with his British friends the triumph over the Patagonia workers under that blue and white flag, the same one used when Urriburu held office. Perón changed somehow the symbols, but kept them anyway. The "Liberating Revolution" flies the blue and white flag as a sign of the freedom and democracy "retrieved". Onganía suppresses the "Cordobazo" with that flag. Videla held office under the same insignia, but in that case the blue and white was stained with blood. This flag becomes the flag of the Football World Cup, the one of our glorious national team. This only flag means terror, fright, the negligence of the indifference. Then, we have Malvinas' war. Again, the flag" (Feinman, 2003) in *Una bandera para el siglo XXI*, Página 12 newspaper, November 15th, 2003.

Apart from that, in Argentina the flag is not only the incarnation of the nation, but also of a nation that gives solutions to the problems Argentine people face. Thus, people resort to the flag as a coat to protect them. As Eloy Martinez pointed out, “in the middle of the crisis, the flag appeared as a protective shield for the neglected, a lifejacket for that sinking boat that Argentina was” (Eloy Martinez, 2001: 25). As a consequence of that, it is possible to see flags and pennants flying along the country in the middle of any crisis (data collected during fieldwork). Therefore, the flag can be seen in the front line of almost all social claims. Claims for something that should be but is not, claims against the power’s insensitivity, claims for inclusion, or for being part of the nation (figure 90 to 96).

As Oscar Landi said, “people establish dialogues with symbols” (Landi, 2000), thus the dialogue with the flag is talking about the idea of belonging to a given community; where people believe and await their own answers, but use the flag as a mediator of their collective identity.

In summary, it can be said that in Argentina, the use of the flag was mainly associated as a military device, especially from 1810 to 1862 while the flag started to be incorporated in government use and during the last military dictatorship. From 1880, it was more common to find flags used by governmental actions and also by civic activities, especially during the time of Peronism. From 1955, the use of the flag for posters and advertising in general was increased by democratic and military governments. For instance, during the 1976 – 1983 dictatorship, the Alianza in 1999 and Kirchner period of 2003 to 2008, the flag was used frequently as graphic resource to deliver their message in different propagandas.

Section 2. Semiotic analysis of the Argentine Flag

The Argentine two-coloured flag is light blue and white. It is divided in two equal light blue horizontal stripes with a white stripe in the middle. In the centre, there is a figurative sun with a human face in golden yellow with thirty two rays: 16 blazing rays that “rotate” in clockwise direction and 16 straight rays alternatively placed, according to an already existing design in the first Argentine minted coin prior to the flag.

School curriculum considers that the Argentine flag’s origin is traced back to the creation of the light blue and white cockade of May 1810. Around that time, the patriots, led by Domingo French and Antonio Luis Beruti, gave away a number of ribbons to revolutionary supporters (De Gandia, 1960: 157). It is believed that those ribbons were red, white and light blue, inspired by the French Revolution’s colours. However, a number of historians reject this official version on the colours’ origin, claiming that the ribbons were only red and white. Anyway, what is widely accepted by all Argentine historiography is “even when no contemporary mentions Belgrano as the flag’s creator, history owes him that merit” (Scanna, 1968: 89).

In that sense, on the 13th of February, 1812 Manuel Belgrano proposed to the Government the initial creation of a national cockade, since the military forces used varied badges during their fight against Spain. Thus, five days later, The Triumvirate approved the use of the white and light blue cockade that Belgrano had proposed, declaring that this would be the national cockade of the United Provinces of the *Río de la Plata* (Scanna, 1968). Enthusiastic about this approval, Belgrano designed a flag using the same colours, raising it for the first time in Rosario, on the coast of the Paraná River, where now the National Monument to the Flag is placed. On the 13th of February, 1813 Belgrano made the troops swear allegiance to the government of the 1813 Assembly using the light blue and white flag.

After the oath, Belgrano sent a letter to the central government to inform them of this act but they ordered him to put the flag away and reproached him for his presumptuous actions, since it was not believed to be diplomatically appropriate. As researcher Prof. Ruffo (National History Museum) and the President of the Argentine History Academy, Prof. Cresto pointed out in field work interviews⁴, both considered that the flag found in Macha (Bolivia) was the original one hidden by Belgrano there (figure 22).

Finally, in 1816, the Congress accepted the light blue and white flag as the country’s official flag. Around the same time, in 1815, the Province of Santa Fe adopted its own flag using the same

⁴ See more details in Section 2 Fieldnotes.

colours crossed by a red stripe and with no sun on it. It was called the Artigas's flag, "the flag of freedom or the flag of the Federation" (Ferro, 1991: 62 and Canepa, 1953: 73) and remained as one of the permanent symbols of federalism.

In 1818, the Congress of Tucumán (transferred to Buenos Aires) added the sun emblem "as central hieroglyph" (Ferro, 1991: 86). This sun is called the "Sun of May" in reference to the May Revolution of 1810, which marked the beginning of the independence from Spain.

The colour of the Argentine Flag

In the Argentine flag there are both religious and military aspects. According to traditional Heraldic rules, the white colour on the flag would represent peace and honesty; the light blue colour attributes such things as vigilance, truth, loyalty, perseverance or justice (Woodcock and Robinson, 1988 and Smith, 1975). However, the election of the colours could be considered to be a consequence not only of such traditional rules, but even more so of colonial and religious issues, since as Jacob suggests "the flag was not conceived under pure Heraldic criteria" (Jacob, 2002: 34).

Nevertheless, as Zakia points out, that even seeing colour is a subjective experience (Zakia, 2002: 138), the attention to colour "becomes an additional way to achieve an identity" (Zakia, 2002: 136). More precisely, there are different criterias for evaluating colour's social use. Authors such as Arnheim consider that particular colours have fixed meanings in every culture (Arnheim, 2004: 331). In this regard, those authors consider it possible to analyse the Argentina colour combination in such a way. As Zakia points out, "blue stands for everything that is proper. Indigo blue represented the desire for colour without the presence of it...white is the colour of the absolute. Committed and uncommitted, ambivalent in its richness and simplicity...white is the color of objectivity, beyond subjectivity" (Zakia, 2002: 137). Besides, for Mazower, "light blue, representing the sea and sky, and white, symbolizing the purity of the nation. Their blending in the form of a dual symbolism, entwining national sentiments with religious convictions" (Mazower, 2000: 226).

However, for other authors such as Baumann, "colour identities, like all other identities, are a matter of situation and context" (Baumann, 1999: 58). Based on this position, it is necessary to go deeper into the Argentine context for analysing the initial sense of the colour of the nation. Concerning that choice of colours, there are a number of historians whose opinions hold the following hypotheses.

First, the origin of the colors of the flag would be associated with Catholicism, since the light blue and white colours are present in Virgin Mary's robe (figure 33 to 35), "according to what has been

consecrated by the Catholic liturgy, as representative of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary's mystery, after approving the order established by Beatriz de Silva and recognising as habit those colours. She used to offer herself during the ecstasy of the revelation: blue - light blue and white" (Corvalán Mendilharasu, 1943: 243). Among the reasons that justify this possible reading, there is the fact that Belgrano worshiped the Luján Virgin, the reason why according to Jacob, Argentina owes its colours to "Belgrano's religious conviction and his devotion to the Virgin" (Jacon, 2002: 8).

Second, the light blue and white colours are attributed to the Band of the Order of King Charles III from Spain (figure 36 to 37), as it is portrayed in Goya's paintings, which is perfectly acceptable and complementary to the fact that he can also have been inspired by the Virgin's robe, since Borbon's order were devotees of the Virgin Mary. This hypothesis could be consistent with the independentist's political strategy of avoiding the total breakdown of all bonds from Spain.

Third, there is an association between the colours' origin to Buenos Aires' representation as a synonym of the country. The colours are attributed here to those already existing in the shield of Buenos Aires city, set in 1649 (figure 38), which has the colours of the sky and silver (figure 39), that is to say, the light blue and white that appear as the port's emblem. As Ferro suggests, "the silver colour is represented in white, which resembles the river stream foam from where an anchor looms, and the blue represents the sky with a flying pigeon" (Ferro, 1991: 3). It is also possible to mention that the Consulate of Buenos Aires was created in 1794, and its shield was adopted in accordance with the old tradition of using the blue and white colours. Within this possibility, we must also include the Consulate's flag, since according to Carlos Roberts the flag hoisted at the front of the building in 1794 had the same light blue and white colours as the Virgin's robe, patron of the Corporation (in Scanna, 1968). Besides, the first secretary of that Consulate was the lawyer Mr. Manuel Belgrano, future creator of the national flag. Likewise, the light blue and white were the distinctive colours used by the patriots and the regiments of Buenos Aires during the British invasions of Buenos Aires in 1806. According to Ferro, those patrician regiments had already worn a light blue and white crest on their hats by 1810 (Ferro, 1991)⁵.

As well as that, the initial independent groups that portrayed these colours were also from Buenos Aires. Thus, such emblems also belonged to the Patriotic Society and the Morenists, a group of pro-independent *porteños* later called "Unitarians", which in 1811, even before the first hoisting of the flag, wore a light blue and white ribbon rosette for their better identification (Ferro, 1991). These ribbons were visible during "the complot that overthrew the Government Junta of 1810" (Ferro, 1991: 14).

⁵ Even though Mayor Tojo expressed his doubt about it, as he pointed out during his fieldwork interview (Casa Amarilla, 2000). Mayor Tojo is the representant of the Argentine Army on Military Symbolism.

Fourth, according to my own findings as a result of my fieldwork, the flag's combination of colours represents the image of the seaboard, where the sky is the upper band, the horizon is the white one and the sea or river the lower one. This is also mentioned in the flag's national song *Aurora*, "blue, a wing of the colour of the sky, blue, a wing of the colour of the sea" (Rojas, 1907: 160). Besides, it is also considered here as a poetic dimension of the presence of those colours in the national landscape, where the light blue and white seem to have been inspired by the sky and the clouds. According to tradition, the flag was created by General Belgrano when he looked at the sky just before the river Paraná. Thus, José María Gutiérrez's poem says "from the sky our giant parents took the white and light blue of our flag" (Ferro, 1991: 13), some of the odes to the flag that children used to recite at school. This possibility would imply a discrimination against the inhabitants of the inland of the country for most of them live in the "pampas" or in the Patagonia (figure 40 and 41) where the only colours found is in their skies.

Last, it is possible to justify the use of these colours by weaker arguments that relate the colours to ideological concepts, such as the fact that the blue was the preferred colour in court ornaments by the Incas of Peru, or that blue symbolizes the ideals of justice, truth and brotherhood, arguments with no strong testimony in the Argentine history.

The Sun of the Argentine Flag

The sun of the flag is the same sun used in the national shield but in this case it appears in the centre of the flag not just looming but in its entirety. The sun of the flag comes from the sun of the first minted Argentine coin. Thus, the coin's and flag's sun is a referent made of a circle and 32 rays that alternate straight triangular shapes, which make reference to the traditional idea of energy, and waving shapes, which stand for the expression of heat (Cirlot, 1992: 417). The rays' shape can also be interpreted as the convergence of both male and female aspects, the straight and the wavy.

The number and distribution of rays can be thought as derived from the wind rose (figure 42) which indicates the fundamental geographic points essential to its direction as they appear in typical compasses of the time. Two aspects can be considered in the sun rays shape. First, the energy or light that is projecting. According to heraldic rules thick and wavy rays transmitted energy, action while thin and large rays represent light, illuminations and ideas. Second, the extension of the rays can be considered as arms of an humanized sun.

The motive for the selection of the sun as the central protagonist of the flag is unclear. Some authors sustain the official version that was an attempt to seduce natives which they considered as "sons of the sun" (Scanna, 1969: 82) (figure 43 to 45). In this position Mitre, who was one of the

most influential personalities in the process of construction of the Argentine nationality, pointed out that “the heraldic sun in the national coat of arms was, undoubtedly, a form of attraction and reverence for the native “Quichua” and “Aymará” people, worshippers of the star” (Mitre, 1960: 10); This was something that, according to Levenne (Levenne, 1991) was thought of as a strategy to win their wills against the Spanish army.

For other authors, the sun represents a discourse of the Masonry (figure 46 to 48), functioning as a symbol of clarity against darkness: “the Masonic sun of regenerative truth” (Boime, 1990: 496) and “the signature of the soul” (see Maier, 1996: 83). This interpretation may have some resonance considering that some members of the ruling class belonged to the Masonic lodges, such as Alvear, Rivadavia and San Martín (Mitre, 1960: 422).

The sun’s historical presence in the flag is also associated with the war flag and to the symbolism that the star generates which is considered in Argentina as the incarnation of state power as history shows it. To understand its power, the absence of the sun would mean the end of life. An example of this could be found in the Army’s shield, which results in a grave man’s face scrutinizing the spectator (Shield, figure 99). In this way, it can be said that the sun entertained a greater public presence during military governments where the gap between those governments and the civil society was widened by its sole presence.

Section 4. An history of the changes in the Argentine flag and its meaning

In Argentina, political sectors have been modifying the national flag as a means of expression. Those expressions can be detected according to some main axes. First and foremost, the selection of the light blue or blue colour as pertaining to the flag. Second, the use of the sun and the incorporation of other objects. Third, the sun's expression and how the rays of the sun are.

In the first place, the words light blue, blue and blue-light blue were used to define the colour's flag with almost no distinction throughout the years from the creation of the cockade in 1812 until 1944 (Tables 1- Flag 1 to 31), when a decree tried to end the controversy by setting the national hue. The ideals that have been determined as a result of this debate could be understood in evaluating from the vagueness of the word chosen to determine the hue, to ignoring which was exactly the hue chosen by its creator or from questions related to heraldry, aesthetics, visibility, durability and destruction or loss of the original flag.

However, real controversy is not a consequence of aesthetic criteria. The fact is that the political dispute was among Unitarians and Federalists. The core motive of this debate was among Buenos Aires and the country's inland, and was based on the fact that to be identified by a special hue colour involved the membership to one or another political group⁶. Thus, for the Federals first and for Rosas later, "the national colour has changed from light blue to blue (Tables 1- Flag 8 to 15) because the Unitarians adopted the former as the party's colour" (Canepa, 1953: 62). After Rosas's fall "blue was identified as the colour of the confederation and light blue as the colour of the State of Buenos Aires" (Dumrauf, 2003: 16).

Moreover, the next president, the *Porteño*⁷ President Mitre's interest of national validity of the light blue colour can be understood. He asked "Why is the blue colour mentioned not even once in official records, and light blue is always and constantly repeated? The fact is that the blue colour, understood as a dark blue, does not have either a historical antecedent or a military meaning. The only occasion when blue was mentioned was as a synonym of blue-light blue"⁸.

Still, at present there are sectors which are trying to modify the colour of the flag, seeking to impose their political vision. For instance, the National Deputies Chamber's draft 143/01 from the year 2003, submitted by the Peronist representative Lorenzo Pepe to restore the blue and white flag, as a clear vindication of Rosas.

⁶ For instance, the Pink House, official seat of the National Government, is pink due to the act of integration of the light blue and red colors (Sarmiento, 1902: 189).

⁷ "Porteño" means from the city of Buenos Aires.

⁸ In "Revista Todo es Historia", Nº 12, Year III. Buenos Aires, April-June, 1958: 127.

In second place, the use of the flag with sun was regulated by the state. From 1818 until 1983 most of the time the sun was a property of the government and especially of the military (see civic exceptions in Tables 1- Flag 3, 8 to 11, 37 to 44, 49, 50, 52, 55, 56, 57, 70, 75, 89). Then, from 1983 till 2008, the public and civic use of the sun on the flag was popularized and the sun could be represented in a free way. As it has already been said about the flag's history, the everlasting debates regarding the fact of having one or two flags, that is to say, first and second class Argentines, turned the sun's inclusion or exclusion into a mere consequence of a society in conflict between representatives and the represented; in fact a debate about who is the owner of Argentina representing a historical political confrontation between the military and civil society.

Apart from that, the incorporation of objects in the flag was especially done by the replacement of the sun by shields, especially from 1817 to 1852 (see Tables 1- Flag 3, 4, 6, 11, 18 and 17). It can be the result of the interest of the State to own the Nation by marking the flag with a state symbol. In opposition, the absence of shields in national flags since 1955 can be interpreted as a State that is hiding behind the nation. Therefore, in general, the replacement of the sun by a shield shows the visibility of the state as the creator of the nation.

Another annexation to the flag is the incorporation of legends, something that can be found especially from 1829 to 1861, from 1955 to 1976 and from 2003 to 2008. That action shows the attempt to focus the meaning of the nation to a particular topic, the one that is written on the flag (Tables 1- Flag 11, 14, 16, 34, 51, 57, 88, 94, 95 and 97).

Political expressions can be found in the sun's face and expression as well as the characteristics of the rays. Since official decrees do not regulate it, the sun's face shows how power is exercised by such administrations, according to what its face is expressing. Therefore, the flag has had an androgenic face, a child's face, a woman and a man's face, and even, as it is shown by the examples, aggressive, depressed, upset and even a monstrous face. Even the current President of the Nation designed and used the sun during her political campaign and in several occasions in her term; a reproduction of the sun was designed with a similar facial expression as hers (figure 49 to 57). The different faces of the sun could show a question of genre. As a general conclusion, it can be said that in XIX century the flag showed a male face which is in accordance with the lack of female political participation (excepted Tables 1- Flag 11 and 14). Then, in XX and XXI centuries the female participation started and the sun was represented with both a male or a female face, but there is not a clear pattern of use of them in each case (female faces can be found in Tables 1- Flag 29, 31, 33 and 46). Since 2003 the presence of a sun with the face of a woman has increased (Tables 1- Flag 82, 91 to 93), a fact that allows it to be seen as a pacifist country.

Following the changes of the rays, it can be said that in XIX century, energy was more important than light (see rays in Tables 1- Flag 4 to 6, 10 to 14 and 16), something that can be interpreted as

showing the active pulse of the time to create a new Nation, attract immigrants, build the infrastructure among others. On the contrary, in the XX century, light was more important than energy, showing the importance of ideas, values and credo more than actions independently of the content of them. Since 1983, the extension of the rays grew as if they were human arms, something that could be interpreted as the intention of democracy to have arms to hold on to people (Tables 1- Flag 61 to 93).

From an historical point of view, the first important historical change made to the original national flag was during Rosas' government. As Scanna points out "Rosas had replaced the original Argentine flag by one composed of two dark blue bands and a white one with four red corners" (Scanna, 1969: 85). Rosas also replaced the golden sun for a red one, especially in his fleet. Hence, "during Rosas' times, the blue colour became darker to be distinguished from the light blue considered as the Unitarian colour" (Jacob, 2002: 32), their internal enemies. Since then and for a century, this light blue colour has continued to divide the country and to be known as a synonym of the port of Buenos Aires.

When Rosas was overthrown, the blue and light blue flag used by the Argentine Confederation was kept as the country's flag. However, when this government fell, the initial light blue and white flag first carried by the Unitarians and then by Mitre became again the nation state's flag (Tables 1- Flag 16 to 97).

Afterwards, in 1869 President Sarmiento's decree claimed "one flag, one nation" (Ferro, 1991: 96), while he authorized the use of the same flag, without the sun, by the whole citizenship and public organizations with no distinction. In 1884, President Roca decreed the use of the flag with the sun to represent the State abolishing what Sarmiento had done. In 1885, President Pellegrini decreed that the flag was blue and white and established a reduction of its size to 140 x 90 centimetres. In 1907, the flag was defined as white and light blue and not blue. During the 1930s, the light blue colour represented the sky's colour at sunrise.

In 1933 the compulsory use of the Argentine flag in schools was systematized and the use of the red flag with the hammer and sickle was forbidden because it connoted Communism. The state also restricted citizen use of the Argentine flag. In 1938, the President Roberto M. Ortiz enacted the law 12.361 that declared the 20th of June as Flag Day and a national bank holiday as a way of paying tribute to Manuel Belgrano.

In 1944, the military government established the flag with the sun as the national flag, something that pertains to a nationalist ideology and identity. It could not be used by private individuals, who were left without a flag, even when they were granted the right of wearing the national colours as long as they did not use the sun. The Official Flag of the Nation is formally described in the

National Decree 10302/1944 as "the flag with a sun approved by the Congress of Tucumán, gathered in Buenos Aires the 25th of February 1818" (Fernandez and Castagnino, 1962: 90-91).

It is interesting to highlight that the government was very strict regarding the use of light blue and white in founding the decree of citizen usage, as a consequence that "these are colours associated with the best Spanish tradition" (in Ferro, 1991: 246).

Then, in 1978, the decree 1666/78 specified the sun's colour and dimensions to be golden yellow, the inner diameter of the sun of 10 cm, and an outer diameter of 25 cm, with 32 rays, 16 undulated and 16 straight.

In 1983 the return of a democratic government came. As it was narrated by David Ratto during a field work interview⁹, he encouraged President Alfonsín to modify the flag use, drafted a proposal and then, by a Congressional law, it was established that citizens and public organizations had the right to use the flag, which is the reason why the flag without the sun formally disappeared. From that time on, there is only one flag for all, something that belongs to a Republican ideology and identity.

In 1999, the then President Carlos Menem by decree number 858/99 established some changes in the flag, and demanded that it should be made from one special type of cloth manufactured by one single company in the country¹⁰. However, this decree was never enforced.

Beyond its local use, the Argentine flag influenced other flags of the continent with its novel design. The 1820 Uruguayan flag, as well as the flag of the Federal Republic of Central America of 1828 are examples of such influence. That is the result of the actions of a French corsair dependent on the Argentine government, who during his adventures against the Spanish, attacked Caribbean and Pacific Ocean ports and even hoisted the Argentine flag in California, an image worthy of being portrayed in a novel. As corollary and influence of his actions, the current flags of Nicaragua, El Salvador, Honduras and Guatemala bear similarities with the Argentine one (Helman, 1989).

⁹ See Fieldnotes.

¹⁰ See magazine *Veintitrés's* accusation, September 11, 1999. During the fieldwork carried out at the Ministry of the Interior, I had the possibility to interview the person in charge of that area. He suggest me to talk to the person who had given advice on this decree and who turned out to be the President of Belgraniana Association, also owner of the aforementioned flag company.

Conclusion

Since the first flag found before 3000 BC, flags were stated as a device by which its authority was recognized. From the first national flag to nowadays, as soon as a new nation is born, it must publicly define its flag which contributes to distinguishing one nation from the other nations of the world.

A flag can be defined as an insignia made of a rectangular piece of cloth, insignia from where visual referents indicate the nature of the entity to which the flag belongs, being a political or social non-verbal communication media between its users. In this way, the flag works as a sign, allowing the instantaneous recognition of friends and enemies and as being a totem of each community.

Besides, flags are also symbols, emblems of the meaning people placed on them and from where to fight and die for and an object to be conquered as if it were endowed with greater value. Therefore, a flag symbolizes, and is seen as, the nation in itself, by condensing all sentiments with the nation. Therefore, flags promote certain national sentiment on behalf of the Ideological State Apparatus. First, a religious dimension or sentiment can be found as if the flag means more than death, where flag questions and involves people in practice of sacrifice and death. Besides, the central attraction of a flag floating in the air may consist of the apparent visibility of the invisible, produced by the wind, expressing the nation's soul awakening. Second, a representation of a social organization is portrayed by the flag, where the flags's metaphor is a symbolic structural mandate of the nation which structures political experience, especially in establishing collective identities. For that reason, a flag gives the sense of unity to a nation as a discursive totality, in a process where social experiences are always mediated by such symbolization. Besides, a flag is understood as a symbol that may stimulate the membership to the national group, bringing cohesion and the emotion of being part of something, even in dissidence.

In Argentina, the flag has been used in extreme life and death situations, as a background of any dictatorship's discourse, by the Army or the military governments that appropriated this symbol and as well as subsequent attempts to associate it to different sectors. However, even though such association of the flag endures in people's mind, it is possible to find the flag inside almost any social expression of Argentine, in schools, in sport, in political and religious meetings, in commercial and in high and low socio-economic levels everyday life, as if Argentine flag were also the incarnation of the best of the nation.

Furthermore, the main components of the Argentine flag are the colours (white and light blue) and the presence or absence of a sun, two attributes that have been changed in different moments of the Argentine history since its creation in 1810 by Belgrano as a means of political expression.

The origin of the colors of the flag could be associated with Catholicism since the light blue and white colours are present in the Virgin Mary's robe, could be attributed to the Band of the Order of King Charles III from Spain or could be a copy of the colours used in the shield of Buenos Aires city. Besides, it could represent the image of the seaboard where the sky is the upper band, the horizon is the white one and the sea or river the lower one. In this case, the colour and the space they occupy would represent Buenos Aires and it would be discrimination against the inhabitants of the inland of the country where the only colours found are in their skies.

In the case of the sun, it could represent an attempt to seduce native people as they considered them as "sons of the sun", a discourse of the Masonry functioning as a symbol of clarity against darkness, a traditional idea of energy and state power

The mentioned changes made to the flag were around some main axes which were the selection of the light blue or blue colour pertaining to the flag, the marginalization of the civil society from the official flag with the sun and last the sun's expression, the shape of the rays. Besides, a shield has been introduced in the place of the sun as well as legends.

In the first place, the words light blue, blue and blue-light blue show a dispute among Unitarians and the colour of the State of Buenos Aires while the Rosas' dark blue flags represent a Federal government.

In second place, the flag portrayed everlasting debates regarding the fact of having in Argentina one or two flags, that is to say, first and second class Argentines, from where the sun's inclusion or exclusion differentiate Argentine's activity. The free use of the flag for everybody is typical of the Republican identity while a restrictive use of the flag with a sun pertains to a Nationalist identity. Third, political expressions and how power is exercised can be found in the sun's face but there is no a clear pattern of their uses.

Table 1

Main characteristics of the Argentine Flag according to different historical periods and Ideological State apparatus.

Historical period	1810-1820	1820-1829	1829-1852	1852-1861	1862-1880	1880-1916
Colour	Light blue and white	Light blue and white	Red and blue -black	Light blue and white or blue	Light blue and white	Light blue and white
Sun	With and without	With	Blue, black, red and white	With and without	With and without	With and without
Sun expression	Face of an adult man	Face of an adult man	Face of an adult man	Face of an adult man	Not clear	Face of an adult man
Rays	32, medium size, straight and undulating interspersed	Jointed and few	Thicker	Different	Not clear	Thicker
Incorporated objects	Shields	Shields	Stripes, four bonnet, shields	No	No	Sometimes shields
Incorporated legend	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	No
Comments						
Use	Military	Military	Military	Military	Military and government	Government and civic

Historical period	1916-1930	1930-1945	1946-1955	1955- 1976	1976 – 1983	1983-1989
Colour	Light blue and white	Light blue and white	Light blue and white and blue and white	Light blue and white	Light blue and white and blue and white	Light blue and white
Sun	With and without	With and without	With and without	With and without	With and without	With
Sun expression	Not clear	Face of an adult woman and man	Face of an adult man	Face of an adult woman and man	Face of an adult man	Face of an adult man
Rays	Not clear	Normal	Normal	Normal	Normal	Extended
Incorporated objects	Sometimes shields	Sometimes symbols	Justice replacing sun, Peronist shield	Just in civic use		No
Incorporated legend	No	Yes	No	Just in civic use		No
Comments			The sun is not the central element of the flag		Flag colors were deep in advertising	The flag with sun can be used for civic use
Use	Government and civic use	Government and civic use	Government and civic use	Government and civic use	Government	Government and civic use

Historical period	1989-1999	1999-2001	2002-2003	2003-2008
Colour	Light and bright blue and white	Light and bright blue and white	Light and bright blue and white	Light and bright blue and white
Sun	With	With	With	With and without
Sun expression	Face of an adult man	Face of an adult man and variations	Face of an adult man and woman	Face of an adult woman and man
Rays	Thin and extended	Normal and variations	Different	Different
Incorporated objects	No	No	No	Yes
Incorporated legend	No	No	No	Yes
Comments		The sun of the flag started to be freely represented		Popular demonstrations use flags with legends
Use	Government and civic use	Government and civic use	Government and civic use	Government and civic use



Figure 1. 1830, President Rosas



Figure 2. 1853, President Urquiza



Figure 3. 1904, President Roca



Figure 4. 1945, President Perón



Figure 5. 1952, President Perón



Figure 6. 1977, President Videla (dictatorship)

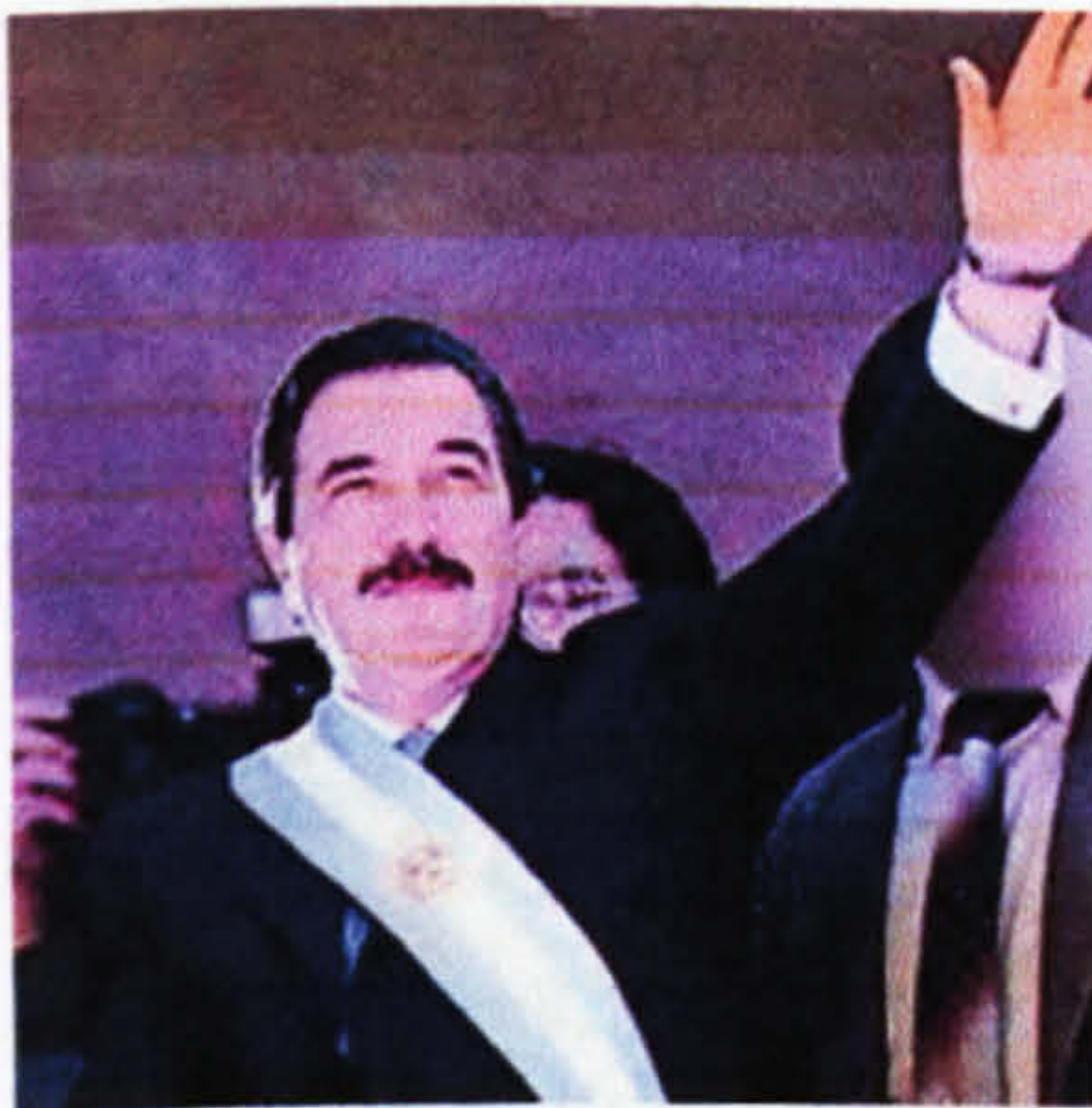


Figure 7. 1983, President Alfonsín



Figure 8. 1989, President Menem



Figure 9. 2001, President De La Rúa



Figure 10. 2001, President Rodríguez Saa



Figure 11. 2002, President Duhalde



Figure 12. 2003, President Kirchner



Figure 13. 2008, Buenos Aires



Figure 14. 2008, Casa Rosada



Figure 15. 1862, Santa Cruz

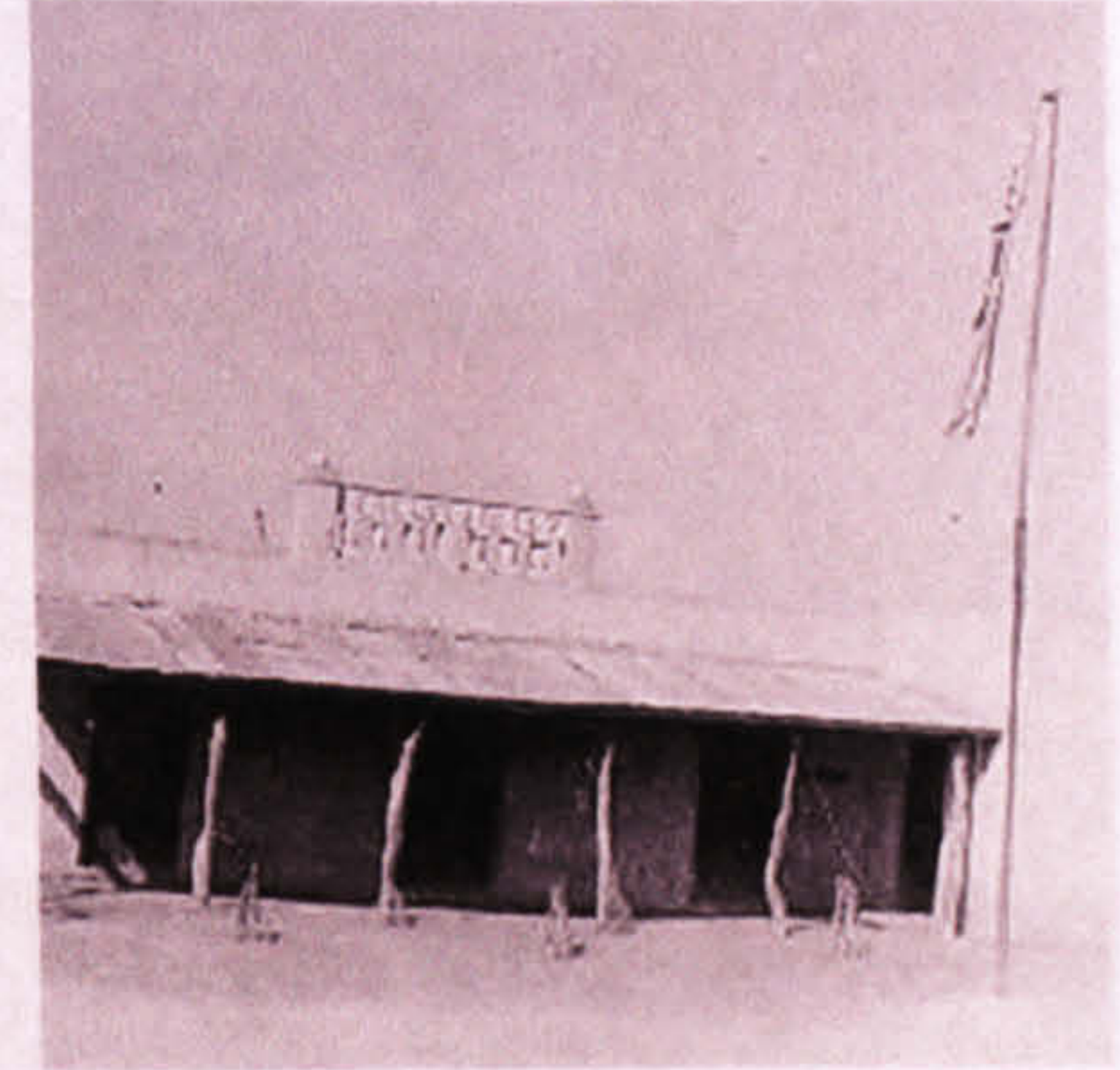


Figure 16. 1928, La Pampa



Figure 17. 1989 Antartica



Figure 18. 2003, La Boca



Figure 21. 2005, Aconcagua



Figure 19. 2008, Argentina's north



Figure 20. 2008, Argentina's northwest



Figure 22. 1813, supposed first flag



Figure 24. 2008 flag of the province of Entre Rios



Figure 23. 1818, flag of Artigas



Figure 25. 1820, flag of Entre Rios



Figure 26. 1813, first coin



Figure 27. 1818, flag with sun



Figure 28. 1831, Rosas's flag



Figure 29. 1840, Rosas's flag



Figure 30. 1840, Rosas's flag



Figure 31. 1840, Rosas's flag



Figure 32. 1840, Rosas's flag



Figure 33. Virgen de Lujan

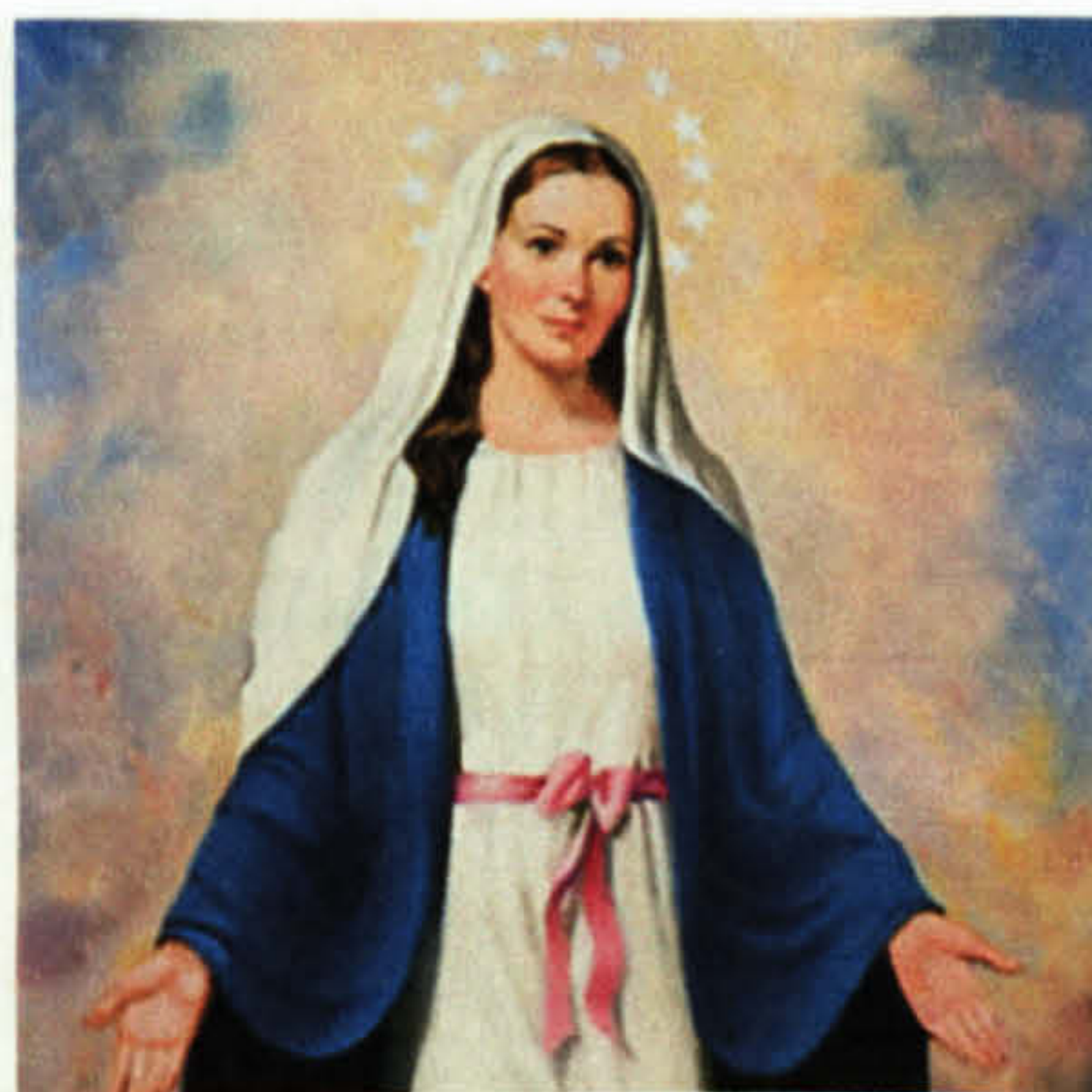


Figure 34. Virgin Mary's cloth colours



Figure 35. 1960, Virgen de Lujan stamp



Figure 36. 1808, Carlos IV



Figure 37. 1808, the order of Carlos III (in a Goya painting)



Figure 38. 1649, Buenos Aires's colours



Figure 39. Buenos Aires coastline



Figure 40. Pampean landscape



Figure 41. Patagonean sky

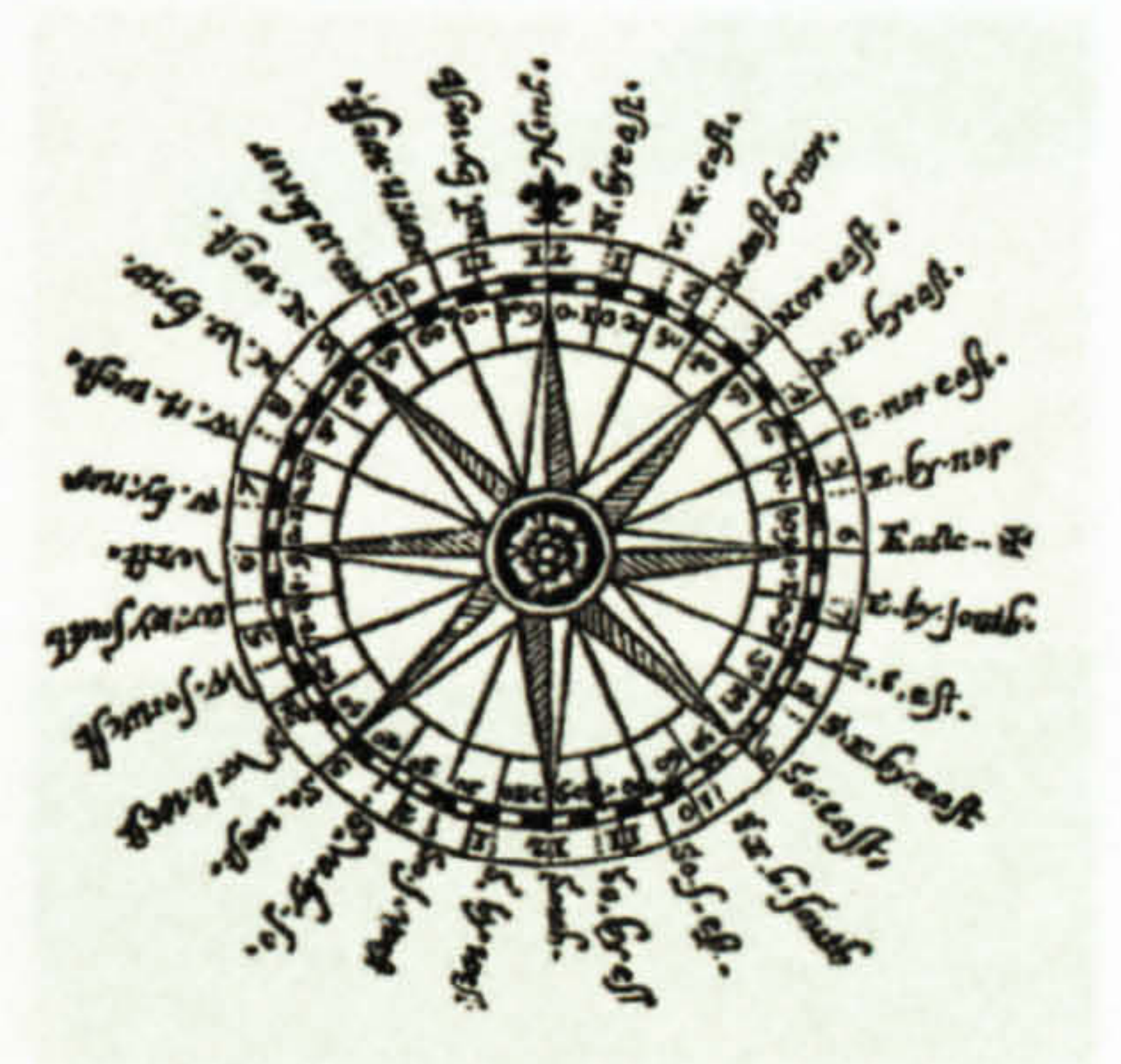


Figure 42. Rose of the winds



Figure 43. Incan sun



Figure 44. Aymaran sun

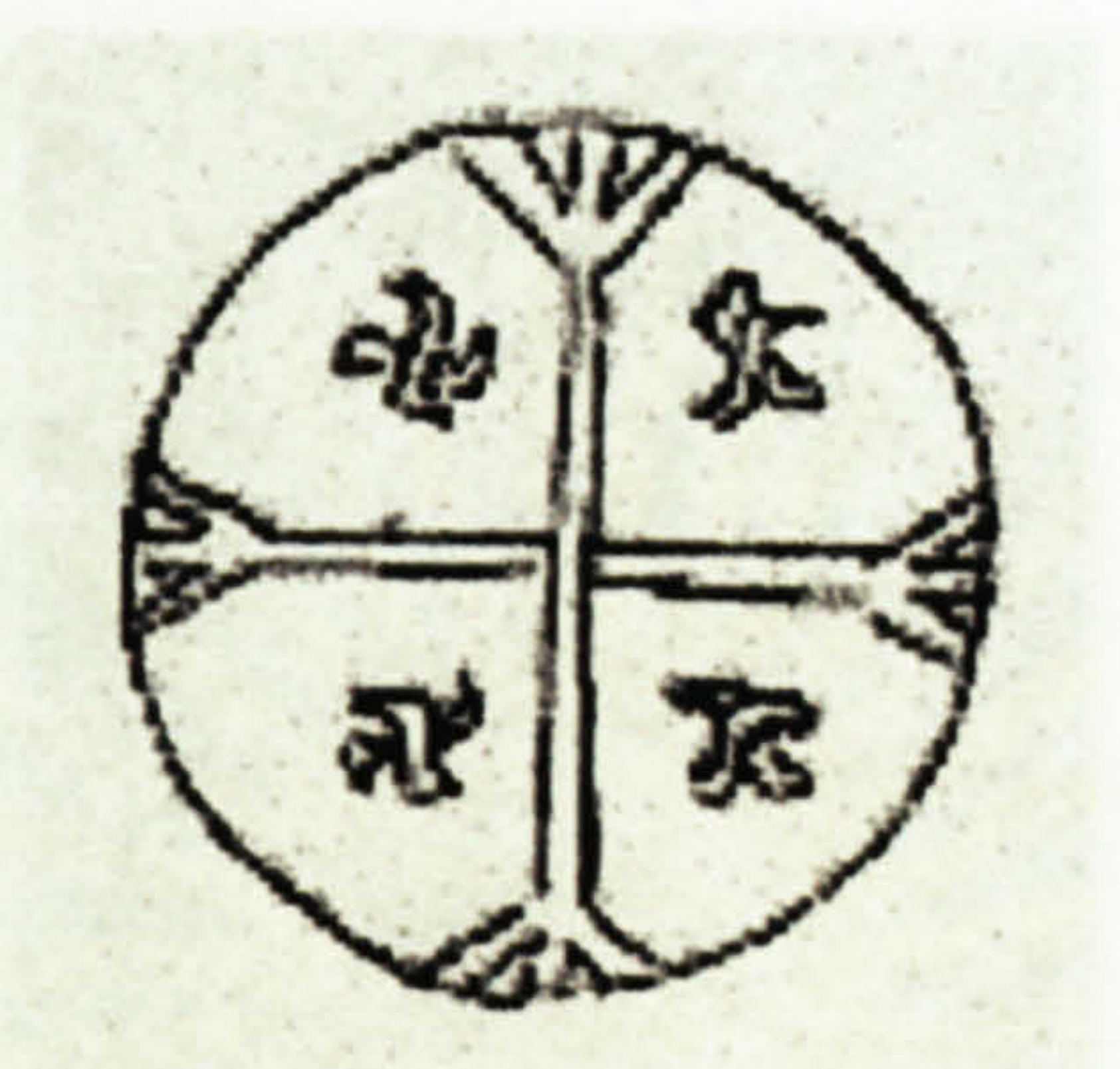


Figure 45. Mapuche flag



Figure 46. 1808, Medal from Masonry



Figure 47. 1832, Freemason symbol

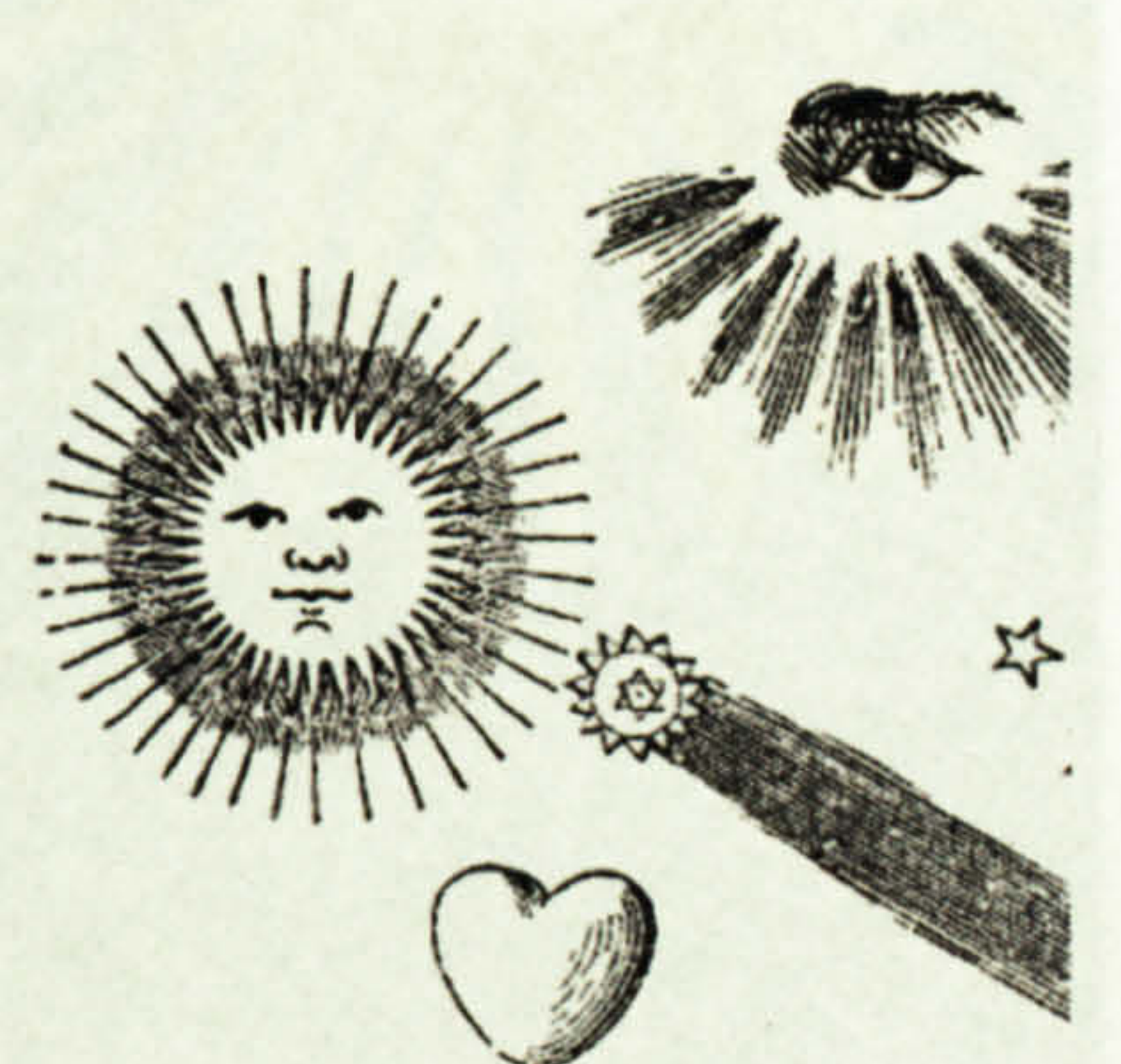


Figure 48. 1867, Freemason symbol



Figure 49. 1814



Figure 50. 1930's



Figure 51. 1957

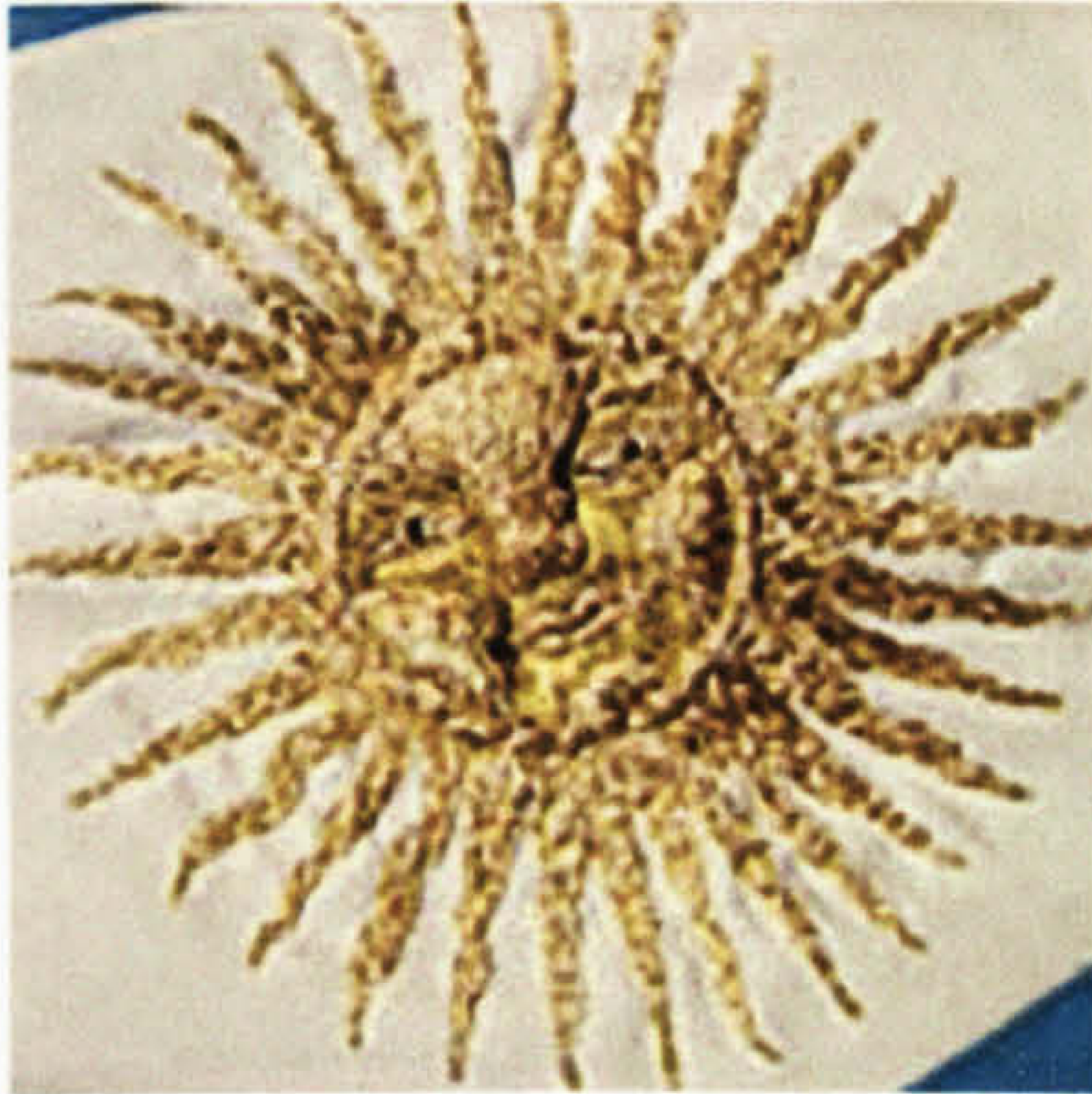


Figure 52. 1984



Figure 53. 1982



Figure 54. 1990's



Figure 55. 2007



Figure 56. 2007



Figure 57. 2008



Figure 58. 1973, Ezeiza



Figure 59. 1990's, Argentine Army



Figure 60. 1999, Malvinas' deaths Memorial, Quequén



Figure 61. 2006, Malvinas' cemetery

Figure 72. 2006, 9 de Julio

Figure 73. 2004, Trenque Lauquen



Figure 62. 1852, Caseros



Figure 63. 1944, Buenos Aires



Figure 64. 1975, N/D



Figure 65. 2004, Buenos Aires



Figure 66. 2007, Entre Ríos



Figure 67. 2007, Buenos Aires



Figure 68. 2008, Buenos Aires



Figure 69. 2008, Province of Buenos Aires



Figure 70. 2008, Villa María



Figure 71. 2008, Buenos Aires



Figure 72. 2008, 9 de Julio



Figure 73. 2008, Trenque Lauquen



Figure 74. 1914, La Pampa



Figure 75. 1980's, Corrientes



Figure 76. 2000's, Dolores



Figure 77. 2002, Province of Buenos Aires



Figure 78. 1990's Buenos Aires



Figure 79. 1999, Buenos Aires



Figure 81. 2008, Buenos Aires



Figure 80. 2007, Suarez



Figure 82. 2006, demonstration



Figure 83. 2008, Santa Fe rural strike



Figure 84. 2008, San Pedro rural strike



Figure 85. 2004, Flag day in Rosario



Figure 86. 2006, Flag day in Ushuaia



Figure 87. 2003, Rugby supporters

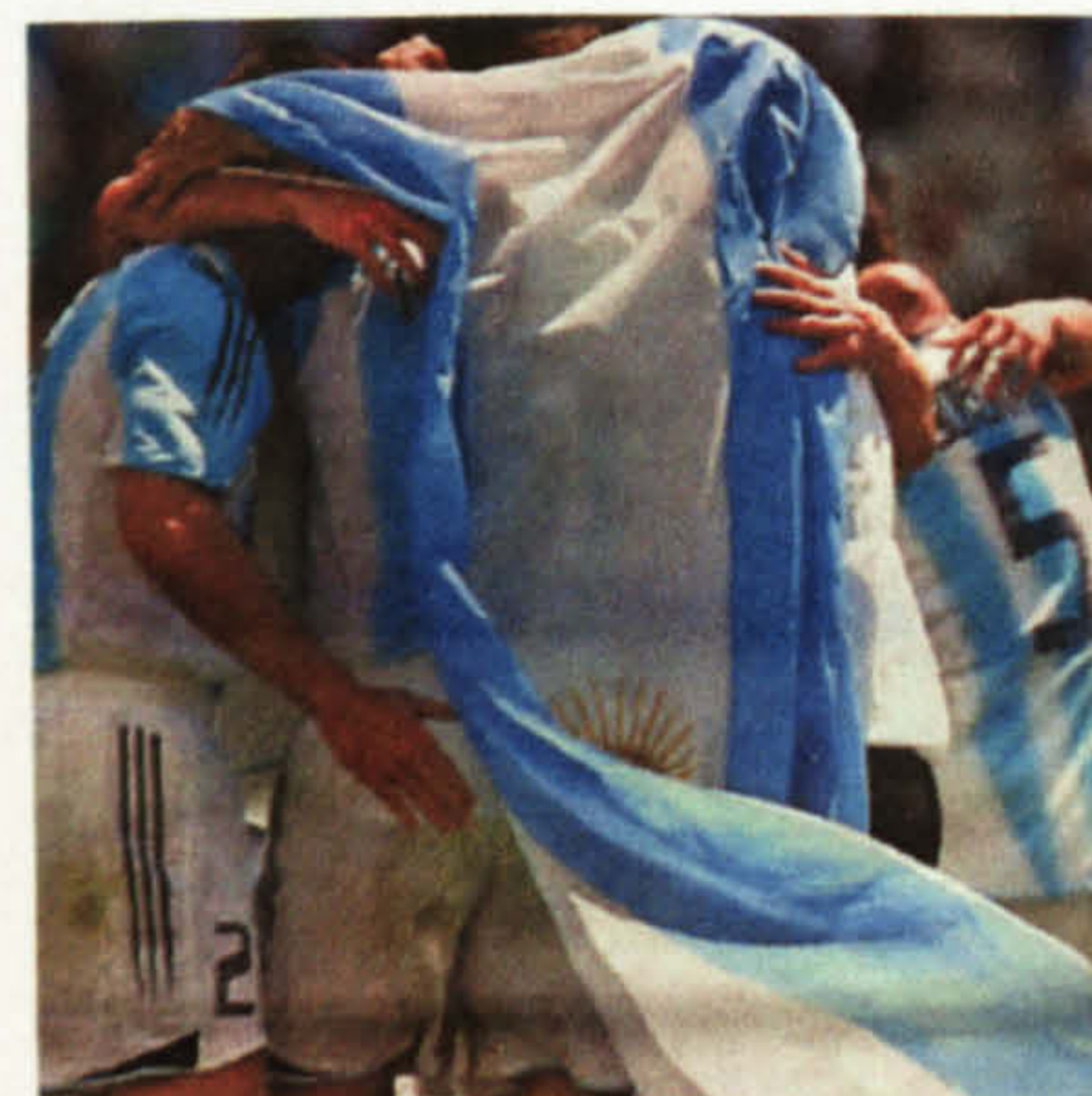


Figure 88. 2006, futbol players



Figure 89. 2007, Futbol supporters

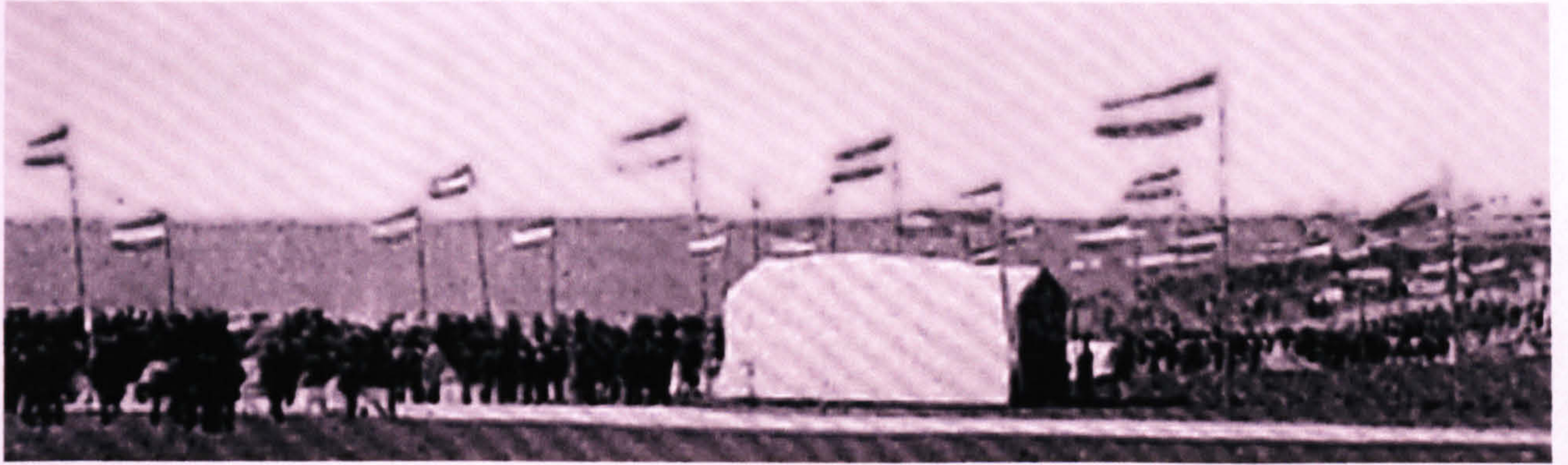


Figure 90. 1882, La Plata



Figure 91. 1900's, Palermo racetrack



Figure 92. 1999, Presidential inauguration



Figure 93. 1973, the return of Peron



Figure 94. During the 2002 economic crisis



Figure 95. 2008, flags supporting Kichner government



Figure 96. 2008, flags against Kichner government

Chapter 5. The Argentine National Shield

Introduction

The aim of chapter is to understand how the Argentine State designed nationality through the use of the shield.

In order to do that, the chapter is structured as follows: In the first section, a brief history of the social importance and role of the shield in history is developed in order to understand how shields became an essential symbol of recognition of a national state.

In the second section, the semiotic analysis of the Argentine Shield will be developed, a method that allows the examination of this national object through units of meaning looking at "the connections between signs and broader structures of meaning" (Rose, 2001: 78). First, all collected images of shields issued by the state were put in several tables next to the initial reproduction of the shield which is the one in Figure 1-Shield. In each table, a textual transcription of the component of the images (the constitutional character of the images) was put in a matrix and used as a guide (see Tables 2-Shield in the Annex). Then, a second table was made where all the attributes of the shield were put in the historical classification used in the chapter of the history of the Argentine Ideological State Apparatus. As it was mentioned in chapter two of methodology, once the matrices have been done, events and grouping similarities were detected by answering questions such as "What is its place and status in respect to the communication system or systems it is a part of?" "How can we describe it? What are its characteristics? For what was it intended?" (Prosser, 1998: 252).

In this way, the historical components of the Argentine shield such as its colour, attributes and design were analysed and the content analysis was focused on "the expressive content and compositional modality of the image" (Rose, 2001: 57). From there, it was possible to discover patterns, historic appearances, disruptions, changes, lackings, differences and similarities: something that is described in section two and three. There, the changes made to the shield in different Argentine historical periods are described and become the evidence of the state's intentions to design specific nationalities that respond to the hegemonic dominant ideology. Finally, some conclusions will be given and the tables are shown.

Section 1. The historic importance and role of a shield

According to Gwunn-Jones (Gwunn-Jones, 1998), men have been using shields to defend themselves against their aggressors since the beginning of history. Thus, for Lynch-Robertson, “the earliest form of protective armour consisted of quilted linen or leather” (Lynch-Robertson, 1946: 129). The protection included both the real aspect of the combatant’s body and the spiritual aspect which lied under protective mythological forms painted on its surface. Hence, “magical beliefs” (Levi-Strauss, 1966: 55) sustained that totemic animals and magical objects of power portrayed on the exterior face of the shields protected warriors in times of war and peace. At the same time, these images on the shields had a practical role that exceeded the physical and spiritual aspects. In this way, they took the role of acting as signs when facilitating recognition of friends and enemies. Besides, from a communicational point of view, apart from constantly visualizing the mystical origin of their predecessors or protectors, the images allowed warrior clans to visualize their social and political organization. The images also served to join alliances and as visual referents for all sectors of that alliance. As Wagner states in his book “Heraldry in England”, during feudal ages “society on its secular side was held together by the personal alliance of each man to his lord” (Wagner, 1941: 7). In this sense, a shield embodies an organizational dimension through making visible and tangible the social organization of the people, group or a nation fighting the people’s fear of being in a collective fragmented body.

The Crusades was a massive gathering of European warrior groups. During this time, the language of images from family weapons called heraldic (Pastoureau, 1997) became widely-spread responding to the need to order the team of knights’ identities. From that moment on, a family or group of alliances is what served as a basis for the incipient national governments (Bhabha, 1990) and the heraldic language was used and projected into modernity on the shields and in other ways. The word “Heraldic” comes from the term “herald” and this in turn comes from ancient German “*heriwald*” which is the root of the word meaning “shout” or “call” (Bradbury, 2004: 264). As Woodcock points out, “heraldry is centred on the shield” (Woodcock, 1988: 51) and, as John Hope highlights, “heraldry came also to be used ornamentally, either upon shields or without them, in all kinds of ways, in architecture and on monuments, on tiles and in glazing, in woodcarvings and in paintings, in woven stuffs and embroideries, in jewellery and on seals” (Hope, 1913: 37).

As Regis Debray points out, after monarchies fall “the new sign and insignia of power do not translate a simple change of the symbols but rather of the function and nature of the State” (Debray, 1995: 66-67). When the magical figure of the king as a reference was excluded, the

state had to close, to suture the political organization of the nation, making the population believe in and belong to something else than a monarchy, something “more mythological than an ideology” (Bhaba, 1990: 292). The national mythologies are carried out by the shield, as another national emblem does, and it was socially inserted in the new agenda of meanings. For that reason, a shield can be understood as a testimony and a reinforcement of the republican political organization of a nation that crystallized certain rules and social relationships. Therefore, through this language of images, the newly born national states found a way to symbolically express and differentiate themselves in the international and local contexts, by preserving, not only the language of images, but also the shape of the defensive shields used as emblems, even though they were no longer used as part of the martial equipment in those armies. This seems to coincide with the idea that nations are more frequently imagined in a defensive position and the shield perfectly covers the representation of the act of defending themselves in such a way that the national shield or coat of arms, as it was called in the Argentina of the 1800s (Zeballos, 1900), ends up being the key element for the identification of the recently-created national governments.

The shield, as an object, still can be seen as a defensive personal weapon and as an object that achieves a symbolic communion with those who hold it or take it as their own. As Melanie Klein points out, these kinds of “internalized objects” (Klein, 1957: 155) by their bearers, or objects of the self, become indivisible from the ones that possess them. In this way, the social life of the object interacts with the very same identity of those who feel it as their own; not as if by magic, as it may seem, but rather as a consequence of the inaudible dialogue established between all people and communities and the objects and contexts surrounding them. In this sense, and under Levi-Strauss' logic, the existence and historic continuity of the nature of that dialogue are preserved in part by means of the attributes shown by the shield, but mainly by means of the “remains to be established” or “the rituals established by those communities” (Levi-Strauss, 1964: 167). Accordingly, the role of the shield can be thought of as material support for identity messages that support the discourses that are socially annexed to the shield. These are discourses that anchor the collective memory of the social group, a group that belongs to and fixes their identity when representing themselves structurally and substituting their individualities. Consequently, that the image of the shield is multiplied in each of its bearers, embodies the discourse of the group, allowing for a connection with past generation and with the meaning of the origin of the group. In this sense, the presence of the shield authorizes certain social classification according to what the state considers pertinent, politically producing exclusion or inclusion inside the boundaries of the nation.

Currently, National Shields are present in all kinds of national issues and exercise authority by being the presence of the state and nation in different situations. First, in public spaces, shields offer a public testimony of an active ownership of the state. In that way, the social life of a symbolic object speaks about the life of the society that produced and gave meaning to it. As Susan Pierce points out, objects are “emissary of the culture out of which they comes” (Pierce, 1992: 15) and, such as it happens with all cultural objects (Barthes, 1982), the spectator of the object could imagine the existence of its supposed constructor or owner. In these cases, what the spectator could imagine is the existence of the state and from that standpoint it affects the way the national identity is interpreted by the citizen. Moreover, as Greenberg explained, “in their collective name to a political covenant, individuals must have already had some meaningful corporate identity as a people” (Greenberg, 1993: 9) and the shields become some kind of formal signature and name of the state acting as part of the corporate identity of the state (Stuart, 2002). Besides, the shield might be acting as a treatise on popular imagination about the nature or form of power exercised by this state. In this way, the national shield, by virtue of its antiquity and custom of use, would be an essential referent in such a process, and whether they are in marble or in bronze, placed at the bottom of monuments or at the entrance of national buildings, shields are making common grounds a memoir to the property of the state. In this sense, shields entitle religious sentiments associated with the nation because it holds the person to the stony materiality of the nation as an eternal place, certifying the link of the person to the place and with his or her descendants and ancestors.

Second, in Argentina shields are used in national documents of identity, passports and other national documents as a certification of authenticity. For instance, shields sealed on the face of documents are protecting nations against foreigners and more so identity fraud. For that reason and for the Pan American Union “the national shield is also used in the national seal, whether appearing in colours or used for wax impressions” (Pan American Union, 1942). Therefore, even in practice the shield is the legal property of nobody other than the state. Shields also have a concrete use in engaging and inspiring people into the norms that regulate and define the nation, as well as collective identity. In this manner, a shield is guaranteeing the proprietary rights of a person or a group over a territory or over any object or that the object that carries a shield is approved by the Argentine State. Other examples are the use of the shields in the title given by an Argentine university, the shields used on coins and banknotes and those used on car licence plates (see figures 101-102).

Section 2. Semiotic analysis of the Argentine Shield and its changes in different historical periods

According to the bibliography, the Argentine national shield originated in the Constituent General Sovereign Assembly seal used in the year 1813 (figure 1 and 2). This assembly established a set of rules in the newly-born Argentina after its separation from Spain and that seal acquired the formal category of national shield (Cánepa, 1953; Crespo; 1999; Furlong, 1972; Larrouy, 1912; Solis, 1911; Rodriguez, 1996; Ravignani, 1937; Piccirilli, no data; Fernández, Belisari and Castagnino: no data).

Consequently, in March 1813, it was stated that the Second Triumvirate, which was the ruling form in this period, used the same seal as the Assembly (figure 3), the only difference being the corresponding inscription around the attributes. On April 27 that seal was assigned as the national emblem when it was ordered that the king's weapons (figure 4) be substituted by the weapons of the Assembly. As Benedetto points out, the same Assembly later widened the use of the seal when applying it to the new coins minted in Potosí (Benedetto, 1984). Of all of them, the silver one bears the seal without a sun on its obverse and the shining sun on the reverse while the gold one is differentiated from the previous one by bearing military trophies in the inferior part, with two flags at each side, two crossed cannons and a drum at the bottom (figure 5).

The Argentine shield has many attributes to analyse which are the colour, the arms, the pike, the bonnet, the background, the laurels, the sun (the sun expression and the amount and shape of the rays) and some external objects such as flags and weapons, ornaments and legends (see Tables 2-Shield in the Annex).

One of the attributes to analyse is the colour. Throughout the history of Argentina the colours of the shields were light blue and white except from the period of Rosas, when he changed it for a red and blue-black shield (see Tables 2-Shield 13 to 17). As it has been mentioned in chapter four of the flag, the use of light blue and white colours could be associated with the colour of catholic Virgin Mary's robe, with the Band of the Order of King Charles III from Spain or could be a copy of the colours used on the shield of Buenos Aires city. In the last case, the light-blue colour of the sky and the white colour represent the Río de la Plata River (Ferro, 1991 and Jacob, 1992), the urban area of Buenos Aires being the only geographical reference the shield has. This can be also observed while the background of the shield is analysed (see Tables 2-Shields 1 to 164, especially table 5). In this sense, from the beginning of the shield and

throughout the Argentine history and with only one exception in the period from 1810 to 1820, where sometimes mountains were represented in the background, the physical space of the Argentine State is represented by the River Plate and therefore Buenos Aires. This shows the symbolic absence of the interior and of the provinces in the national representation of the State¹. One possible reason to explain this phenomenon could be the fact that the national organization formally precedes the provincial organization because the Shield was designed in 1813 previous to the definition of the federal system in the Constitution of the year 1853. However, is worth noting that the representations of the nation were designed in the provinces, like the flag of the Andes Army of General San Martín (figure 11) or the shield of the Congress of Tucumán in 1816, which have added the river to the Andes, thus including the contextual reality of the interior in the representation of Argentina as a whole.

Other attributes of these shields, that can be seen as an unity, are the arms, the pike and the bonnet. The three elements are always present in the Argentine history even though they have some variations (see Tables 2-Shield 1 to 164). According to Zeballos, “hands that are held together, symbol of reconciliation, of alliance, union and fidelity ... the cap held by the pike, used in France, the United States and the Netherlands as an emblem of freedom, political redemption and as solemn promise of conquest and preservation of that freedom with weapons held in hands” (Zeballos, 1900: 17).

On the one hand, the arms and two holding hands can be seen in the interior of the national shield and represents how the State understood how Argentine society was constituted. From 1820 to 1916 the arms were sometimes dressed (see Tables 2-Shield 10, 20, 24, 25, 31, 34 and 64) and the rest of the time they were naked and from the creation of the shield until 1999 the hands were always white and then they had skin colour tones variations (see Tables 2-Shield 1 to 164, especially 148 to 150). This would mean that most of the time the arms and hands seemed to belong to white men approximately in their thirties or forties. In this sense, the expression of union of the Argentine citizens represented by this handshake only included the physiognomies of those white men who were of European origin and did not include those of children, women, old, obese or thin people. This bond of union, understood in the context of the integration of citizens typical of the French Revolution, situated within the Argentine context shows who were the ones who were maintained through history as the core of the country. First, those hands belonging to men having a legal age to fight could justify their presence and maintenance since the beginning of the country. Second, as it was mentioned in the chapter of

¹ This lack of an environmental and political organization on the federal level references is contrary to what happens in other similar political systems in Latin America. For instance, comparing other American national symbols as it can be observed in the book “Las Naciones Americanas y sus Símbolos” (Helman, 1989) for instance, the Venezuela shield has stars representing the provinces and the shield of Bolivia has stars representing the nine departments, among other examples’ ” (Helman, 1989).

the ideological state apparatus, the internal fights over the political control of Argentina between Buenos Aires (represented mainly by white men) and the interior of the country (more represented by *mestizos*) were very important and white men won. Third, the call for massive immigration was made to white men. This representation has survived almost two hundred years as a central reference of the shield, according to the hierarchies defined by the heraldic (Slater, 2002), introducing a political agreement made not only after a fraternal pact but also after a constitutional one over the management of public assets by a specific group². Therefore, the message is that the country was and still is constituted by the union of white men, leaving aside other ethnic, age and gender groups as a central constitution of an united population.

On the other hand, it is possible to find two kinds of pikes in the Argentine shields. One is short and thick and the other is large and thin which would mean the existence of a greater distance between people and the State and it is found in historical periods of the non-democratic governments (see Tables 2-Shield 88 to 104). The same happens with the bonnet in the same periods. The bonnet, symbol of the Republic and freedom, is small and does not highlight those attributes. It is important to highlight that from 1983 in the democratic government the use of a small bonnet and short and thick pike is found and would be in contradiction with what has been expressed. However, in this period the time, except during the alliance, the shield was not very much considered and it was left as it was in previous periods.

Other attributes present in the Argentine shield (figure 8 and 9) are the laurels and the sun, exterior attributes that have replaced the necklaces of the royal orders and the Spanish crown, respectively. The laurels are heraldic systems of victory and triumph and were intended to make explicit the glories already achieved in the battles for independence in Suipacha and Tucumán. The sun is the same sun used in the flag. As it has been analysed in chapter four of the flag, the sun is the symbol of life, energy and the source of all existence, a discourse of the Masonry functioning as a symbol of clarity against darkness and a traditional idea of energy and state power. Besides, for Mitre “the heraldic sun in the national coat of arms was, undoubtedly, a form of attraction and reverence for the native “Quichua” and “Aymará” peoples, worshippers of the star” (Zeballos, 1900: 46) and was thus used as a strategy to win their wills against the Spanish army.

The sun and laurels, apart from illuminating and giving glory in their character of external elements, could also stand for attributes of power and political control over the society that encompasses them. Thus, the sun and its extortive power, generates fear by its absence and

² The presence of a ghost, according to Lacan’s definition (Lacan, 1999), of a constant fear of disunity could also be inferred.

silently carries its opposite, darkness while laurels, an icon of triumph and grandiose in Greek tradition, are a testimony of what the state considers as proper for the nation. For that reason, the shield is not only projecting a parameter of value on other nations (there is a victory because they defeated others) but also projecting a kind of competitive internal mandate. In that way, since victory is relative to someone who defeats someone else, to put victory as a central value is to place a public agenda on winners and losers when speaking about nationalism.

In addition to that, it is possible to find laurels forming an open or a closed crown. When the crown is closed, it would mean that the country is closed and when it is open the country could interact with the exterior such as is the case in the first periods of the history with high rates of immigration and the crown is open (see on one hand especially Tables 2-Shield 9 to 67 and on the other hand table 87 to 164).

In relation to the sun, it is possible to analyse its position on the shield, its expression and some characteristics of the rays. First, it is possible to find two types of suns which are a rising sun that integrates a spiritual and religious dimension to the country and a shining sun. In the last case, the religious issue is over the State as evaluating and looking at what is going on in the country and it could be found in the period of Rosas that had a close relationship with the Catholic church (see Tables 2-Shield 13 to 17).

Second, the sun expression can be of a boy, a young male or a woman. The military government used more the man sun, the democratic ones use mostly a woman sun face and in the generation of the 80s, boys.

Third, the sun could have multiple rays, few rays or 21 rays. The multiple rays mean light, the sun with twenty one rays is a kind of equilibrium between energy and light and a sun with few rays means energy, a kind of flame that can be found on governments of the 19th century (see Tables 2-shield 8 to 72) where the sun is energetic and potent and it appears as a flame while they applied in their practice such active energy. On the contrary, governments since 1930 preferred a sun that illuminated as a spiritual or ideological guide.

Some of the elements mentioned can be analysed as a unit. In this sense, the combination of two cut off hands, a pike, laurel leaves and a sun could be understood as a single ideological piece, both solid and harmonious although they might also be seen as an arbitrary collection of images, due to the fact that they belong to a new paradigm of republicanism. In this way, Levi-Strauss, in his book "The Savage Mind" refers to this kind of assembly of institutional representation as a bricolage. There, he considers that "each element represents groups of both concrete and

virtual relations; they are operators, but they can be used with a view to any operation in the heart of a kind...where the materials of the bricolage are elements that can be defined through a double criterion: they have served, like words in a discourse that the mythic reflection “dismantles’ like a bricloage, which arranges the cog work of an old dismantled alarm clock; and they can still serve for the same use, or for a different one... The fragments come from a process of breakage and destruction ...They do not have their own self...they must possess it well enough so as to helpfully participate in the formation of a being of a different kind: ... Being the bricolage’s role, in the practical sphere, the formation of structured sets” (Levi Strauss, 1966: 156).

Other external objects present in the Argentine shield are flags and weapons, ornaments, legends and with no external objects (see Tables 2-Shield 2 to 96). They could be understood as the linkages of the State with the society. For this reason, in times of military governments the State looks isolated from society. As with other attributes, almost the same representation has been maintained in the democratic period of 1983 up to now. In this case, it would mean that, even in democracy, the State is isolated from society or that in democracy the shield would loose value and is not an important design object for the State and for the people. In the first case, democratic governments did not introduce many changes. In the second case, it is important to note that for some people the shield is not considered a representation of being Argentine. As it could be found during the fieldwork, a group of researchers and other people that belong to the Argentine technological science system felt they were not represented by the Argentine shield but they felt represented by the Argentine flag. For them, the shield was not connected with their reality. On the contrary, at the beginning of the Argentine history, the shield was very representative for people. Thus, considering its content, the aesthetics and the explicit message of the shield , it responds to the integration of the Spanish culture, to the influence of the shield of the City of Buenos Aires (figure 6) and with the images of change pertaining to the French Revolution (figure 7). Such as Munilla states, “the burst of the May Revolution in 1810 brought about the transformation of a symbolic system and the formulation of a universe of images that were new for the time.” (Munilla la Casa, 1999: 155) even though the supports for those images were the same as those in the times of the Crown. For that reason, according to Botar and Boros, the shield was the most representative item of civil life reflecting people’s own houses, their own families, their traditions and their characteristics and took the original oval shape of the Spanish blazon.

Section 3. An history of the changes in the Argentine shield and its meaning

The kind of images selected to be used in the shield illustrates the dominant ideology of those that are in charge of designing an implementing national symbols and different administrations tried to project their own vision of the theme. For instance, as Lacey points out, "the process of selecting (and modelling) the national seal clearly illustrates the struggle between proponents of sacred and secular imagery" (Lacey, 2007: 181).

In the Argentine shield, it is possible to see a continuity of the same structure of the devices since 1813 even though it is possible to see "minimal variations" (Barthes, 1994: 49) of information that each image is carrying and many of the changes have been mentioned in the last section. The ever present attributes of the shield are the colour, the oval shape, the hands, the pike, the bonnet, the sun and the laurels. The minimal variations in Argentina, were mostly related to two resources. The first resource is to highlight part of the emblem and focus on a particular discourse that any part of the shield can narrate (figure 89 to 97), for instance, variations on the size of the laurels, the sun, the arms and the bonnet. The second used resource is to include external elements to the shield such as weapons, legends and in particular the flags of the provinces (figure 10 to 59) (see Tables 2 -Shield 2 to 79) as it has been mentioned above. For instance, the shield that San Martín applied on the chests of the horses and on the Argentine Mounted Army hats (*Regimiento de Granaderos*) had flags on its sides and guns at the bottom (figure 10). In turn, in his design of the flag of the Andes the shield has separated the branches of the laurels, giving rise to an oval shape and incorporating the image of the Andes mountains at the bottom (figure 11). In 1820, President Rivadavia proposed substantial alterations to the shields which failed to be introduced. However, the sun is represented as the God Phoebus with a young face and floating hair, and the laurels are intermingled with oaks and olives (figure 12). Since that time, the modifications made have not included substantial changes in the basic referents of the sun, the hands, the pike, the bonnet and the laurels but rather in their interpretation (figure 12 to 19) as it has been described in the previous section.

It can be observed through images that during Rosas's government (1824-1853) the shield also showed flags, military trophies, portrayals and legends and placed a peculiar version of the shield in red and black colours on his flags (figure 13), preserving the previously mentioned referents but stretching the visual importance of the sun and the laurels. In the same period, there was also a shield with surrounding flags and the watchword "Muerte a los Salvajes Unitarios" (Death to the Savage Unitarians) (figure 14), his enemies, who in turn held the watchword "Muerte a Rosas" (Death to Rosas) (figure 15).

Urquiza, leader of the North-east of Argentina and who previously defeated Rosas used to place fourteen pennants around the shields in close relation to the number of provinces that were loyal to him (figure 16). Sarmiento (Argentine President from 1862 to 1868) drew a shield that was different from the Assembly's seal but he could not impose its use.

Then, after the beginning of the new century, the use of the shield with flags representing the nation was widely dispersed until 1930. After the military coup d'etat of the year 1930, precisely in 1933 and under the de facto Presidency of General Justo, a commission was summoned to judge, pursuant to the corresponding decree, on the "legitimate and true form of the attributes of the national shield" (Mendilaharsu, 1942). According to historian Corvalán Mendilaharsu, in 1944 the conclusions led to the decree announced by the then, also de facto, President Farrell that established the national shield as a reproduction considered true to the Assembly's seal assuming that its attributes have a constitutional character (figure 8). Later, and up to the present date, the State's use of the shield has been basically limited by Decree 1666/78 (figure 73) that complements the shield with a cursive foot imprint similar to that used by the Italian Government.

Since the 1930's, the reproduction of the national shield has endured variations both in the proportion of the elements that constitute it (figure 98 and 99), the expression and shape of the face of the sun (figures 66 to 77) and the position of the hands (see Tables 2-Shield 88 to 146). In the 1930's and 40's the use of a few, big laurel leaves was common. In the 1950's to 80's a sun with tentacle-like shaped rays, light-coloured eyes and an aggressive face expression was also common in some shields (see Tables 2-Shield 110, 114, 121, 123, 122, 124, 125 and 129) . In the 2000 shields, a large and thin pike and a close-up of the arms in a consequently diminished position can be observed.

During Peronism, the shield was complemented with the shield of the Peronist Movement, each one on one side of the scenery, with balconies or representations of the state (figures 60 to 65). Likewise, it is interesting to note that, since the mid-50s, there has been no interaction of the shield with other significant elements, such as other images or texts. In this sense, the composition of the national shield has been isolated from other elements that constitute as visual messages of the National State which, according to the interpretation made by the psychology of the shape (Gestalt) (Arheim,1969), would imply a symbolic isolation of the shield (the state) from the rest of the society.

During the military governments, the use of the shield was regulated and the sun and laurels were prioritized. Then, during the military governments from 1955-1976 and from 1976–1983

the face of the sun changed to look worried and frown and the laurel and sun were bigger than others (see for instance Tables 2-Shield 117, 127, 126 and 132).

During the next democratic period, the shield was not changed very much or even considered. Alfonsín left it as in military times but changed the face of the sun and put a woman's face, accordingly to the dominant ideology of democracy that in Argentina has always been considered as a woman. Menem had no a unique use of the shield and each area of the government used a different version of the shield. Then, during the Alliance the shield was the same as the used during the Alfonsín government except for an introduced change in the colour of the skin of the arms in order to introduce diversity in the symbolic composition of the Argentine society³. This is the last version of the shield and it has mainly been used since then (see Tables 2-Shield 148 to 160).

³ See more details of the changes introduced in the shield in this period in the Fieldnotes.

Conclusion

Men have been using shields to defend themselves against their aggressors since the beginning of history. From being just a quilted linen or leather, a shield started to be a support for images painted on them, transforming its practical role to include expressions of the one who bears it. Besides, then the shield took the role of acting as a sign when facilitating recognition of friends and enemies. Thus, the images allowed warrior clans to visualize their social and political organization. Since the Crusades, heraldry was legitimized as a visual identity language. Through this language of images, the newly born national states found a way to symbolically call and differentiate themselves in the international and local contexts

The National Shields are constantly offering a testimony to the presence of the state in all kinds of national issues. Such presence is included in three main exercises of authority on behalf of the state over the national sphere. First, in public spaces shields are offering a public testimony of active ownership of the state, while the spectator of the shield would imagine and personalize the nature of the power exercised by this state. Second, shields are also a certification of authenticity. For instance, shields sealed on the face of documents are protecting nations against foreigners and personal identity fraud. Third, the shield is an internalized object for their bearers and the social life of the object interacts with the very same identity of those who feel it as their own. Accordingly, the role of the shield can be thought of as material support for messages annexed to the shield, that anchor the collective memory of the social group. Besides, the active existence and presence of the state and nation that the shield is performing, is attaching national sentiments to each person of a given nation.

The Argentine shield is the result of the integration of the Spanish culture, the influence of the City of Buenos Aires and of images of change pertaining to the French Revolution. As a result, both the laurels and the sun are exterior attributes and they have replaced the necklaces of the royal orders, being the laurels' heraldic expression of victory and triumph and the sun the symbol of life and power. Besides, the holding hands represent reconciliation and alliance, union and fidelity, while the Phrygian cap held by the pike is an emblem of freedom and political redemption. However, the process of drawing the national shield clearly illustrates how different administrations tried to project their own vision of the theme using mainly two resources which are to highlight part of the emblem and to include a complementary message to the shield.

Lastly, the Argentine shield integrates republican images in a single discursive emblem that allows changes and new interpretations. Therefore, in the Argentine National Shield, the visual representation of the attributes of union, liberty and glory work as imperatives actively appealing to the citizen. Those actions have become central points when making reference to what is common among Argentines. These images and ideas have been crystallized and reinforced by the State from the beginning. The State itself was the one who defined those attributes as a framework for the social identity of the ideal Argentine citizen. However, the communicational clarity and efficiency used by the State to articulate these attributes during the Independence also reflects the lack of thematic allusion to other situations the Argentine people and their institutions relate to up to the present. Among others, there was a lack of reference to precepts of the Argentine National Constitution such as the federal system of government of the nation, as well as to the diversity in genre, ethnics, geography and politic representation. Moreover, it is important to highlight that the democratic governments of the last 25 years did not pay much attention to the shield as an identity creator while they maintained the versions of the shield used by the previous military governments. In this sense, in this mentioned period the shield would not be considered by the State as an important object to attach national sentiments to each person of a given nation.

Table

Main characteristics of the Argentine shield according to different historical periods and Ideological State Apparatus

Historical period	1810-1820	1820-1829	1829-1852	1852-1861	1862-1880	1880-1916
Colour	Light blue and white	Light blue and white	Red and blue -black	Light blue and white	Light blue and white	Light blue and white
Arms	White and naked	White and naked	White and naked	White and naked	White and naked	White and naked
Pike	Both types	Both types	Short and thick	short and thick	Short and thick	Short and thick and both since 1900
Bonnet	Both types	Both types	Big	Big	Big	Big
Background	River plate and sometimes mountains	River plate	River plate	River plate	River plate	River plate
Laurels	Both types	Both types	Open	Open	Open	Open
Sun	Rising sun	Both types	Shining sun	Shining sun	Shining sun	Both types
Sun expression	Boy, men and woman	Men and woman	Woman	Boy	Boy	Boy and woman
Rays	21 and multiples	21 and multiples	Multiples and few	multiple	multiple	Multiple and few
External objects	Flags and weapons With nothing	Legends	Flags and weapons Legends	Flags and weapons	Flags and weapons	Flags and weapons Ornaments
Comments	It was created and it was modified very soon with surrounded flags. The first use was in a Seal. The second use was on a coin					

Historical period	1916- 1928	1930-1945	1946-1955	1955- 1976	1976 – 1983
Colour	Light blue and white	Light blue and white	Light blue and white	Light blue and white	Light blue and white
Arms	White Sometimes dressed	White naked	White naked	White naked	White naked
Pike	short and thick	Large and thin	Large and thin	Large and thin	Large and thin
Bonnet	Big	Small	Small	Small	Small
Background	River plate	River plate	River plate	River plate	River plate
Laurels	Both	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed
Sun	Rising sun	Rising sun	Rising sun	Rising sun	Rising sun
Sun expression	Man and woman	Man	Man	Man	Man
Rays	Few	Few 21	Few 21	Few 21	21
External objects	Nothing	Ornaments	Ornaments Nothing	Nothing	Nothing
Comments		The use of the shield was regulated The sun and laurels are prioritized	Most of the time the shield was close to the Peronist shield. Its was an obligation to use it in public administration places.	The face of the sun looks worried and frowns. The laurel and sun were bigger than others.	The face of the sun looks worried and frowns. The laurel and sun were bigger than others.

Historical period	1983-1989	1989-1999	1999-2001	2002-2003	2003-2008
Colour	Light blue and white	Light blue and white	Light blue and white	Light blue and white	Light blue and white
Arms	White naked	White naked	Skin colour tones variations naked	Skin colour tones variations naked	Skin colour tones variations Naked
Pike	Large and thin	Both types	Short and thick	Short and thick	Short and thick
Bonnet	Both types	Both types	Big	Big	Big
Background	River plate	River plate	River plate	River plate	River plate
Laurels	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed
Sun	Rising sun	Rising sun	Rising sun	Rising sun	Rising sun
Sun expression	Woman	Man and woman	Woman	Woman	Woman
Rays	21	21	21	21	21
External objects	No	No	No	No	No
Comments	The same as the last period but the face of the sun looks like a woman.	Each area of the government used a different version of the shield.	The same as the period of Alfonsin with changes in the colour of the skin of the arms.	The same as the period of Alfonsin with changes in the colour of the skin of the arms.	The same as the period of Alfonsin with changes in the colour of the skin of the arms.

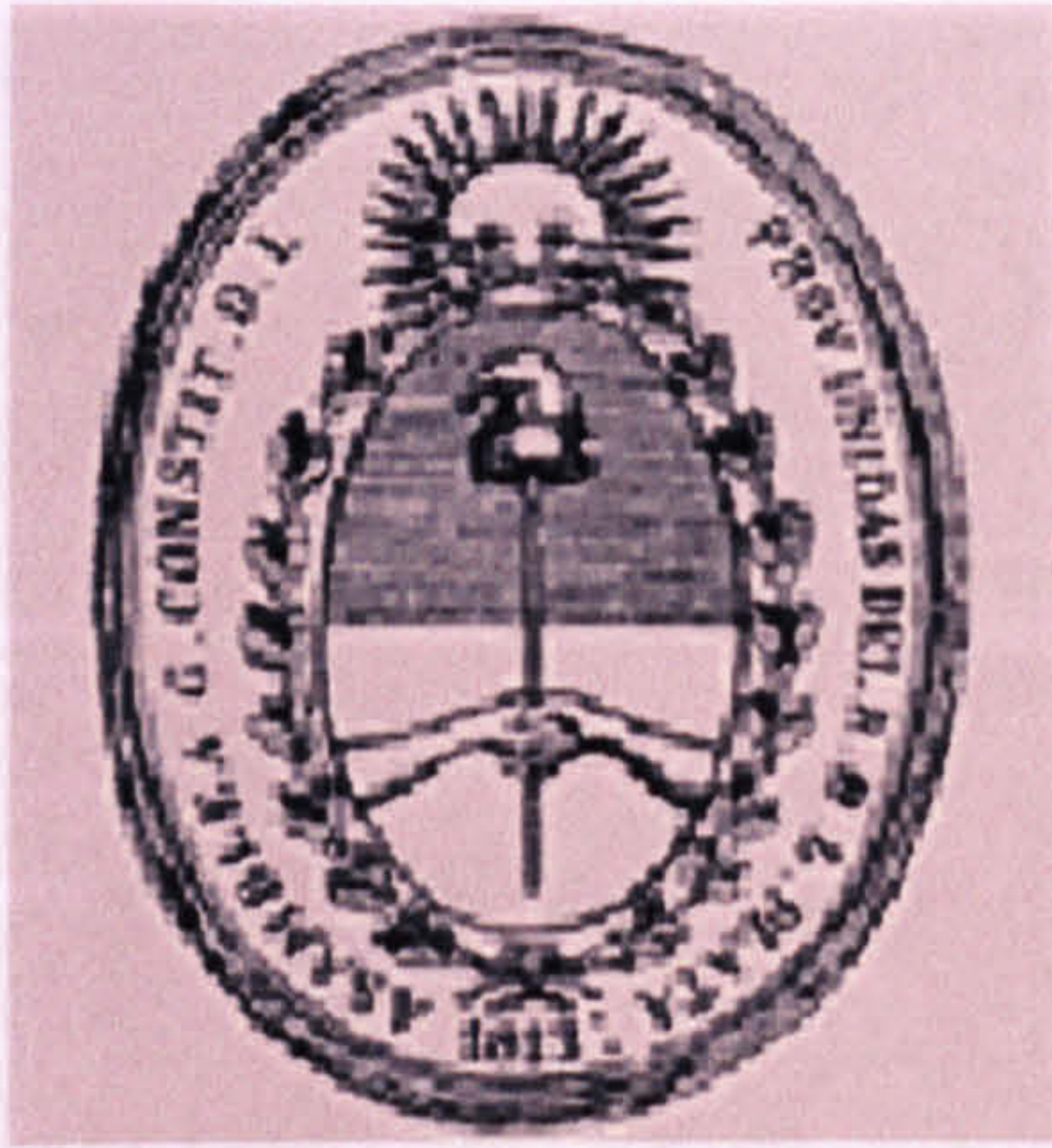


Figure 1. Seal of the Assembly of XVIII

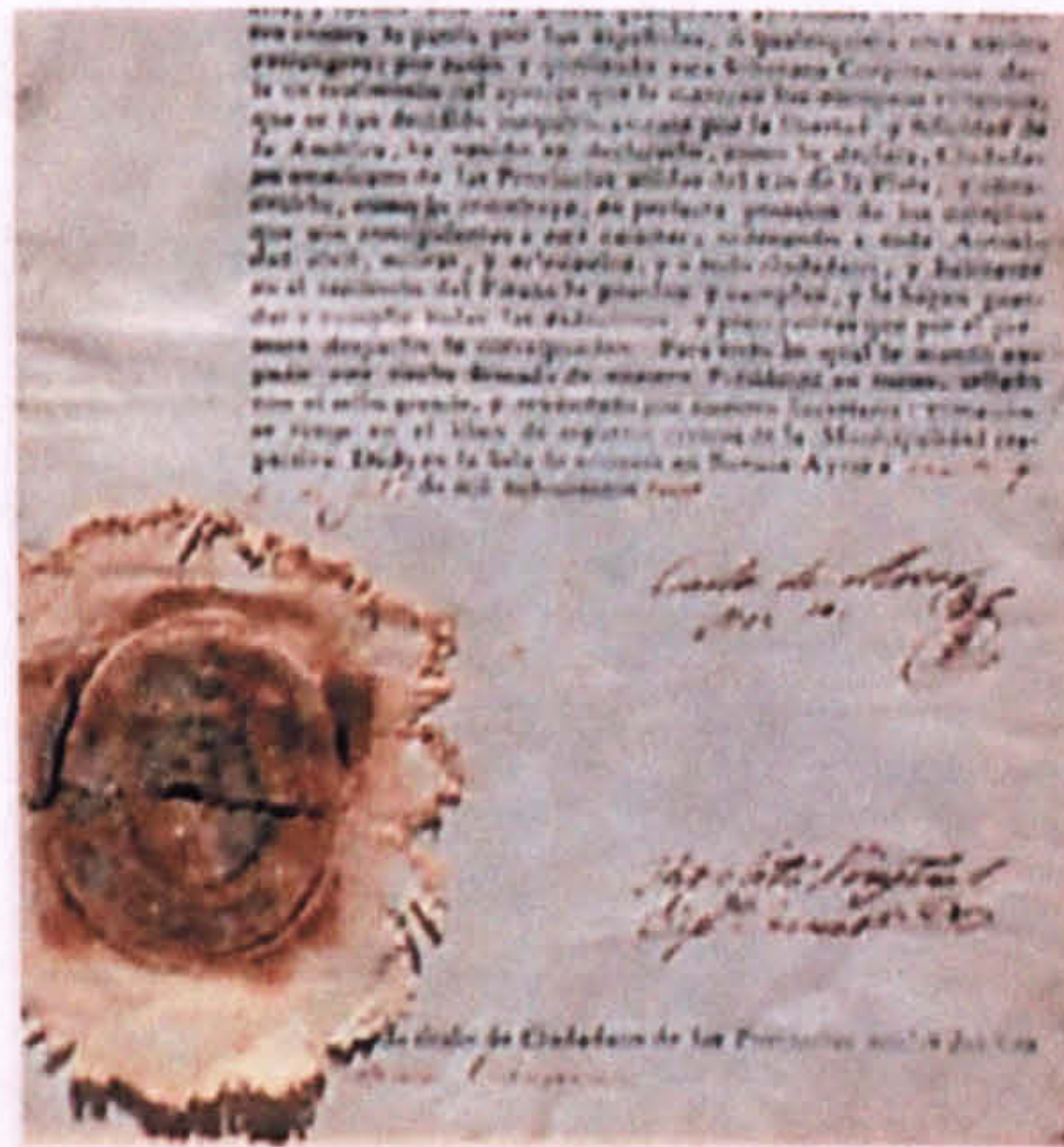


Figure 2. First seal of the Executive authority



Figure 3. Supposed original shield (1813)

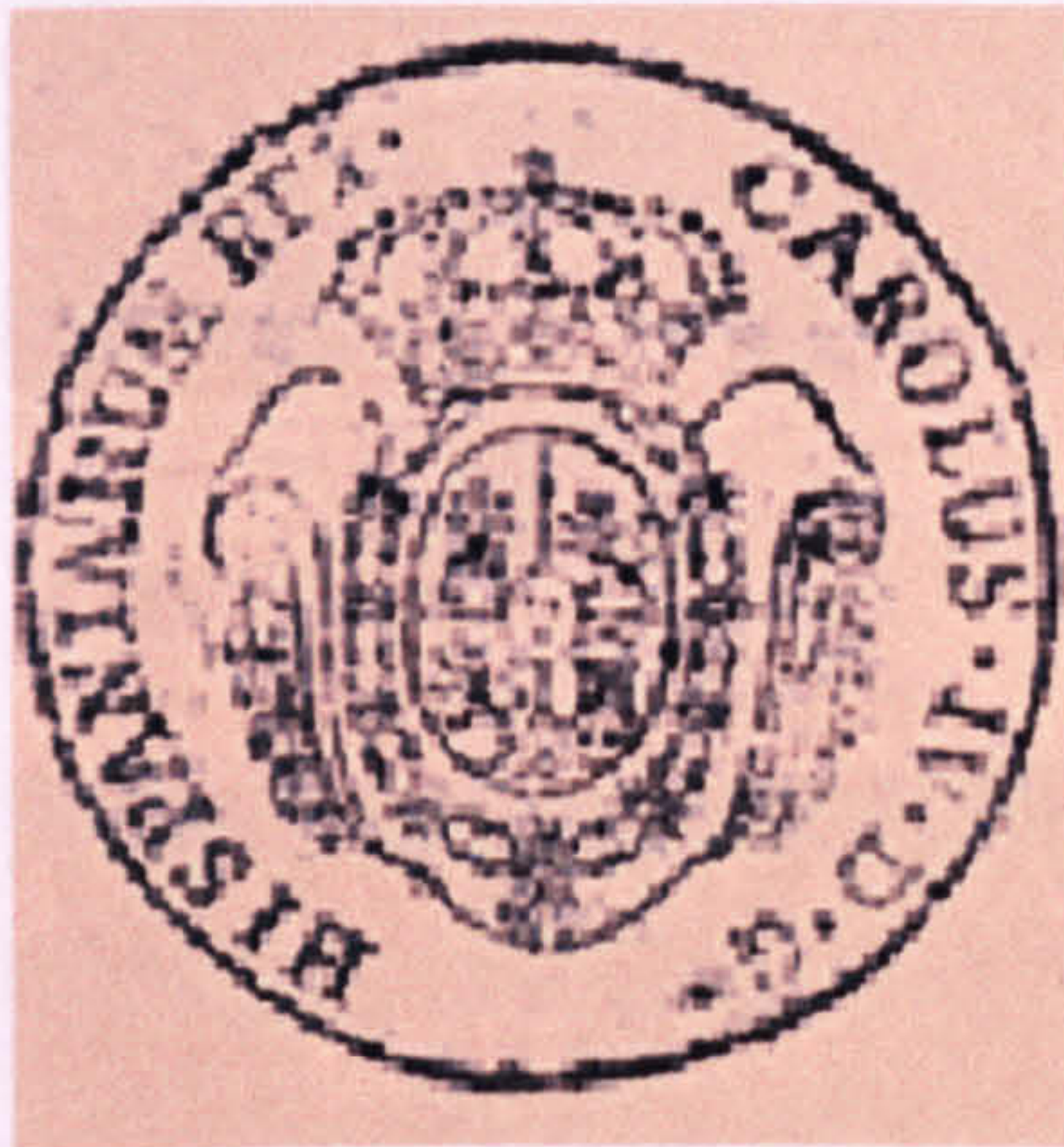


Figure 4. Seal of the Spanish Crown



Figure 5. 1813, first coin



Figure 6. 1760, shield of Buenos Aires city

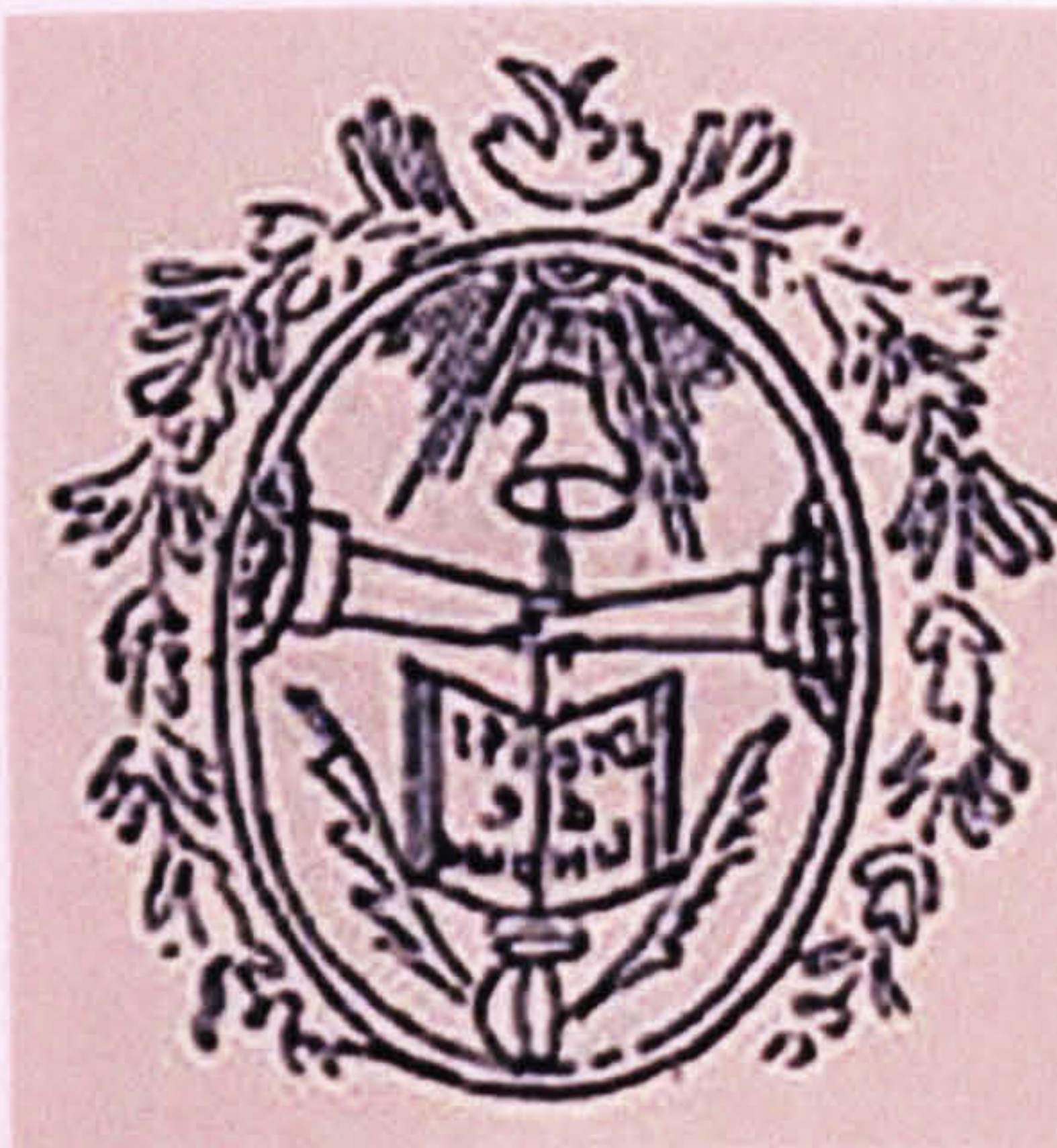


Figure 7. Seal of the French Revolution



Figure 8. 1978, at Home Ministry



Figure 9. Current national shield in use nowadays, designed in 2000 by Sebastian Guerrini



Figure 10 . 1813, cap of grenadiers



Figure 11 . 1818, Flag of The Andes army



Figure 12. 1822



Figure 13 . 1832, Rosist



Figure 14 . 1840's, Rosist



Figure 15 . 1830's, against Rosas



Figure 16 . 1853



Figure 17 . 1854



Figure 18. 1860



Figure 19. 1861



Figure 20. 1870



Figure 21. 1816, Tucumán's Congress

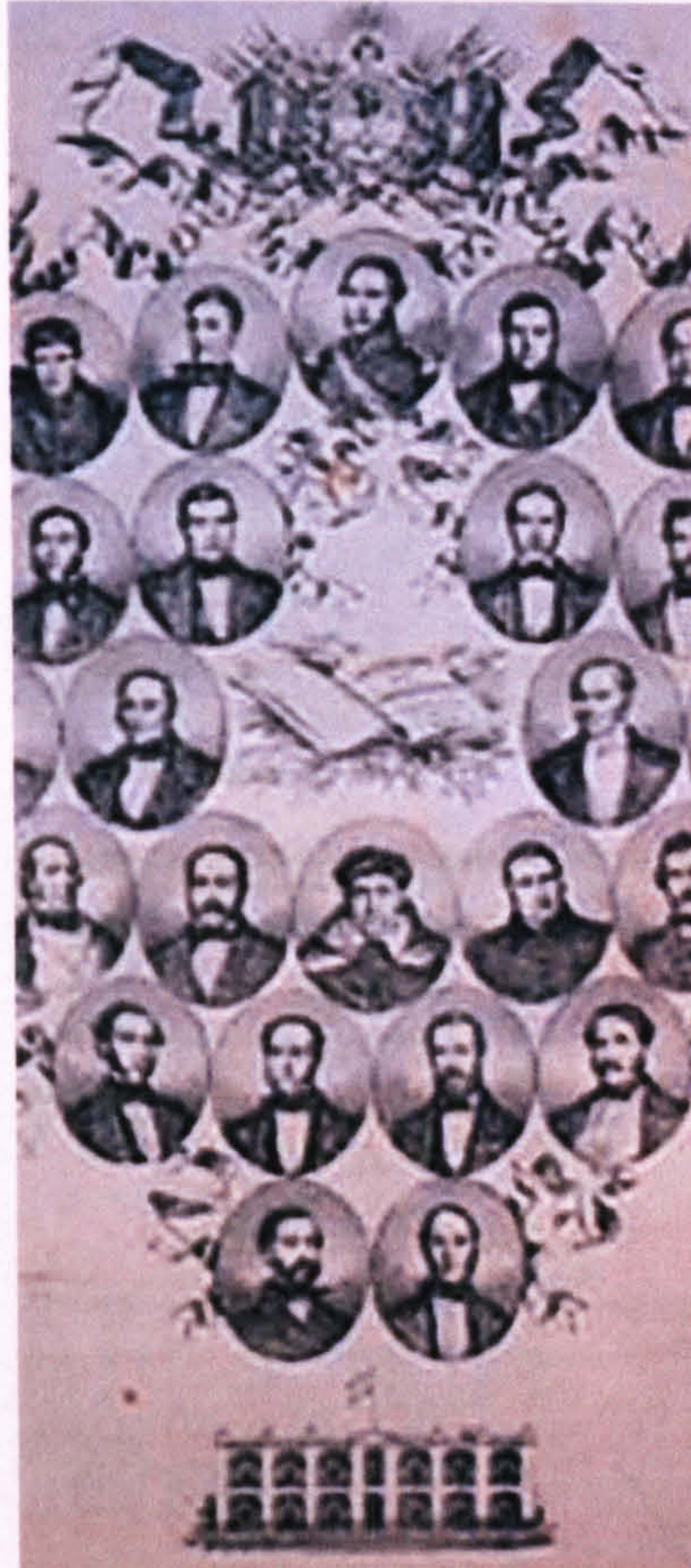


Figure 23 . 1853, Constitutional deputies



Figure 24. 1875, Tomb of San Martín

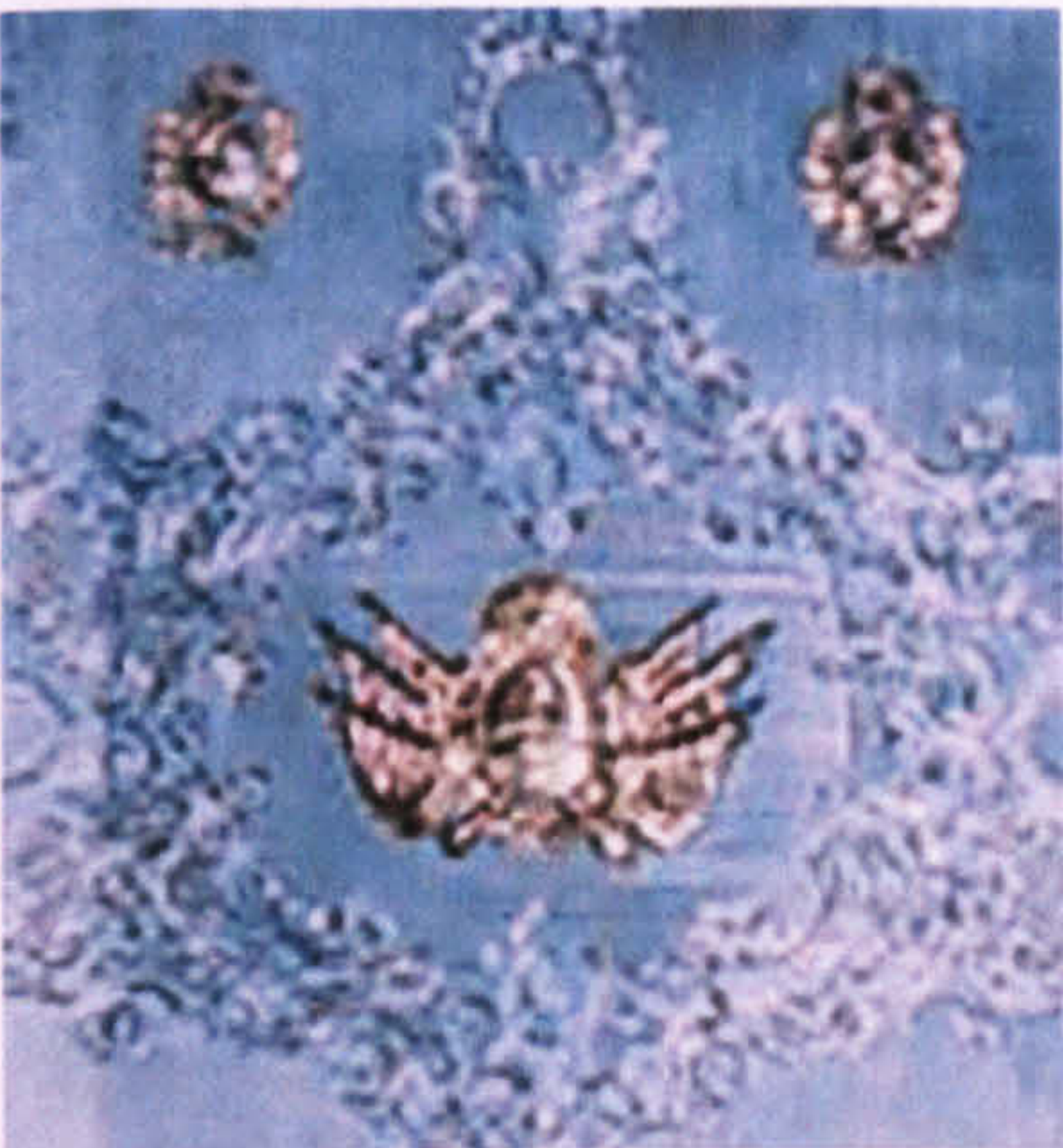


Figure 22 . 1853, first unit of the Constitution

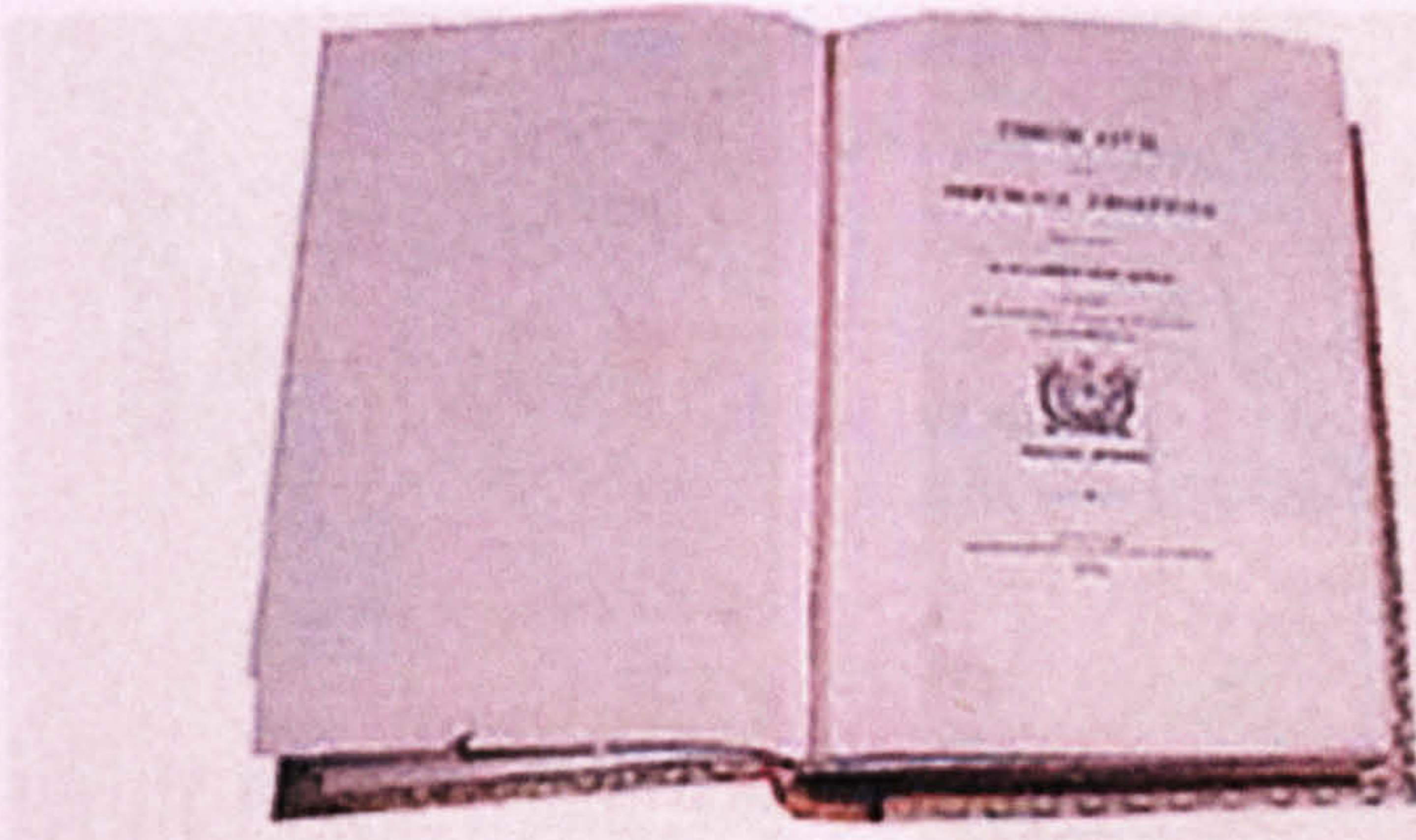


Figure 25. 1871, first unit of the Civil Code



Figure 26 . 1880, Military College

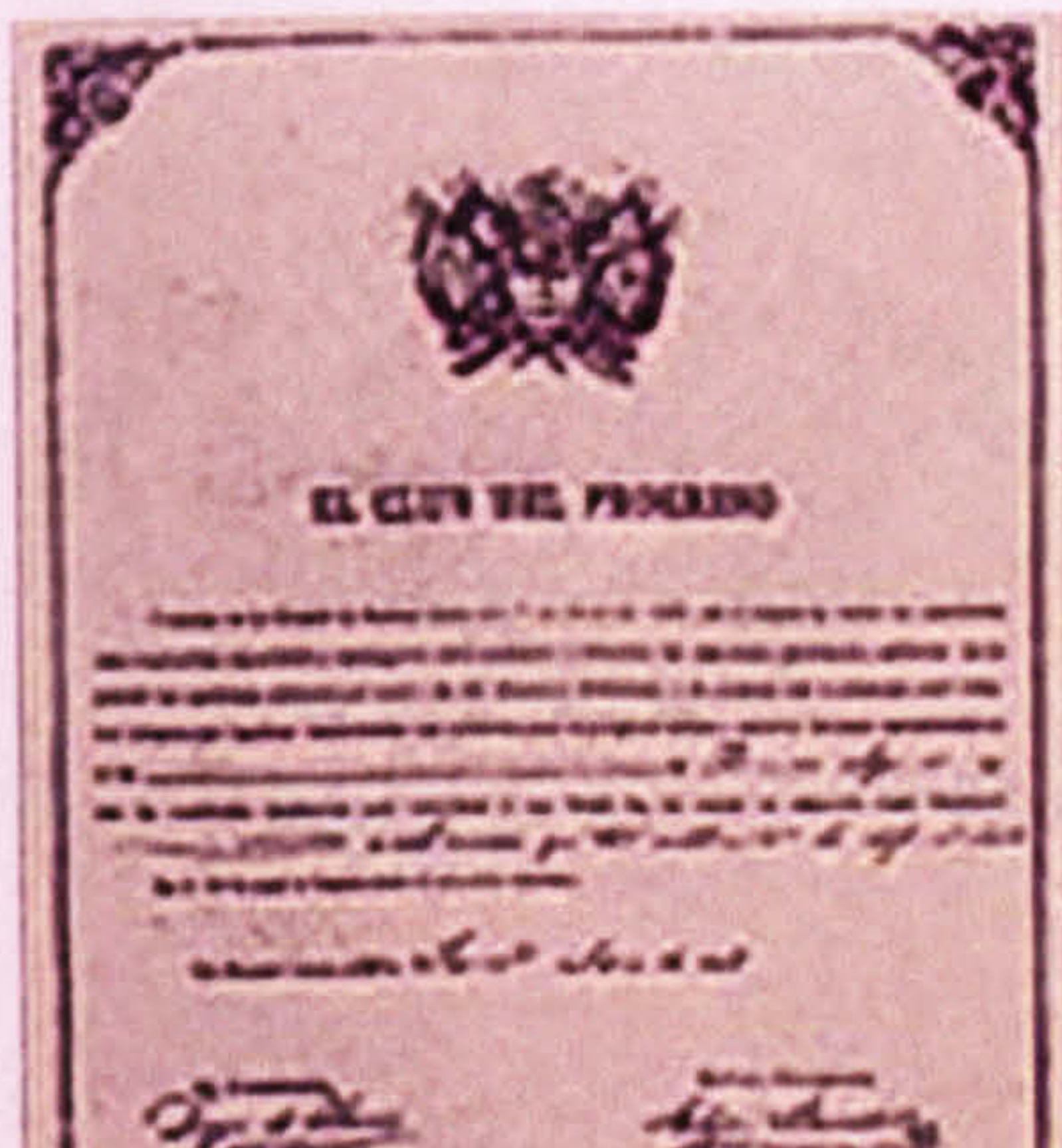


Figure 27. 1898, The Progresso Club

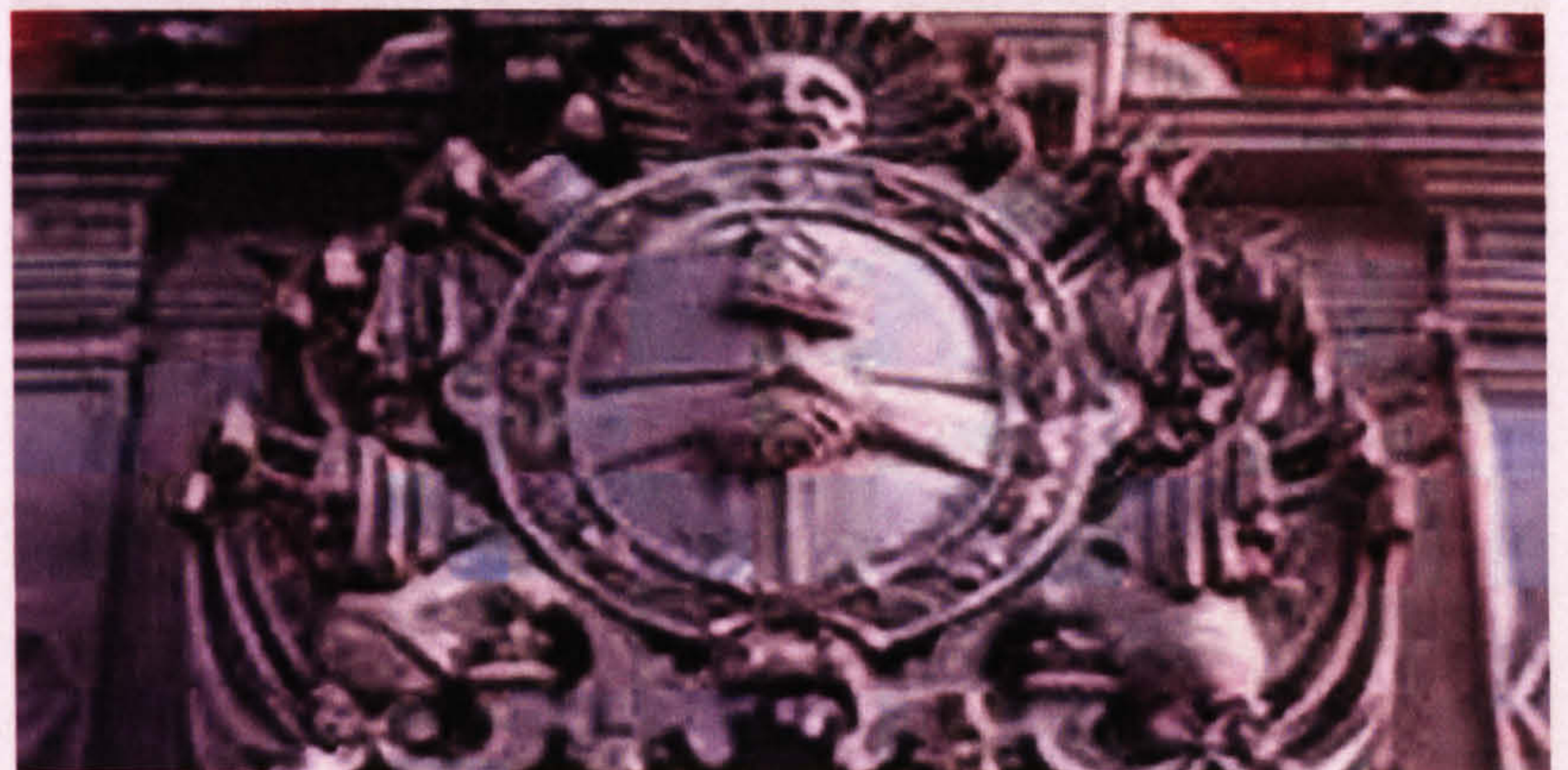


Figure 28. 1909, monument



Figure 29. 1834



Figure 30. 1853



Figure 31. 1854



Figure 32. 1857



Figure 33. 1857



Figure 34. 1865



Figure 36. 1869



Figure 35. 1875



Figure 37 . 1856, May Pyramid



Figure 38. 1857, Tomb of Brown



Figure 39 . 1875, monument to Belgrano



Figure 40. 1894, Customs Building

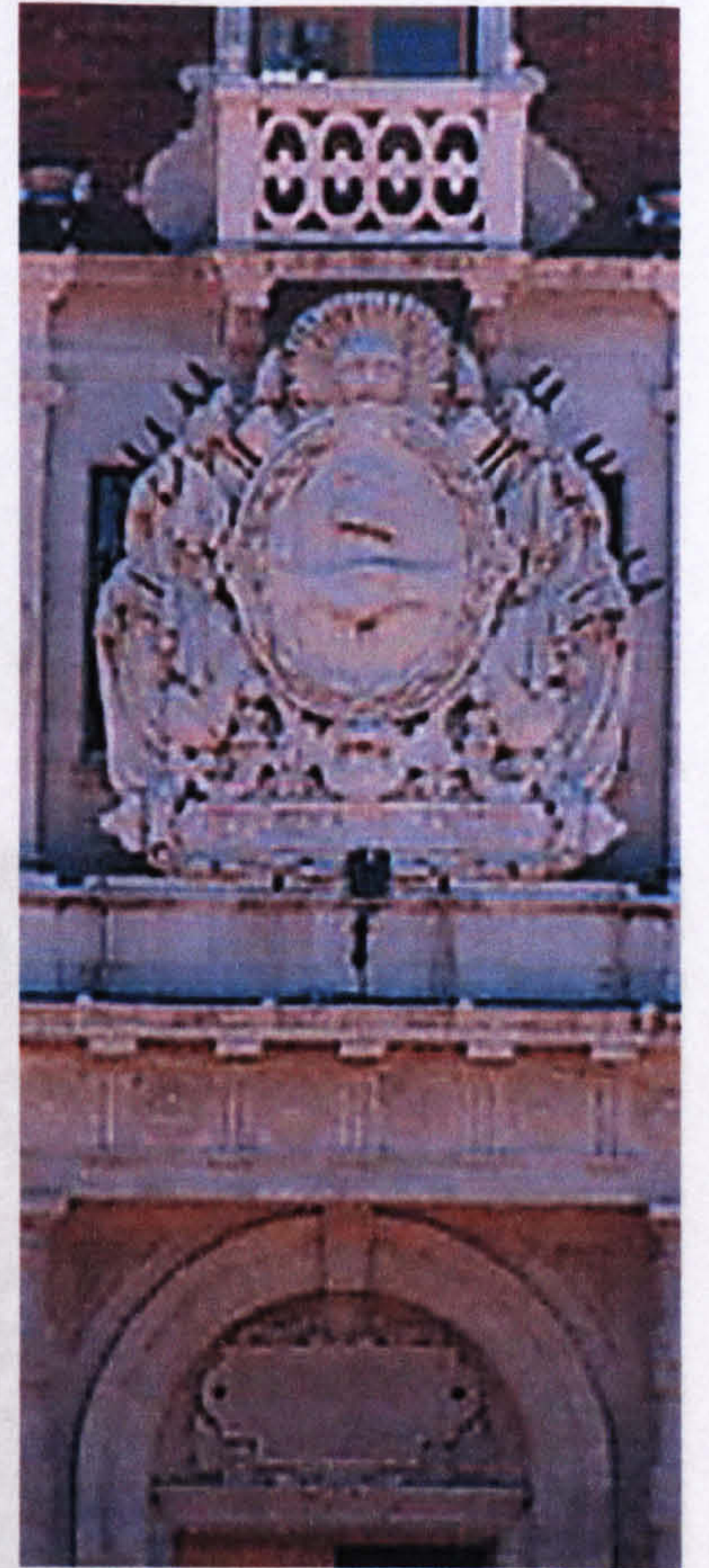


Figure 42. 1909, The English Tower



Figure 41 . 1898, Casa Rosada



Figure 43. 1922, Cordoba University



Figure 44. 1956, National Bank

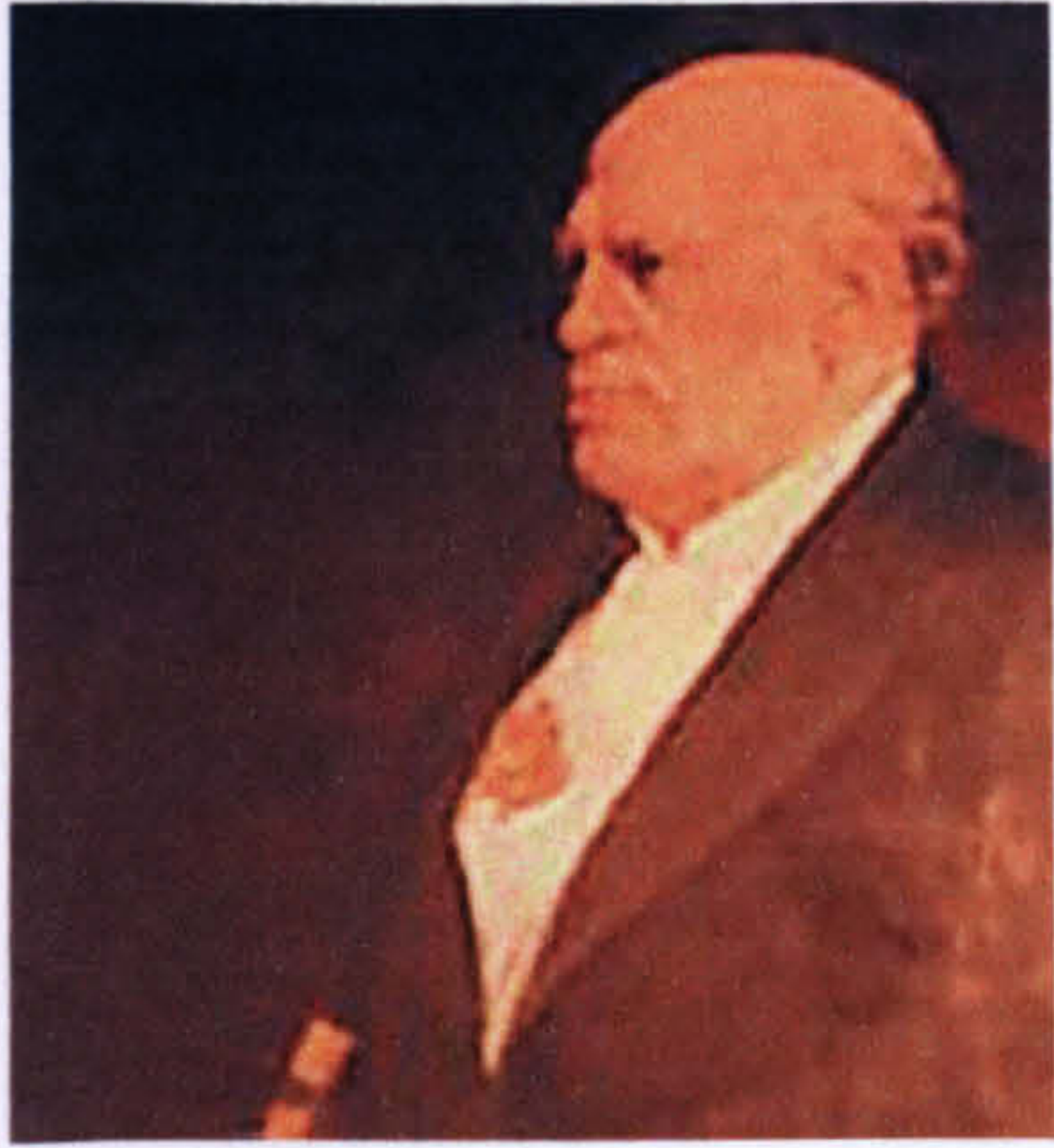


Figure 45 and 46 . 1868, President Sarmiento

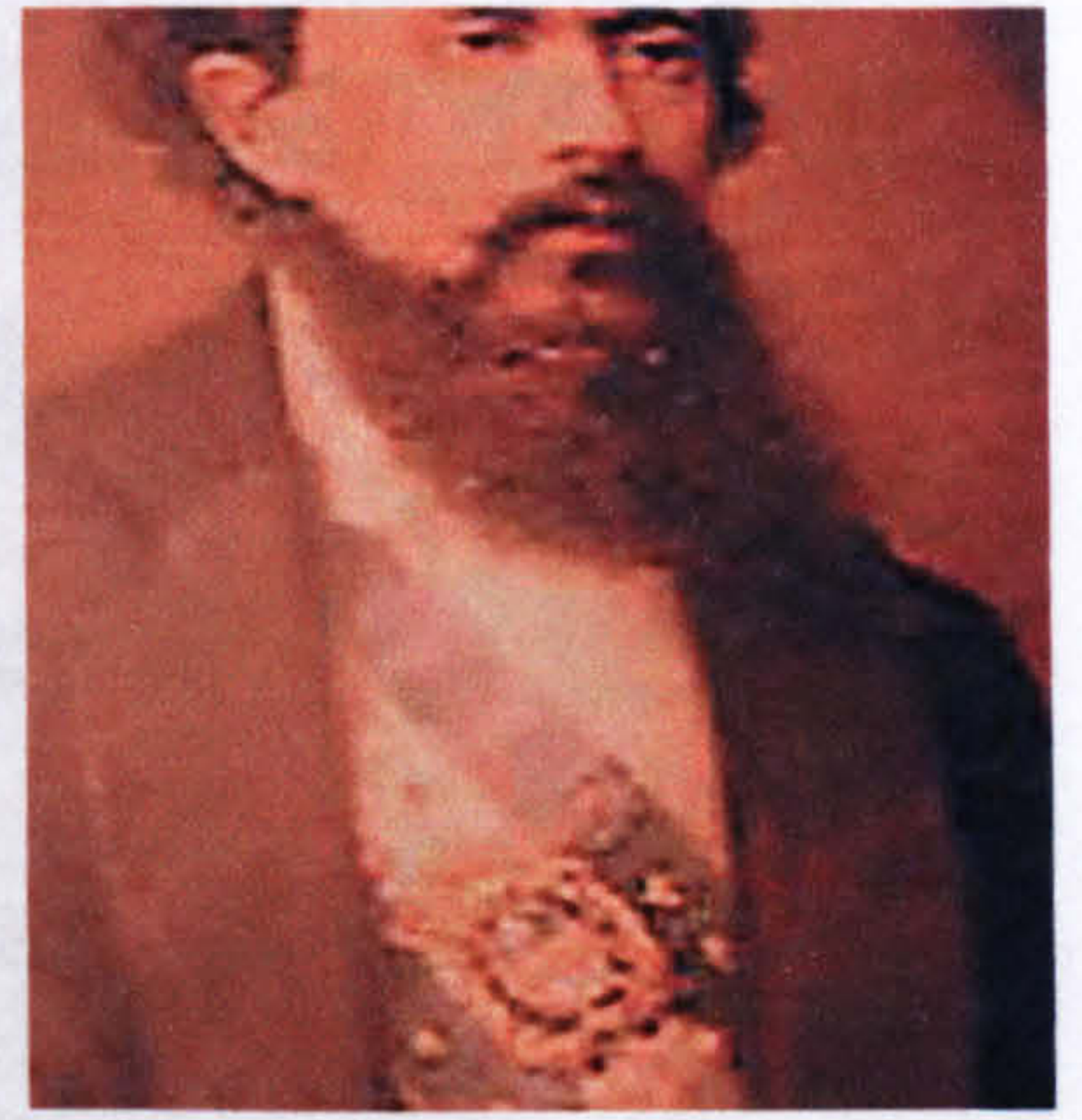


Figure 47 . 1874, President Avellaneda



Figure 48. 1874, President Avellaneda



Figure 50 . 1886, President Juarez Celman



Figure 49. 1892, President Saenz Peña



Figure 51. 1904, second presidency of Roca

Figure 52. 1910, political party



Figure 52 . 1850's stirrup from Entre Ríos



Figure 53 . 1857, note



Figure 54 . 1881, first national note



Figure 55. 1882, foundation of La Plata city

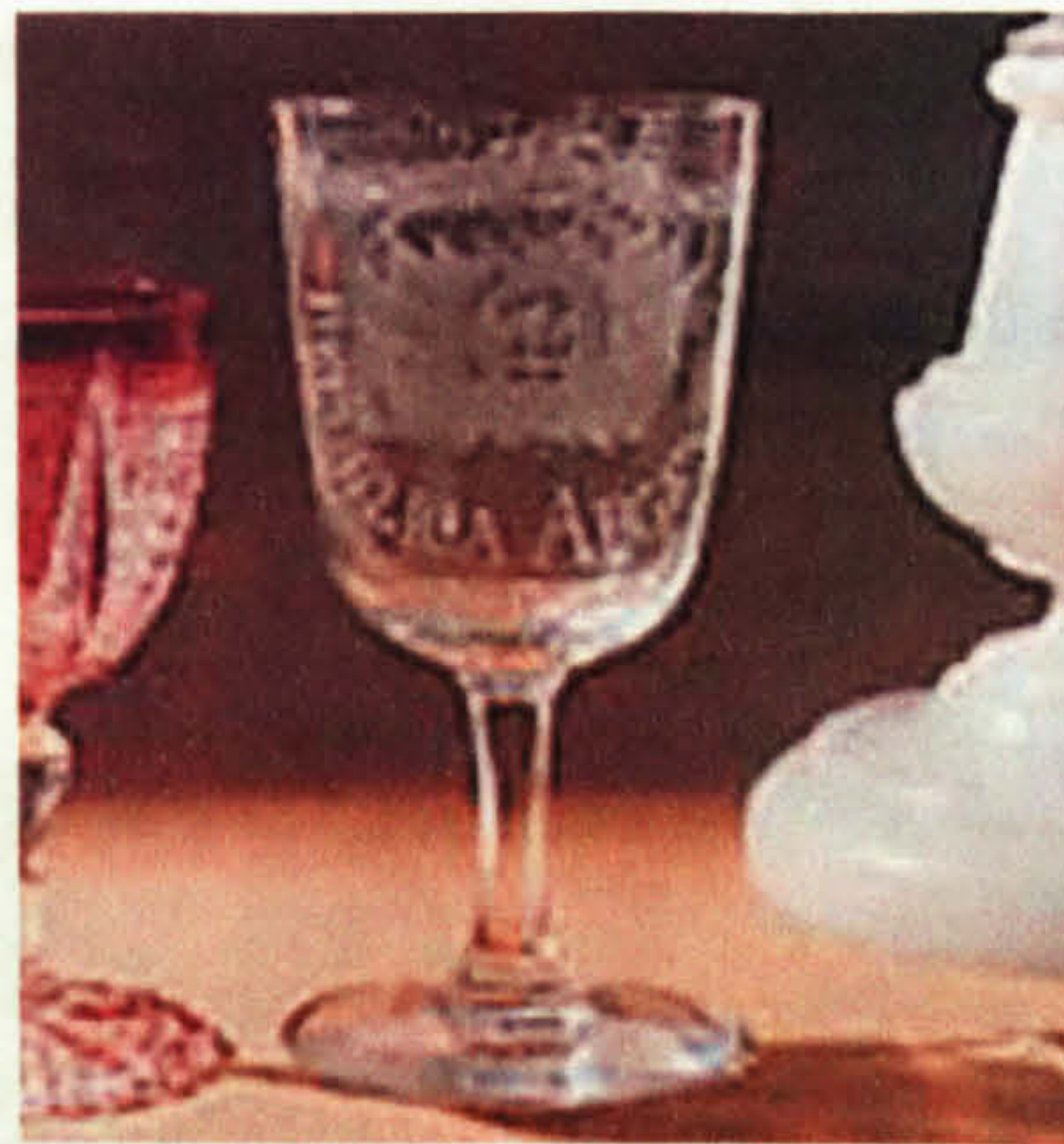


Figure 56. 1890, Casa Rosada's cup



Figure 57. 1892, Patacon



Figure 58. 1909, cigarette box



Figure 59. 1890, political party

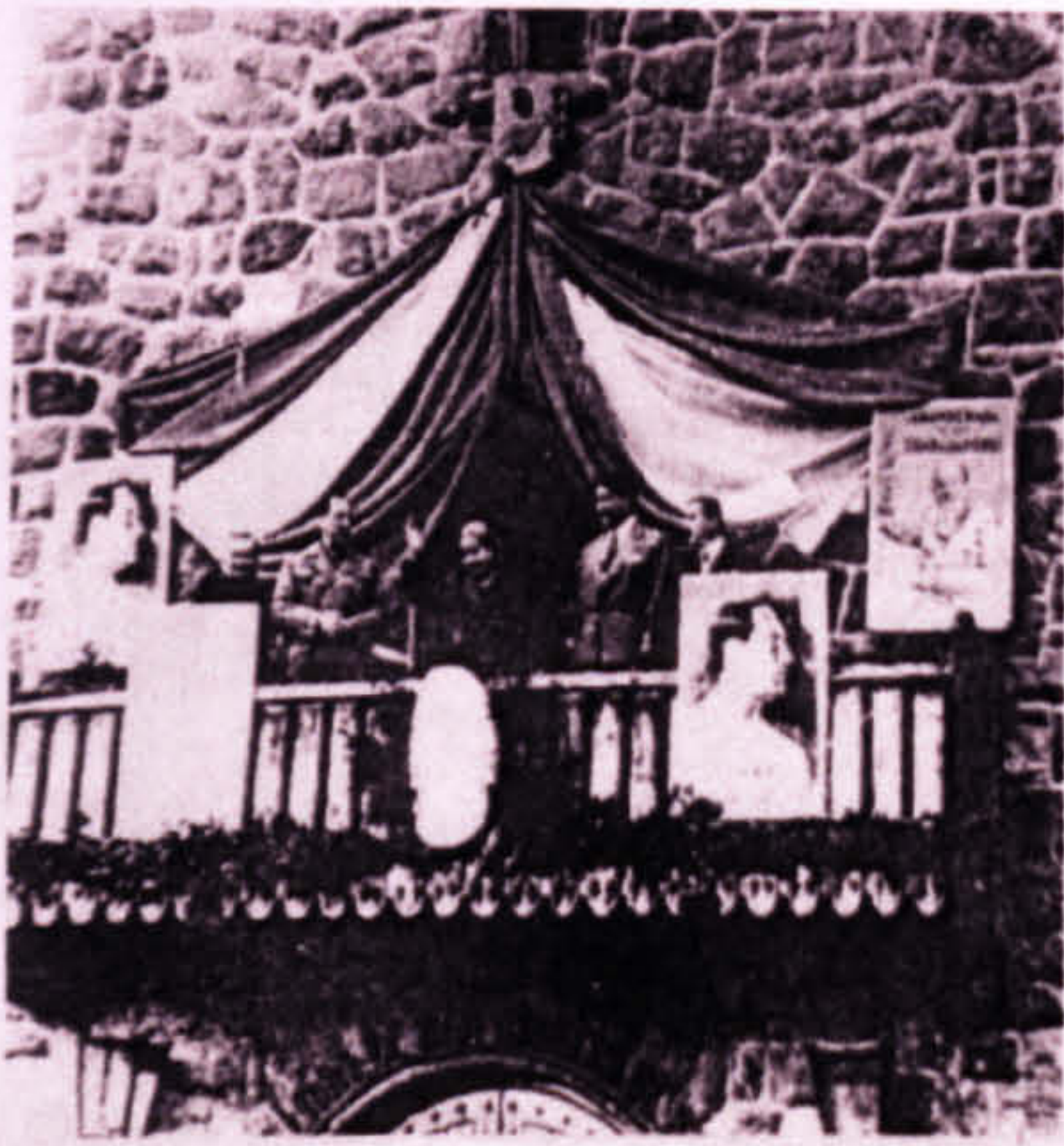


Figure 60 . 1950, act in the city of Bariloche



Figure 62 . 1952, act in the city of Lobos



Figure 61. 1950, at the Casa Rosada balcony

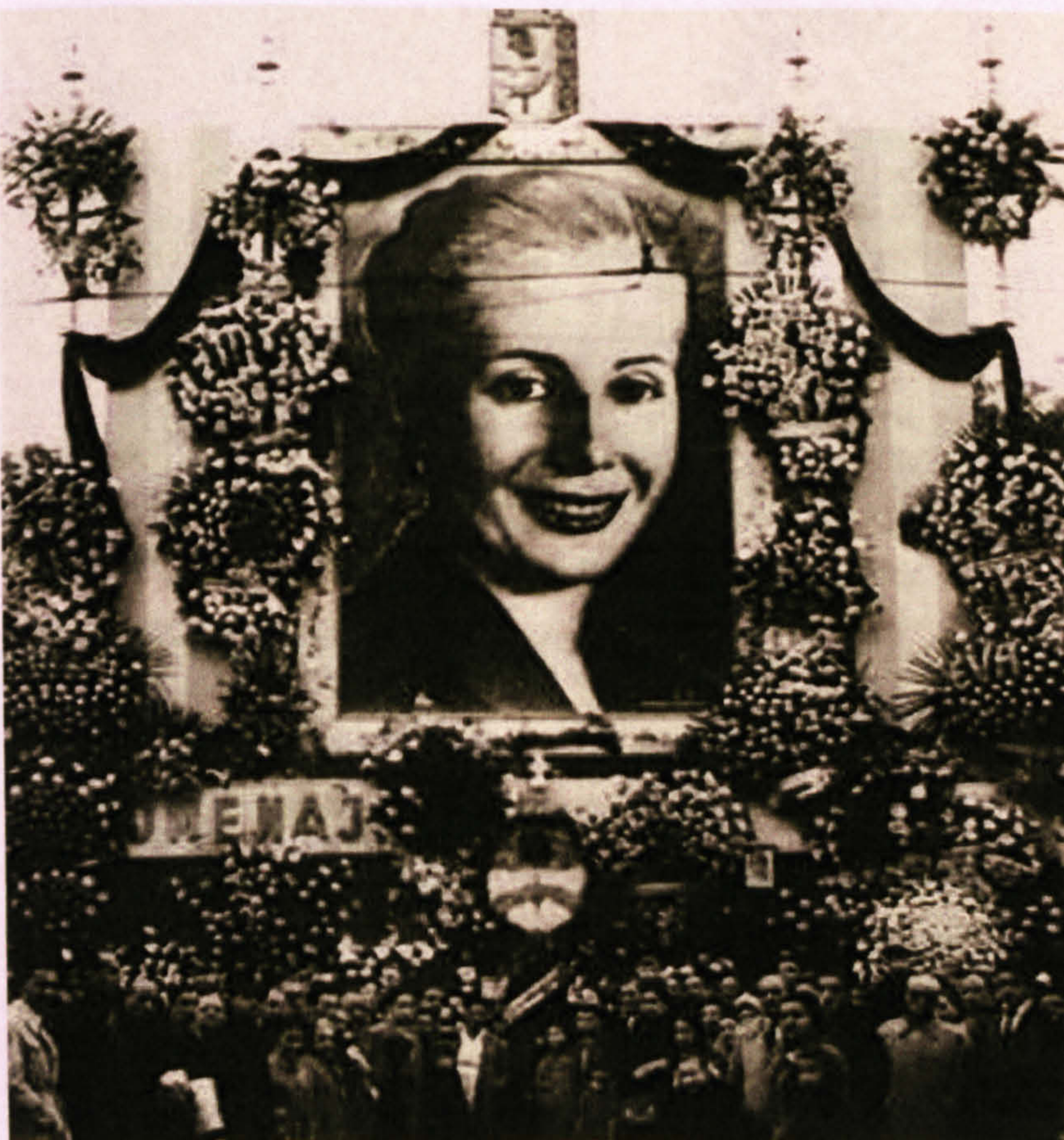


Figure 63. 1952. Funeral of Eva Perón

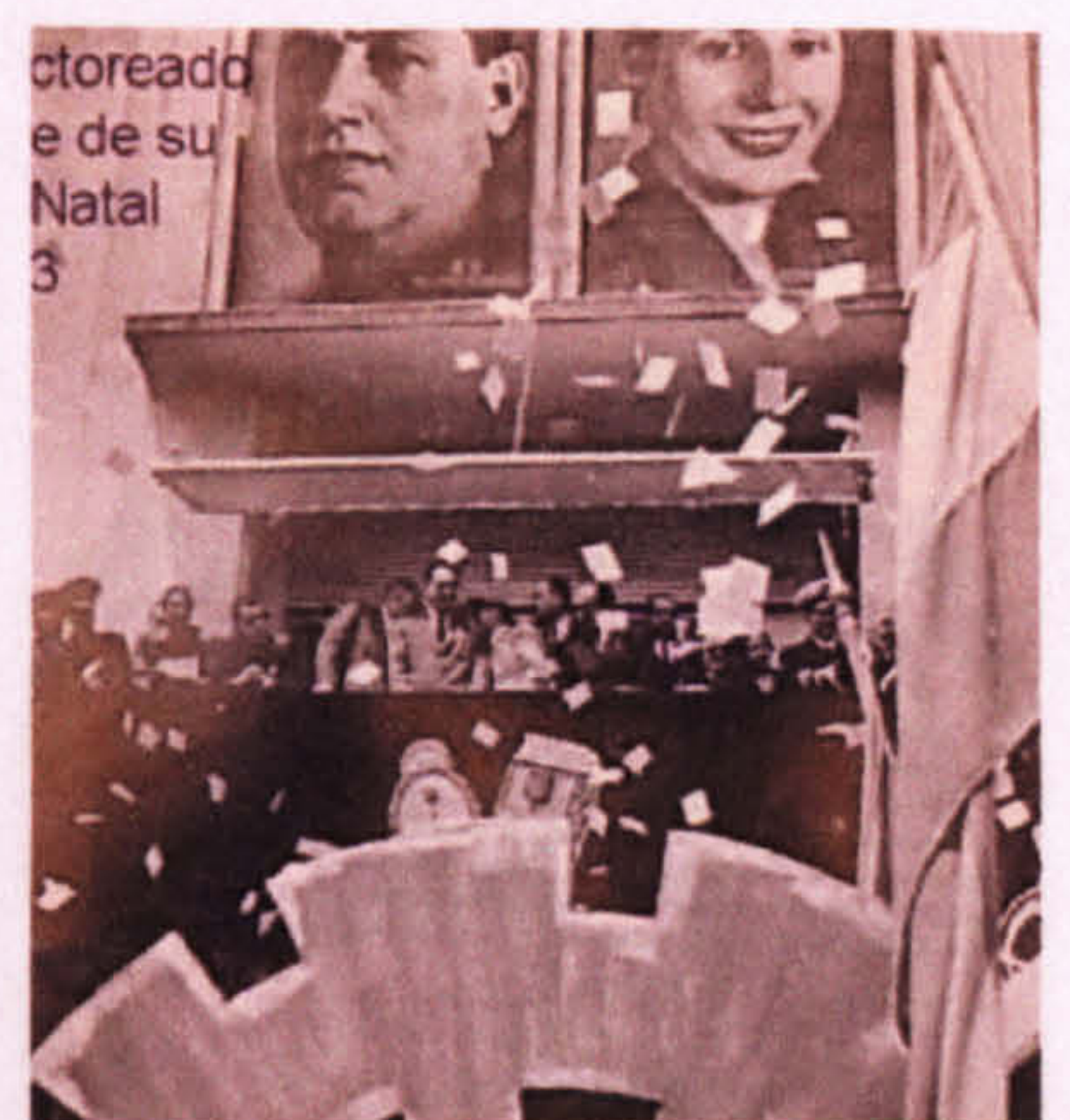


Figure 64 . 1953, act in the CGT (trade unions)



Figure 65. 1975, Isabel Perón at the balcony



Figure 66 . 1950´, in administrative office



Figure 67. 1957, in a monument



Figure 68. 1960, in the Ministry of Defense



Figure 69 . 1970, in educational books



Figure 70. 1990, in Casa Rosada



Figure 71. 2000, in stationery



Figure 72. 2000, for civic use



Figure 73. 2000, in stationery



Figure 74. 2000, in public building



Figure 75. 2000, at Presidential Web site



Figure 76. 2000, in official documents

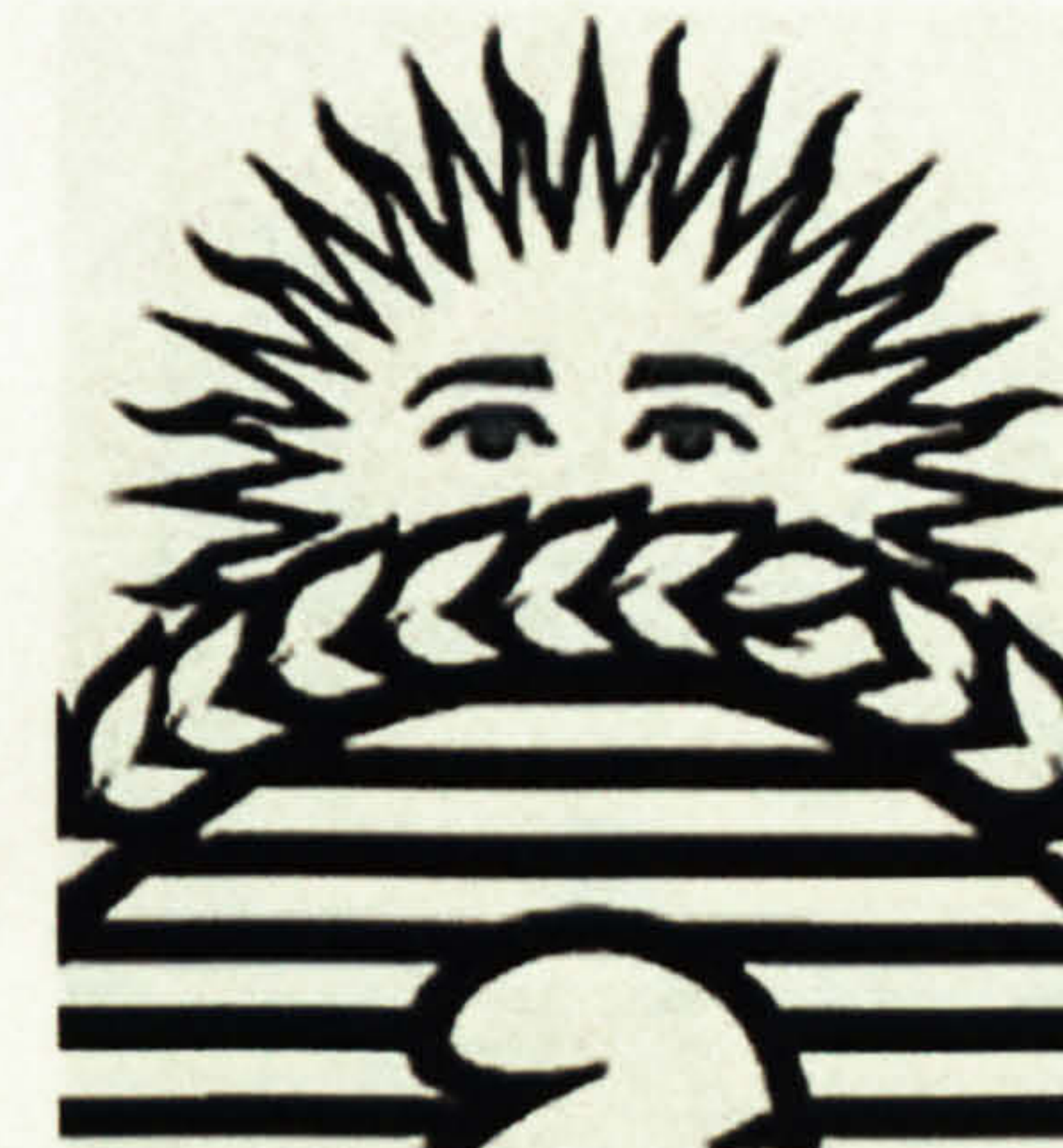


Figure 77. Since 2001



Figure 78 . 1899, Palermo's Park entrance



Figure 79. 1883, Provincial Congress

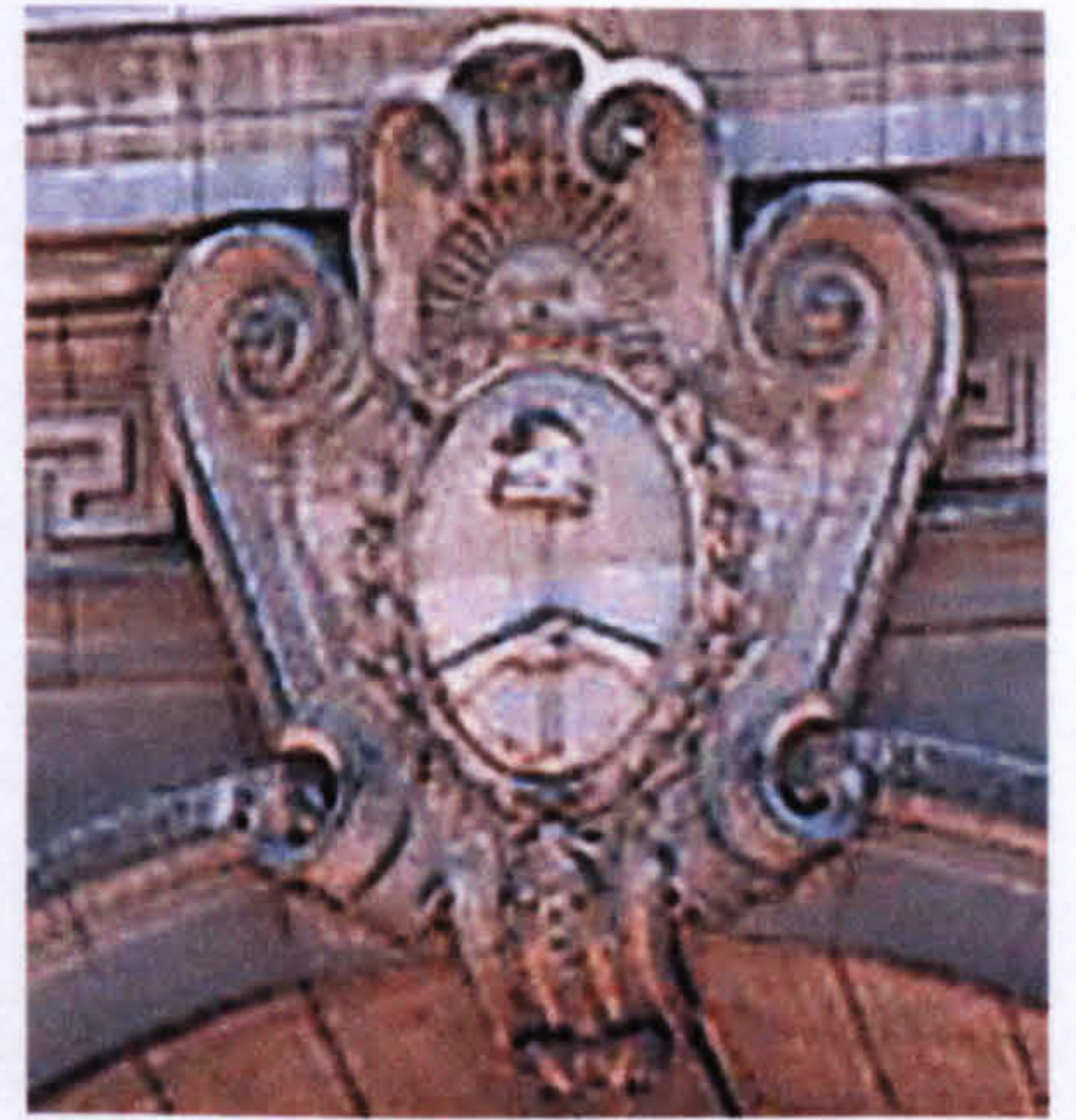


Figure 80. 1903, Palace of Justice



Figure 81. 1909, cover of a folder



Figure 82. 1912, General Archive's building



Figure 83. 1946, stamp



Figure 84. 1940's, in a monument of the air force



Figure 85. 1940's, tomb of a military



Figure 86. 1952, note



Figure 87. 1960, note

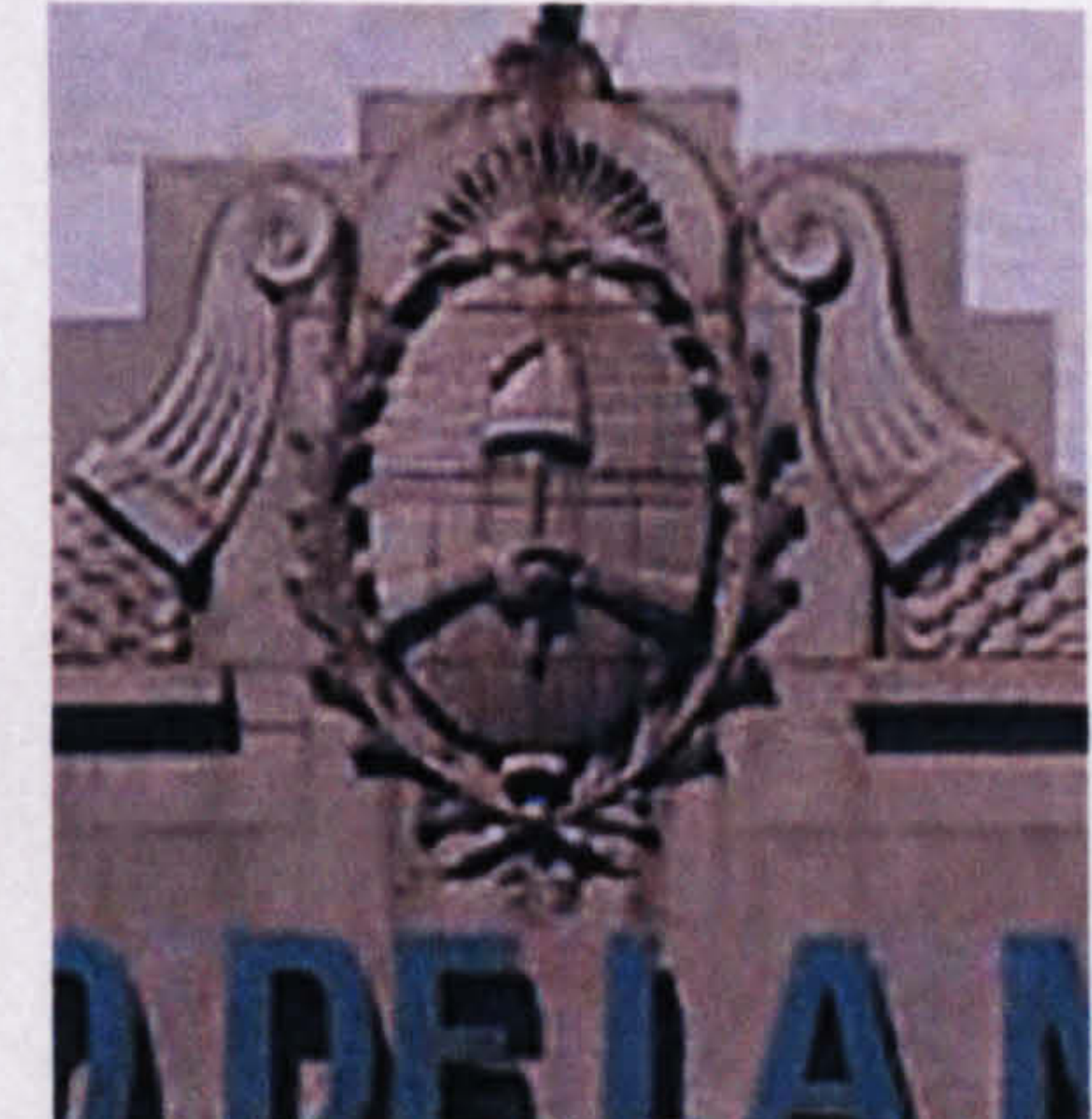


Figure 88. 1968, National Senate

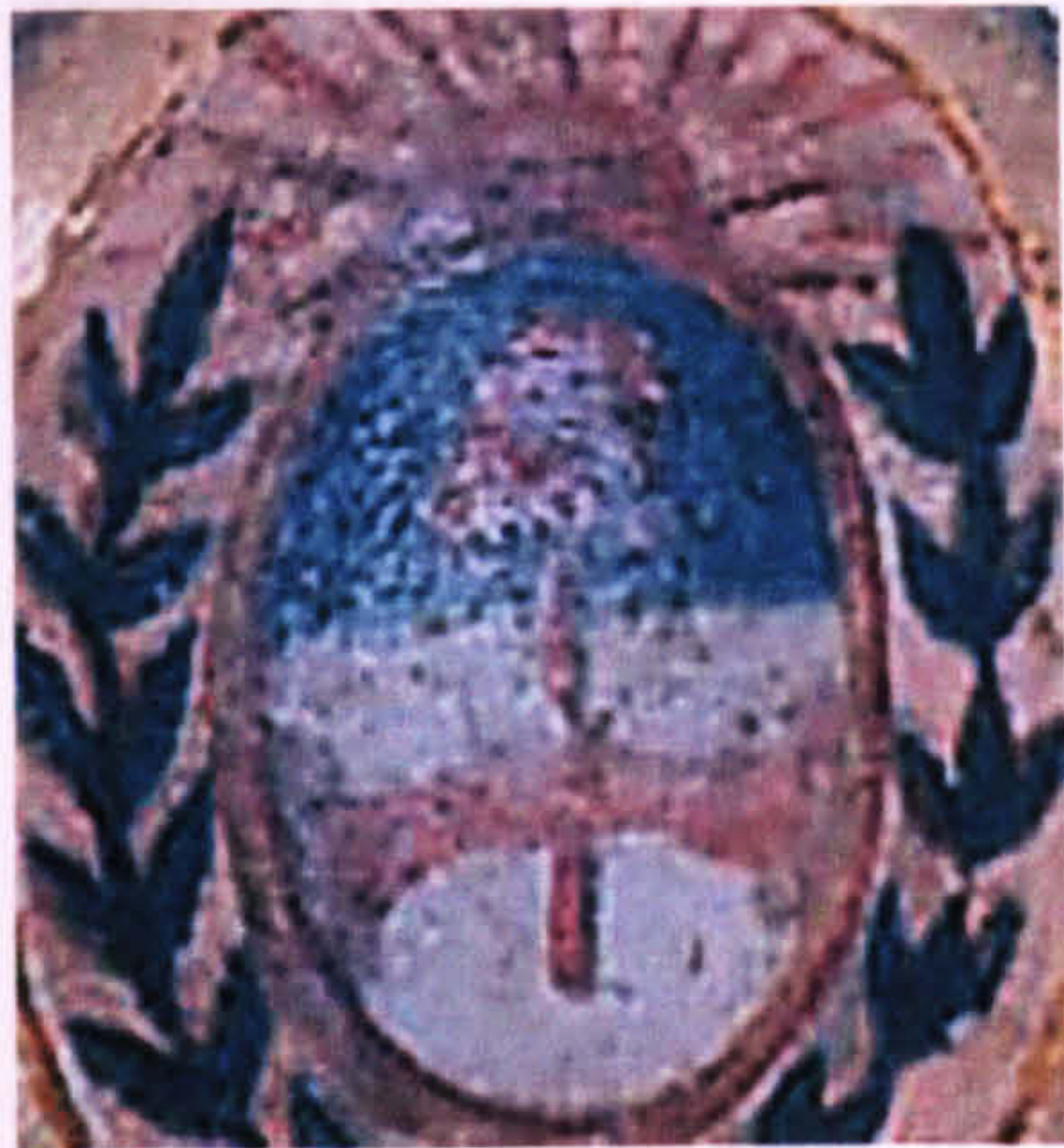


Figure 89. 1820, disunited laurels



Figure 90. 1820, national seal

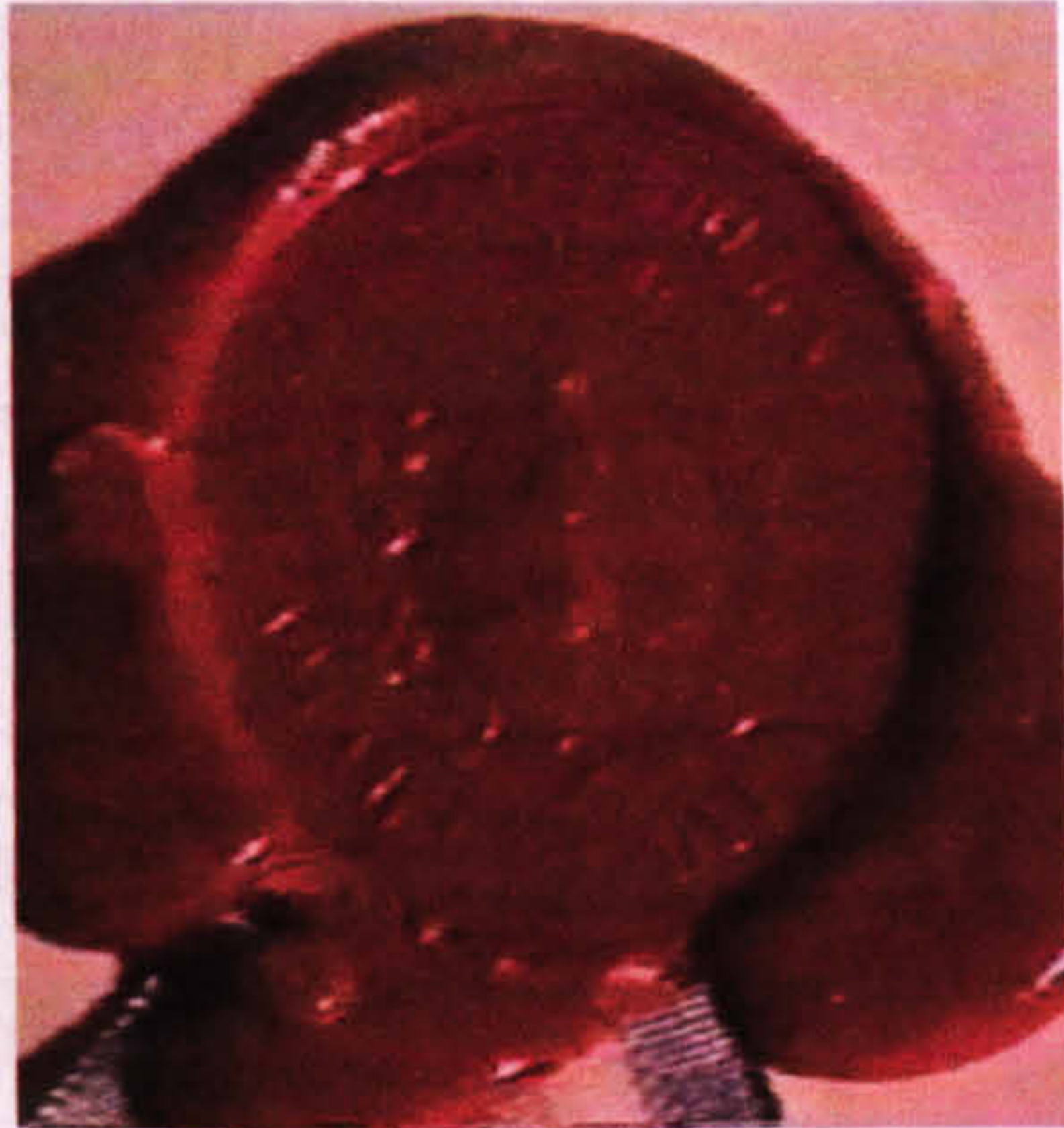


Figure 91. 1820, national seal

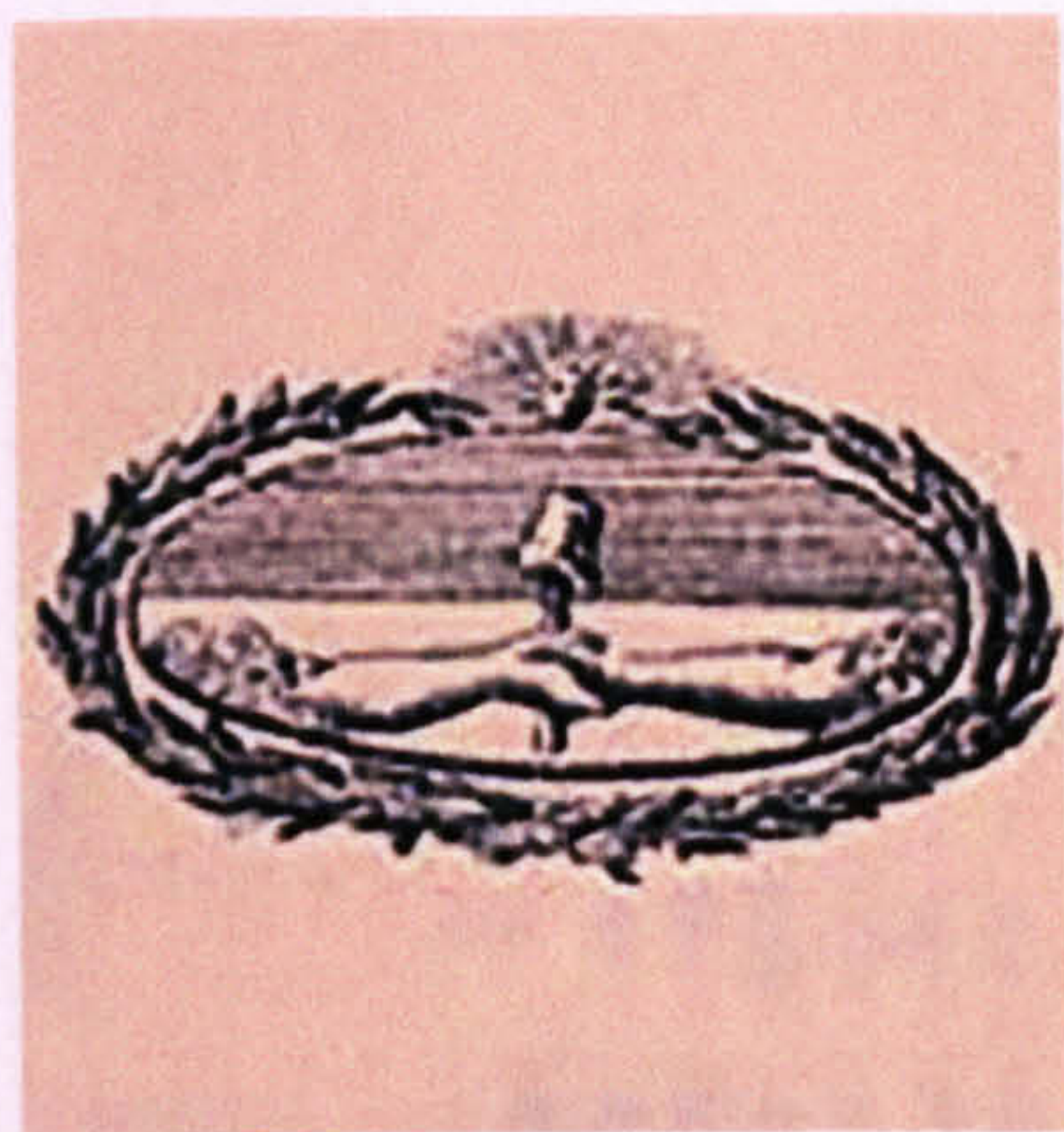


Figure 92. 1856, hierarchized arms



Figure 93. 1856, in May Pyramid



Figure 94. 1858, stamp



Figure 95. 1895, book



Figure 96. 1910, postcard



Figure 97. 1907 and 1985 notes



Figure 98. 1937, hierarchized sun and laurels



Figure 99. 1940, in the army shield

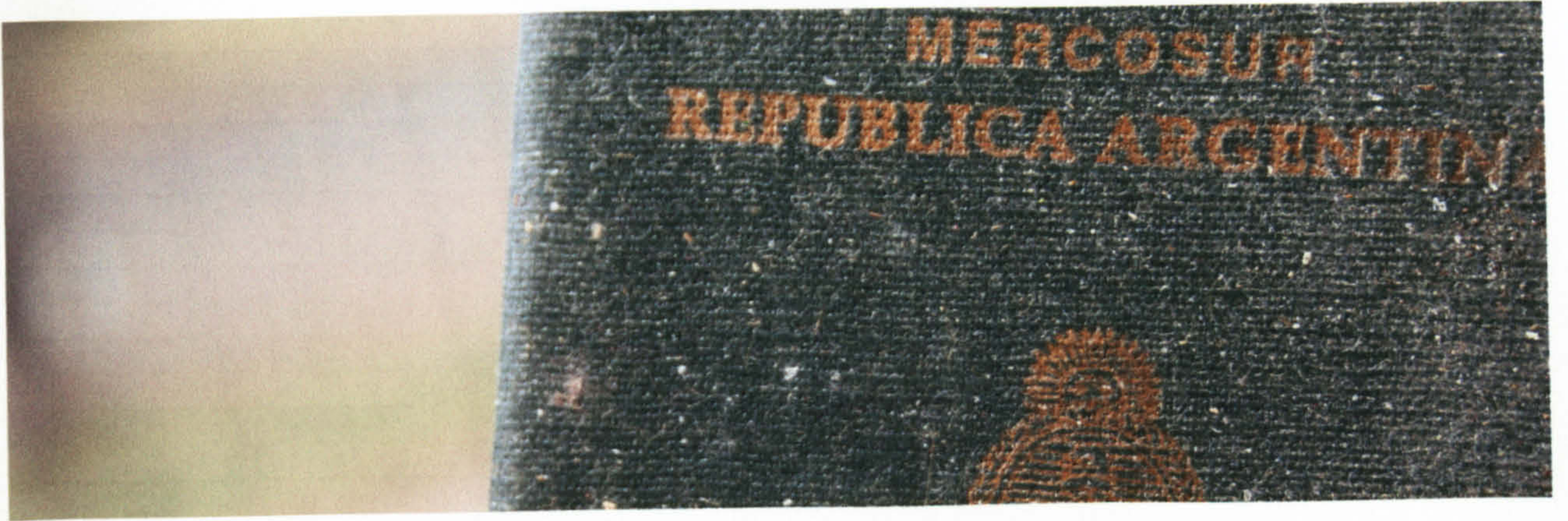


Figure 100. Argentine Passport



Figure 101. Argentine ID card



Figure 102. Car number

Chapter 6. Argentine National Banknotes

Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to understand how the Argentine State designed nationality through the use of the banknotes. In order to do that, the chapter is structured as follows: In the first section, a brief history of the social importance and role of the banknotes in history is developed in order to understand how the banknotes became an important object to support national stories and preserve Argentine national myths.

In section two the historic importance and role of the banknotes are highlighted. Then, in the third section, a semiotic and an interpretative analysis of the Argentine banknotes is developed considering the changes in the colour, the main images present, the characteristics of the background and the presence of legends. To do that, the collected banknotes images issued by the state were arranged according to the historical classification used in the chapter of the history of the Argentine Ideological State Apparatus and a matrix with the mentioned attributes to be analyzed was created.

Then, the focus turns to the image of San Martin, the representation of landscapes and women as the most important images present in the banknotes and regards the Argentine national myths they portray at different points in history. Finally, some conclusions will be given and a list of banknotes and tables are shown

Section 1. The historic importance and role of paper money

The earliest paper money appeared in China, in the Sichuan Province, at the end of the tenth century. For the sake of convenience of people who had to transport the heavy and low value iron coins, shops allowed their clients to deposit cash in exchange for deposit bills. Those bills were transferable like paper money (Kranister, 1989).

At the beginning of the eleventh century, a group of merchants issued a kind of banknote called a Jiao Zi, which could be deposited, circulated and cashed. At that moment, news of the exchange system was introduced to Europe, first, by the French Priest William of Rubruk and then by the Venetian traveller Marco Polo. Marco Polo reported that the great Khan controlled more wealth through the issue of paper money than any other emperor in the world had before¹.

In the West, more specifically in England, the origin of English paper money is the hand-written receipt given by goldsmiths in exchange for cash deposits. In 1694 the recently founded Bank of England adopted those goldsmiths notes as the basis of its own. The note was issued for the full amount of the deposit and was endorsed by the Bank cashier. Its text was also printed in a cursive script, reminiscent of the hand-written goldsmith's notes. Over the next few decades, the medallion of Britannia (Henshll, 1994) (based on the Bank's corporate seal), a distinctive watermarked paper and the "sum block" showing a pound sign followed by the amount was introduced (Kranister, 1989).

The note continued to improve. In 1726 these pieces of paper, as a partially printed promissory note filled in by the Bank's cashier with the details of the transaction to exchange for a cash deposit, became gradually more widely accepted and began to represent units of value. In 1797, during a period of gold restriction as a consequence of the war against France, the Bank of England suspended cash payments and replaced them with paper money to protect gold reserves. In such a time of crisis, the public wanted gold and the banknote, as a thing of no intrinsic value was viewed with fear (Barry, 1997). For instance, people said of William Pitt (Prime Minister in 1797) that "he found England a nation of gold and left it a nation of paper" (Barry, 1997: 5). This equation of property, gold and silver with value and the equation of paper with volatility and disaster is still present today in risky economies.

This bank restriction corresponded with the Romantic era and it was during this period that English

¹ He announced to the western civilisation that "the money of the Khan is not made of gold and silver or other metal, but they take the middle bark from the Mulberry Tree, and this they make firm, and cut it into divers and round pieces, great and little, and imprint the King's mark thereon" (Barry, 1997: 14).

paper money was introduced (Barry, 1997). In a society which valued and demanded things of the imagination, banknotes were involved with aesthetics and ideological features.²

The history of bank notes had similarities in North America (Kranister, 1989). The Continental Congress of 1775 defiantly printed its own notes, thereby declaring America's independence of England (Barry, 1997). The colony's lack of precious metal pushed the country to promote and defend its national currency, transforming paper money into a national object (Hewitt, 1995).

Argentina, as a former colony of Spain, had, as circulating money in its territory, the Spanish Crown minted in Potosi, now Bolivia, where the mines provided gold and silver to the crown. From Independence in 1810, a local coin with national emblems on it replaced King Fernando VI of Spain's coin. They contained the sentence 'Provincias Unidas del Rio de La Plata' (United Provinces of the River Plate), the sun, the national seal with military trophies (flags, cannons and drums), the Friesian cap, hands toward a pique and, on the edge, the slogan "Equality under the Law".

The launch of the first coins was a complicated political issue and the authorities were worried about the reaction of the people. On the one hand, the authorities knew that it was a powerful medium of communication to extend the idea of Independence. However, on the other hand, they also knew that it involved the presentation of the new economy of the country, and, replacing the guarantee of the monarch by the new referent was considered a risky manoeuvre. That analysis motivated them to mint in the same place, Potosi, maintaining the features of the coin, changing only the representation of the new government. The absolute substitution of the old coin by the new one was extremely slow, allowing the citizens to become familiar with the new one.

A short time later, the Constitutional General Assembly of 1813 imposed on local capitalists the obligation to loan money to the new independent government. The government gave them credits, promissory notes cancelling debts, to be transferred in cash by the state cashiers or to be transferred to others persons. These document treasury vouchers were issued continuously.

This was the origin of the current Argentinean banknote (Alvarez, 1929). It is important to note that in Argentina the issue of paper money preceded the creation of banks; both public or private banks were established as recently as 1823 (Berdou, 1955).

Years after Independence, the different provinces started to fight over the control of the central power

² Voices such as those of Ricardo highlighted that the signifier should not be detached from its signified, but should always be prepared to re-present, to be exchanged for, the signified, which means an understanding of what a symbol should be, according to the enlightenment. Others, such as Adam Smith insisted that society could tolerate 'real' paper, but not 'fictitious' paper, an argument that shifted from representation to interpretation and interpretation as "the source of signification and of meaning, the real equivalence to credit" (Barry, 1997: 14).

of the country and to protect their own economic interests. A long civil war started and almost all the provinces began to issue their own money. As Alvarez pointed out "between 1831 and 1857 provinces like La Rioja minted about half million pesos of intermediate quality. Salta and Cordoba also coined silver" (Alvarez, 192: 99). The most important province was the Buenos Aires Province, which in 1822 printed its own paper money, displacing the gold and silver for trading and this became an example for the rest of the Provinces (Alvarez, 1929).

Argentina did not issue metal as a consequence of the lack of gold and silver mines in its territory. In this context, the paper money was an ideal solution. The notes with the name of the Spanish coins "peso"(weight) (Alvarez, 1929) referred to the heaviness of gold necessary to make a unit of money. Nevertheless, despite the name 'peso', the banknote did not always have equivalence with gold, because of the State's use and abuse of its right to print paper money. This lack of convertibility of the notes had an impact on different social groups³.

During the civil war, the use of a certain note was a form of coercion and conformity, as shown by the banknote of one of the leader groups, on which is printed the slogan "Death to the savage Unitarians" (Bethell, 1993) referring to an opposition group. Sometimes the 'boletos en tierras' (land certificates) which were rewards for military service against the Indians were used as real money. Some years later, in 1828 and 1832 there was a large excess of imports over exports and the result was a shortage of currency at home which was replaced by ever larger issues of paper money (Alvarez, 1929).

Then, during the decade 1843-1853, there was a period of furious struggle for national unification in which a regional sentiment was predominant (Escude, 1987) over nationalist feelings. For instance, some documents showed that people defined themselves as belonging to their native province as if it were their native country: Patria (Fatherland) Corrientes, Patria Buenos Aires (Ramos, 1965). Moreover, some of the provinces, according to their territorial placement also used Brazilian, Chilean and Bolivian coins together with the local paper and coins.

After 1853, the consolidation process of unification and the creation of national institutions started. A confederation of provinces approved a constitution that had French and North American ideological influences and there was a clear and visible tendency to create a monetary unit similar to the United States dollar (1862) (Ramos, 1965). The government, through the new national arm, occupied parts of the country that were controlled by the Indians. The nation was federalized and organized and a

³ As Bethell argues, the social group which suffered most was the lower income groups, that is the poorest and the weakest institutionally while the upper income group was less affected by the problems of the banknote (Bethell, 1993). This was not only because they enjoyed great family stability and drew strength from the ties of kinship, but also because the basic product of their economy was the primary production of cattle and crops which did not depend on a note to be converted to money (Panattieri, 1985).

unified paper money was issued (Ferns, 1969). In 1880, the modern Argentinean State and Nation were built (Panattieri, 1985). As a consequence, in 1881 a single currency for the whole country, the national 'peso', was issued, while in 1887 the government ordered the withdrawal of foreign coins and regulated the issue of money by private banks (Bethell, 1993).

Once the Nation was established and throughout the 20th century, the meaning of the Argentinean national banknote changed over the time. However, before turning to an analysis of its different meanings, the analysis of more conceptual aspects related to banknotes will be examined such as the meaning of paper money as an object, as an instrument of social memory and as a narrative tool.

Section 2. The historic importance and role of the banknotes

As an object, the banknote is a fetish of the modern nation (Evans, 1996). For instance, in Argentina in 1991, the state launched a propagandistic campaign called "Argentina has weight again"(peso) (figure 1) and the peso was used again as the nomination of the Argentinean money. At that moment, the economy was stable and growing in contrast to previous years of economic problems with inflation and stagnation. Within that context, the banknote was everywhere symbolically substituting and promoting the wealth and the stability of the national economy at that moment.

Besides, a banknote works as a memory system, if one thinks of the present images of this object as the text of a discourse. However, some questions arise when asking how the process works.

The working method of this kind of discourse could be seen as Yates describes in his book "the Art of Memory". For him, this old art of memory seeks to memorize through a technique of impressing places and images on memory, piercing notions to objects in order to remember them (Yates, 1966). In this sense, seeing the places, and seeing the images stored in these places opens an inner vision which immediately brings to his/her mind the thoughts and words of a discourse but which also put limits on the imagination.

The fixation of a concept to a particular image, and the agency of this image/concept in the religious environment, confine and define the form of the metaphysical imagination of the individual. The believer there must assiduously remember the invisible joys of paradise and the eternal torments of hell (Yates, 1966) to be part of the cultural institution. Such images are always present in a Catholic passage by a sign system composed of statues, vitreaux, paintings and a symbolic use of the physical space, which narrate and dramatize narratives. The method, also called artificial memory, displays two kinds of images, one image for things and the other for words. Imagines provoked by word memory bring to mind the words the memory is seeking to find through its sound resemblance and the idea suggested by that image. In turn these images and words show and tell stories.

In addition, the interest and the dedication that the national states have been entrusted with in the design of the message of the banknote would be understood as part of a regimen of knowledge. In this sense, the banknote is working to value and reject some objects to control the parameters of knowledge, fixing the meaning of the experiences of the individual human subject and framing the social reality in a certain way as an ideological activity.

In the Argentinean banknotes, the magical emblems, the visual record of the places and landscapes, the anonymous and public people, the different historical events and the representation of the glorious past are the threads that interweave the dynamic Argentinean collective memory, expressed on paper money. The totality of the notes would be like coastal sea, where one wave only is visible for a while, to be hidden underneath another in the next segment. The different wave could be seen as the meaningful remembrance or representation of the nation. As a consequence, no-one alone could represent or symbolize the whole collective memory because the collective memory is formed by the weaving of the different symbolic references and their inner relations. Therefore, they are all part of the cultural memory artifact called the Argentinean banknote.

Hence, if the Argentinean national banknote was displayed following a linear temporal and historical disposition, it would be possible to find images that are visible in specific periods of time, hidden in some and others used again in further periods (see Tables 3- Banknotes in Annex). For instance, some presidents such as Avellaneda, Sarmiento, Mitre and Urquiza, were used in the notes issued in 1883, hidden after 1897, and used again in 1985 (Tables 3-Banknotes 3 to 11 and 40 to 64). In addition, some important events of Argentinean history have been used either by democratic or by military regimes, such as Independence Day (Tables 3- Banknotes 17 and 40) and the picture of the founding of Buenos Aires with "Spanish and Indians" (Tables 3- Banknotes 19 and 38). The same happens with the use of the emblem of Liberty (defined as Liberty, Progress or Republic) (Tables 3- Banknotes 7, 12 to 15, 20 and 41 to 52) and the monument of glory (Tables 3- Banknotes 32, 56 and 61). The realistic images of people or landscapes were used in 1891, hidden in 1897, partially visible in one banknote of 1947, then in 1970 (Tables 3- Banknotes 2, 6, 8, 10 and 27 to 35). The same happens with the portraits of San Martin whose image was first used in 1935, non-existent in 1985, and used again for a while in 1989 (Tables 3- Banknotes 16 to 19, 22 to 39m 56 and 61).

There is always a story in any national banknote. Printed on a white sheet of paper, there is a tale expressed by images and text, "a rebus or pictorial puzzle" (Freud, 2003: 9), that makes the difference between white paper and paper money. Accordingly, behind the monetary credibility there is a message. However, the prominence of this message, of this kind of tale, would usually be present when a new story would be issued by the printing of another series of banknotes. Thus, the tale could only last a while. The awakened narrative⁴ that the bill shows would unavoidably fall into silence from the moment that it could be integrated into the everyday life of the people, as another cultural object of the social group (Stewart, 1993).

⁴ As Elisabeth Cowie points out, "The narration, as a process of narrating, opens us to knowledge of events-not only knowledge of what happened but also why the events occur, that is we come to understand what motivated characters to act as they do" (Cowie, 1997).

Perhaps only the child would pay attention to the meaning of the image because in order to become subjects and to be able to refer to him/herself in the social world, the child should acquire all the pre-existing means of signification (Freud, 1910), and one of these is the institutional one. For him/her, the banknote would be learned as one introductory medium of the national embodiment. Then, for a child a banknote would be part of his/her significant environment, and he/she would be visually in touch with the institutional message of the note, and thus incorporate some discourses into his/her system of meaning.

In fact the message would be kept hidden most of the time, underneath the concrete "exchange value of the token" (Gallie, 1952: 21). Even though the banknote is handed from one hand to another, the exchange value is the reason for its existence, and the reason for its power. These contradictions of the importance and the non-importance of the printed story, are where the discourse of paper money is sustained.

A banknote is not a book, a film or a song but it has a chain of symbols like musical notes, which are written on both sides of the paper. Furthermore, they also compose a kind of symphony on the totality of the picture with content and rhythm. That content often provides crucial information in the message and the rhythm provides a dynamic that visualizes the story. In a Lacanian sense, these anchorage points would be the key signifiers, which act to seal the meaning to the participant's sign use. The registers become sealed in a political (and cultural) discourse.

Being conscious that an image triggers a potentially infinite chain of associations (Barthes, 1973: 39), the rhythm of how the composition is read of any image could constrain the openness of interpretation. In this way, the image of any banknote links one symbol to another, trying to control what could be interpreted as a whole and a definition of a hegemonic situation (Laclau, 1985).

As has been mentioned, even though the banknote is not exactly a book or a film because the scene on the note is frozen and the character cannot move in space and time, it has the same multiplicity and a similar form of working. In the bank note, there is a static narrative which plays with the before and after of what we know about the symbols. As a transitional door it plays with the projection of what we infer could happen and what actually happened. In the example of the banknotes, the frozen image is always the same, but the movement in time and space, cause and effect, runs in our minds.

In this way, the image carries a certain myth which is a social constructed one, and places oppositions (like the savage-civilised one) (Hall, 1997) and naturalizes history. Thus, the myth (like the one printed in a note) also contributes to the forgetting of the defeated party because there is always a mainstream idea in the interpretation of history.

Furthermore, the hegemonic dominant ideology of the dominant social groups is present in the printed myth of a banknote, which would mean that the message would be spread among all the Argentines, more specifically located in their pockets.

Finally, there is a strong meta-narrative in these types of mythical images. This meta-narrative provides information as a communication system that resolves or ratifies the social conflict in order to organize or disorganize social life. In this sense the notes, as a novel, accompany the political rise of the Nation. One good example of this analysis will be done using the \$100 N.D. bank note of Argentina issued in 1935 (figure 2 and 3). Even though there would be a individual way of seeing it according to personal interest or a selective perception, the spectator would read what follows. On one side a picture, the number 100, then the ornaments and the sentence 'cien pesos' (one hundred pesos). On the other side, she or he would see two oval frames of portraits, in the right one free graphics, a soldier (uniformed man) in the left frame (San Martin), then the number 100, the sentence 'cien pesos', Banco Central (Central Bank), and Republica Argentina (Argentinean Republica). If we turn again to the note looking for more details, we could distinguish the scene of the picture, which is the conquest of Buenos Aires. In that scene, the man who founded the city is under a stone or tree as if it were a monument, his troops are standing, some praying and everyone around him is holding flags and implements of construction. On the right bottom, there are Indians sitting and looking at the ceremony, surrounded by food, utensils and a tent.

Given that image, one of the non-infinite ways of reading this tale would be reading it as any other story with an introduction, a main part of the story and an end. In the introduction, the Central Bank, with the support of a military man, backed by classical figures of power and the amount of the note, introduces this story. In the main part of the story the city of Buenos Aires (the picture) was created by the recently arrived Spanish (16th century) as a natural process (vegetal ornaments). The magnificence of the event could make the Indians fascinated with the situation, one of them kneeling down in the presence of the founder. At the end, Buenos Aires has been born, Spanish people have the power, and the role of the characters has been fixed and organized⁵.

Gellner stresses that nations are imaginary constructs that depend for their existence on an apparatus of cultural fictions, and a banknote, as part of the national apparatus, has a role to play (Gellner, 1983). Then, the continuity of figurative emblems, such as the one that are present in the picture of the notes, contributes to the permanence of the nation as such, being as Bhabha says, unifying agents of the national organization (Bhabha, 1990). In this sense, as Barry points out, "the emission and acceptance of paper money brings into being an imagined community" (Barry, 1997: 16) and it contributes to the

⁵ In the sense that Aumont used to define narrative as an organised body of signifier (Aumont, 1997).

permanence and continuity of the community.

In order to be a national message, a set of symbols that intermediate between ideas and visual shapes must be present on the surface of the banknote. Those symbols have specific local meaning and for that reason they could be easily decoded at a glance by the Argentinean people (Gandelman, 1991). Thus, dressing up by a varnish of naturalness and connecting the national myth with the "realm of the classic" (Barry, 1997: 16) the visual paraphernalia naturalize the culture, linking the local history with the mythical ancestor (the mythological figures that are in the note) and repackaging the national history (Bain, 1998).

A banknote can support the essential myths of a nation. Then, printed on its surface those myths are giving shape to the sentiments that people are depositing in their nation. In this way, it is important to emphasize the following sentiments. First, the banknotes articulate the logic of property, by being the medium from where this logic is expressed. Thus, banknotes are the material token from which the state is translating value of thought.

Second, the banknote supports national myths, and those myths are embodying what joins society together, the will or the joy of being part of that group. In this sense, those myths make people remember the social practices, while the national myths are nothing more than the way in which the subjects of a given community organize themselves.

Third, banknotes also awaken spiritual sentiments, in fact all banknotes' credibility depend on the belief that this printed piece of paper is what it says it values, and the reason why one can believe that is not only rational but also a question of faith in the state.

Fourth, banknotes are part of the organizational dimension of the national sentiments, because a banknote gives the person something to hold on to, a representation of the national organization. Such a principle of organization underlies social and commercial relations, structuring the social existence possible.

Finally, the visual symbols are the visual actors and background of the national narratives, the local heroes and the muses, the time and the space, all disputing the imagination of Argentinean society. In the next section, some of the particular images of the Argentinean banknote will be analysed.

Section 2. Semiotic analysis of the Argentine banknote

Since its creation, the Argentinean note has been used to name the Nation, to define some valuable attributes of the country and to project the inner notion of the idea of a Nation. The attributes analysed in this section are present in the table....

According to that table, it is possible to highlight the presence of four main figures in the banknotes which are a group of presidents, the figure of San Martín, female allegories, and a list of places and activities.

In the first case, the images of the president are images of Mitre, Roca and Sarmiento as the most popular figures in banknotes issued from 1880 to 1900 and then from 1983 to 2008. However, the most popular figure along the history of banknotes is the image of San Martín who sometimes is together with Belgrano. In addition, female allegories appeared in banknotes issued from 1880, but especially from 1900 to 1930 and from 1983 to 1989 and a list of seductive resources is shown in banknotes from 1880 to 1900, like beautiful woman or productive activities represented by cows (Tables 3- Banknotes 3 and 8 to 11).

The list of symbolic activities includes the independence congress, the foundation of Buenos Aires and the new constitution and the list of places are: the Iguazú Falls, Mar del Plata and Ushuaia port. They are shown in banknotes issued from the 1930 period to 1983 and from 1989 to 2008. Most of those banknotes show people posing, frozen and static activities, places and events to be contemplated, a fact that could be related to the role of banknotes as a symbol of stability and timeless of the nation.

Another characteristic to analyse that is shown in the table is the background of the banknotes. In general, they show most of the time shields, frames, signatures and texts. The presence of shields could be considered as the state guarantee and the frames work as a magical mirror from where people can be included or reflected by the banknotes. In addition, signatures could be considered as a tricky printed promise of payment whereas the texts give the information and arguments that justify this receipt of payment. Moreover, other symbolic resources used to make banknotes believable were in all times designed ornaments, textures and shapes. These elaborated designs certify the value of the printed paper by showing the complex work that is behind the printed paper. All the mentioned presences also show four instrumental reasons from where to believe in the printed paper which are the presence of the state and a certification of an administrator through the presence of shield, the magic credibility and the reason for doing so.

Another characteristic of the banknotes is the colour. The colours change in all the periods and governments, something that can be analysed as a compulsive intention of differentiating not only one note from another, but also one administration from the other one, something that is connected with the political instability of the nation.

Another important element is the presence of legends in a first plane that could represent the institution that is producing the note. In that way, the change of *Banco Nacional*, *Banco Nación*, *Banco Central*, Austral, Peso, among others noted the intention of different administrations to make people believe in newly created institutions, instead of supporting an existing one.

Going back to the main figures that are present in the banknotes, the figure of the General San Martín, the gaze in the portraits in general, the use of space and time, the eyes of Justice and the representation of women is going to be analysed deeply.

2.a. The portraits of San Martín

The "Liberator" San Martín is seen by the Argentinean as the emblematic historical figure of the nation (figure 4). In 1998, an opinion poll about the image of personalities showed him as the most popular person for the Argentinean people⁶.

He is the paradigm of a successful General. The South American's narratives talked about him and the Colombian General Bolívar as the people who created South American independence, something of which every Argentine would be collectively proud. Thus, San Martín is the non-controversial figure of the Argentinean symbolic registry (Lacan, 1997), the "father of the country", the one who made Argentina an independent country by his military campaigns against the Spanish Crown.

General San Martín would be the ideal person to evoke as a protector of Argentina's identity. He would represent the one who defends the recent idea of independence and the recently born Nation against a return to the "Madre patria", Mother Patrie which is the way Argentineans still call Spain. In this way San Martín, as a father, broke the Oedipus complex of the Argentinean society, being considered till today their symbolic father. In present times, to be involved with his image is to get into some form of relationship with this symbolic father (Freud, 1950: 232).

⁶ According to a CEOP opinion pool, in 2005, San Martín was chosen by the ifue 42,8 per cent of people as the most important figure of Argentina. See www.clarin.com/diario/2005/03/31/sociedad/s-03015.htm.

The image of San Martin has been used in notes but also in other public places. For decades Argentinean students have had on the wall behind their teacher the portrait of San Martin. The same happened to the German students who had in their classrooms the portrait of the Kaiser (Benjamin, 1937) and to the North American students with the portrait of Washington⁷. Under strong gazes and interpellations like these, the child has been pushed to define himself or herself as citizen of a nation and thus, as part of the community of believers in this symbolic link. Consequently, in the Argentinean case, the childhood memory legitimates the presence and power of what San Martin means, converting him into a kind of totemic animal for everyone who was under his gaze.

There are many reason for why San Martin was, and still is, especially present in the note and not another historic figure. San Martin started his career as a protagonist of the paper money in the 1930 decade. Before that year, he was only one of the portraits of the 1894 series, together and on the same level as personalities like Velez Sarfield, Arenales, Brown, Moreno and Alvear.

However, in 1935 he became the central portrait of the Argentinean banknote (figure 5). From 1935 until 1984 there were no images on the national banknote of a former president or any civilian, only San Martin and sometimes General Belgrano, the creator of the national flag (1970 note) appeared. Therefore San Martin, the paradigm of the successful and clever military man, was crystallized as the referent of the nation.

One hypothesis for such a situation would be that in 1935 Argentina was under the first military regime which had pulled down a democratic government. These military groups represented themselves as the safeguard of order and the national interest against the chaos of 'democratic decadence'. Even though in the popular imagination San Martin was never associated with political activities, the figure of the young San Martin as a man of action could have been useful for the military to be associated with him, as a group that took action for the sake of Argentina.

The young San Martin's portrait was on the notes till the sixties, to be then changed to a portrait of an old San Martin. This image represents him as a serious father or grandfather replacing the heroic stage of the General as a consequence of the already mentioned Peronist propaganda (figure 6 and 7). Hence, the old San Martin inspires for the Argentineans either a father or the legacy of his words, showing him as a sensitive thinker advising his real daughter and symbolic daughter (Argentina). The old San Martin now represents a collective moral consciousness.

⁷ It is interesting to see the speech of the actor James Stuart to the portrait of Washington in a school classroom, in the John Ford film "Who shoot Liberty Balance"

Another interpretation of the replacement of the young San Martin for an old one would be that the role of the symbols changed when the replacement took place. In a note where San Martin was young, he is complemented by a context of heavy classical and mythical ornament, which supports the General and makes the image reflect a more institutional whole. In the sixties, the portrait of an old San Martin was complemented with the figure of General Belgrano (figure 8) who in the notes is displayed as a young patriot who contributed to the institutionalization of the country. This is another portrayal of the nation reflected in the position and roles of these figures.

However there are some complications in the relationship between Argentinean people and San Martin. If we consider, in the Freudian sense, that identification would be a mechanism of internalization by taking an attribute of the other as one's own, Argentineans should have attributes of San Martin in their ego and not only in the superego. However, the size of his figure pushes him outside the frame of our world, so far from the mortals as to make any identification difficult (Freud, 1989: 111).

2.b. The gaze in the portraits

An important feature in a banknote is the direction of the gaze in a portrait. To analyse the psychological use of the visual space, it is possible to make a parallel between the interpretation of graphology and the hand written expression (Huber and Headrick, 1999). In a western visual culture, classical handwriting is directed in a clockwise direction, or the order in the sequence of a comic magazine, from left to right. This is understood as a natural approach to the future. The appearance of tension to the left would involve a psychological requirement of going back to the past, to the starting point of the writing. In this way, the past is situated on the left and the future on the right⁸.

Consequently, there is something extreme in the Argentinean banknote, because from 1881 to the beginning of the century the gazes are always directed in different directions, mostly to the right (Tables 3- Banknotes 9 to 11). This could be because, from 1880 to the beginning of the century, massive immigration transformed the country and much was to be done. However, since the beginning of the century the character always refers to the left, a tradition in Hobsbawn's sense, to the conservation of order by introducing the beholder to the world of the glorious past of the ancestors. As Hobsbawn argued "not so much defending a traditional order, but deliberately recreating its principles

⁸ One example of this is the 1985 Spanish note, where in the 5000 pesetas note, King Juan Carlos is on the right looking to the left (past) while in the 10.000 pesetas his son (the future King) is on the left looking to the right, to the future.

In other written systems that prescription does not work. One example is the Tunisian \$10 note, where the production of oil is presented by a sequence of three images: the olive tree, the press of the olive, and the pure oil. But as the most popular writing system in Tunisia is the Arabic (the direction of the writing is from right to left), the process is shown by the oil on the left, the press in the centre and the olive tree on the right.

as a way of resisting both Liberal individualism and the challenge of labour and socialism" (Hobsbawn, 1996: 114).

Thus, during the 20th century and after the establishment of all the people, the country started to consolidate itself, as a country with history. In this sense, the direction of the gaze as a designator (Gandelman, 1990) in the Argentinean paper money directs the beholder's eyes to a fixed point in the symbolic past.

2.c. Space and Landscapes

In 1970 a new feature appeared in the national notes, the landscapes. For the first time, a concrete and real photographic referent of a place was used to identify the nation. There is something particular in those Argentinean images, even though it had a European or North American influence in the design, especially from the United State's notes issued in 1929 which showed the independence hall, the Lincoln Memorial, the U.S. Treasury Building, the White House and the U.S. Capitol.

These groups of images are photographic representations of institutionally important referential places, such as the Plaza de Mayo in Buenos Aires (figure 9), the flag's monument at Rosario, the victory monument at Mendoza (*Cerro de la Gloria*, figure 10) and the Central Bank. On these images, there is no interpretation of these places, only the "photography" is shown, contributing to the referential agenda of making these places important when visualizing the nation. However, there are no comments or political mediation about them, the technique of reproduction could be considered pure, only a photographic record.

In these series issued in 1970, 74, 76 and 83, there are also "natural" landscapes, such as scene of Bariloche, the waterfalls at Iguazu (figure 11), the coastline at Ushuaia (figure 12), the coastline of Mar del Plata and a national park in Entre Rios (see all together in tables 27 to 35). In these pictures we see lakes, cities, forests, rivers, all lonely places, places to be in. As in a postcard or a tourist poster, these pictures seem to be stimulating a personal identification with the landscape and may also be promoting the places for tourism. In fact they have been and still are the typical places for holidays in Argentina. This could be a kind of turistic advertising.

As Frosh points out, "fantasies of rural peace, of desert island solitude, of transcendence; these have to do with narcissism... All human activity is narcissistic in the sense that it is concerned with self maintenance and with uncovering positive self images" (Frosh, 1991: 99 and 115). Therefore, an Argentinean person could internalize these place-pictures as a self image, being proud of these places as well as being proud of themselves. In this sense, these places could be considered a physical

projection of the Argentinean Identity.

Apart from that, the landscape, in aesthetic terms, relates to an environment that is 'visually perceived' (Bourassa, 1991). The mental image of this environment is the one of the setting in which the Argentinean's human relationships are possible and fixed on a mental map. In this map, the social group can locate and legitimate its memories and it could be also a kind of landmark where the Argentinean social segments, with corresponding memories, get attached to these different places not only collectively but also by the interweaving of the personal experiences.

Home and nation are the places where the nationalist imagine their identity as fully realized. Here we see the eye's capability of naturalizing the rhetoric of national affiliation and the social group's place of origin. This is the feeling of belonging, of having a kind of social home, as it is mentioned in the first chapter of this thesis. This is the feeling that the state also provokes in banknotes (figure 13 and 14). Besides, Argentina is a territorially extensive country with regional differences in economic and social terms but also in terms of landscapes, which are, in some ways, represented by the landscapes in the notes. Thus, a strong idea of a common place (Connerton, 1989), a symbolic common floor where the particular social group has its own roots could be created. Each group would be participating in the territorial occupation of the space, and thus they could have a framework where their memories could be fixed and localized, a kind of social map of the Argentinean social space.

Historically⁹ the landscapes are scenery, which contain or receive meanings of great importance in the construction and placing of personal and political identity. It is possible to think of the landscape as a product of capitalistic development by the European exploration and imperial expansion. In the same sense, the use of landscape by the Argentinean government would mean an effective expansion of nationalism reaching the extremes of the country. This would be because there is a strong value attached to the spatial order, as if space were a power in itself. One example of that is related to the size of the country, where in the nationalistic imagination it is always more comfortable and easier to imagine the nation as getting bigger than smaller, especially when some frontier conflicts arose with Chile (Escude, 1987).

As the Argentine writer Raul Scalabrini Ortiz pointed out "the most important portion of the Argentinean Republic is a green and flat surface... time acquires there a plastic presence. There is no

⁹ The representation of landscapes emerged in Flanders and Italy during the Renaissance and became popular with the Dutch's paintings. Since that time, there was a separation between subject and object, a hierarchical and power relation between the active subject and a passive observed object/nature (Rodaway, 1994). This aesthetic concept was transferred to England at the end of the sixteenth century where the most common landscape representations are scenes with no trace of human presence showing an apparent untouched/ideal landscape. Those images were used to create, represent and maintain identity in Britain during industrial revolution times.

detail that gets a man out of the contemplation without a variation of the days that rise and fall. Like a defence against the metaphysical feeling of fugacity, constantly remembered by the non-existent landscape, the man runs out from the contemplation of anything that contains any notion of time...the State is a delegate of men: in it, it exits from the worry that involves the will of being, projected to the space" (Raul Scalabrini Ortiz, 1973: 39).

What is possible to deduce from the Scalabrini text is the feeling of spirituality one gets during the perception of a landscape. The fixation the space offered to the native is a way of fighting against the irreversibility of the passing of time. Hence, repetitions of certain places as well as the representation of memories, celebration and commemoration located in them, could be seen as a form of magical behaviour against the passing of time, through the pursuit of enclosing space and time as a temple (Bhabha, 1990) where no change is experienced. Moreover, the crystallization of a space would also help psychologically to project the individual from the past and the future, beyond the life limits.

2.d. Time

Like a museum of past glories (figure 15), in the Argentinean notes time is homogeneous and empty (Huysen, 1995). As a time machine, the banknote makes present what is absent with the excuse of the "genuinely epic experiences of time: hope and memory" (Benjamin, 1937: 99).

Therefore, attached to the banknote, the issues of a heroic past are coming into life. Thus, a battle of the last century, the ceremony of the Declaration of Independence, the last century conquest of the desert, are resuscitated as if nothing had happened inbetween them. Also to be noted, a 'perfect' President of the past (figure 16) is here now with his clean clothes with the same expression that he exhibited during his presidency, as if the past had no effect on him. Thus, while democracy returned, the official banknotes made people remember the past, a democratic past time.

As Susan Pierce highlights, time "seems to lie somewhere in the nexus of accumulated history, geographical circumstance and influential individual restlessness which makes each community what it is, in each moment of time" (Pierce, S, 1992: 170). Thus, what is anchored in a certain time is a constitutive principle of social identity.

2.e. The eyes of Justice

One of the sides of the notes issued during Peron's government in 1950 is characterized by its depiction of several elements that surround the House of Independence in Tucuman. However, the most significant feature is found on the reverse (figure 17). It is possible to observe that there is an

image that represents Justice holding in her hands the workers' constitution of 1949. That image bears a unique characteristic that differentiates it from other representations of Justice on the part of the state, since she does not have her eyes blinded, as traditionally submitted by the classical allegory. According to Perón, this is due to the fact that the justice of his government would not work blindly or feel its way along, but would be perfectly aware of the social reality where it operates. Such speeches proved powerful, but after Peron's fall, it stopped being reproduced on the notes.

2.f. Images of women

"The presence of this land made me feel it like something bodily tangible. Like a woman of an incredible secret beauty...I want to see Argentina in that way, as a woman, because a woman is what gets love and matters" (Eduardo Mallea, 1937: 146).

The dominant position of women at the end of the nineteenth century was "an object in disguise" (Barthes, 1973: 84), situating her living body in the category of luxurious objects and imprisoning her in a condition of weakness and timorousness. Thus, for instance in France, a country that culturally influenced the modern Argentina, the female figure had a conventional role to play, "the conformist, idealized women were goddesses and nymphs (or virgins and saints)" (Jeffrey, 1989: 20). Somewhat similar ideas are possible to find in the representation of women in the Argentinean national banknote, where women were represented basically by two main roles: as a seduction object and as mythical emblems.

The representation of women as a seductional object started with the first national note issued, followed by the 1883 notes and lasting until the end of the century. The second kind of representation, women as mythical emblems, started in 1897 and continued on to the present day.

The banknotes issued in 1881 are quite special because they have a seductive veil that imbues the whole picture (Derrida, 1982). There, the images represent women as a girl (1884), a poet (Figure 19 woman with lyric, 1895 and woman writing, 1895), a model (women at monument, 1895 and reclining female, 1895) and as a mother (seated young woman with child, 1895). Most of the images show women as classical nymphs or sensual angels.

The women in the notes are acting or modelling, they are frozen in the middle of doing or saying something, creating a mysterious atmosphere. For example, it is possible to think that they are waiting for a male reaction (Jeffrey, 1989) or asking mute questions to the beholder. Thus, her concentration expresses her expectations rather than her activity (Fried, 1980).

However, in fact, it is also possible to interpret in other ways what these images of women are expressing. Thus, the objective of using such open images would be to open a variety of interpretations with the only reason to make the spectator fill the image in his own interpretation (Hall, 1997: 60), with his desire, with what he was looking for. In Frosh's words, "looking your fill is exactly the kind of looking that fetishises the object" (Frosh, 199: 51). This could be a special fetish for any beholder because what is on the paper is not a woman, is not a living statue of the Pygmalion, it is only a drawing. Besides, the model acting there was not doing any other activity but seducing for the sake of the institution which used her image, or her likeness in Maimonides' sense (Mitchell, 1986). Therefore the one who was seducing and looking for something through the image of the banknote was not the woman of the picture but was the state.

The State performed this action in two possible ways. On one hand, the man with the paper money gazing and desiring the ideal woman of the banknote was not completely free to have an imaginary relationship with her (figure 18). He had to ask permission first of her tutors, who were the Generals and Presidents represented only few millimetres away from her, as if protecting the symbolic female "Argentina", and limiting the behaviour of the beholder in relation to her. On the other hand, the spectator would suppose that he should have to be like the Generals and Presidents to have a woman like that. Furthermore, in the note, the man who is confronted with the portrait of a patriot would think that the reflection on the imaginary mirror, the patriot, is himself. Then, the picture would be a mirror and the man would be asked to read his reflection, his familiarity and his own likeness. As Barthes said about the posters of a political candidate, "the voter is at once expressed and heroized to elect himself, to weigh the mandate which he is about to give with a veritable physical transference" (Barthes, 1973: 91). That interpretation is reinforced by the style of the frame of the portrait of the hero, a frame that would be the frame of a portrait, of a window or of a mirror.

Besides, the movement of the woman's finger directing the gaze to the portrait is definitely involving a third person into the relation or a simplification of such if the beholder behaves as the man of the portrait.

Finally there is one conclusion that involves both different interpretations which is that the nude body of the young woman is placed there to be between the relationship of the user of this money and the institutional Argentina.

One hypothesis of the state's doing so would be connected to the historical period of massive immigration in Argentina. In this context, where a majority of the immigrants were men (Savigliano, 1995), images of women such as the one on the notes can not only attract them but also provide

"consolation in the absence" of other women (Freedberg, 1989: 212). This would be a process that for Freedberg involves "looking, gazing, fetishization, enlivening, arousal and possession" (Freedberg, 1989: 355). This activity of sublimation, in the Lacanian sense, would also be complemented with the implicit persuasive message that in Argentina there were women like the ones in the notes, a message that looks to consolidate a fluctuating human group, incorporating it to a country needing workers (Bethell, 1993).

Moreover, the woman on the paper confirms, too, the virility of its electorate (Jeffrey, 1989). Her beauty and fragility would have pushed the common man to act as the men who issued the banknotes wanted them too. Therefore, this imagined woman was indirectly making a selection of her ideal imagined counterpart or contributing to the fixation of the stereotype of the ideal Argentinean man.

In 1897, in the tradition of hiding the woman, as mentioned above¹⁰, women were represented in the notes in a classic and frozen idealization. Since then (1895 to 1992) women were exclusively present in the paper money only as Justice (1952, figure 17), Liberty, Progress or Republic (figure 20) or Republic (figure 21).

These kinds of representations could only be seen as the sublimation of a drive or desire of involving themselves in a more stable relationship. As Freud points out "sublimation describes something that has to do with the instinct, and idealization, something to do with the object" (Frosh, 1991: 82). Such idealization would function in what Melanie Klein describes as the restoration of "the lost prenatal unity with the mother and the feeling of security that goes with it" (Klein, 1957: 3). Besides, as Jeffrey says, "there is only a narrow gap between bare-breasted Liberty and tousled libertine" (Henshill, 1994); a gap or maybe a development.

The idealized woman would mean more a maternal representation and the breast would be acting as a symbol of feeding, wealth or contention. This image restoration would involve a process of splitting, as Klein's idea of the good object and bad object as well as good breast and bad breast symbolized by a woman naked from the waist up, or exposing a single breast with the other one covered. This would diminish the image of the woman's sensuality and increase the image of organisation and authority.

Thus, the 1987 allegorical female figures on the paper money could be considered potential protectors or progenitors of wealth (Hewitt, 1995). However, to reach that condition there would have been an abstraction process, a process that linked Argentina to France. After the French revolution, the female emblem became important because of the political requirement of embodying the idea of the new authority in a visible and didactic shape, to be disseminated (Jeffrey, 1989). With this propose, a young

¹⁰ Before that moment only the liberty head was occasionally in the banknotes.

beautiful female would be selected on the assumption that the idea of change with renewal is naturally activated in a simple gaze. As Blake points out, the knowledge of ideal beauty is not to be acquired, it is born with the person (Eitner, 1971).

What is always present in the Argentinean banknote is a displayment of an imaginary relationship or complement, between a symbolic woman and a symbolic man. This integration could be made in two ways. First, using a picture representing a supposed dialogue between the female figure and the archetypal Argentinean man (political or military). Second, including the two sides of the paper, one with a masculine face or activity, and the other with a feminine representation, as liberty, the muses, the republic, or showing a landscape, or a spatial place.

This would be reflected in the conservative opinion of Freedberg for whom "time is a man, space is a woman" (Freedberg, 1989: 375), or for Proust "the image of a woman as a product of our temperament, an inverted projection, negative of our sensibility" (Jeffrey, 1989: 20).

Thus, the performance of the whole banknote would be a kind of stability sign, like some religious symbols described by Eliade (Cirlot, 1971) where an horizontal line (passive, feminine) and a vertical one (active, male) intersect, making the figure of the Catholic cross. Besides, it is possible to find the same interpretation in Judaism's sign, where a passive triangle is integrated with an active one, thus making Salomon's seal.

In a gestaltic's whole, the banknote gives the spectator an equilibrium of tension, as the balance of the seriousness of the character, the greatness of an event of independence and the contention instrumented by warm women, a floral pattern or a sensual motif. Thus it could be possible to find active and passive (the male characters are always standing, the women are mostly seated), time and space, man and woman, or as Argentinean writer Ernesto Sabato voiced, "the fatherland and the motherland" (Sábato, 1996: 96).

Conclusion

Paper money appeared in China in the tenth century for the sake of the convenience of the people and the economy of the government. Argentina, as well as other countries in the Americas, began to issue its own currency after Independence. The symbolic monetary emancipation contributed to national ideas and therefore to have a different connotation. Thus, even though the banknote was originally known for its exchange value, such a popular object was immediately seen as a medium of communication to support the requirements of a modern Nation. Therefore, paper money was useful as a nomothetic artifact of the social memory, national narratives and national identity. This is because banknotes are a resource that the nation used for incorporating national sentiments, articulating the logic of property, from which the state is translating values of thoughts. Besides, in addition to being an exchange token, it is a national sign of stability, a symbolic object that represents a totemic and meaningfully piece of land, the fatherland and the motherland of Argentinean people.

Banknotes make the social structure of the Nation tangible by transforming the matter of the visual representation into meaning. Banknotes, which from a simple white paper get transformed into a receipt, a promise of payment; further transforming itself into a discursive practice and a mandate about the nationality of the group who issued it. In this way, the narratives present on the banknote condition social memory, both of which are instrumental in forming the collective imagination of a nation.

The most important images of Argentine paper money, visual symbols that ideologically frame the banknotes' message, are the images of San Martin, the representation of landscapes and of women. Through its analysis, it is possible to detect some features of the Argentine collective imagination. Thus, it is possible to identify first an European scheme of representing Argentina, through the Seducer's state (1881) with the basic aim of the incorporation of the differences into a whole and then through the Institutional State (1908) which consolidated the newly established population. Second, a Regulator State was detected which was attempting to shape the Argentine symbolic matrix in a certain way, in order to harness the national identity (1935). Third, there was a breakdown of the conventional way of designing banknotes, while in 1949 the new constitution was promoted by the note, also showing the figure of the justice without blinded eyes. Last, the return to the Institutional State (1985) at the beginning of a new democratic period after the cruel military government in Argentina's history.

In spite of the differences between the periods highlighted, some remarkable aspects of the Argentine collective imagination could be read, in most of the banknotes, as general characteristics of their

implicit message. First, the only social group to be seen in the Argentine notes is the European one and in general there is no testimony of other cultures. The only image that makes reference to Indians was made to amplify the importance of white mythology in founding Buenos Aires.

The implicit importance of different social groups is related to the remarkable idealization of military action as a social activity. These actions are related to the war of Independence against Spain in the 19th century that still appear on current banknotes which denote the necessity of continuously reinforcing that the birth of the nation was due to military action.

Within this context, the widely used image of San Martin represents the break of the oedipal relationship with Spain, cutting Argentina from the dependency of the symbolic link with its "Mother Patrie". Besides, this image has been used because of the political interest of military groups to project the figure of one military with credibility, to legitimate military governments by transforming the meaning and the age of the image of San Martin according to their political strategies and social perceptions. As a consequence, a young and fighter soldier and captain San Martin is the model to be followed in the nationalist ideology and identity.

Moreover, the civilian presidents portrayed on the notes are presidents who governed the country before the beginning of the century such as Mitre, Sarmiento and Roca. They were first used to create and maintain a Republican identity even though by continuing the use of these images today they deny other important historical democratic presidents of this century, such as Yrigoyen, Alvear, Peron, among others. However, it could also be a sign of the disruption of democratic government through the XX century by military forces and also by the decreasing importance attribute to the banknotes to create and design identity. Since democracy has not been interrupted from 1983 till now, in Argentina there has been continuous economic crisis, with periods of inflation and hyperinflation when the money loses value. Within this context, it is possible to assume that the symbolic value given to the paper money has decreased.

In some ways related to the former, the only gender present in the notes is male, especially white males. Women are never represented as complete human beings; they have no name or occupation and are mostly only idealizations for the sake of men's imaginations. This could be seen as contrasting with some important real and mythical women in Argentina, such as Eva Peron.

Besides, during decades the banknote disseminated images of Argentinean landscapes and institutional places contributing to the visualization of the common ground of the Argentinean people, helping the spatial mental mapping of the country and promoted narcissistically the image of Argentina.

Last, in times of Peron, in the banknotes there appeared the figure of Justice without blinded eyes, the words Peron and workers, something that belongs to that period and part of the cultural apparatus to create and maintain the Peronist and worker's identity.

Table

Main characteristics of the Argentine banknotes according to different historical periods and Ideological State Apparatus.

Historical period	1880-1916 a. 1880-1900	1880-1916 b. 1900 to 1930	1916-1930	1930-1945	1946-1955	1955- 1976	1976-1983
What or who is the main figure of the note?	Former presidents, the republic and seductive figures	Female figure (called progress, liberty or republic) and shield	No change	San Martín and topic of the independence	Allegories of Justice, new constitution and the house of the independence	San Martín (old and young), Belgrano, places and activities	No relevant change
What is the activity that is performed?	Posing and acting	Posing	No change	Posing and acting	They are showing the new justice, constitution and independence	Posing and showing	No relevant change
What is the background portraying?	Different text, signatures and shields	Signatures and texts	No change	Frame, shield and text	Sceneries and frames	Frames, Textures, shield and text	No relevant change
Is there any other relevant artifact, place or ornament detectable?	Ornaments and textures	Ornaments and textures	No change	Ornaments and signatures	Ornaments and text	Ornaments and signatures	No relevant change
Color of the note	Different	Different	No change	Different	Different	Different	No relevant change
Legend	"Republica Argentina" and "El Banco Nacional"	"Republica Argentina"	No change	"El Banco Central" and "Republica Argentina"	"El Banco Central" and "Republica Argentina"	"El Banco Central" and "Republica Argentina"	No relevant change
Comments					No signature		Changes do not modify the essence of former designs

Historical period	1983-1989	1989-1999	1999-2001	2002-2003	2003-2008
What or who is the main figure of the note?	Presidents and the Republic	Presidents and topic	No change	Presidents and topic	No change
What is the activity that is performed?	Posing	Posing and showing	No change	Posing and showing	No change
What is the background portraying?	Flag and shield	Actions and related places	No change	Posing, showing and acting a complementary activity	No change
Is there any other relevant artifact, place or ornament detectable?	Ornaments, shapes, signatures	Ornaments, shapes, textures, signatures	No change	Ornaments, shapes, textures, signatures	No change
Colour of the note	Different	Different	No change	Different	No change
Legend	"Austral" and "Republica Argentina"	"Banco Central de la Republica Argentina"	No change	"Banco Central de la Republica Argentina"	No change
Comments		Includes controversial presidents such as Rosas and Roca			



Figure 1. Note issued in 1991



Figure 2. Note issued in 1935



Figure 3. Note issued in 1935



Figure 4. Note issued in 1980



Figure 5. Note issued in 1935



Figure 6. Note issued in 1964



Figure 7. Note 1976-82



Figure 8. Note issued in 1976



Figure 9. Note 1976-82



Figure 10. Note issued in 1977



Figure 11. Note issued in 1971



Figure 12. Note 1983-85



Figure 13. Note issued in 1964



Figure 14. Note 1976-82



Figure 15. Note issued in 1935



Figure 17. Note issued in 1950



Figure 18. Note issued in 1888



Figure 19. Note issued in 1881



Figure 20. Note issued in 1908



Figure 21. Note issued in 1985

Chapter 7. Final conclusions of the Argentine case

States design national identities through creating and spreading images and by intervening in national discourses. This production and spreading of symbolic fictions is called the state apparatus of cultural fiction which produces and reproduces the dominant hegemonic ideology produced by an Ideological State Apparatus. Such an apparatus requires three main resources to work, which are: an existing common content like a myth that allows a process of nationalism and collective identification, a supporting element for the content and the power to institutionalize an interpretation of nationality.

In the first case, discourses, narrative and symbolic fictions are considered the agents which symbolically structure the national imagination. According to Anderson, a Nation is an imagined community constructed by new political entities which produce, reproduce and validate the figure of Nation as the correct one for representing such communities (Anderson, 1991). Accordingly, the State has an institutionalized role as mediator of nationalistic sentiments (Laclau, 2004) by attaching and fixing a difference as a representation of the whole range of collective identities that are running in a given community. Therefore, national identities are made according to "the logic of hegemony" (Laclau and Mouffe, 2001: 47). In this regard a Nation is a hegemonic construction where the nationality becomes the main way to understand any other social organization, leaving other identities or belongings in second place. Those national structured sentiments, as identity, change over time and the prevalence of one or of some of them depends on the historical context and the power of the different groups to prevail, to become a hegemonic group and to narrate their version of nationalism. In this sense, the State has the power to institutionalize any interpretation of nationality by representing the self interest of particular groups that are trying to impose their own vision of what the nation is.

The relationship between those sentiments and the national identity are woven in a kind of textile or rope, borrowing the idea put forth by Wittgenstein who understood it as a complicated network of similarities and relationships overlapping and criss-crossing. Besides, one of its constitutive fibres could only be visible for a while to be hidden underneath another in the next segment and no dimension alone could represent or symbolize the whole collection of sentiments.

In the Argentine case, it is possible to find the expression of six different national sentiments, during twelve historical periods that correspond to different Ideological State Apparatuses. Also it is possible

to find a differential use of supporting elements in the cultural apparatus of the State in each case expressing and designing their political ideas about the Nation.

In relation to the six national sentiments, the proprietary and the religious ones appeared only in one historical period each. The nationality as a home appeared in two periods. The organizational dimension and the sentiments of sharing are the most common sentiments, and they appearing in four different historical periods each. In the case of the religious sentiment, it does not mean that the sentiment disappeared but it means that it does not reflect the dominant ideology any more. For instance, this religious sentiment is present in all military governments but it is central as a dominant ideology only in one of them. In other cases, such is the case of the organizational and sharing sentiments, they are sometimes dominant and in other historical periods are not very important and even change the meaning of the sentiment. In this case, this general classification hides differences that are expressed in different periods.

All the mentioned sentiments were materialized in different supporting elements. In this way, the myth, as a speech of the collective assumption and memory speaks through the individuals and circulates due to the existence of a supporting element that attaches national sentiments.

The Argentinean shield entitles religious sentiments by holding the person to an existent, eternal and established entity and by certifying the link of the person to the place and with his or her descendants and ancestors. Therefore, Argentine shields are present in all kind of national issues where the State exercises authority and gives an almost magic certification of authenticity. For instance, it is used in public spaces, in national documents of identity, passports, coins, banknotes and other national documents.

The Argentine flag promotes religious sentiment, a representation of a social organization on behalf of some of the Ideological State Apparatuses and is an object with an intense political use throughout history. It is a resource from where different representations of Argentina have been struggling to control. As result of that, this flag has abandoned its immaculate and idealized character of the past and now it is possible to find the flag inside almost any social and sectoral expression of the Argentine people. For instance, the flag is found in schools, in football stadiums and on the streets after each victory of the Argentine national team, in political and even religious meetings, in product packaging that resort to the "Made in Argentina", in taxicabs and in homes of high and low socio-economic levels. In this sense, in Argentina the flag is the incarnation of the nation but of an ideal nation that gives solutions to the problems people face. Thus, people resort to the flag as a coat to protect themselves and for this reason it is possible to see the flag in the front lines of almost all kinds of social claims.

In the case of the banknotes, a very popular object, they are known for their exchange value, for being a national sign of stability and as a medium of communication of social memory and national narratives that form the collective imagination of a nation. In this sense, they can attach different national sentiments depending more on the myth they narrate than for the meaning of the object in itself.

It is found that the flag, shield, rosette and banknotes are used throughout the Argentine history even though national banknotes started to circulate in 1880. The first three have a light blue and white colour with an exception in the Rosas period where they became blue and red. The banknotes have many different colours and it is not possible to find a particular reason or pattern for their use.

The four mentioned symbols carry different messages according to the elements, images and figures that are designed in them. In the case of the shield, it could represent a federal government or a country that included diversity if surrounded by flags or other elements. On the other hand, it can represent a central and monolithic government primarily led by Buenos Aires if the shield had no external elements. In the case of the flag, it can be used to promote strong military and religious values if the flag has a sun and becomes a symbol of civil citizens if the sun is not present. In the case of the banknotes a main duality is found between the alternate presence of the figure of the Republic as a representation of democracy and the figure of San Martin that represents military power. In the case of the rosette, the main use was for military identification and official ceremonies even though from the beginning of the country till 1828 and then with Peron again the ribbon rosette was used by civil population as a national emblem. In this sense, according to the elements and attributes they have or have not, the four symbols carry messages associated with democratic or military governments, a federal or a non-federal country, representing the altering political situations of Argentina.

It is important to highlight that, since the return of democratic governments since 1983 the versions of the rosette, shield and almost all banknotes have been the same used by the previous military governments. This apparent contradiction would mean that the rosette, shield, flag and even banknotes are no longer considered by the democratic State as important objects to attach national sentiments or characterized as identity creators. In the case of the rosette, it was not used for State ceremonies. In the case of the shield, it had communicational clarity and efficiency to articulate the attributes of union, liberty and glory during the Independence and in the first half of the XX century. Therefore, from the beginning of Argentine history the shield was representative of the people. Then, the shield had no popular use and the current shield does not reflect other situations the Argentine people and their institutions face at the present. For instance, there is a lack of reference to the federal system of government of the nation, as well as to the diversity in genre, ethnics, geography and politic representation.

In the case of the flag, even though the design is maintained, since 1985 there has been a deregulation in its use and everybody can use it. Moreover, since Peron, the use of the flag for posters and advertising has increased by democratic and military governments. For instance it has been used by the State as a graphic resource to deliver their message in different propagandas in democratic times and even in the dictatorship of 1976-1983.

In the case of the banknotes, the State places a minor importance on the narration of symbolic fictions through banknotes because of the continuous economic crisis, with periods of inflation and hyperinflation where money and the paper money itself loose value. Within this context, it is possible to assume that the symbolic value given to the paper money has not been considerably high.

Similarly, other supporting elements are not considered as important as before. In general, army uniforms, stamps, architecture, sculptures and monuments have lost importance as objects to attach national sentiments to and as identity creators by the State.

In the case of the stamps, the State no longer issues them any more as of 1997. In the case of the uniforms, the last change was in 1955 and to present day it has been influenced by the North American style uniform. At the beginning, they ranged from a European style to differentiate from the Hispanic style and from the autochthonous style of the country. The *Unitarios* maintained the European influence while the *Federals* had an autochthonous influence with the use of the clothes similar to those used by gauchos. Last, from 1853 to the 1900 the French influence returned and from 1909 to 1955 the German influence arrived. In this particular case of the uniforms, they reflected the political alignments with different countries, armies and cultural models that prevailed in each historical period. However, as democracy was consolidated, the army uniform no longer became important as an identity designer.

The architecture shows a similar tendency of that of the uniforms through its colonial and French influence by election and English influence that came with economic infrastructure. Then, German and eclectic influences grew in importance and produced a public architecture that was characterized by its monumentality, typical of a military power. With the return of the democracy in 1983 the architecture created by the State was not relevant any more. The use of sculptures responded to the same parameters mentioned above because from 1983 to present day the use of monuments and sculptures has not been as common as in 1880's or 1940's, even though Menem and Kirchner settled several monuments. There are periods with no production of sculptures and monuments, especially since the establishment of a durable democracy and even before when Peron held office. The periods most important for sculptures and monuments were from 1880 till 1916 with the figures of liberty, the republic and progress. In addition, in 1862 the first monument to San Martin was made and his statues

and bust were systematized during the period of 1930 to 1945 with a nationalist government. In this sense, it is possible to conclude that in general the political right-winged governments used sculptures and monuments to settle their presence and military discourse inside the communities. On the contrary, the democratic governments did not use these supporting elements as a political discourse and action.

The use of all mentioned supporting elements has decreased, with the exception of the flag, since the arrival of the democracy and it coincides with the major use of other supporting elements especially mass media. The intense use of media has been equal in democratic and non-democratic States and it has increased throughout the history of Argentina. In times of military governments there has been censorship to have total control of the messages emitted by these governments not allowing the appearance of other discourses.

The Four Identities of Argentina

As it was mentioned at the beginning, the twelve mentioned Ideological State Apparatuses emitted six national sentiments and used different supporting elements to design nationality. However, some ideological state apparatuses were not relevant as image producers. In general, the apparatus of cultural fictions of the State in democratic governments did not make a strong use of the apparatus of construction of national imaginations such as happened during the Radical governments of Irigoyen and Alvear (1916-1928), and the periods between 1958-1961, 1963-1966 and 1983-1989. A similar situation happened during the short-term administration of Peronism, from 1973 to 1976 that did not produce a clear and stable national image policy and likewise occurred during the Alliance, Duhalde and Kirchner from 2001 to 2008.

In other cases, other governments created some new images that supported previous identities such as the case of Menem that used the images of Rosas and Roca in banknotes and monuments in an attempt to associate his image with that of the historical Argentine *caudillos* to include in his government nationalistic and eclectic symbology. In the case of the shield, each area of the government used a different version of the shield.

However, there are some governments that generated a break with the past and created a new identity by using strong visual objects and images. In this sense, it is possible to find four identities generated by the images produced by the Argentine State which are the European identity, the Nationalist identity, the identity of the workers, and the Republican identity even though some of the characteristics of each identity appear in different moments or circumstances.

The **European identity** grows with the *Unitarios*, from independence to 1829 and it becomes strong again in the period of 1862 to 1916 even though some of its characteristics can be traced to the whole history of Argentina. This identity is characterized by a negation of the local culture and Buenos Aires is considered the centre of the country. In this period, the most important public infrastructure has been created. The French and English aesthetic influence is extended to architecture, monuments, banknotes and others arts. The European soldier's uniform style sought to establish a differentiation from the Hispanic root as well as from the autochthonous of the country. It was a seducer State (since 1880) with images of seducing woman in the banknotes and naked European women in sculptures and then an Institutional State (1908). Many sculptures have been created by French sculptures.

The flag is the light blue and white one pertaining to the *Unitarios* and the shield has classical ornaments (figure 1).

The **Republican identity** started in 1916- 1930 and got stronger again in 1983 till present times. It has only one version of Argentina and it has no strong visual testimony as it can be found in other identities. The apparatus of cultural fiction rests more on words than on images. Since 1985, the use of the flag with a sun has been permitted with no restriction by civilians. In the banknotes, there are images of different elected democratic presidents. Since 1983, the face of the sun of the shield has been a woman's face, accordingly to the dominant ideology of democracy, considered as a woman and in 2001 there was a change in the colour of the skin of the arms in order to introduce diversity in the symbolic composition of the Argentine society (figure 2).

The **Nationalist identity** starts with Rosas as an opposition to the *Unitarios* and European model. It appears again during the military governments of 1930 till 1983. Rosas gave value to the catholic Spanish and inland culture. There is a massive use of the image of San Martin in banknotes (a young and brave soldier), in stamps, sculptures and monuments. The German influence is important in the uniforms and in the architecture that is characterized by its monumentality. The use of the flag and shield is regulated and restricted. The official flag has a sun while the civilian one hasn't. Then, during the military government from 1955- 1976 and from 1976 – 1983 the sun's face changed to a worried look and frown and the republican symbols of arms and bonnets became smaller, while the pike was bigger. In addition, the laurels crown got systematically closed (figure 3).

The **workers identity** started in the Peron government in 1945 and lasted till 1955, even though some of the icons or images created by them are still circulating as part of its political party. This identity replaced the traditional republican symbology and even competed with the nationalist symbology. The Argentine symbols are borrowed to represent the Peronist party, mainly the national flag and a modified version of the national shield (the Peronist shield). The Peronist party used the worker's

figure in its different versions of shirt-less men, workers, Evita and Peron in stamps, posters, sculptures, school text books. The messages were designed with lively and strong colors and represented happy people. In banknotes, workers and the images of a justice without blinded eyes appear and there is a breakdown of the conventional way of designing the banknote. In 1949 the new constitution and the justice without blinded eyes were promoted by the note (figure 4).

As a balance

Generally speaking, the Argentine State, through the creation and spreading of images projected four models of exclusive identities that responded to the dominant ideology of the moment. They are exclusive because some attributes belonging to a historical and present Argentina are not represented.

For instance, there is a symbolic absence in the national representation of the State of inland people, the interior and of the provinces and of some very popular democratic presidents.

The representation of Argentine people and citizens is reduced to the union and fraternity of white men. It does not include those of children, women, old, obese or thin people and people from the inlands. This bond of union, as it is represented within the shield and Argentine context, reflects who are maintained throughout history as the core of the country and who are left aside. Similarly, in banknotes the only social group to be seen in the Argentine notes is the European one and in general there is no testimony of other groups that represent the Argentine culture. The only gender present in the notes is male, especially white males. Women are never represented as complete human beings; they have no name or occupation and are mostly only idealisations for the sake of men's imaginations. This could be seen as contrasting with the existence of some important real and mythical women in Argentina, such as Eva Peron.

In the case of the Argentine interior and provincial representation, the shield represented Buenos Aires and, the version of the shield that represented a centralized and Unitarian power is mostly used. In the case of banknotes, some tourist places appear but not as places to live.

Last, the civilian presidents portrayed on the notes are presidents who governed the country before the beginning of the century such as Mitre, Sarmiento and Roca. They were first used to create and maintain a Republican identity even though by continuing the use of these images today they deny other important historical democratic presidents of this century, such as Yrigoyen, Alvear, and Peron, among others.

As a last note, it could be said that this research focused on the use of flag, shield and banknote as supporting elements, attachments of national sentiments and myths emitted by the State throughout Argentine history. In addition to that, other supporting elements were analysed in a simple way to see how each ideological state apparatus expressed itself through them. However, it is seen that since 1983 till now, with an exception of the flag, the use of mass media has increased. In this sense, an interesting line of work for future research is open to analyse the role of the mass media as a supporting element for the messages emitted by the Argentine State to design nationality.

List of Illustrations



Figure 1. The European identity (Puerto Madero, Buenos Aires 1900's)

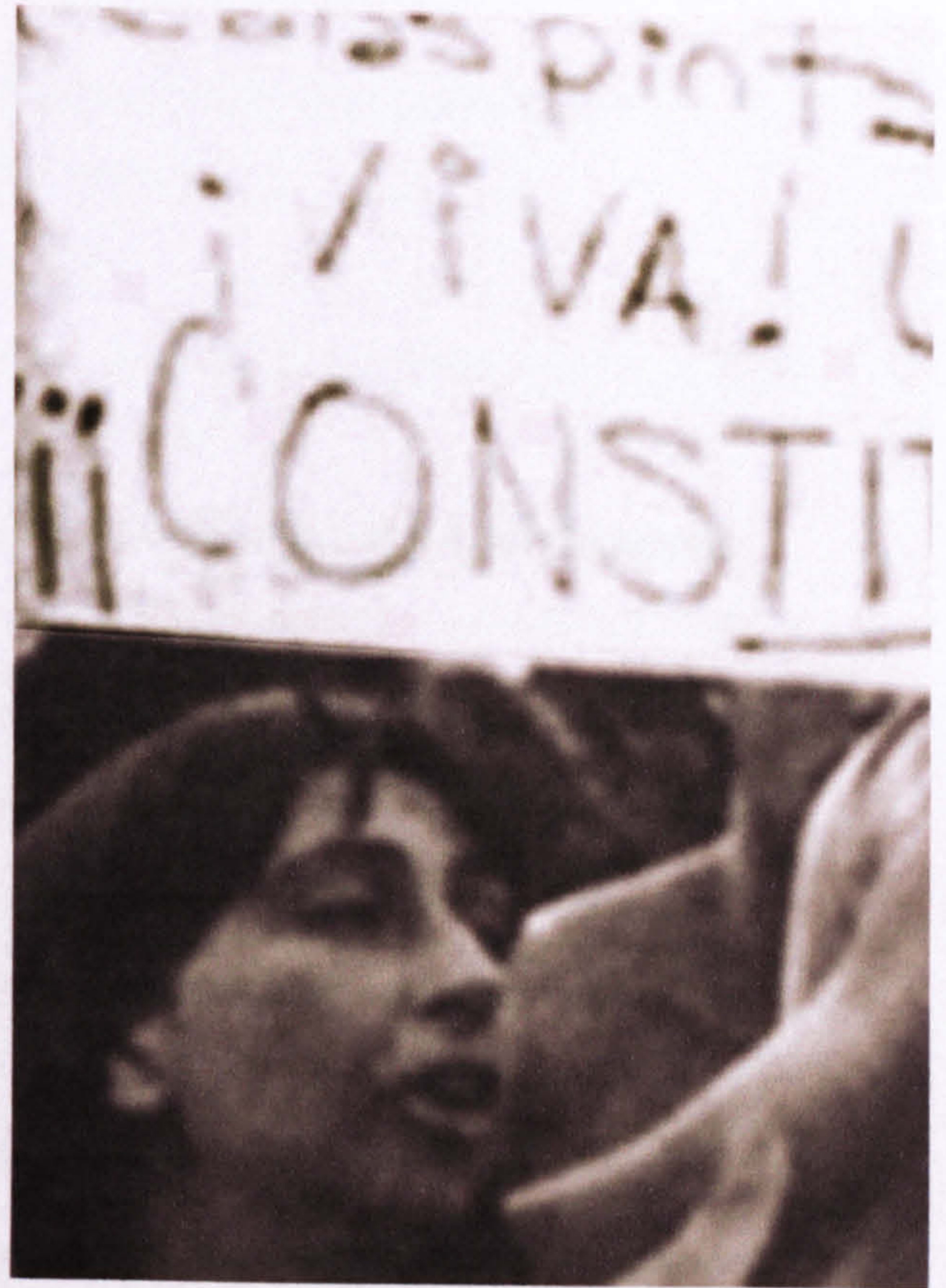


Figure 2. The Republican identity (Constitution's supporters, 1988)



Figure 3. The Nationalist identity (Dictator Onganía praying, 1966)



Figure 4. The workers identity (First of May, Peronist celebration, 1950's)

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Biblioteca del Ministerio del Interior (Library of the Ministry of Interior).
Biblioteca del CAICIC-CONICET (Library of the CAICIT-CONICET).
Biblioteca del CONICET (CONICET Library)
Biblioteca de la Universidad Nacional de La Plata (Library of the National University of La Plata)
University of London Library.
Kent University Library.
Imprenta del Congreso de la Nación (National Congress Publishing).
Imprenta del CONICET (CONICET Publishing)
Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes (Nacional Arts Museum).
Museo de la Casa Rosada (Museum of the presidential house, the Pink House).
Museo de la conquista del desierto, Trenque Lauquen (Museum of the dessert conquest).
Museo del Banco Central de la Nación Argentina (Museum of the Central Bank of the Argentine Nation).
Museo del Banco de la Provincia de Buenos Aires (Museum of the Bank of Buenos Aires Province).
Museo Almaguer (La Plata)
Museo de la ciudad de Buenos Aires (Buenos Aires City Museum).
Museo Etnografico Juan Bautista Ambrosetti, Universidad de Buenos Aires (Ethnographic Museum Juan Bautista Ambrosetti, Universidad de Buenos Aires).
Museo del Cabildo (Cabildo's Museum).
Museo Histórico Nacional (National Historic Museum).
Museo Histórico de la Honorable Cámara de Diputados de la Nación (House of Representatives Historic Museum)
Museo Roca (Roca Museum).
Museo Mitre (Mitre Museum).
Museo Sarmiento (Sarmiento Museum).
Museo de Armas de la Nación (Buenos Aires).
Museo Almaguer (Trenque Lauquen).
Museo de la Conquista del Desierto)Museum of the Conquest to the Desert) (Trenque Lauquen).
Museo Nacional de la Inmigración (Immigration National Museum).
Museo Numismático Dr. José Evaristo Uriburu (Dr. José Evaristo Uriburu Numismatic Museum)
Museo Histórico Regional de Gaiman (Gaiman Regional History Museum)
Museo Civico (Civic Museum) (America).
Museo de la Comandancia (Comandance Museum) (Trenque Lauquen).
Museo Pampeano de Chascomús (Pampas Museum of Chascomús).
Museo y Archivo Histórico de Guatraché (Museum and Historic Archive of Guatraché)

Museo Cívico (Civic Museum) (Tres Lomas).

Museo Histórico de Sierra de la Ventana (Sierra de la Ventana Historic Museum).

Museo Histórico Municipal de Bahía Blanca (Municipal History Museum of Bahía Blanca).

Museo monumento a la Bandera (Rosario)

British Museum, Banknotes section (London).

Annex

Designing Nationality:

*The production of
image and identity by
the Argentinean State.*

By SEBASTIAN GUERRINI

**A thesis submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
in Communication and Image Studies**

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1. Fieldnotes

This chapter is divided into three sections.

In the first section the personal motivation to do this research is presented.

In section 2 the field work and the notes taken during the work as a graphic designer in the Argentine State are developed.

The first stage goes from 1999 to 2001 and the redesign of the national shield and other works done in this period are fully explained.

The second field work stage ranges from 2004 to 2007 and the graphic design of the Argentine technological system is narrated.

The third stage shows a Brand Nation project from 2002 to 2006. Furthermore, at the end of this stage a paper written by the author and published by Icograda is inserted.

In all the cases, common issues of each period are explained. Thus, the main characteristics of the period, the duration, the political situation and the government, an explanation of the main characteristic of the made work, the research performed during this period, the strategies used to collect different type of data, the project's introduction and evaluation and some conclusions for each stage are fully developed.

Finally, in section 3 a general conclusion of the field work is made.

Section 1. Personal motivation to do this research

The life of a college student at the National School of La Plata city, Argentina, during the last military dictatorship was modelled by a militarized Argentine State. The State established what people could read or not and the focus of the History books at schools was on heroic military deeds and it magically ended at the beginning of the 20th century, disregarding the last 70 years. Furthermore, members of the Armed Forces interrupted any TV programme by shouting out a press release, with the Argentine flag stretched in the background. Military and police were all the time watching the streets. Argentinians lived in a collective cage surrounded by military and antidemocratic images. At this time I was an adolescent.

In 1983, democracy returned to Argentina and brought a sunny spring where a collective feeling of freedom was felt. Only two months afterwards I finished college and I started University to study Visual Communication. I had always painted and drawn and was a young artistic promise but at University, I dived into something more than a professional practice. There, I lived the collective history of a generation taking up its lead role and the one left empty by the preceding generation, missing or stunned by the military process. I took part in the students union and in the University Federation and was fascinated with the debates over the chance of culture's democratization and design as a political action. Afterwards, I was responsible for communications at the Municipality of my hometown, La Plata, and at other institutions and organizations.

I felt that my participation and contribution to the whole society was the production of images, of the imaginary, of symbols and signs. It was there where my intellectual and creative passions were synthesized. The core of this history, of my collective identity, of my bond with all the groups of belonging offered by life, of my ability to influence a little from my position over the political reality were driving me into the national State.

My closeness to the Argentine State started with my collaboration both in the creation of the Alianza movement¹ and on its campaign which led the movement into winning the elections in 1997 and in 1999, allowing this new government management to take office. The visual identity I designed for the Alianza responded to the need to achieve a simple graphic reference, which, without the need for any explanation, could express the common values and expectations of the members of the Alianza. Besides, it was important to find a representation that gave more open

¹ The Alliance was a social-democrat coalition created in 1997.

political ways, responding to the debates and traumas² the society had, according to the findings of quantitative surveys circulating around (Mora y Araujo 1996, Mori 1997, and others) and of the quantitative and qualitative jobs performed for the Alianza candidate (Cattenberg y Sthulman 1997).

The work consisted of defining the word Alianza as a synthesis of the union and as a brand of the party, turning the fact of forming an alliance into a subject. Likewise, the most important thing lay in its design, since it included the rosette, a national symbol not produced and regulated by the State. The name Alianza was in the rosette, a semantic reinforcement expressed by means of an understandable reference for the citizenship, the idea of the Alianza's present and future work and a search for an Argentina for everybody. Consequently, the central letter A of the logo was substituted by that Argentine rosette, relating in this way the Alianza with an image that Argentine people feel they bear and 'tie' to their hearts.

This rosette is for Argentine people, men and women alike, a symbol that was apparently handed out for the first time by the Argentine revolutionaries in 1810 in the Buenos Aires central square, on an occasion that made it possible to declare Argentine's Independence from Spain. This symbol -from the historical discourse multiplied by school education- possesses for Argentinians, the characteristic of being a reference of civil action, of participation in the collective destiny and in this case of defending a republican and progressive model of management of public assets. The symbol represented a move from integration into a new identity: in 1810 in the historic fact of being recognized as Argentine rather than Spanish, in the present case, assuming themselves Argentine rather than Radicals or from the Frepaso party. Additionally, it represented the defence of their own identity; in 1810 the reaffirmation of their origins; in this case the failure of lending the Argentine flag of the Nation to the Peronism, while historically this party used to be represented using the National symbols as their own .

This brand was clear and easy to reproduce with little support, because I understood that its graphic design should be so easy as to be drawn even by a child, since it needed be applied on all imaginable formats, from a painting on the asphalt in the street to an airship, or a poster to on top of a 7-metre tall gate, as it was in fact done.

Similarly, this graphic expression was like making two Argentine flags meet on a higher point, thus creating a triangle which was used for publicity, as had been suggested, to explain how two

² The idea of a social trauma to be solved by the election has been taken from sociologist Felipe Noguera in his course on political campaigns, 1996.

Argentine sectors got together. It was even projected that the Alianza candidates should greet each other shaking hands in the shape of an A.

The brand obtained approval from the Alianza members and it was used in the opening ceremony for the Alianza on the following day. From that moment, an identity manual was elaborated to enable unification in the representation of the new group throughout the country, something that was in fact very well carried out by all its members.

After the brand was launched, I started to work for a national campaign team representing all the political sectors and referents constituting the Alianza. The images on integration between ex-rivals, slogans loaded with optimism, the Alianza brand in every possible place and Argentine flags were the most important resources used in the advertising campaign, together with the criticisms of the economic and social model generated by the official party.

The result of this campaign was a victory by 48% of the votes against the Peronist political party. Then, in December 1999 when the new President of the Nation, Dr. Fernando De la Rúa and his cabinet took office, I started to work for the Argentine State. Being in that place, a broad and deep question came to me, a question whose answer would allow me to do a better work.

The main question that guided the research was “How does the production of image by the State contribute to the design of a national identity in the Argentine case?”

During my work for the State I had to do other practical and graphic works but I always kept in mind this main research question and the other questions put in the introduction that guided my fieldwork to address the initial problem.

What follows next, are the field notes written along the years of the fieldwork. In some cases, the information is not completely relevant because is not fully used and analysed in the written research as in the case of the development of the Brand Nation which is one of the images launched by national states in modern and globalized times to get differentiated among others. However, the whole work related to Brand Nation gave me interesting insights and points of view to understand how the State works in creating and spreading different kinds of images with different objectives and for this reason this section is in the field notes. The same happens with the photographic inventory of statues and public sculptures.

Section 2. The field work and notes during my work as a graphic designer for the Argentine State

2.1. First Stage: 1999 to 2001 the redesign of the national shield and other works

In 1999, on my return to Argentina, the country was witnessing the presidential election campaign. In this campaign, my collaboration was secondary due to the fact that leading working teams were already constituted. The Alianza's electoral formula arisen from the internal election, corresponded to Fernando De la Rúa from the UCR (Radical Civic Union) for President and Carlos Alvarez, from Frepaso for Vice-President. For the Peronist Party, the official candidate – though enemy of then President Menem- was Eduardo Duhalde, who had been governor of the Buenos Aires province, the most important province of Argentina in terms of amount of population and economic movement.

It is worth mentioning that Dr. De la Rúa's campaign teams were novel in their composition. Headed by Antonio De la Rúa (the candidate for president's son) the team composed of a young in vogue publicist called Ramiro Agulla, the Argentine publicist, David Ratto and the American advisor Dick Morris, who had been President Clinton's advisor. This team was in charge of the whole campaign.

The biggest success the team had was to be able to introduce and construct a traditional politician such as De la Rúa, into a modern and popular candidate, who also reached the media successfully, having had as his previous electoral basis – according to studies by Mora y Araujo – the elderly and the middle and upper classes³. The result was good but it did not represent, in electoral terms, the previous calculation, since the wide lead the Alianza seemingly was going to make with regards to the Peronism was slightly reduced to 6% of the electorate⁴.

The campaign also made a thorough use of the Alianza brand. Its use was decided as a consequence of the result obtained in qualitative studies, in focus groups that tested its efficacy, where a complete acknowledgement of the brand was registered on the part of the electorate, and a significant effect coincided with the one expected from the electoral point of view. These studies were performed by sociologist Luis Stulman and Analogías consultancy.

³ See article written by Robert Espíndola "The elections in Argentina: image shaping", 2000; "Political parties and democratisation in Latin America", Essex University, Inglaterra, 2000.

⁴ It is worth mentioning that from 1997 to 1999, the continuous surveys always placed the Alianza on top of the Peronismo in electors' preferences. See surveys published under the political section of the Clarín newspaper on the following dates: 08.09.1999; 14.10.1999; 24.07.1999 y 11.10.1999.

2.1.a. The government

Prior to Dr De la Rúa's holding office, the period was characterized by internal struggles between the members of the Alianza to solve the distribution of the spaces of power. The self personification of De la Rúa, the cult to the candidate figure that had ruled the presidential campaign and the subsequent victory, stimulated the new President to try to impose a hegemonic vision of his ruling, it could be said, underestimating the essence of what had been the main cause that led him into power, namely, the integration of different political expressions in an ample proposal. Within this context, it could be appreciated that each collaborator's belonging to the administration was valued per se in terms of allotments related to internal speculations. For example, if the Minister was a Radical, the vice-Minister was from the Frepaso, the Secretary belonged to the Radical party and so on. Consequently, like in a strategies game, the different political offices in the government were distributed in relation to the correlation of circumstantial forces among groups. In the first place, the second lines of each Ministry were intended to correspond to the political force opposite the minister in the area, which in practice made the majority of the sector's operability become complex.

In my personal case, having recognized the different actors in a moment of union such as the year 1997 and somehow being associated to the only thing that seemed to be connecting both parties like its symbol was, I initially had no problem in working in any ministry or secretary no matter what my precedence was. This meant that in the period the Alianza ruled (from 1999 to the end of 2001), I could collaborate with different State bodies.

2.1.b. My work

In 1999, Dr. Federico Storani came to office as Home Minister and I was invited to work in his area becoming a member of a team he had organized. The team was constituted by a journalist who was in charge of the press and three sociologists who specialized in political sciences. One of them was Alberto Fohri, whom I had worked with during the Alianza campaign and was Storani's secretary, advisor and also served as a link with the ministerial operative areas. This team would work in the area of discourses and the press and I was told to make a proposal for the development and production of communicational axes and campaigns. I would handle there the advertising area of the messages and would make my contribution in the selection of the media and contents of the communications broadcast.

When I was already a member of this team and in the following year and a half, the National Council on Domestic Security, the Citizenship Security Plan, the Campaign to clarify the AMIA

and Israel Embassy terrorist attacks were made public. Likewise, there were Minister's advertisements in newspapers and the Web-site project for the Ministry. Furthermore, together with Alberto Fohri, an integral event was organized; it centralized all the policies that were being implemented by the administration for women, jointly performed with the Women's National Council, the Presidency and the Ministries of the Interior and of Justice and Social Works. That event held the presence of 20,000 people and several cultural and political personalities from our country.

Yet, what most interested me about the Ministry was to be able to work on trying to solve the initial issue in any piece of work related to institutional communications or advertising, branding. When starting to analyse how to identify the Ministry in its pertinent tasks and responsibilities, I was surprised to find out about "safeguarding the National Symbols". This helped in the forthcoming investigations that would serve to identify the State as a whole.

On the other hand, a few days after arriving at the Ministry of the Interior the President's son, Antonio De la Rúa contacted me. He used to be coordinator without a portfolio in the communications area in the government and he offered me to work on some form of identification for the administration. During subsequent talks with part of his team, they defined his expectations of having a seal that could differentiate this administration's actions from previous ones, and which would centralize in the name of the President, every Minister's and Secretaryship's labour. After considering this request, and bearing in mind that that was not urgent from the communicational point of view, I suggested a change in the development of an institutional identity manual for all the executive power, which would order and clarify the visual identity of each area in the government, which was in fact accepted. After such work was performed, I was invited to participate in the design of messages for the Presidency and Secretariat of Culture and Communication. For almost a year, leaflets, folders, books, press advertisements, signals, web pages and sub-identities of such areas were designed, to what must be added specific pieces of work for the Secretariat of Tourism and the Ministry of Economy.

However, during that year and from the political point of view, the government started to fracture itself: there were jealousies between both Alianza member groups and the successive transferences of Frepaso leaders to the President's personal circle; the relationship between the President and the rest of the Frepaso finally broke down. There was an accusation of bribery to Senators. The President did not give support to the Vice-President's investigation (in charge of the Senator's Chamber). For this reason, the latter resigned thus practically breaking the Alianza's basis. Facing this situation, the President sought support in liberal right sectors, making people from his own party abandon office. I was one of them. Then, in his last moments of credibility, he appointed

Domingo Cavallo, who had been a member of the dictatorship government and of Menem's ruling, as Minister of Economy. Finally, in December 2002 and with economic chaos, lootings and popular demonstrations, the government collapsed.

Since my withdrawal in July 2002, I have collaborated with two campaigns, maybe the most interesting ones within this first relation with the State: the one designed for the International Non-Violence Against Women Day, financed by UNICEF and the Pan American Health Organization and coordinated by the National Women's Council, a body that was then decentralized from the government and for which I had designed its branding; and a campaign from the Children's Help Network, financed by UNICEF and coordinated by the Minors and Family National Council. In both campaigns, mainly in the first one, I found the ideological search and support that I was looking for on the part of those who were coordinating the activity, something that till then, I had never found before during my days in the public office.

2.1.c. The research performed during this period

In the way that the range of subjects in which I would have to collaborate was being enlarged, in December 1999, in parallel to my academic aspirations, I chose to deepen and accelerate the research I had been doing on the history of the State's forms of representation, especially everything that had been done during the last century. Thus, I had to make an inventory of the existing patrimony and interview experienced people with certain knowledge on the institution's communication mechanism.

Thus, as it has already been mentioned, the specific research was initiated while working for the Ministry of the Interior and focused on the State's symbols, since they were considered the heart of any future work. In this sense, being a member of the administration turned out to be very profitable for the research, since the administrative sector's availability was greater than if it would have been required with purely academic intentions, as I could perceive when continuing with my research once out of office.

The research activity provided consumables to be able to perform the first designed projects, and it became something that went beyond the graphic products that were produced. It was a constant methodology that was put in practice with or without the concrete demand of works. That is to say, it was a daily practice during each trip or activity performed at that time and after my work for the State, activity which is continued at present. In other words, each working trip made between 1999 and 2006, both for the public sector as well as for private clients, and each holiday trip and

academic activity that took place was taken advantage of to perform photographic and bibliographic inventories and interviews.

In this way, the presence of the national State was registered in 130 towns and cities across the country, mainly through statutes and public monuments in varied places of diverse socio-economic and cultural levels; places inhabited by hundreds, thousands, or millions of people; mountainous, plain and coastal areas; tropical, temperate and cold areas. All these practices, added to the already gathered and analysed material for the master's degree thesis that had been submitted in 1999, allowed one to quantify and to have at one's disposal a better understanding of the logics and sense the State had been using to talk about itself.

Inventories were an important working tool. The following museums were visited: Museum of the Pink House (seat of the national government), Museum of the Cabildo of Buenos Aires, the Roca, Avellaneda, Sarmiento, and Mitre Museums, Museum of Grenadiers, Military museum, Teachers' Museum, Museum of the Bank of the Province of Buenos Aires, of the Bank of the Nation, of the Central Bank, Museum of the Files of Dardo Rocha in La Plata, the Flag Museum in the city of Rosario and Paraná, Entre Ríos, Museum of the Conquest of the Desert, Museum Almafuerce, Museum of the Comandancia of Trenque Lauquen, Civic Museum of America, Museum of Tres Lomas and Santa Rosa. Filmography files of the National General Archive were useful in the assessment of the State propaganda between 1930 and 1965, the year when collection was discontinued.

At the same time, a photographic inventory was performed in the Pink House, which possesses in itself characteristics of a museum since sculptures, busts and relieves decorate the building; the Ministries and State Secretariat, the Congress and the rest of the national governmental buildings; monuments and statutes produced by the State, and commemorative plaques in cemeteries, headquarters of the Bank of the Nation and head office; road signs in national routes, public infrastructure signs and civilians' and military uniforms. Lastly, the way that handbooks issued by the Ministry of Education depicted everything that was related to Argentina, Argentines and the others was collected. The most useful material came from the Teachers' Museum, dependent on the aforementioned Ministry.

The bibliographic search was an invaluable resource during the research. Thus, in the National Congress I was provided with a copy -according to them the last copy available- that described the existing rules for the usage of national symbols written in 1957. Afterwards, I collected all the information related to national symbols from the National Library and from the National Congress Library, as well as from libraries of collection books. The magazine *Todo es Historia* (Everything

is History), which spreads across the country's historic issues, publishes theses on the different topics providing, thus, valuable material.

Finally, a last axis of analysis was the evaluation of the international context where the States interact. Forms of expression of the national States and worldwide international organizations were analysed, comprising the material that I collected during my trips, and in some cases, the written material provided by the embassies at one's disposal such as the Embassies of Canada, the Netherlands, Ireland and the Organization of American States. The material provided by the person in charge of communication in the House of Commons during the interview held in the English Parliament in 1998 was added.

Additionally, the Internet proved extremely useful in compiling the totality of existing countries and, therefore, to be able to have a comparative map of the existing alternatives in use at disposal.

Interviews were the second resource used to get primary and direct information. The first interviews were conducted with the Minister of the Interior, Mr. Storani and with the Deputy-Minister, Mr. Carlos Becerra, with the then Deputy-Minister of Defence, Lic. Ángel Tello, and other members of the administration.

I remember that one of the interviews with Mr. Storani took place in the room of Shields in the Pink House, a unique room in the national State whose walls are decorated with the shields of each province, something that in the city of Buenos Aires, even though it is the National Government seat, can only be seen around the Obelisk, in the provinces' square (even though some shields are missing) and in the monument to the gaucho, in the city's outskirts. As a form of evaluation of these interviews, a lack of inclusion of the provinces can be recognized in the visualization of what the nation is, in the militarization of the reference to the collective, and in the distance between the state and the society.

Interviews with the state staff started with the person who was formally responsible for the area of management and control of national symbols, according to the Executive Power's organization chart. According to the last decrees 1066 and 1067/2004 this area no longer belongs to the Interior but to Presidency.

I interviewed the corresponding person in charge who, to my astonishment, was a 30 year-old man, without any knowledge, interest or direct relation to the subject. After talking a little about his area, he said that his arrival to this Direction was to be attributed to his political affiliation in the Peronist Youth and to his closeness to the previous government. When consulted if any one in the area had

material to research on the subject, an administrative clerk gave me copies of parts of decrees that were out of order.

Afterwards, in response to the request to a secretary of the area, I was provided with a more detailed report. Likewise, under the same request, the National General Archive, also dependent on the Ministry of the Interior, handed me a folder with reference material. Within this folder, the last decrees related to the way in which the state should be graphically seen were detailed, corresponding to the year 1977, during the last military government. It turned out to be a typographic scheme similar to that of the Italian government, with italic typography and straight text without names' visual hierarchies. In the 1993 decree, the adjustments that the Argentine flag should have were typified, as for example material, and ink colour. However, later on we could see that these decrees were not observed and that each area (and Ministry) had its own mark and implemented its visual identification according to its own criteria and objectives, and that the only thing that seemed to unify the State messages was the origin of the designer and printer of the material.

For example, the National Congress and the Gendarmerie's printers have kept for 20 years now the same plate to print headed sheets of paper. Thus, the forms of juridical nature are all the same only because printers continue to supply most departments. Therefore, it could be noticed that since a department that would exercise any kind of effective control did not exist, this depended on the personal interest of the people involved. For example, one area in the Ministry of the Interior used the shield of the Province of Buenos Aires instead of the national one, which is similar but anyway different.

Afterwards, I interviewed the people responsible for the National Congress theme, dependent on the Administrative Secretariat, who stated that they completely ignore this issue.

Likewise, I interviewed the people responsible for the National Historic Museum, its Director, Dr. Crespo and the specialist in the Museum's national symbols, Professor Ángel Ruffo, both members of the National Academy of History presided by Dr. Crespo. During these interviews, I found extremely specialized professionals in the history of national symbols that provided me with material, which was photographed, and in which the historic evolution with which national symbols were represented by the different administrations since 1813 could be appreciated.

The first reproduction of the Argentine national shield is kept in the Museum, as well as the administrative seal painted in on an 1813's piece of wood, and even the first Argentine coins of the time; there are presidential attributes and the first national constitution. These people were not

given the possibility of advising the State on these issues, even when they were also formally part of it.

The interview to Major Tojo was also important for the research since he is an Army's specialist in symbols, dependent on the Yellow House, name of the Army's headquarters in the city of Buenos Aires. The interview was extremely interesting. The lack of defence of any particular symbol and his explicit acceptance of the Constitution as a rule called my attention as opposed to what I would have expected from a military official.

Afterwards, I interviewed Lic. Crespi in the National Historic Archive in her double capacity as state employees' trade union representative and in her role of national history researcher, a person highly qualified and open minded, which added to my observations regarding the lack of reference to minority groups in the idea of nation.

Moreover, two interesting interviews were held with figures external to the state, in the personalities of the historian Félix Luna and the Lic. Marcos Aguinis -former Secretary of Culture of the Nation and specialist on Argentina.

During the first interview, Luna accepted the idea that the only important federal expression that represented the national shield was the incorporation of flags outside the shield. During the second interview, Aguinis mentioned the need for extending the symbols' debate to the beneficiaries of a possible opening in the re-designing of the symbols, who in the first place would be the provinces' governors.

2.1.d. Project's introduction and evaluation

Thus, in practice and from design, I worked in two different directions. First, I tried to give a formal answer to the task I had been asked to do, designing and systematising the Presidency's and Ministries' identities within a scheme of visual identity that was based on graphics adjustments to the shield and on a typographic proposition for the corporative identification of the governmental tasks. However, at the same time, the reading of what the results of the research provided me with during that period made me realize the need of directly incorporating a whole element on the national shield in order for a representation suitable for the federal political system to exist and formally define the country.

Therefore, once designed, I initially handed in the work to those that had hired me, who, being overwhelmed by it, asked the opinion of David Ratto, the most famous Argentine publicist of the time who had designed the Alfonsín's campaign in 1983 and who had given advice during his

administration. In the meeting held with him and with the representatives of the Secretariat of Culture and Media of the Nation, Ratto wholly supported the idea. Afterwards, the former President de De la Rúa approved the idea and established a schedule to launch the new graphics, which would take place during a ceremony in the white room of the Pink House. In the meantime, several meetings of introduction to the new work took place with people close to the administration, which I understood to be reasonable in order to dissipate doubts. Moreover, the Secretary of Culture printed a handbook with the new identity and held meetings with each Ministry and Secretariat's communication referents to inform and coordinate the systematization of the new institutional identity scheme. Nevertheless, during these preparations the government fell apart and, without direct explanations, the aforementioned launching of the new shield was postponed.

The explanations provided referred to the crisis and to the fact that an issue such as this one would be controversial, citing this reason as why they would rather postpone the launching until a more suitable moment, which never arrived.

In the meantime, a measure that was intermediate to the launching of the governmental areas' typographic identity systematisation with the shield I had redesigned was proposed, but without the complementary flags design; something that was finally implemented and remains up to the present, despite the fact that two administrations have taken office since then.

At the moment, most of the ministries and Presidency are using the systems but not all of them, like part of the Chancellery. In that sense, even if this systematisation is present in most areas of the state, it does not mean that some areas continue to use it since there is no formal instance of supervision of the identity's application, and most of the designs are provided by designers external to the State that just use the shield that is at hand.

The experience during this period in the State can be divided in two: the relationship kept with the political officials and with the permanent staff. Likewise, the division between infrastructure and State's resources can be made. Such experience, as it has already been said, was mainly based on the relationship with the Presidency, the Ministry of the Interior, the Secretariat of Culture and Media, the Secretariat of Tourism, the Secretariat of Labour, the National Women's Council and the Minority Council.

Political officials I contacted, reacted differently to my work and proposals. On the one hand, they were all astonished by a specific theoretical development of an area where its issues' conceptualization did not seem to be common. But, the response to this supposed assessment varied according to the schemes of each inner group they belonged to.

Firstly, the answers given by this group were differentiated by those that considered me a person to trust or someone independent or potentially different. That is to say, even when my responsibility as a referent of the design of institutional identity was not limited, my relationship with one political godfather and not with another was still important for the State's representatives. For example, my reaction to the Secretariat of Culture, Tourism and Minority Council -all belonging to the same political subgroup- was assumedly good, since during all this time I had made a large number of works for them. However, a second evaluation can be done if we analyse that they all had the same spontaneous behaviour towards me, since those works' payment were delayed more than six months, while they would pay their reliable suppliers earlier.

Besides, even when it was me who defined and proposed the context of the messages to be designed, the people in charge of this Secretariat tried to keep me in the shadows in order for them not to lose media prominence.

Lastly, and before the smallest ideological questioning on the country's direction, my work was reduced to those tasks of institutional communication over and above the issues of political climate.

In the meantime, I did works for the Ministry of the Interior and Women's Council, with which I felt a certain sense of belonging. The reason for that, was consequence of the high commitment I found on the direction of both Councils with the themes, ideology and actions performed there. That generated a focus on the work and on the common objectives of all the people involved that generated a trusting and efficient environment. In that context, my opinions regarding the political direction were listened to, the works were duly paid, and no one tried to hide me as the creator of my designs.

Secondly, it could be seen generally that the political organization of the parties was not particularly qualified on the issues they were responsible for -with certain exceptions such as those in the National Women's Council- as for example, the specifics on the cultural industries' policies development on the part of the Secretariat of Culture, and in the few areas of the Ministry of the Interior. This problem, that can be understood at the level of a ministry, was replicated across the pyramid of secretariats and directions, since the logic of the inner power distribution had been imposed upon the technical speciality of people. Consequently, a lack of suitability and understanding of many policies undertaken by these multifunctional officials was revealed.

Regarding the subject matters that I introduced, it can be interpreted that the political officials expected to find in my proposal of national symbols' modification their ideological side as a result of their acceptance of the proposal's need of dynamism in the nationality scheme. Moreover, given their lack of knowledge on the subject, a certain concern that made them feel afraid of getting into

such a difficult field awoke in them, where they did not have any tools except the credibility that I arose.

The possible intersection point between both situations was produced when one official saw the political benefit to the administration in taking prominence in such a symbolic issue for the Argentines, with the potential indirect electoral capitalization of this action. The capitalization would be given in the re-foundational idea of the Argentine nationality that such changes could generate; an idea always present, as it could be seen in the previous chapter, in each government that generated changes in the national symbols.

The experience had with the State's permanent staff during this period leads me to this sector's interpretation as extremely static, clung to their labour stability and conditions that made them work as little as it was possible or indispensable. This sector is seen as little qualified, unable or fearful of generating autonomous thoughts answering to any subject, therefore, complying with procedures' handbooks. That is to say, seeking protection under bureaucratic rules that no one bothers to change so as to pretend that they are doing something while they are actually looking forward to getting to the end of the month when they receive their wages. It is a world where, according to Gonzalez García, bureaucracy is an organized way of being irrational (Gonzalez García, 2005). Consequently, no personal commitments were detected from these workers to anyone or anything, not even to their peers or the new political officials, or even to the State. It can also be thought that for the State's permanent staff their work was more of an acquired personal right than a responsibility. From another point of view, the sector's little interest towards issues that are outside of the area of the city of Buenos Aires could also be noticed.

However, within this interpretation some people were set apart since they did show a commitment to their area and to the State. In such cases, these attitudes can be associated from two axes. In the first place, these were areas where the political officials tried to mobilize the staff. In the second place, these were technical positions obtained by a selection process, or positions where the worker's personality overcame the calm civil service environment. In most cases, when certain motivation to work on the part of this sector was found, it involved young women, such as the ones that worked at the Minority Council or at the National Women's Council.

The reasons why this social group arrives at that possible present can be found, on the one hand, on the individual way they gain access to the State. Thus, from the hundreds of people talked to, a majority entered the public sector under the pressure of politicians and friends that are no longer related to the government, being mostly people from the same city of Buenos Aires with no relation to the rest of the country. On the other hand, this sector has had as head of office political officials that are constantly removed from their charges, being promoted to higher positions or moved to

lower ones, making it difficult for these employees to understand the content of their job, since with each change of direction it is modified. Finally, there almost does not exist any selection process to gain access to the State or any regime of rewards and punishment that could stimulate this sector's commitment to their job; everything contributes to the model of the already described worker.

2.1.e. Some Conclusions

Regarding the mechanics by means of which an artist or designer achieves a modification on the national symbols, the experience lived in that given context, especially regarding the redesign of the national shield, shows that before the possibility of developing image policies by someone without a political portfolio, the presence is required of an important godfather who believes in such a policy or person. If this requirement is met, the possibility to generate proposals is greater, depending on this godfather's influence and on the personal capacity of reaching consensus among the parties that are involved in the process.

Besides, the technical non-political debate about this nationality identification has no room in this context, since it does not present entity, it does not arise interest but maybe concern; since the political representatives were not well versed in on the subject to offer an opinion, it could be noticed that it was considered to be problematic. The only exception was when the person that analysed the subject found it to be instrumental for the partisan agenda of the moment or that it could contribute some electoral capitalization for the administration. This is to say to impose its hegemonic view.

Likewise, there was a division between the technical specialists, as was the case in the National Historic Museum, and those that evaluate what is pertinent in the political sector. Technical appreciations would only have room outside the range of the Executive. Those possible spheres can be the voice of the opposition in the Congress, or mainly the media, where any specialist would be able to question what has been established.

In short, it can be thought that if the designer or artist gains -thanks to his or her persuasive capacity- support or consensus, the outcome of his work will be able to be implemented and to be representative of the State, and maybe, the Nation.

2.2. The second stage: the graphic design Argentine technological system, from 2004 to 2007

The second approach corresponds to a relationship between an images constructor, his design project and the National State, but this relationship had nothing to do with a political party but a professional and specialized one. That approach corresponds to the design of identity and image of the Argentine Technological System, which ended up being a very interesting and rewarding task, both from the personal and from the professional point of view. On the one hand, I did that task in a moment when my studies on the subject were already advanced, which gave me more security. On the other hand, this area was responsible for all the branches of science, technology and the national public sector's innovation and since I met specialized interlocutors who were also involved with the State, I was allowed to make use of a space receptive to conceptualization, strategic design and ideology of design's action, as much as I wanted to. This appraisal and understanding that I received made work easy to be solved in a systematic way and within a friendly environment.

2.2.a. The political situation: the Contest and the CONICET

After Dr. De la Rúa's government fell, Dr. Eduardo Duhalde, from the Peronism, took office as provisional President by the Senate's agreement. The crisis was stabilized during those years, pegging three Argentine pesos to a dollar, thus favouring the foreign balance of trade. In the year 2003, the new general elections took place with the Peronist Néstor Kirchner gaining office.

At the beginning of 2004, I had fewer dreams or nightmares related to the State; I was working on the corporate image of some new Argentine agrarian firms. During those days, those companies had started to go through a golden era after the new competitiveness of its exports derived from de peso devaluation, making each dollar cost three times what it did before. That is the way I designed the Los Grobo company identity, whose owner, Gustavo Grobocopatel was said to be the Argentine "King of soya", being the major producer of that paradigmatic crop in Argentina. I also designed for him, the image and identity of a company he headed called Bioceres, investing in research and solutions of local problems affecting crops. It was then that I designed a stand for this company at the sector's mega-fair; and there is where Bioceres signed an agreement with the National Commission of Scientific and Technologic Investigations (CONICET) to hire technicians from that Commission at certain research lines.

That is why when they liked Bioceres' image work, people from the CONICET asked me to participate in a closed contest among four companies to design the new institutional identity, which I accepted. Contrarily to my first period working for the State, this time there were no

acquaintances or political preferences that were integrating me into the office; it was simply a contest where my proposal would compete with the rest.

I have respected and admired the CONICET since I was a university student for it has always been the top reference of all sciences and technologies in Argentina. This merit derives from the role distribution within the country, and also from the prestige obtained through the work and commitment of several generations of researchers, and through the prizes won such as the three Nobel prizes awarded to its members, something very meritorious in Latin America. These historic aspects that are a reason for pride within Argentine's collective memory⁵, made the CONICET preserve unique levels of autonomy in the official arena.

Nevertheless, and due to its little permissiveness to the parties' ups and downs, preserving a critical spirit as a body, the little interest of the national governments to project science and technology as strategic resources for national development and the State reduction policies in the 90's, the CONICET, during Menem's government, underwent resources shrinkage⁶.

Five years afterwards, the CONICET's state of affairs was changing: the government of the current president Néstor Kirchner, a Peronist of the left centre, started to increase its budget⁷ and scientists were returning to the country from abroad. It was in this new stage that the institution was analysing representing itself in a new way; changing its already worn-out pieces of clothing for something that better matched this context.

2. 2.b. My work

I decided to get into the contest and after a first evaluation I noticed what the piece of work should represent.

On the one hand, to represent a new integrating sense of the institution with respect to its human resources from positive concepts rather than from the resistance. Since during 2004, research and technology were valued as strategic for the central government.

⁵ According to a World Bank, "the educational level is high if compared with the region standards" Diario Clarín, 12/24/06, Argentina.

⁶ There came a moment when its well qualified scholars had to emigrate abroad to be able to make a living of their specialties or to have access to laboratories that otherwise they would not have run for lacking the minimal supplies. However, and in spite of this brain drain and the budget diminishment, the Commission retained its prestige, hosted famous personalities of the sciences and became, during Menem's government, a symbol of resistance against a prevailing model and against the position and the logics of absolute dependence of Argentina in relation to knowledge production. Even its scientists took part in several demonstrations and public debates.

⁷ In 2006, Argentina occupied the 18th world position in per cent investment in Science and Technology. Diario Clarín, 17/2/06. Argentina.

On the other hand, to integrate the diversity of research centres and executing units, which, after the CONICET's central body's collapse, had flourished under its own denomination, identity and image, de-articulating itself from a collective project and each of them having, in fact, its own brand and interests.

Lastly, it was worth bringing to the Commission the ordinary people and actors so as to preserve and foster the institutional, political and social appraisals.

On this occasion, I handed in a project defining a general and particular image policy with a well-defined component regarding the political objectives that the CONICET image should express, which was selected as the winning proposal. Besides, as the work was produced having constant feed back, it would be considered that the final visual product was co-designed by me with this institution.

After this piece of work, and given that my proposal was defining a symbolic clarification with the rest of the areas related to science and technology of the national State, the Press secretary at the CONICET offered me a meeting with the Director of Relations with the Community from the Secretariat of Science, Technology and Productive Innovation of the Nation. This happened because my ideal proposal stretched from the identification to the development of an organized scheme of visual identities where discourses with their own identity would materialize themselves, and at the same time it would articulate with the whole by means of each area and sub-area in the sector. In this way, I tried to express by images what existed in the formal aspect, a bigger organization, a scheme involving the identity and the image of all the actors of the scientific and technological national system.

In the days that followed, the development of this proposal was contested with five other studies, among them a multinational company (Walter Thompson), and my proposal was the one chosen.

During the following two years CONICET identities were designed. I worked for all its centres and units, for the National Agency of Scientific and Technological Promotion and its different sub-areas, on the identity and image of the Secretariat (SECyT), of the Argentine Museum of Natural Sciences, for the first and second national scientific meetings, for the Innovar Programme of innovating products, for national contests, fairs of the sector and related topics such as the brand for Mercosur Science.

The National Council of Scientific and Technological Research (CONICET) was founded in 1958 by its first President, Dr. Bernardo A. Houssay (Nobel Prize 1947). Established as an autarchic

body dependent on the National Presidency, it was provided with a wide range of instruments that were considered appropriate to increase the level of science and technology in Argentina. Those instruments are: the courses of study of Scientific and Technological Research, and Research and Development Support Personnel, the granting of scholarships, projects and Research Execution Units funding, and the establishment of links with other governmental and non-governmental international organizations of similar characteristics.

Nowadays, the CONICET integrates researchers on all disciplines who develop their task mainly in national universities in the diverse regions of the country, in science and technology research organizations and in their own Execution Units or in association with the already mentioned institutions. Its mission is to promote and execute scientific and technological activities across the country and in the different fields of knowledge.

Besides, the CONICET reviews remains as an autarchic body of the National State under the jurisdiction of the Secretariat of Science, Technology and Productive Innovation, dependent on the National Ministry of Education.

Since 1996, the management of the CONICET is in charge of a Board of Directors composed of a Chairman and eight members that are elected through the vote of the institution's members and of different related organizations.

The National Agency of Scientific and Technological Promotion (Agency) was founded in early 1996 as responsible for the definition and funding of the national scientific and technological priorities.

The Secretariat for Technology, Science and Productive Innovation (SECyT) since 1969 has been a Secretary of State dependent on the Presidency of the Nation, and afterwards within the current range of the Ministry of Education. Since 1996, the CONICET, the National Commission of Atomic Energy, the Nuclear Regulatory Authority and the Agency have depended on this Secretariat.

The Argentine Museum of Natural Sciences was founded in the year 1812 inspired by Bernardino Rivadavia.

At the beginning, the Museum's collections were integrated by heterogeneous elements that later on were thematically grouped and parted with to bring into being other museums in the capital city. In 1947, the Executive Power ordered the transference of the sections Archaeology, Ethnography and Anthropology to the Ethnographic Museum of the University of Buenos Aires.

The unwritten history, but narrated by the members of such institutions, proves that the division produced in 1996 in the Argentine technological system was basically the outcome of political issues. The independence acquired by the CONICET was interpreted by Menem's administration as being opposed to its interests, as a result of which he created the figure of the Agency as a funding body –something that the CONICET used to do by itself before this reform. This complicated the system's total efficiency, since there is criteria and interests' competition on the part of both institutions, and since it minimised CONICET's force and power. This justifies the distrust that all the members of the CONICET felt towards the Agency and the prejudices that, still today, they manifest against the State, and especially against the SECyT.

2. 2.c. The research performed during this period

After having won the contest, my main challenge was to explore and get deeper into the CONICET identity. Thus, according to my studies, three integrated components of what an identity is were analysed:

- . What the National System is, in terms of concrete facts to make comparative evaluations, regarded on structural classification, and placing this identity in a certain differential place, time and context.
- . What the bearers of that identity want to look at, trying to find and understand the Lacanean “Other” (Lacan, 1968), the one who brings enjoyment to the institution, detecting such an Other by the examination of inter-subjective discourses emitted by its people, to whom the Other discourse is addressed to.
- . What the others want the identity to be, separating audience targets.

Because, only then and after crossing the above answers, was it possible to define a visual strategy, policy and identity.

I started to collect available information to have a clear picture in my mind of what all the scientific institutions were doing at that moment, like statistical and comparative ibero-american data of the institution. Most of such information is currently on line⁸. My aim with this activity was to organize a map where to place the CONICET and the rest of the areas of the scientific sector according to national and international institutions from the public and private sector.

Secondly, I gathered information related to all aspects of the institution and its activities, such as the clarification of its social, infrastructural and organizational components. I included in that point internal and operative political problems; relationships among the central committee and the

⁸ Basically within patrimonial standard: www.conicet.gov.ar/CIFRAS/indicadores/2005/index2.php, as part of the national state: www.secyt.gov.ar/, and among other Iberoamerican and Interamerican science and technology institutions www.ricyt.org.

regional and associated centres, as well as positions, privileges, sacrifices and cultural expressions of the different strata. Besides, I was also interested in the relationship that the Council had with other entities.

For that reason and trying to improve my sources I made a qualitative enquiry to interpret codes, languages and contents of the national scientific sector reality. Therefore I planned a web of surveying and interpretative approximations that was developed during two months.

Basically, the survey consisted of a series of 35 interviews for the CONICET, 30 to the Agency and the SECyT, 20 to the Museum of one hour each. Each interview was seen as a case to analyse and not as a statistical inquiry. In that way, the interviewed belong to all activities and responsibilities among the sector. This information provided common denominators of the reported cases and a paradigmatic vision and mission partially shared by them. In that sense, all reports requested not only for the interviewee's vision about its specific field or institution, but also about the rest of the ones that constitute the sector, giving in that way a cross mirrored response. This questionnaire was also sent by e-mail to all centres, but the response rate to this media was not good enough (just 6 answers among a hundred delivered).

The reason for that interviewing method, lied in my interest of getting what Lacan states as the “real” (Lacan, 1977), as the place where one can always return, what it means in that institutional place, and also to detect the Real by catching the repetitive discourses always present in that community about the questions that I was asking for. The amount of interviews was also related to the moment that common discourses came to be detected and verified. So, for instance, even though I had planned to carry out 40 interviews for the Museum case, as soon as I realized that the 20 that I had been doing showed the same reality from the same discourses, I preferred to stop doing any more there.

Besides, other reasons for using such an interviewing approach, was regarding my attempt to integrate and involve as many of the scientific community as possible in the projects. That was also because I learnt from my former practice that working for the public sphere requires the professional to understand and manage the crossed interests that belong to any work. This interest can be also seen in people's motivations in public offices, where any external success out of its particular interest has to be blocked. That means that if a Director appointed you in charge of the identity design, the rest of the Directors will try to break your ideas, just trying to replace the person that called you.

As a consequence of that, even though my previous list was smaller, I opened and amplified the list of those interviewed to an important amount of people such as directors, trade union

representatives, members of the Council board, most prominent researchers plus other influential members of the community (among them a research assistant and non specialised workers). I did so, trying to hold all the powers tight to me, as closely as possible, confronting them at the beginning with arguments about the necessity of change before the change was done, to move the project out of the cross fire of internal fights.

The third complementary investigation was the register of associated discourses about knowledge, science, evolution, innovation and technology themes. As part of this activity, I highlighted the nature of repeatedly detected images connected with the subject. The survey was sustained through on-line, printed magazines and scientific books recollection and interpretation.

Finally, the history and especially the visual history of the institutions were investigated, by searching in different archives, collecting documents as testimony of the way in which the sector was expressed through different historical periods.

2.2.d. Project's introduction and evaluation

Unlike what was done during the first stage, at the time of proposing a given identity and image for this state, I implemented a different process. It was based on the design of a series of different graphic alternatives instead of the proposal of only one option to the defined party and being accepted by them. This modality would also continue during the following stage, and its importance lay in that it was another source of learning the interests of the analysed states, since from the different options those responsible for the area identify, express or reject possible materializations of what they believe the state has to represent.

In this sense, for example, during this stage, the way in which each area valued a closed instead of open figure as a brand can be mentioned, that is to say, the shape that would contain the identity should be independent of the institution's context of action. Likewise, through the interests of the evaluators, it was concluded that the brands should be generic enough in order for them not to express anything special that could make an inner sector reject the belonging emblem. Therefore, metaphors turned out to be resources that seem to get along better with this sector than metonymies. An example could be the difficulty of acceptance of the dinosaur brand by all the members of the Museum, since it generated conflicts with the rest of the areas –even when this figures' choice was a strategic decision to attract children to the Museum by means of the only resource it had. It was a decision previously agreed on by all, theoretically, but that was interpreted as not completely adapted to the generic expected norms.

2.2.d.1. Synthesis of the analysis of groups of belonging and reference

CONICET

From the interviews conducted with researchers with varying degrees of responsibility and seniority in the institution, future researchers, auxiliary personnel, trade union and management representatives, and groups close to CONICET, it could be noticed, in general, that there existed a shared system of belief that collapsed as we moved further away from the CONICET.

In the core of the institution, an important search for meaning was noticed, together with a sense of incomprehension and spectacular image on the part of the society that reflected a lack of honest valorization of the activity, especially coming from the ruling class. However, little by little hope loomed from the recorded accounts embodied in their potentialities and in an extra energy devoted to the search for recognition, something that no matter the subject was also directed to the CONICET itself, directly involving commitments and emotions. The idea of belonging to a public institution, of defending the country's views through their daily work merged at every moment as the meaning and the essence of the CONICET in relation to the country, both being considered to be in a state of pure potentiality. This micro and macrocosm were very similar in the statements of the interviewees, who felt proud of belonging to the CONICET -mentioned as a synonym of excellence, tradition and success- despite all the suffering.

The way of representing this excellence to the country is very special. It would seem that the CONICET is Argentina but not the national State. That is to say, there was a faintest association to the National Shield and therefore the central government, but not in its connection to the Argentine, ultimate source of the expected valorization. By standing apart from the core of the CONICET, the reflection of understanding the institution as being part of the best of Argentina was maintained, together with certain contradictions of belonging to the country.

The usefulness of the CONICET's action kept being valued in relation to the seriousness of the human labour and its production, especially within a context of local resources usage. The maintenance of the standards of scientific hierarchy, mentioned as being unique in Argentina, is referred to in first instance over the operational devaluation of the National Civil Service, surviving thus the slightly positive image that the State would generally have regarding its efficiency.

With regard to the differences perceived among the workers at the CONICET, it is interesting to note that civil servants, printer's workers and trade union referents, as well as heads -whose positions are obtained through a contest- show a remarkable commitment to the institution in spite of specific complaints about wage issues, something that was not noticed in other areas.

Lastly, and especially regarding researchers, who are the axes of the institution since they exclusively occupy the positions because of their qualification -something extremely notable within the state-, it can be perceived that this capacity produces a tendency towards self-sufficiency and lack of ascription to CONICET's intermediate structures, striving for their area's and CONICET's success, without intermediate points. This way of invertebrate operation (see Ortega y Gasset, 1932) forces the social fabric of the institution to be made of parallel threads between the researcher and the institution, resulting in a poor feedback and team growth. One example of this is that impersonal communications, such as those sent by e-mail, do not have answers, while customized communication does. Another example was the perceived trend that each centre of research, previous to the implementation of the work, tried to differentiate itself from the rest through its visual identity; lastly, each researcher's ignorance about what the rest of them are investigating was also noticed. That is to say, it can be thought that not only is the spirit found irrational, but that love for the institution is also due to the fact that it is a possible personal projection mechanism for its members.

AGENCY

From the interviews conducted with researchers, future researchers, auxiliary personnel, trade union and management representatives, as well as representatives of groups close to the Agency, a division could be perceived regarding the institution's meaning among its members. This division was noticed among the senior members that came from the Agency's foundation in 1996, which are engaged with this model and with the government that created it; and the other sector, an important new second line group that joined the institution during the last years, and whose members mostly came from university environments from the city of Buenos Aires, who do not express belonging or commitment to any political ideas and who define themselves as technicians.

Standing back from the core of the scientific production sector, the usefulness of the Agency's real and potential action was especially valued in a context of local resource utilization. The active tool of direct support to projects' development was valued in terms of those that have a relationship with the Agency (local productive sectors), while businessmen that had not worked with it yet expressed distrust in the way this institution would be able to dynamize the concerns that could arise between the sector and the State. That is to say, this group of businessmen defined the Agency as a potentially bureaucratic entity.

Moreover, within the State community (SECyT, CONICET and interviews with people from other ministries) the Agency was defined with the words "funding" or "politics", being considered to be integrated into the actions of the different administrations at the cost of its entity's

individualization, role demarcation, and clarification of a culture of its own. That is to say, through these opinions the Agency was described as an institution without a weight of its own. This can be considered as both the result of its short life, causing therefore identification difficulties and the result of the negative opinions arisen from its creation's causes.

SECyT

From the interviews conducted with the area's Secretary, directors, employees, trade union representatives and people linked to the Secretariat, a similar reading could be detected from all the interviewees.

In the first place, they all assumed their belonging to the State. In this sense, similar roles, attitudes, and motivations to the ones described in the state's analysis were perceived, where the political officials and the sector's employees were dissociated from their daily job.

However, an interesting figure appears in relation to this first State: the staff's director, the outcome of previous years' contest of important hierarchical positions, which creates a growing possibility for the civil servants, who are able to occupy positions of more responsibility, and makes their job independent from the political power of the moment. Even when many of these contests can be criticized as a mechanism used to legitimize friends, other contests have projected qualified people in fields where their capacity allows them to develop the policies on which their superiors pass judgement.

Thus, having already worked three years with the Secretariat and having shared my work with tonnes of people, good and efficient area's directors who know the game's variables, the actors of the state, of universities, and of the CONICET, and who know in Argentina those who are related to knowledge have been detected, allowing from this experience the implementation of new sectorial policies. This is the sector that is perceived to be interested in trying to validate science and technology within the national culture as a mechanism not only of personal promotion but a mechanism provided with a touch of idealism.

Moreover, political officials who try to enter the sector without previous qualification find it harder than in other areas to generate policies due to the subject's specificity and to the stubbornness of its important members.

Argentine Museum of Natural Sciences

From the interviews conducted at the Museum, situations different to the ones previously experienced were found. On the one hand, all the Museum's authorities did not belong to the political administration of the moment, since they were contested positions or permanent staff. The Museum's director, a prestigious person in his career as researcher about to retire, arrived at the position by contest. For their part, the researchers, who at the same time were responsible for the rooms, mostly belonged to the CONICET or to the University of Buenos Aires and were considered the maximum referents of the country in their specialities, especially in palaeontology.

However, according to what was unanimously recorded from the interviews, this context produced a situation where no one respected any one's authority, and consequently the Museum was experienced and perceived as chaotic, being at times identified with proper Kafkaesque universe (Kafka, 2003), and at other times with a kind of hen-house only inhabited by cocks.

The administrative clerks were differentiated since they respected one or other referent. Researchers worked immersed in their defiance ignoring the rest, with which they struggled to gain a bigger space for their collections (understood as personal instead of public belongings). Likewise, they all shared the lack of interest on the Museum's condition, which was reflected on the few resources that they had received for its functioning during the last decades. It can be added that, contrary to the previous cases, my arrival at the Museum was resisted by several groups that considered me as someone external and therefore, out of place within the inner logic.

2.2.d.2. Communicational needs of Conicet, the Agency, Secyt and the Museum

First, the CONICET's demand of messages during all these years has been through images that would allow integrating its areas within a common branch product of its centre's natural trend of trying to be spontaneously themselves. Moreover, there is the demand of both, integrating the fields of knowledge in branches that would contribute to the society's recognition of that production, and also of agglutinating researchers not according to their specialities but according to points in common with their peers. At no time did the CONICET try to use persuasion in its messages to develop partisan political strategies.

Second, the Agency's communicational needs had to do with trying to be established as a referent within the field, striving by all means to be differentiated both from the CONICET and from the SECyT in its messages; for example, by omitting its superior SECyT in the posters, by attempting to have a more modern graphics of its identity than that of the rest, by trying to have the identity's system introduction presented to the media from the Agency and not from the SECyT, etc. This

caused a very stressful situation, being the reason why I tendered my resignation as the designer responsible for its image.

Third, the use of communication that the SECyT demands is similar to that of the rest of the governmental areas, striving for the political profit from their communications as their heads expect. However, there exists a demand for messages that would prioritize the institutional or informative aspect over the persuasive one, trying to reach the general scientific community.

It can be added that the intention of the SECyT's second political line of relying on partisan capitalization messages separated this group from my proposal, trying to develop parallel campaigns of what was being worked on that however, did not achieve inner or outer repercussion, since up to that moment the Secretary did not commit all the resources to such proposals.

Fourth, the basic need I found was to take the Museum out to the society, so that the logic external to the Museum could channel the institution's reason of being. This proposal was validated by the Secretary of the SECyT and by the Chairman of the CONICET. Within the Museum, despite the resistance, a rather high percentage of messages of institutional re-positioning and a re-valorization of the collections could be implemented.

2.2.d.3. Analysis of the images that identified the institutions

At the national level, a weak and poor image development was displayed, this being a negative way of representation and many times disconnected to the reality of poverty, of lack of knowledge, and lack of development, that is to say, a reality of comparative inferiority.

Making a summary of the work made at that time, the historic image of science and technology as projected by the national State was found to lack significant referential elements of the activity that was being developed, and its communications were adapted to the whole of those government's institutional messages.

Thus, in 1958 the CONICET was only identified by a typographic block and by the national shield. In 1960, the image of the Parthenon was appreciated as the illustration accompanying the previous identity. In 1981, a contest on the logotype took place, where the winning brand symbolised the gordian knot, whose justification leaves room for doubts about such identification. In the period of 1983, there were no images to contextualize the logotype, there was only typographic information. In 1994, a brand project was introduced, and only partially applied.

We arrive thus, at 1996, when a sector's reorganization took place, and when the identities of the SECyT and of the Agency emerge. These two identities did not have a weight of their own. SECyT's identity was only a typographic frame, while the Agency's -a brand designed by an

important local design studio- constructed such an abstract referent that it did not arise any association or feeling of belonging among its members.

From the beginning, the Museum was identified by varied typographic blocks with no design development. In 1986, the acronym MACN started to be implemented as its identification, and in 1992 this acronym was placed inside a geometric shape, being that identity systematized from that time.

2.2.e. Some conclusions

It can be noticed that the state observed during a series of works, is a state that during the last decades has suffered the central power's incomprehension, the partisan's ups and downs, and the country's economic crisis. It suffered more than other sectors as a consequence of the little political valorization of Sciences and Technology as a long term inversion. Even if it does not correspond to the economic answer that the current state provides, this disturbs the sector's identity since it cannot fully understand what its position is, that of requester or current protagonist –something that even happens to political leaders.

Moreover, and even if it is a state that seems to belong to the city of Buenos Aires, it does commit itself nationally by possessing centres across the country and by valuing knowledgeable federal production.

As it has already been said, this State possesses features that distinguish it from the previous one, basically because it is a highly qualified State in several environments and proud of itself, despite the last decades' suffering. Regarding the sector's relationship with the general State, the fact of its association to the abstract idea of nation is highlighted over that of the State, that is to say, the national flag's acceptance as representing its state, but not the national shield. This attitude is increased in the researchers and permanent staff, but not in the political organization.

Hence, regarding my work, it was understood as being the work of a colleague specialist, which allowed me to gain a rational space for debate; the contribution of ideas on the part of the members of this state improved my proposals, as well as the contribution of an integrating environment that strengthened my work.

3. Third Stage: The Brand Nation, from 2002 to 2006

The third stage corresponds to a period of work done with lack of access to the State. Here, contrarily to what happened to the first one where there was closeness between the party and the State that helped to identify the public sector, in this case, a design programme was blocked in its potentiality due to the lack of closeness to the administration in office or important interlocutors.

In the personal aspect, this last approach was the hardest one for me since the work performed simply managed to influence what was finally implemented and it corresponded to the presentation of a nation brand project. By this I mean a system of institutional representation involving the country, articulated through images from the State and towards every national actor who contributed from his or her discourse to generate references of the country abroad. .

The approaches process was marked by successive activities that, it is worth mentioning, started to feed the final project of the brand constructed for Argentina.

2. 3. a. Political situation and my work: the storm and the calm

The beginning of my relationship with the issue started during my participation in the Alianza government.

In the year 2000, and after a request of projecting an identity for the government, I introduced to those in charge of communications at the Presidency, a scheme for the identification of the executive power as it was previously mentioned, but which also included articulated representations of topics, places and situations that went further than its own identity.

Those work variations focused on those aspects that could bring new changes to the State, such as what, in my thought, it needed so as not to get isolated from the rest of the activities and dreams those men and women deposited on it directly.

At the first meeting, those responsible in the area stated they were overwhelmed by the issue and suggested having a second meeting so that my work was analysed by someone who was the most competent person on the issue, the already introduced David Ratto. At a meeting in his office, he agreed on the global presentation though he tactically recommended that, due to its complexity, it should be fragmented in times and areas to possibly be understood and launched as a whole. Thus, it was decided that I should start with the proposal for a change of the Argentine coat of arms. However, and given the crisis that ended up with my withdrawal from this first stage in the State,

the subsequent downfall of the government and some time afterwards, Ratto's death, the rest of the project as well as the Shield never saw light.

My retreat from the government did not take place at the right time. The crisis grew deeper and the social conflicts arose on a regular basis, turning into the worst economic and social crisis that Argentina had ever experienced. That constituted the worst moment in my professional career since. I started to work for the Presidency. Consequently, I closed my studio. Returning to the private activity to make some business survive would have been an impossible mission during the year 2000, in a country where the market had disappeared due to the crisis

In the free time I had then, I continued designing my project of identification of Argentina. I believe that the commitment with the issue I had in those days became, on the one hand, a psychological aid to help me overcome the extremely difficult situation I was undergoing; and on the other hand, it was also my need to express myself in spite of the crisis, which, by then, was not only economic but also a general one. It was a true crisis of national identity. I was consequently trying to do something from the design capabilities so as to give a new meaning to the identity that belonged to those who were aboard that ship that was adrift: our country, Argentina.

The changes in the government did Argentina good, or simply made her believe that no crisis lasts forever⁹. In fact, the country had, in two-years time, touched ground from where to start growing up. In the meantime, I had professionally survived with clients I had contacted abroad, mostly from Ireland, who I charged fees which were sent to me in Argentina to help me make a living. This way, I suddenly achieved some stability and found myself having my own image project for Argentina almost ready. I patented it and holding it under my arm, I started my new approach to the State.

I started carrying out interviews via e-mail -hundreds of them- to the then officials at the Chancellery, at the Ministry of Economy, at the Secretariat of Tourism, the Secretariat of Agriculture, the Secretariat of Culture and the Media, among others. I requested hearings with Ministers, Directors, and Senators and even with the President. After having received mostly silence as answers (only the Secretary to the President suggested I should ask for a hearing with the Exporter Foundation), Dr. Raúl Dejean, Director of Exports Promotions, showed his interest in the project and helped me as much as he could to put it into practice.

During those days, I printed two hundred and fifty manuals with the complete work, which I carefully handed out. My position and my designs must have been introduced up to a hundred times with that material. After a while, my requests for interviews started to be accepted first by the

⁹ As it was seen in those days, nations are not like companies: they cannot go out of business.

third, then the second, and finally the first lines in each area, with officials, politicians, businessmen and producer chambers. I also gave dozens of lectures at Universities, international congresses and seminars on the issue in different countries. I also offered radio, newspaper and magazines interviews. The Icograda (Design World Organization) even published an article written by me which is put at the end of this stage. I understand that I was the first person that publicly fostered the issue of the nation brand from a concrete design project in Argentina.

Consequently, without ever finding any sort of criticism I showed this project throughout three years. Meanwhile, I designed the identity for the sectorial competitiveness forums for the Secretariat of Industry, as well as different assignments for the Design National Plan. I was even offered to hold the Director position in the latter institution.

Also, in relation with this, I was called by the Association of Argentines abroad, the Diaspora Argentina to design their brand, something that I did.

Finally, the Presidency of the Nation took the issue in 2004 and resorted to the public officers from the related areas, such as Tourism, the Chancellery and the Media, as well as people closer to the government, who called me on a number of opportunities to state my opinion; unfortunately, some of them later made use of several of my concepts as their own. A year later, a contest for a logo for Argentina was carried out, in very questionable terms, as far as I understand. My proposal was not the winning one in the contest. As a matter of fact, the winning brand turned out to be very similar to one that I had designed (that from the CONICET).

This is how, apparently, the last stage in my approach to the State is finished. Nevertheless, this recently stated ending might not be the appropriate one.

2. 3.c. The research performed during this period

The research during this period can be assessed as being more interpretative than the rest, because it turned out to be hard to find fixed points in relation to the issue in question. For example, the State's area responsible for this issue changed five times, while three of them even changed Ministries in the lapse of two years. The fact that the work was not hired by anyone but rather it was me who wanted to obtain certain results influenced this research.

The greatest subject learning source was the result of being my sources mostly achieved by having presented a country's identity concrete design project, to therefore evaluate opinions, analysis frameworks, expectations and reactions. In the meantime, and including these points of view, the project was developed in spite of what I had expected at the beginning of the work. That is to say,

the basic element of data recompilation during this research stage instead of being an interview with an opened questionnaire was reactive to what I was providing the state with in my condition of someone external to it that had not been called by anybody.

Different sources of information were used. For instance, existing research analysis and opinions about Argentina's identity and image and on the general nation brand were analysed. Among the analysed studies there are the ones provided by the Presidency of the Argentine Nation: *Compared Study of Nation Brands in the World*; *Argentina in the International Media 2000–2004*, *Argentina in the international media* and *Conclusions from the seminar Argentine Brand*, organized in March 2005 by the Presidency of the Nation.

Besides, interviews and opinions coming from debate conferences where the work was introduced were also used.

Likewise, looking for the foreign definition about what is Argentina, from the year 1998 I started to systematically collect the possible opinions on the part of the interlocutors that my trips provided me with and on the part of occasional visitors that came to the country. This data source, which was relative regarding the exposition arbitrariness, was the first available source about how the Argentine was considered, given that not even the Argentine State had systematised material in order to detect such observations. However, even when the exposition's stratification tried to encompass as great a number of social sectors and countries as it was possible, its results are not scientifically demonstrable due to the incidental character of the interviewees. Despite this fact, the data provided by many people helped to detect common denominators about the possible associations with which those people of other nations classified the Argentine. It should be highlighted that the answers were concurrent with the survey conducted by the Argentine State in 2004, even if this survey did not interpret the answers' reason and therefore, do not provide any fruitful information about the possible symbols of Argentine signification or about the implicit content of those images, which could be detected in my research due to its long and participative dialogue.

Among the series of interviews conducted during this period, the following can be highlighted:

Firstly, the ones held with the members of the Secretariat of Industry of the Nation's Forums on Productive Chains' Competitiveness, nine sectors for which I designed identities and that allowed me, during that process, to interview the State's coordinators, and in many cases, the sector's businessmen. Regarding the answers of these businessmen, the lack of expectations about what the State would do for their areas can be highlighted, agreeing -without even directly expressing it- in

that their interest to participate in this organization was based on having an available space of lobby, something that I had been warned about by the political representatives and coordinators.

Secondly, the series of interviews held with the country's diplomats as a consequence of my request to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. These interviews took place during trips related to my private work, where I interviewed, among others, the Ambassador to Ireland, Dr. Huergo, the Ambassador to the Arab Emirates (in the country), Dr. Caro, the former and current Commercial Attachés to England, the Cultural Attaché to that country, the Consul and Business Attaché to Barcelona, and the Cultural Attaché to Spain. During these interviews, they were asked about their view on the issue, and afterwards, to make an evaluation of my project.

Thirdly, the interviews conducted with personalities related to design, which due to personal situations acceded to make commentaries on the subject and on my project, such as Marcelo Leslabay, commissioned by the Spanish Foreign Office to promote Spanish Design; Marcelo Ghio, former Chairman of the Designers Association of Buenos Aires, and university teachers. Among the contributions, Leslabay's doubted how my work's access to the State would be facilitated if I designed something to be hoped for, like only one identity, and what he found as the Argentine's need to possess something that would depict Argentina, a material object.

Fourthly, a series of interviews that were conducted as a project's presentation to State's areas, such as Fundación Exportar (a foundation meant to improve the number of Argentine exportable goods), to the Secretariat of Agriculture and to the Secretariat of Tourism.

Finally, the series of interviews with businessmen linked to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and with other businessmen related to works that were not performed from the State. Among the second group of businessmen, there are those that constitute the editor group of "El libro Blanco sobre Argentina" (The White Book on Argentina), which I designed, and large enterprises' managers grouped around the Argentine Enterprise Association that hired me to design the program "Bicentenary Schools" that they funded. In this case, an interesting situation arose when I presented the program's brand: I gave them the option to represent Argentina's future education with two, four or eight children. The unanimous decision was to use two children, something that I interpreted as a limit to an Argentina represented by an autonomous group of people.

2. 3. d. Project's introduction, presentation and evaluation

The project of nation brand was introduced as a conference/debate in different environments. Although, initially, these activities were thought to ratify or modify certain project's aspects and to

add commentaries to it, finally, the results were interesting regarding its rich contribution of readings related to the project, the State and the whole country. Among the presentations, the one that took place at the First Design International Seminar in Puebla, Mexico, and that of publicists training in Quito, Ecuador, where, among others, some commentaries were received from Theodora Mantzaris-Kindel, designer of the image of Athens's Olympic Games, who valued the project, and from other Latin-American designers who shared their views on the Argentine case.

In Argentina, the presentation at the National University of La Plata and the two at the University of Palermo were very important, together with the presentation at the Design Argentine Forum in a roundtable on Nation Brand, the project's presentation at The Globe Theatre, at the Netherlands' Former Fellows Association, and particularly, at the seminar Nation Brand organized by the Presidency of the Nation. In conclusion, thousands of people saw the project. Among the participants' contributions, the interest on the part of a student from the University of Palermo of having symbols that were adapted to the feeling she had for the country and not the other way around can be highlighted, as well as the debates on the consequences that changing the national symbols would cause at the Design Forum and the audience's encouragement to approach higher state instances.

Among other experiences I had, it is worth mentioning four of them. First, the experience I had with Director Arguindegui of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in charge of the area related to the United Nations, who, when I presented the system's general work, asked me if I could design a particular logotype for his area. When I handed in the proposal, he said that he did not have any resources to pay for the work and asked me if I could donate it. Before my refusal, I stopped receiving news from that area.

Second, a similar experience was had in this same area when the then Director of Export Promotions accepted my interview request, Dr. Raúl Dejan. At this opportunity, my proposal was seriously evaluated, having a series of future meetings with sectorial representatives arranged, as well as with other members of the Cabinet of the Ministry, which I accepted considering this as a warm acceptance of my proposal; all of them quite positive. One of the presentations took place before the area's Secretary superior to Dejan, the Minister Seward who showed his agreement and asked me for a more complete development of certain areas to implement the system, first, from the Internet, a fact which I accepted. After several comings and goings, the system was developed. However, the Minister highlighted that he did not have enough budget to implement it, and that he needed the agreement of his superiors. In the meantime, there was a change of government and new modifications were made, resulting in this Minister being moved to another destination. According

to later evaluations, Seward's ambiguous attitude had been influenced by the fact that my proposal came from the hands of his subordinate, with whom he competed not to lose his position.

Afterwards, a third similar situation took place one year later, when before a presentation that I made of my work to the Direction of Agriculture and Live-stock Breeding Promotion, to the Secretariat of Agriculture of the Nation, the Under-secretary Mr. Triveri asked me to make a proposal for the honey and equine's sectors. After I made the proposal, he asked me if they could implement the work and pay me in the future when a certain agreement was credited, since within these areas he had friends who could be interested in my work. Since my refusal, this person has not contact me again.

The fourth situation was even rarer. In the year 2004, I made a presentation at the University of Palermo to which all governmental areas, journalists, and private individuals were invited, the total audience being a significant group of people. After starting with the presentation, someone told me that at the entrance, the representatives of the Fundación Exportar - who I had interviewed without receiving any answer to my proposal and who according to the Presidency were in charge of the issue - were trying to prevent the entrance to the conference of State officials, this fact being confirmed by one of these officials. The people from this Fundación Exportar, later on, were not longer in charge of the issue, having been transferred to a team dependent on the Presidency of the Nation.

The last experience is related to the people from the Presidency in charge of the contest Nation Brand, who called me two years before the contest soliciting meetings where, to their request, I gave them an opinion on the issue with full details. They even asked for the specific material, which I gave them, and they took it as a basis for their presentations. However, in the official contest's announcement there were not clear cut guidelines that forbade any previous orientation that would imply, as I feared, the previous definition of a winner, which to my understanding conditioned the contest's resolution. These guidelines were: that the judges should not all belong to the city of Buenos Aires and to their groups of interest; that the opposition should be public; that the framework by them drafted should be respected, and so on. After losing the contest, which to my understanding had been badly organized, they called me to offer me the position of honorary consultant on the issue, which I rejected.

2.3.e. Some Conclusions: an evaluation of these experiences

The evaluation on the reason for these comings and goings, and these boycotts on the part of these officials, is that during the first three cases, what they were really looking for was not that the work

was implemented, something that could generate criticism on the part of any competitor or peer, but to show my work to their superiors as a demonstration of their work and efficiency. Once this was achieved, the work itself stopped being important. The fourth and fifth experiences are assessed as an attempt to prevent the issue from going out of the control of the ones who were responsible for it or maybe it is only about the incapacity of these officials to say no.

In the second place, the experience of belonging to this administration can be mentioned. It all happened when the then Director of Exports Promotion, Dr. Raúl Dejan, who had always valued my proposal, was appointed Under-secretary of Industry of the Nation and offered me, on the one hand, to design the identity of the Nation's Forums on Productive Chains' Competitiveness, a work that I performed and that had to do with the identification of nine productive sectors that were dependent on the aforementioned Under-secretariat. Afterwards, before several consultations about the development of a design national policy, he offered me the position of Director of a National Program of Design, a position that I initially accepted. During the short term that I preferred to spend there (three months), I had the chance of seeing other State's aspects that mainly confirmed my first impressions, above all in relation to the groups that comprise this State¹⁰.

This brief experience confirmed my previous observation on the different State sectors. For example, the National Program of Design had only three employees, all of them hired by the IDB, one designer, and two more people whose merit was having political affiliations. It also allowed me to experience the schizophrenic situation that the Argentine State lives, pretending to be what the reality does not allow it to be, something that has already been described.

The State's evaluation I can do for this stage is that the state areas I found were similar to the ones during the first experience, such as the Secretariat of Agriculture, the Secretariat of Industry and the Presidency itself. The difference found in all cases was the increase in number of a figure that has become prominent during the last years in civil service: the staff hired by the State but paid by loans of the Inter-American Development Bank or the World Bank. This staff is hired according to Executive Power's proposals but their job is coordinated by those organizations of foreign credit, which means that their work is constantly monitored by the aforementioned banks, and that periodic formal reports that are submitted to Washington have to be handed in. The contracts are short-termed, allowing the specific hiring of specialists that can be nullified if they do not achieve the production required by the organization and mainly the State. They also allow the existence of people responsible for certain areas that are almost non-existent in the official organization chart but funded with foreign indebtedness, which results actually in one State inside another State. That

¹⁰ However, from the national State's creation of policies, I realised that without any resources or minimal infrastructure, it only remained for the State's role regarding the promotion of design to be limited to a role of coordination of potentialities, something that I was not willing to do during this particular stage of my life.

is to say, there exists a formal State with permanent staff and political officials, and another State, a legion of specialists that depend on the willingness and management of those politicians in order for the organizations to carry out their tasks and pay for their work.

Within this parallel working sector, a greater fear to a peer's promotion was detected, being this the engine of the attempt to block the growth of any potential competence, contributing to the creation of a wild environment within civil service, where the formal State remains inactive, the officials continue with their operations, and the hired employees keep trying to maintain the interest of the official of the moment.

Another group, the sector of Diplomacy, I found to constitute the Argentine State during this experience, is the group comprised of the Foreign Service of the Nation, which are members of the public sector. Their access and evolution is by contest and diplomatic career, and their wages are privileged since they do not correspond to that of the rest of the civil service.

The experience with this sector makes me classify it as being close to the CONICET because of their affection and closeness to their beloved "House", the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. However, this sector is also close to the conventional civil servant, regarding the need of pretending that everything happens while at the same time everything is still. Maybe, its main difference is that they are qualified by their specific training, but this qualification is not displayed on any decision-making or on the creation of new contexts for the country resulting from their limitations and interests. This is what causes a critical reading of this body, given that the results of their work in any area are limited.

These officials did not present great differences with the other people evaluated during the first administration, but my position before them was different since in this place I was not a part of the group of belonging, with the exception of my brief stay through the Secretariat of Industry.

At this stage, the observed State possessed the economic resources that the first State did not possess and the flexibility to apply them according to their criterion. It was a State where political officials were also moved, so often that they mainly interrupted the continuity of any policy; where permanent employees kept a passive position while the hired staff try to seduce their political bosses. The tendency to ignore what had been previously done by the previous administration was also detected, producing a constant loss of resources. For example, after having explained three times my project to a given official, some days later the issue was the responsibility of a new one who ignored what has been done by the previous administration. The superposition of areas which worked on the same subjects was also detected, for example, at a given time the area of exports promotion belonged to three offices. Moreover, the denial to make public any debate was also

detected, as for example, the one referred to the contents that the nation's image could have, which I repeatedly proposed and that was ignored. This can be attributed to the State's fear of losing the control of the issues or power.

Regarding my work, I realized that the specialist designer of images and identities who tries to gain access to the State without political godfathers and using as his sole resource his knowledge on the area, makes the State, take that knowledge for themselves and develop the work understood as its own, personally capitalizing on what has been developed by another. Especially its political representatives or already hired technicians. Moreover, the lack of ascription to the political trend of the moment makes the suspicion regarding the origin limit any possible opening of the political officials to the ideas, since it could mean a publicly displayed sign of weakness of the current government because it is not able to create by itself what seems to belong to it.

The final conclusion I arrive at from this experience is that the State is not open to independent proposals, since the State's reaction is to take the contribution and use it according to particular interests. When the State does accept the outer contribution, this opening depends on the willingness of someone inside the State. In this case, that person needs to have inner importance so that the independent contribution can get somewhere. In the second place, almost no-one in this State seemed to be interested on the country's image, but their interest had to do with their particular needs. Finally, the issue becomes a haul for the State since it does not define a serious policy, nor does it want others to define it or that the citizenship gain access to the bottom of the issue and related decisions.

After that I included my article published by Icograda.

Branding a Nation: the design of the difference through a Country Brand

At the current time it is publicly accepted that nations deserve to have an image that can represent them in the international sphere. In this sphere, this image is normally centered almost exclusively on issues of a country's brand. Thus, as Anholt and Hildreth pointed out, "the country of origin effect is just one aspect of a much bigger and more complex branding phenomenon, and countries behave like brands in lots of other ways...A country's good name doesn't just help consumers make millions of everyday purchasing decisions, it affects much bigger decisions too: companies deciding where to build their factories, set their overseas operations, market their products or outsource their industrial processes and customer services centers; governments deciding where to

spend their foreign aid budgets; international sporting bodies or beauty contests deciding which country or city will host their next event; opera and theatre companies deciding where to tour; film studios deciding where to go on location; supranational bodies like the European Union, Mercosur, NATO or ASEAN deciding which countries can join and which can't, even governments picking their allies in times of international conflict" (Anholt and Hildreth, 2004: 12).

It is well known that the present context in which countries are immersed makes every nation give symbolic visibility and clarification to the exchange contents they offer, enabling them to successfully interact within the global scenario. Thus, a country brand will represent the idea of a nation, compromising both the natural and cultural aspects of each country in only one representation, as well as compromising multiple collective identities, multiples realities, enterprises, desires and hopes in a single representation.

To do that, the entity, group or person in charge of a nation's image will suture a sense that will speak in the name of everybody, but always using a single voice. That entity will deliberately project myths from the image that is validated as a brand, from its metaphor, from the act of showing actions and choices, a presence or an absence, from the possible act of appealing to individuals as subjects of that reference.

That voice will, in part, affect what the person - as long as he or she is defined as having that origin - will believe and value in his or her environment and in his or her relation with others, as an expanded identity.

Then, the symbolic value of the representation of origin becomes part of the strategic resources of national economies and policies. The figure of the nation seems to be committed exclusively as a product under the law of the market. In that way, as Zizek pointed out "ultimately, the Nation itself is turning into an experiential commodity" (Zizek, 2004: p.286).

As Anholt and Hildreth showed us, the productive sectors, the tourism supply, the investment incentives and the credibility of domestic policy within the international scenario articulate themselves in the same cause, but those are not all (Anholt and Hildreth, 2004).

Who needs to have a country brand?

From an etymological point of view, it might simply be a debate concerning form, where the neutral idea of countries as cartographic spaces inhabited by certain people or groups of people is separated from the concept of a nation, the latter being one's own place of birth or adoption.

However, this slight difference is what relates the idea of a nation with feelings of belonging and of a common sense, recalling learned and constructed stories together with individual ways of seeing and feeling collectively. It is from that difference that national identity can be re-thought.

In this sense, it is possible to think “who needs to have a national image?”. The answer is that inside the current nation those who have to internationally validate the positive aspects of the origin of their production supply a need to have an image of their nation. Besides, the State needs it because the national public sectors feel the logical political and operational need to join efforts and resources in order to frame the private sector and the social, political and economical organizations within an appropriate policy projected by all of their members.

As a conclusion, the Nation States have the right to be the spokespeople of the national interest inside and outside the boundaries of the country. Then, governments also need those brands.

However, it is possible to include another dimension. Since the idea of the nation will be just single and differentiated from other representations. That representation might well be seen as part of the resources that make the social bond linking all the members of any nation at a certain moment in history become visible. Consequently, no matter what the causes that give rise to the fiction guiding the national identity in each context are, and what the discourses emitted by the representatives are, it should be recognized that this collective identity affects the parameters of the individual identity of those citizens inhabiting that nation at the present moment as well as the matrix where the new generations will develop. For instance, the nationalization mechanics exerted by images at school in nations so distant from each other such as England, China or Uruguay are examples of the above analyzed.

Consequently, present and future citizens will also need brands.

In this sense, when speaking in the name of a nation, there would be different options. The country could be projected usually by the state as a stage with no actors or actresses. This might involve simply having to be either the person in charge of maintenance of the theatre or the one who turns the lights on and off. On the other hand, the country can be projected as a music box, always repeating the same dancing tune or depicting the same characters (Samba music or Tango, Cossacks or Mariachis¹¹). This might freeze history or a repetitive joke, implying a simple anchorage of the idea of a country into being just a reflection of historical stereotypes defined by the world as typical of the inhabitants of each region. Then, one can become the image of a mirror reflecting what the rest supposedly want or understand from us.

¹¹ For Power, the brand Mexico “include the images of masculinity — the bullfighter, the mariachi, the map of Mexico, and Aztec iconography” (Power, 1998: 83)

Furthermore, a country could also be projected from a company or from an economy sector. This would tie the country's fortune to that business in particular. In fact, Finland's image of a country has been associated to Nokia: "Finland perhaps is best known as the home of Nokia" (Pegley, 2008: 91), with the consequent direct association that a crisis in the company (something likely to happen to any company) would lead to a crisis in Finland. However, it might seem that brands and identities are not the only ideal suit to be worn at a party you have not been invited to.

Nevertheless, among other possibilities, you may want to try to define the idea of a Nation in relation to the topic, and then, like in all definitions, try to take sides. Particularly, one side is not to see the nation as a stony whole, but rather as a set of fragments and relations. The nation is thus defined as the articulation of ventures taken in their broadest sense - those taken as one's own, along with those taken with consideration of expectations and shared realities. Markets change and products change, but the people inhabiting each and every spot of the Earth - no matter what names they have - basically remain in their places.

However, the nation, at present, is facing the possibility of using the power of images for its projection. Meaning and sense can be set as objectives by diversifying or modifying myths, prejudices, exportable supply and the information about a nation, and by making the external (and internal) perception a topic to construct integrating views.

Positive self-awareness has to be fostered on the part of the citizens from all nations. That self-awareness should in itself stimulate collective reflection regarding what binds them together, what they want to be, and of what each citizen can do for the rest, without having to resort to any magical potions.

In terms of the material aspect of the matter, the resources the inhabitants have should not promote a single production sector or area in the nation, since it will be the citizens themselves who will principally spend money on the expansion of these brands as well as spreading or using institutional merchandising or positive replication in the treatment they give each other.

Which image for the state?

The State is the main projector of the image of the nation, the state in particular can also be defined according to the different roles and identities that it can have.

A State is committed to not only just one class interest but also the generation of consensuses. For this reason, there is no one social sense, no one social responsibility, no one theme, no one public, no one social group involved in the state social life. For that reason, the state can not have just one face and would have to be represented in many ways and by their many social roles that it is exercising.

Therefore, and as a balance, even though it would be possible to agree that “the state is a complex amalgamation of particular interests, forces and pressures, at any one time led by a predominant faction” (Harris, 1995: 7), the state itself can be considered an image projector with certain coherence aspects from its continuity in the society where it acts.

Consequently, for the state, the requirement to have a defined image and identity could become the result of the society’s need of having a comprehensive body to be identified and differentiated as the representative of the nation on earth. About that, such a defined image is not necessary to be either something spiritual, as the national identity would be, or something material, as the soil and geography of the nation to be represented, not even something called by someone so “biological” as the ethnic composition of a nation, but in fact highlighting something as tangible as the figure of a guardian, administrator, volunteer, coach, referee or a representative of the club would be acceptable.

Hence, if we think of the modern idea of the nation as the one which regulates the world classification and organization, forcing the local to “a national and then global outward orientation” (Campbell, 1999: p.37), we can realize that no one has a named place outside a national land, and then the figure of the state would be filled in as of that of the guardian who is always looking after our land, our house or our garden against foreign interest, ensuring that at the same time, we keep our identity (card, passport) alive. Besides, and as we already said, the state has on the national territory the monopoly on the legitimate use of force and violence (Weber, 1958), and as such, the image of the state would have a relation to the way that this violence is executed.

Meanwhile, suppose that an accident took place and children were left alone because their parents died and they had no other relatives to be with, so the state could be imagined as the one who has to find a solution for them. Then the state would be called the one whose labor is to take care of such defenseless people. We can think of the person in charge of this process as a volunteer, a social worker or a doctor, repairing social issues that can disturb the national stability, all based on positive common values.

Moreover, the state can also be imagined by us as a coach, someone that has the duty to encourage and organize the national team through a goal or to look after the goals, this person being the one

who is “attempting to translate ideas into reality” (Robertson, 1984: 97). Then this coach is the one who has to awake the tired national recourses sometimes threatening the current players by making the changes: “a coaching relationship exists if someone seeks to move someone else along a series of steps, when those steps are not entirely institutionalized and invariant, and when the learner is not entirely clear about their sequences, although the coach is” (Strauss, 1969: 109).

Additionally, the State could be imagined as the referee that can preserve the logical respect of the rules in the social play or to allow us to maintain our “habitus” (Bourdieu, 1997). This is the one that can guarantee rights and obligations or the one who can penalize by applying the law.

Last, the state can also be the president of the club or the representant representative of the club in the sport league and be then the figure of the one who controls the referee's actions and also who improves the rules of the game.

Thus, the State could be represented in our mind by many figures, maybe by all of them.

Section 3. A general conclusion after field work

After dealing with the tangible Argentine national state from 1999 to 2006, my perception is that in fact a state is not a real whole.

It has no proper life because even though it could project the impression that sometimes it is in motion, it comes only through the interweave of the life of people who are involved with the state.

It has no long term memory because as soon as someone from the state who is involved with an issue quits, the state forgets about such an issue. It has no logic because you can find the logic of an administrator, the logic of a politician or the logic of an employee, but you cannot find a tangible logic of the institution. It has no hurry because time can go by, the national civil servant continues to earn their salary and the politician in office moves from one space to another.

It has no common dreams because anyone can just find the state relating to sectarian utopias and interests, as if it were dreamed by a circumstantial actor.

It has no arms because anyone can find the state doing “like us”, but you cannot see the state committing to lasting active social issues.

It has no brain because although it is possible to find there clever people, they are just crashing against the irrational, like something closer to a Kafkian tale.

However, that terrific balance has to be defined as a consequence not only of all the main actors of the State, including the politicians, the civil servants and the technical employees, but also of the economic State breakdown.

From another point of view, it can be detected that the access a designer or an artist can have to develop his or her work in the State demands, in general terms, the back-up of a political “god-father”, the contrary only taking place in certain different semi-autonomous state technical areas. That is to say, the stronger the presence of the political party in the state, the hegemony, the less chances for independent opinions and work to get there. And, the higher autonomy and technical specialization, the greater the access opportunities to the state will be.

Besides, it could be seen that the global relation of this state with images production differs from the one found throughout the Argentine History, where the hegemonic political currents seemed to

clearly know what they wanted to express as a reference to national identity, something that was not seen during the last six years of research.

Finally, it can be checked in practice that even today the state is mostly a booty for differentiated sectors or identities that, already in office, still fight to execute their particular vision or interest on top of a wider conception of accepting the set of the citizenship as part of their work.

By interpreting the causes through which the past and present situations in Argentina are reached, in the first instance one could detect the difficulty people had in finding the rules of the game that were accepted by all its members. Those rules should respect diversity and unity should present itself as the current agreement to be able to dispose of a better individual and collective life.

Thus, in the second place we can find the effects of the actions of those who do not accept a rule in common and advance over their fellow men's rights, the State being an accomplice to those groups. In this sense, and such as Hobbes states in his Leviathan, the state has the right to act only if "we", who are being represented by it, wish so (Hobbes); however, it has been seen how in this case the state was taken by groups whereas "us" only has a meaning for a few.

In this sense, it can be detected that these two difficulties have produced excessive powers and visibilities on the part of those few, and disappearances from the public on the part of some others. That is to say, Argentina has been producing ghosts, beings with no representation or visible existence. They are ghosts like the Federals, the Unitarians, the natives, the communist, Jewish or anarchist civilians, leftist or militant youngsters or scientists who, were periodically expelled, outcast harassed and even "disappeared" for their condition. Also there were exiled professionals, unemployed women, pensioners not being paid any pension, savers without their savings and what is even worse, undernourished children in a food producer country, all of whom are the ghosts of the dichotomist economy that defines the power in the Argentine nation.

That overexposure of some as the incarnation of Argentina, generates, for instance, the Buenos Aires inhabitant's difficulty in accepting that Argentina is not simply their city. The difficulty the whites have in accepting that Argentina is not European; the military's difficulty in accepting the government of the majorities; the majority's difficulty in accepting the minorities; the worker's difficulty in not depending only on the state; the state's being responsible for what the society expects from their work; the society's responsibility in demanding respect for the laws and in not intending to be the law themselves; the law's being independent; the independent people being committed with to their society; the society being responsible for integrating the minorities; the minorities in exerting their rights to express and assume that they are also Argentina.

As a result, it can be seen that there is direct or indirect social pressure and expectation on the governments, not only regarding the individual's protection in the immediate future (the present) but also more in the reconstruction and re-interpretation of the collective memory and, consequently of the identity (the past), as well as in the institutionalization of the new rules of the public game and its projection (the future), since it is in the imagination of an imaginary future where the society best takes certain anticipatory crises away from them, favouring a minimum scenario for the reconstruction of the social fabric and welfare at present.

However, the present social life in a country with the characteristics of Argentina, is subject to a constant struggle for the encounter of sense and shape in the relations of the citizens between themselves, with their representatives and the rest of the world. In this country, the rigid model of the definition of the national culture as static and exclusive, typical of 1930, is opposed to a globalized present and an uncertain future regarding the nations occurrences and the regional blocks.

In this way, the state, the father of the Argentine nation, is accomplishing a process of dismantling of that social framework and of the modification of the symbolic structures existing prior to the current citizens. As a consequence of that dismantling there seem to be now indefensible individuals and small reference communities in the face of the forces of the more powerful groups.

From this point of view, what can be done? It has been proposed that design is an act for the construction of images and the modelling of imaginaries can end up being a political tool for the constant re-imagination of what nation and nationality mean. This implies a last challenge of thinking up what can be done from the design so as to affect that structure of the Argentine nationality.

2. Interviews

Section 1. Guide to questions

Among the information that was requested, the following questions were asked:

1. What are the national symbols you feel identified with?
What national symbols do you identify with?
2. Give three reasons to justify the answer in number 1.
3. What kind of feelings do you feel with each national symbol?
4. What are the colours that could best represent Argentina now?
5. What are the elements that an Argentine brand should have?
What elements should an Argentine brand have?

Section 2. List of interviews

Interviews to National Government

Dr. Federico Storani (Minister of Interior, Buenos Aires, 1999)
Dr. Carlos Becerra (Vice-Minister of Interior, Buenos Aires, 2000)
Graciela Fernandez Mejjide (Social Development Minister, 2000)
Antonio De la Rúa (Presidential Advisor, Buenos Aires, 2000)
Nilda Garré (Secretary of Political Affairs, Minister of Interior, Buenos Aires, 2000)
Alberto Fohri (Minister of Interior Advisor, Buenos Aires, 2000)
Federica Suarez Santiago (Secretary of Culture, Buenos Aires, 2000)
Claudio Massetti (Director of the Palais de Glace Centre, Buenos Aires, 2000)
Ricardo Vasquez (National Deputy, Buenos Aires, 2000)
Margarita Stolbizer (National Deputy, Buenos Aires, 2000)
Eduardo Parodi (Ceremonial Director of the Home Ministry, Buenos Aires, 2000)
Angel Tello (Secretary of Defense, Buenos Aires, 2001)
Juan Pablo Baylac (Presidential Spokesman, Buenos Aires, 2001)
Dr. Carmen Storani (Director Women's National Council, Buenos Aires, 2001)

David Ratto (Presidential Councillor, Buenos Aires, 2000)
Dr. Julio Crespo (Director of the National History Museum, Buenos Aires, 2000)
Prof. Angel Ruffo (Shield Specialist of the National History Museum, Buenos Aires, 2000)
Lic. Cristina Crespi (Documents Director of the National General Archives, Buenos Aires, 2000)
Mayor Tojo (Researcher on National Symbols of the Argentine Army, Buenos Aires, 2000)
Ariel Bicaccetti (Press representative, Bahia Blanca, 2000)
Dr. Felix Luna (Historian, Buenos Aires, 2000)
Dr. Marcos Aguinis (Former Secretary of Culture of the Argentine Nation, Buenos Aires, 2000)
Dr. Atilio Boron (Political Scientist, Buenos Aires, 2000)
Lic Silvia Chejter (Social Violence Specialist, Buenos Aires, 2001)
Eva Lerner (Psychologist, Buenos Aires, 2004)

Interviews to CONICET

Dr. Eduardo Hernán Charreau (President of CONICET, Buenos Aires, 2004)
Dr. Ricardo Norberto Farias (CONICET, Buenos Aires, 2004)
Dr. Mario José Lattuada (CONICET, Buenos Aires, 2004)
Isabel Cittadini (CONICET, Buenos Aires, 2004)
Alina Membibre (CONICET, Buenos Aires, 2004)
Beatriz Calleja (CAICYT- CONICET, Buenos Aires, 2004)
Ana María Alvarez (CAICYT- CONICET, Buenos Aires, 2004)
Silvia Lede (INGEBI- CONICET, Buenos Aires, 2004))
Sergio Ghío (INGEBI- CONICET, Buenos Aires, 2004)
Dr. Alejandro Cecatto (CERIDER- CONICET, Rosario, 2004)
Dr. Carlos W. Rapela (CONICET, Buenos Aires, 2004)

Cdor. Rodolfo Beltramini (CONICET, Buenos Aires, 2004)
Lic. Luisa Baigorria (CONICET, Buenos Aires, 2004)
Juan José Cazzulo (CONICET, Buenos Aires, 2004)
Tatiana Carsen (CONICET, Buenos Aires, 2004)
Hugo García (CONICET, Buenos Aires, 2004)
Álvaro Alvarez (CONICET, Buenos Aires, 2004)
Adrian Stagnaro (CONICET, Buenos Aires, 2004)
Marcela Rey (CONICET, Buenos Aires, 2004)
Lic. Daniela Tosto (CONICET, Buenos Aires, 2004)
Cesar Bianchi (CONICET, Buenos Aires, 2004)
Lic. Héctor Lahitte (CONICET, Buenos Aires, 2004)
Rolando Quiros (CONICET, Buenos Aires, 2004)
Martin Zimmermann (CONICET, Buenos Aires, 2004)

Lisandro Gordillo (Research Aspirant, City Bell, 2004)
Lucía Cañaverl (Research Aspirant, Buenos Aires, 2004)
Manela Cuenca (Research Aspirant, La Plata, 2004)
Alejandra Luna (UNLP, La Plata, 2004)
Lic. María Alicia Gutiérrez (Professor, UBA, Buenos Aires, 2004)
Dr. Alfredo Guerrini (UNLP, La Plata, 2004)
Alejandro Ravassi (UNLP, Bolivar, 2004)
Luz Aramburú (UNLP, La Plata, 2004)
Claudia Fila (UCA La Plata)
Juan Pablo Olivieri (Designer, La Plata, 2004)
Javier Garganta (Artist, La Plata, 2004)

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Tulio Del Bono (National Secretary, SECYT, Buenos Aires, 2004)
Dr. Lino Barañao (Director of The Agency, Buenos Aires, 2004)
Ignacio Jawtuschenko (Press representative, SECyT, Buenos Aires, 2004)
Jorge Fontals (SECyT, Buenos Aires, 2004)
Armando Beltranou (FONTAR, Buenos Aires, 2004)
Carlos Leon (SECyT, Buenos Aires, 2004)
Agueda Memvielle (SECyT, Buenos Aires, 2004)
Dra. Ruth Ladenheim (Agency Communications Director, Buenos Aires, 2004)
María Sol Prieto (Communications Specialists SECyT, Buenos Aires, 2004)
Anibal Gattone (Science Specialist, Buenos Aires, 2004)
Dr. Alejandro Ceccatto (SECyT, Buenos Aires, 2004)
Angel Castaño (Union Representative, Buenos Aires, 2004)
Adrián Staguno (Union Representative, Buenos Aires, 2004)
Pablo Sierra (Director Community Affairs, Buenos Aires, 2004)
Roxana Iturrieta (SECyT employed, Buenos Aires, 2004)
Marcelo Campoamor (SECyT Employee, Buenos Aires, 2004)
Silvana Falcone (SECyT Employee, Buenos Aires, 2004)
Carlos Fuentes (SECyR Employee, Buenos Aires, 2004)

Victoria Guerrini (Ministry of Education, Buenos Aires, 2004)

Ana Correa (Ministry of Education, Buenos Aires, 2004)

Leonardo Gomes (Ministry of Education, Buenos Aires, 2004)

Mariana Giacobbe (Bioceres CEO, Rosario, 2004)

Paula Marra (Entrepreneur, Carlos Casares, 2004)

Luis Mosquera (Entrepreneur, Trenque Lauquen, 2004)

Leandro Galaburri (UBA, Buenos Aires, 2004)

Claudio Di Sario (University of Mar del Plata, Mar del Plata, 2004)

Juan Carlos Pararace (University of La Plata, La Plata, 2004)

Pedro Romo (UBA Student, Buenos Aires, 2004)

Marcelo Ferreira (MA Student, University of San Martin, Buenos Aires, 2004)

Dario Medina (UNLP, La Plata, 2004)

Natural Science National Museum

Edgardo Romero (Director, Buenos Aires, 2005)

Dr. Pablo L. Tubaro (Vice-Director, Buenos Aires, 2005)

Verónica Willenberg (Press representative, Buenos Aires, 2005)

Gustavo Carrizo (Museology, Buenos Aires, 2005)

Leonor Gutiérrez (Visiting Area Guide, Buenos Aires, 2005)

Enrique Villalba (Museology, Buenos Aires, 2005)

Marina Drioli (Museum Communications Director, Buenos Aires, 2005)

Ingeniero Roberto Romero (General Secretary, Buenos Aires, 2005)

Luciano Levin (Communications Director, Buenos Aires, 2005)

Laura Wainer (Scenography Museum, Buenos Aires, 2005)

Alan Walker (New York Natural Science Museum-Evaluation)

Dra. Alba Puig (Researcher, Buenos Aires, 2005)

Marcela Bravo (Visitor, Buenos Aires, 2005)

Camila Bravo (Visitor, Buenos Aires, 2005)

Diego Renom (Visitor, Buenos Aires, 2005)

Pablo Renom (Visitor, Buenos Aires, 2005)

Carolina Sabatini (Visitor, Buenos Aires, 2005)

Liliana Gutierrez (Visitor, Buenos Aires, 2005)

Pablo Mesa (Visitor, Buenos Aires, 2005)

Marcela Giglio (Visitor, Buenos Aires, 2005)

Brand Nation

Antonio Sewald (Secretary of Exports Promotion, Chancellery, 2003)

Jorge Harguindeguy (Argentine Chancellery, 2003)

Beatriz Guerra Ordoñez (Chancellery, 2003)

Lic. Luis Martino (Argentine Embassy representative in Britain, 2004)

Estanislao Zawels (Economic Counsellor of the Argentine Embassy in Britain, England, 2004)

Lic Sáenz Briones (Argentine Culture Representative in Spain, 2005)

Counciller Javier Pedrazzini (Argentine Embassy representative in Britain, England, 2005)
Lic. Ruben Eduardo Caro (Argentine Ambassador in Emirates, Buenos Aires, 2005)
Dr. Marcelo Huergo (Argentine Ambassador in Ireland, Ireland, 2006)

Facundo Jaramillo (Secretary of Tourism, 2001)
Jorge Lulo (Director of National Design Plan, 2003)
Laura Risso (Director of National Design Plan, 2004)
Raúl Dejean (Sub-Secretary of Exports Promotion, Industry Secretary, 2003)
Sr. Norberto Dominguez (Marca Argentina-Proyecto BID coordinator, 2003)
Christian Marredo (Industry Secretary, 2003)
Alejandro Tozzola (Coordinator of Competitive Forums, 2004)
Federico Santangelo (Argentine Meat Institute, 2004)
Ing. Pertierra Cánepa (Argentine Meat Institute, 2004)
Carlos Aime (Director of Promotion- Secretary of Tourism, 2004)
Lic. Valeria Pellizza (Director of Marketing, Secretary of Tourism, 2004)
Lic. Roberto Occhipinti (Secretary of Tourism, 2004)
Gustavo Triveri (Secretary of Agriculture, 2004)
Fernando Belaga (Presidential Advisor, 2004)
Emiliano Cisneros (ExportAr Foundation, 2004),
Benjamín von der Becke (Presidential Advisor, 2004)
Dr. Daniel Bazán Richibut (Commerce Director of the Province of La Pampa 2005)
Alfredo Irigoien (Senator-Province of Buenos Aires, 2006)
Mario Espada (Mayor of the City of Tres Lomas, Trenque Lauquen, 2006)
Lic. Daniel Kotzer (United Nations, Buenos Aires, 2006)
Diego Melamed (ECODAR, Buenos Aires, 2006)

David Ratto (Communications, Buenos Aires, 2001)
Marcelo Leslabay (Design and Communication Specialist, Spain, 2003)
Marcelo Ghio (Design Specialist, Palermo University, 2003)
Jorge Piazza (Designer, Buenos Aires, 2003)
Jorge Alberto Fernandez (Artist, Buenos Aires, 2003)
Daniel Pardo (Communications Specialist, Colombia, 2004)
Theodora Mantzaris-Kindel (Image and Design Specialist from Greece, Mexico, 2005)
Adrián Lebendiker (Buenos Aires Metropolitan Design Centre, 2005)
Dicken Castro (Designer from Colombia, Mexico, 2005)
Matías Sapegno (Media Specialist, La Pampa, 2005)
Lalo Zannini (Media Specialist, 2005)
Susana Bordato (Designer, Río Negro, 2005)
Sandra Turcci (Designer, Trenque Lauquen, 2005)
Esperanza Bacigalup (Designer, Buenos Aires, 2005)
Christian Ladaga (Design Specialist, Mar del Plata, 2006)
Matias Corado (Designer, Buenos Aires, 2006)
Lucía Spain (Designer, Trenque Lauquen, 2006)
Ana Correa (Communications Specialist, Buenos Aires, 2006)

Dr. Mauricio Mendez Santa Cruz, (Sociologist, México, 2004)

Dr. Gerardo Wadel (Researcher, UPC, Spain, 2005)

Marcelo Garófalo (Lawyer, Buenos Aires, 2005)

Alberto Forhi (Researcher, Oxford University, England, 2005)

María Elisa Peirano (Massey University, 9 de Julio, 2006)

Gustavo Grobocopatel (Entrepreneur, Carlos Casares, 2003)

Guillermo Maglio (Exporter, Spain, 2004)

Eduardo Arcodia (IBM- Argentina, 2005)

Flavio Mammini (Entrepreneur, La Plata, 2005)

Damián Barreto (Perez Compan Company Advisor, 2006)

José Sevilla (Exporter, Santa Rosa, 2006)

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- Figure 29. 1981, banknote
- Figure 30. 1978, World Cup campaign
- Figure 31. 1978, World Cup stamps
- Figure 32. 1980, Argentino theatre
- Figure 33. 1978, ATC building

Section 8 The sentiment of sharing: the new beginning of the Argentine Republic

- Figure 1. 1983, President Alfonsín
- Figure 2. 1984, report
- Figure 3. 1985, Lawsuit against juntas
- Figure 4. 1985, Congress debate
- Figure 5. 1986, political debate
- Figure 6. 1987, Alphabetization campaign
- Figure 7. 1987, PAN visual identity

Figure 8. 1987, Pedagogical Congress logo

Figure 9. 1985, Plebiscite campaign

Figure 10. 1985, stamp

Figure 11. 1987, banknote

Figure 12. 1988, banknote

Section 9 The proprietary sentiment: the use of public resources to support the private interests

Figure 1. 1989, President Menem

Figure 2. 1999, campaign

Figure 3. 1990, Buenos Aires

Figure 4. 1990, banknote

Figure 5. 1991, Bariloche

Figure 6. 1991, banknote

Figure 7. 1990, Buenos Aires

Figure 8. 1997, Escobar

Figure 9. 1999, Buenos Aires

Figure 10. 1999, brand nation

Section 10. An organizational dimension: to end corruption, to stop the use of public funds to benefit private interest through the creation of a political alliance (the Alliance)

Figure 1. 1999, President De la Rúa

Figure 2. 2001, "Cacerolas"

Figure 3. 2001, De la Rúa's resignation

Figure 4. 1999, Buenos Aires

Figure 5. 2001, Non-violence campaign

Figure 6. 2001, Children's Council

Figure 7. 2001, Woman's Council

Figure 8. 2001, House of Government

Figure 9. 2001, brand of Argentina

Section 11 The sentiment of sharing: Hope, self-esteem and organization in Duhalde's administration

Figure 1. 2002, President Duhalde

Figure 2. 2002, plan Home's Chief visual identity

Figure 3. 2002, campaign

Figure 4. 2002, campaign

Figure 5. 2002, press conference

Figure 6. 2002, press conference

Figure 7. 2003, press conference

Figure 8. 2002, Ministry of Economy visual identity

Figure 9. 2002, Argentina brand

Figure 10. 2002, blue flag attempt

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- Figure 2. 2007, President Cristina Kirchner
- Figure 3. 2008, government demonstration
- Figure 4. 2007, Encuentro channel
- Figure 5. 2008, Open Letter group
- Figure 6. 2005, replacement of Videla portrait
- Figure 7. 2006, Museum of Memory
- Figure 8. 2006, Monument to Victims
- Figure 9. 2008, Monument to Victims of 1955
- Figure 10. 2005, science related brands
- Figure 11. 2007, brand of Argentina

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- Figure 2. 1853, President Urquiza
- Figure 3. 1904, President Roca
- Figure 4. 1945, President Perón
- Figure 5. 1952, President Perón
- Figure 6. 1977, President Videla (dictatorship)
- Figure 7. 1983, President Alfonsín
- Figure 8. 1989, President Menem
- Figure 9. 2001, President De La Rúa
- Figure 10. 2001, President Rodriguez Saa
- Figure 11. 2002, President Duhalde
- Figure 12. 2003, President Kirchner
- Figure 13. 2008, Buenos Aires
- Figure 14. 2008, Casa Rosada
- Figure 15. 1862, Santa Cruz
- Figure 16. 1928, La Pampa
- Figure 17. 1989 Antartica
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- Figure 21. 2005, Aconcagua
- Figure 22. 1813, supposed first flag
- Figure 23. 1818, flag of Artigas
- Figure 24. 2008, flag of the province of Entre Rios
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Figure 53. 1982
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Chapter V

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Figure 36. 1869
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Figure 65. 1975, Isabel Perón at the balcony
Figure 66. 1950, in administrative office
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Figure 71. 2000, in stationery
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Chapter VI

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Figure 7. Note 1976-82

Figure 8. Note issued in 1976
Figure 9. Note 1976-82
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Figure 12. Note 1983-85
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Figure 18. Note issued in 1888
Figure 19. Note issued in 1881
Figure 20. Note issued in 1908
Figure 21. Note issued in 1985

4. Tables Flag

Section I. Argentina of the independence (1810-1820)

Table 1




Original 1813	Original 1818	1818
		
	Color	Light-blue and white (two strips)
	Sun	No
	Sun expression	No
	Rays	No
	Incorporated objects	No
	Incorporated legend	No
	Comment	Supposed first design of the flag
	Use	Military

Table 2




Original 1813	Original 1818	1814
		
	Color	Darker
	Sun	Normal
	Sun expression	Normal
	Rays	Normal
	Incorporated objects	No
	Incorporated legend	No
	Comment	Battle of Ayohuma
	Use	Military

Table 3



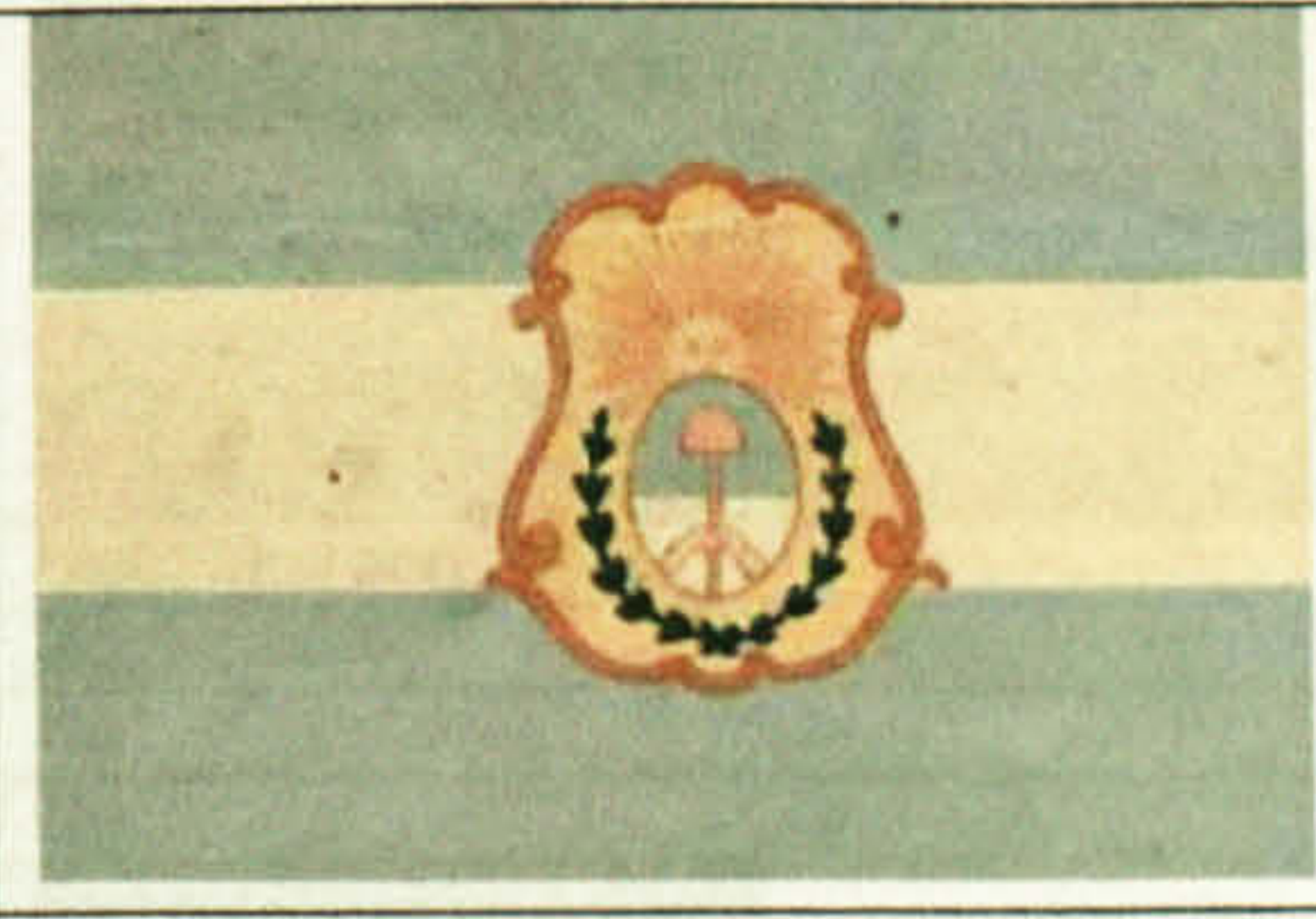
Original 1813	Original 1818	1817
		
	Color	Normal
	Sun	Normal
	Sun expression	Normal
	Rays	Normal
	Incorporated objects	One star for each province
	Incorporated legend	No
	Comment	Flag of Cabot
	Use	Military

Table 4

Original 1813	Original 1818	1817
		
	Color	Normal (two strips)
	Sun	No
	Sun expression	No
	Rays	No
	Incorporated objects	Shield and laurels
	Incorporated legend	No
	Comment	Los Andes flag
	Use	Military




2.a. Unitaries (1820-1830)**Table 5**

Original 1813	Original 1818	1820'
		
	Color	Light blue and white
	Sun size	Bigger
	Sun expression	Face of an adult man. Aggressive
	Rays	Jointed
	Incorporated objects	No
	Incorporated legend	No
	Comment	-
	Use	Military

Table 6

Original 1813	Original 1818	1823
		
	Color	Light blue and white
	Sun size	No
	Sun expression	No
	-	No
	Incorporated objects	Sun replaced by a shield
	Incorporated legend	No
	Comment	-
	Use	Military

Table 7

Original 1813	Original 1818	1828
		
	Color	Light blue and white
	Sun size	Bigger
	Sun expression	Face of an adult man
	Rays	Jointed
	Incorporated objects	No
	Incorporated legend	No
	Comment	-
	Use	Military

2.b. Rosas (1830-1852)

Table 8

Original 1813	Original 1818	1820's
		
	Color	Light blue and white
	Sun size	No
	Sun expression	No
	Rays	No
	Incorporated objects	Red strip and portrait
	Incorporated legend	No
	Comment	-
	Place	Entre Ríos
	Use	Military

Table 9




Original 1813	Original 1818	1840's
		
	Color	Blue and white
	Sun	Red and bigger
	Sun expression	Face of a woman
	Rays	Red and wavy
	Incorporated objects	4 bonnets
	Incorporated legend	No
	Comment	-
	Use	Government

Table 10

Original 1813	Original 1818	1840
		
	Color	black and white
	Sun size	Bigger
	Sun expression	Face of a young man
	Rays	Jointed
	Incorporated objects	4 red bonnets
	Incorporated legend	"Vivan los Federales" "Mueran los salvages Unitarios"
	Comment	-
	Use	Military

Table 11

Original 1813	Original 1818	1845
		
	Color	Black and white
	Sun	(Shield sun)
	Sun expression	Crowded female face
	Rays	Extended
	Incorporated objects	Sun replaced by the shield
	Incorporated legend	"Viva la confederación argentina" "mueran los salvajes unitarios"-
	Comment	-
	Use	Military

Table 12

Original 1813	Original 1818	1840
		
	Color	Red
	Sun	Bigger
	Sun expression	No expression
	Rays	Few and thicker
	Incorporated objects	No
	Incorporated legend	No
	Comment	-
	Use	Presidential sash

Table 13







Original 1813	Original 1818	1848
		
	Color	Dark blue
	Sun	Bigger and red
	Sun expression	No expression
	Rays	red
	Incorporated objects	4 bonnets
	Incorporated legend	No
	Comment	-
	Use	Military

Table 14

Original 1813	Original 1818	1850
		
	Color	Darker
	Sun size	Bigger
	Sun expression	Face of a woman
	Rays	Jointed and orange
	Incorporated objects	4 bonnets
	Incorporated legend	"Vivan los Federales" "Mueran los Unitarios"
	Comment	Patricios's Regiment. Buenos Aires
	Use	Military

2.c The Federales Confederation (1853-1862)

Table 15

Original 1813	Original 1818	1852
		
	Color	Half red and white, half blue and white
	Sun size	No
	Sun expression	No
	Rays	No
	Incorporated objects	No
	Incorporated legend	No
	Comment	Flag of Entre Ríos
	Use	Presidential sash

Table 16

Original 1813	Original 1818	1852
		
	Color	Light blue and white
	Sun size	Bigger
	Sun expression	Face of an adult man. Aggressive
	Rays	Jointed
	Incorporated objects	No
	Incorporated legend	Entre Ríos regiments
	Comment	-
	Use	Military

Table 17

Original 1813	Original 1818	1852
		
	Color	Blue and white
	Sun size	Normal
	Sun expression	Not clear
	Rays	Not clear
	Incorporated objects	No
	Incorporated legend	No
	Comment	-
	Use	Military

Table 18

Original 1813	Original 1818	1859
		
	Color	Light blue and white
	Sun size	No
	Sun expression	No
	Rays	No
	Incorporated objects	No
	Incorporated legend	No
	Comment	-
	Use	Presidential Sash

Section 3. Mitre's administration (1862-1880)

Table 19




Original 1813	Original 1818	1862
		
	Color	Light blue and white (the blue tone is not clear)
	Sun	No
	Sun expression	No
	Rays	No
	Incorporated objects	No
	Incorporated legend	No
	Comment	A village in Santa Cruz
	Use	Government

Table 20

Original 1813	Original 1818	1862
		
	Color	Light blue and white
	Sun size	No
	Sun expression	No
	Rays	No
	Incorporated objects	No
	Incorporated legend	No
	Comment	Two colors flag (as the shield background)
	Use	Presidential sash

3c. The consolidation of the agroexport model (1880-1916)

Table 21

Original 1813	Original 1818	1882
		
	Color	Blue and white
	Sun size	Normal
	Sun expression	No clear
	Rays	No clear
	Incorporated objects	No
	Incorporated legend	No
	Comment	-
	Use	Ceremony

Table 22


Original 1813	Original 1818	1904
		
	Color	Blue and white
	Sun	No
	Sun expression	No
	Rays	No
	Incorporated objects	The sun is replaced by a shield
	Incorporated legend	No
	Comment	-
	Use	Presidential sash

Table 23




Original 1813	Original 1818	1908
		
	Color	No
	Sun	Normal
	Sun expression	Face of an adult man. Seriousness
	Rays	Extended
	Incorporated objects	No
	Incorporated legend	No
	Comment	-
	Use	Monument

Table 24







Original 1813	Original 1818	1910
		
	Color	Light blue and white
	Sun	Bigger
	Sun expression	Face of an adult man
	Rays	Thicker and jointed
	Incorporated objects	No
	Incorporated legend	No
	Comment	-
	Use	Postcard

Table 25

Original 1813	Original 1818	1914
		
	Color	Light blue and white
	Sun	Normal
	Sun expression	Not clear
	Rays	Not clear
	Incorporated objects	No
	Incorporated legend	No
	Comment	-
	Use	Rural school

Section 4. The beginning of the Argentina Republic (1916-1930)

Table 26






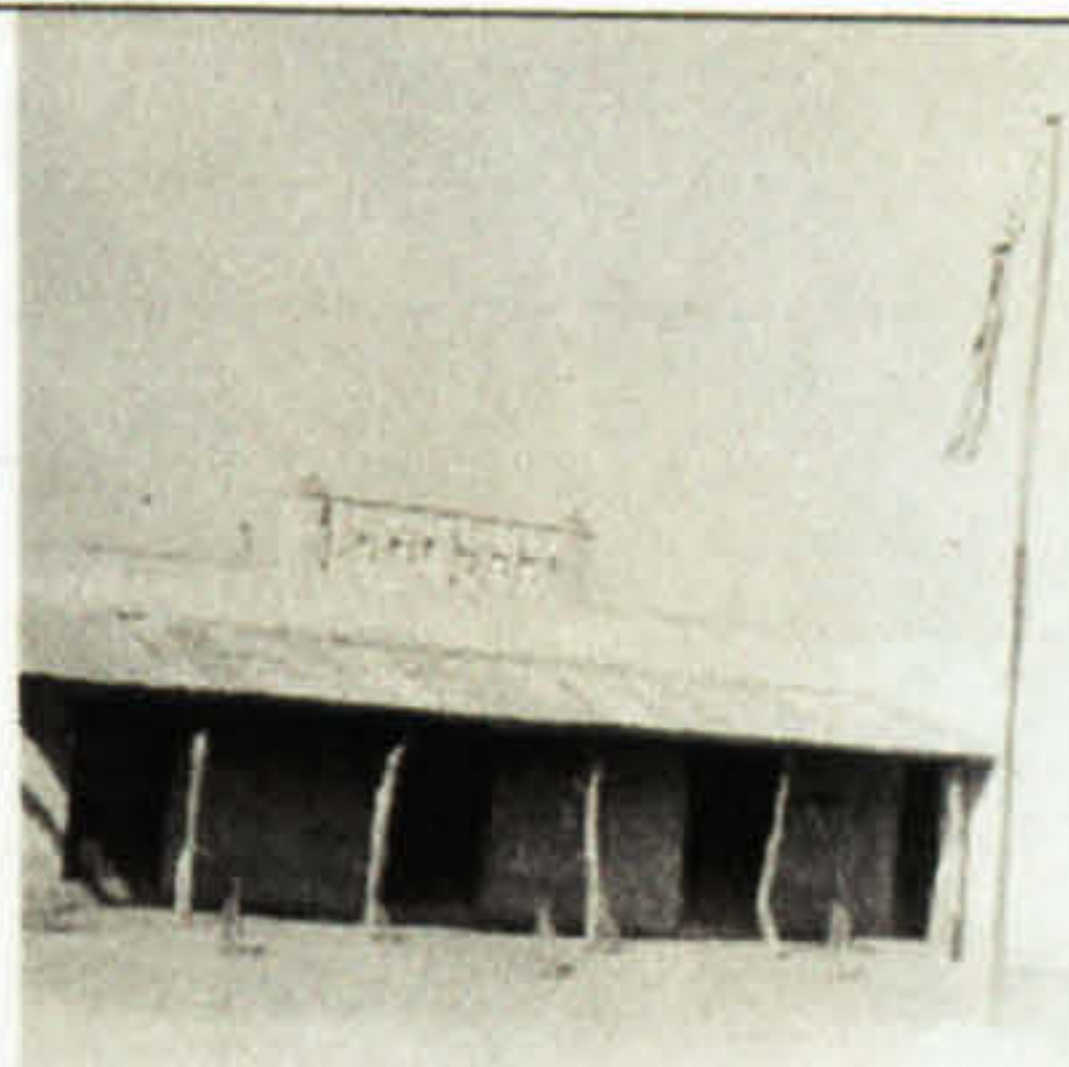
Original 1813	Original 1818	1916
		
	Color	Light blue and white
	Sun	No
	Sun expression	No
	Rays	No
	Incorporated objects	The sun is replaced by the shield
	Incorporated legend	No
	Comment	-
	Use	Presidential sash

Table 27

Original 1813	Original 1818	1916
		
	Color	Light blue and white
	Sun	No
	Sun expression	No
	Rays	No
	Incorporated objects	No
	Incorporated legend	No
	Comment	-
	Use	Civil ceremony

Table 28

Original 1813	Original 1818	1928
		
	Color	Light blue and white
	Sun	Normal
	Sun expression	Not clear
	Rays	Not clear
	Incorporated objects	No
	Incorporated legend	No
	Comment	-
	Use	School

Section 5. The Nationalist Argentina (1930-1945)

Table 29




Original 1813	Original 1818	1930'
		
	Color	Light blue and white
	Sun	Bigger
	Sun expression	Face of a woman. Worried
	Rays	Extended, separated and different
	Incorporated objects	No
	Incorporated legend	No
	Comment	-
	Use	Presidency

Table 30




Original 1813	Original 1818	1934
		
	Color	Light blue and white
	Sun	Bigger
	Sun expression	No expression
	Rays	Short
	Incorporated objects	No
	Incorporated legend	No
	Comment	-
	Use	School textbook

Table 31

Original 1813	Original 1818	1940
		
	Color	Light bright blue and white
	Sun size	Bigger
	Sun expression	Face of an adult woman
	Rays	Thinner
	Incorporated objects	No
	Incorporated legend	No
	Comment	-
	Use	Presidential sash

Table 32

Original 1813	Original 1818	1943
		
	Color	Light-blue and white
	Sun	Bigger
	Sun expression	Face of an adult man
	Rays	Normal
	Incorporated objects	No
	Incorporated legend	No
	Comment	-
	Use	Presidential sash

Table 33


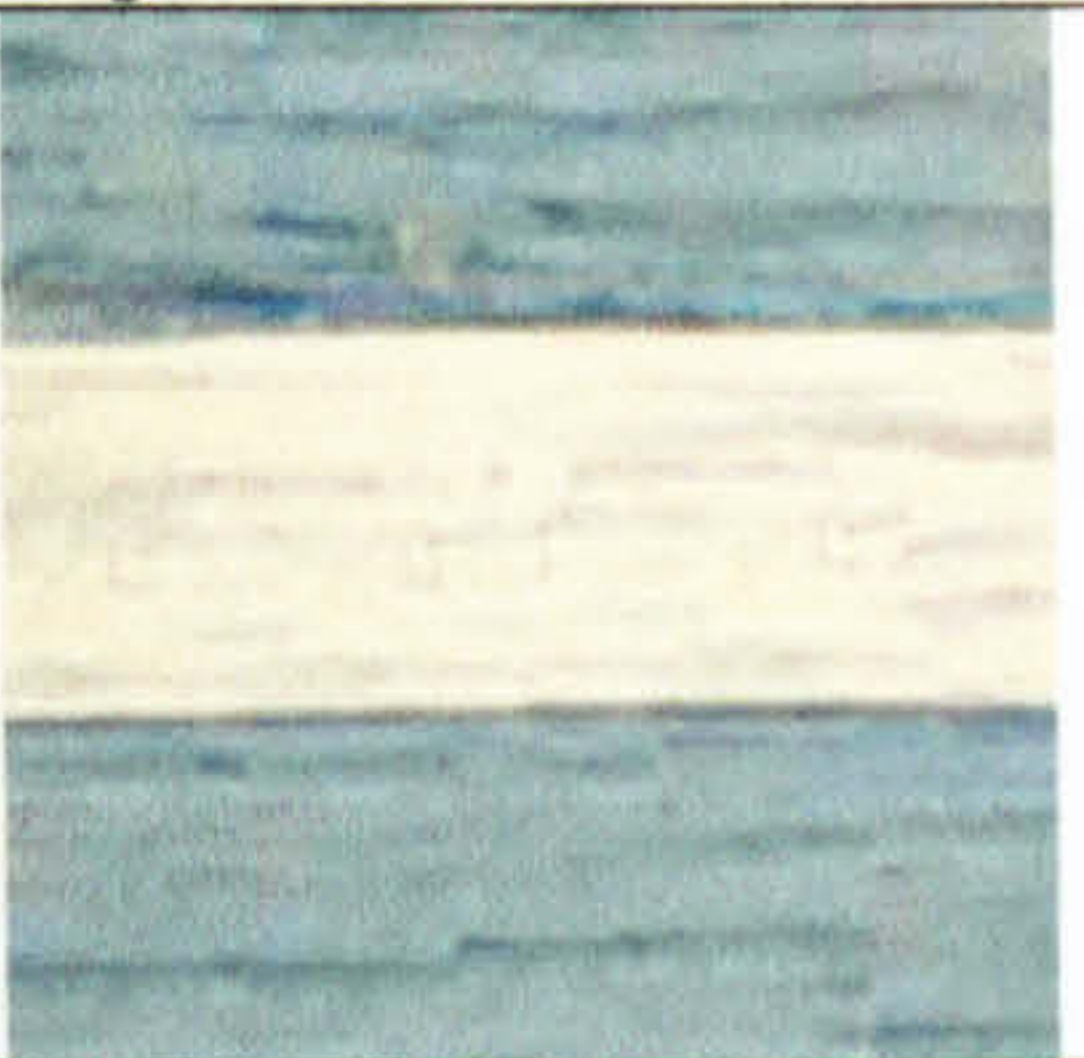


Original 1813	Original 1818	1942
		
	Color	Light blue and white
	Sun	Bigger
	Sun expression	Face of a quiet adult woman
	Rays	Normal
	Incorporated objects	No
	Incorporated legend	No
	Comment	Presidential sash

Table 34

Original 1813	Original 1818	1945
		
	Color	Light blue and white
	Sun size	No
	Sun expression	No
	Rays	No
	Incorporated objects	Symbol
	Incorporated legend	God, Patria, Home
	Comment	-
	Use	Political group

Section 6. The sentiment of difference: a nation of the Peronist workers

Table 35

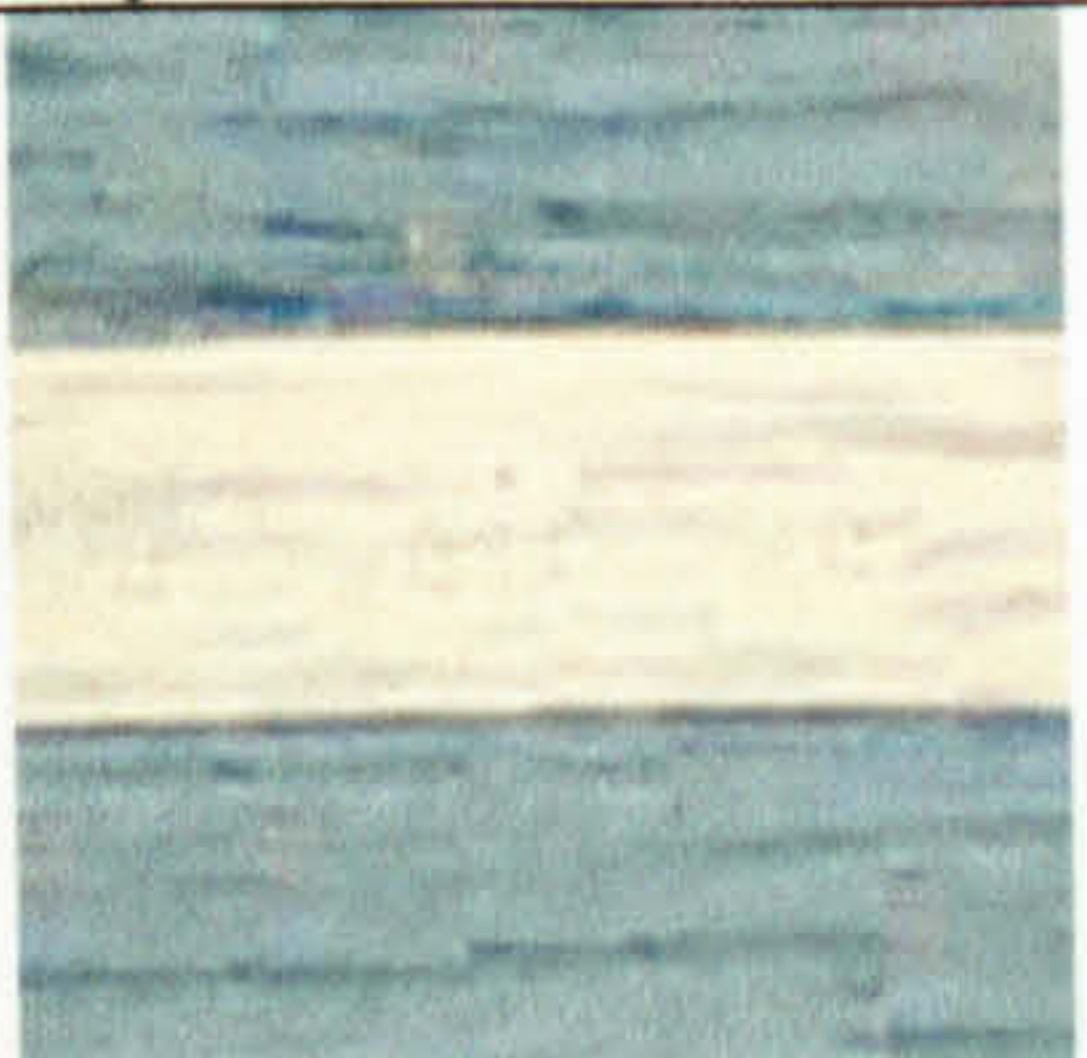


Original 1813	Original 1818	1946
		
	Color	Light blue and white
	Sun size	No
	Sun expression	No
	Rays	No
	Incorporated objects	No
	Incorporated legend	No
	Comment	
	Use	Presidential sash

Table 36

Original 1813	Original 1818	1949
		
	Color	Light blue and white
	Sun	Normal
	Sun expression	Face of a serious adult man
	Rays	Thinner
	Incorporated objects	No
	Incorporated legend	No
	Comment	-
	Use	Poster

Table 37




Original 1813	Original 1818	1950
		
	Color	Blue and white
	Sun	No
	Sun expression	No
	Rays	No
	Incorporated objects	Peronist shield
	Incorporated legend	No
	Comment	-
	Use	Balcony

Table 38




Original 1813	Original 1818	1950
		
	Color	Light bright blue and white
	Sun	No
	Sun expression	No
	Rays	No
	Incorporated objects	No
	Incorporated legend	No
	Comment	-
	Use	Poster

Table 39


Original 1813	Original 1818	1951
		
	Color	Darker
	Sun	No clear
	Sun expression	No
	Rays	No
	Incorporated objects	No
	Incorporated legend	No
	Comment	-
	Use	School textbook

Table 40




Original 1813	Original 1818	1951
		
	Color	Light blue and white
	Sun	No
	Sun expression	No
	Rays	No
	Incorporated objects	No
	Incorporated legend	No
	Comment	-
	Use	Poster

Table 41


Original 1813	Original 1818	1952
		
	Color	Light blue and white
	Sun	Bigger
	Sun expression	Face of an adult man
	Rays	Normal
	Incorporated objects	No
	Incorporated legend	No
	Comment	-
	Use	Presidential sash

Table 42

Original 1813	Original 1818	1953
		
	Color	Light blue and white
	Sun	No
	Sun expression	No
	Rays	No
	Incorporated objects	The sun is replaced by the figure of social justice
	Incorporated legend	No
	Comment	-
	Use	Poster

Table 43

Original 1813	Original 1818	1953
		
	Color	Light blue and white
	Sun	No
	Sun expression	No
	Rays	No
	Incorporated objects	The sun is replaced by the figure of social help
	Incorporated legend	No
	Comment	-
	Use	Poster

Table 44

Original 1813	Original 1818	1954
		
	Color	Light blue and white
	Sun	No
	Sun expression	No
	Rays	No
	Incorporated objects	No
	Incorporated legend	No
	Comment	-
	Use	Manifeto

Section 7. An organizational dimension: the internal fights between the military force and democratic political parties

Table 45




Original 1813	Original 1818	1957
		
	Color	Light blue and white
	Sun	Bigger
	Sun expression	Face of an adult woman
	Rays	Normal
	Incorporated objects	No
	Incorporated legend	No
	Comment	-
	Use	Presidential

Table 46




Original 1813	Original 1818	1960'
		
	Color	Light bright blue and white
	Sun	Normal
	Sun expression	Face of an adult man
	Rays	Normal
	Incorporated objects	No
	Incorporated legend	No
	Comment	-
	Use	Memorial

Table 47

Original 1813	Original 1818	1970
		
	Color	Light-blue and white
	Sun	Bigger
	Sun expression	Face of an adult man
	Rays	Larger
	Incorporated objects	No
	Incorporated legend	No
	Comment	-
	Use	Presidential sash

Table 48

Original 1813	Original 1818	1971
		
	Color	Light blue and white
	Sun	Normal
	Sun expression	No
	Rays	No rays
	Incorporated objects	No
	Incorporated legend	No
	Comment	-
	Use	Stamp

Table 49

Original 1813	Original 1818	1973
		
	Color	Light blue and white
	Sun	No
	Sun expression	No
	Rays	No
	Incorporated objects	No
	Incorporated legend	No
	Comment	"Tres A", extreme right political group
	Use	Flag

Table 50

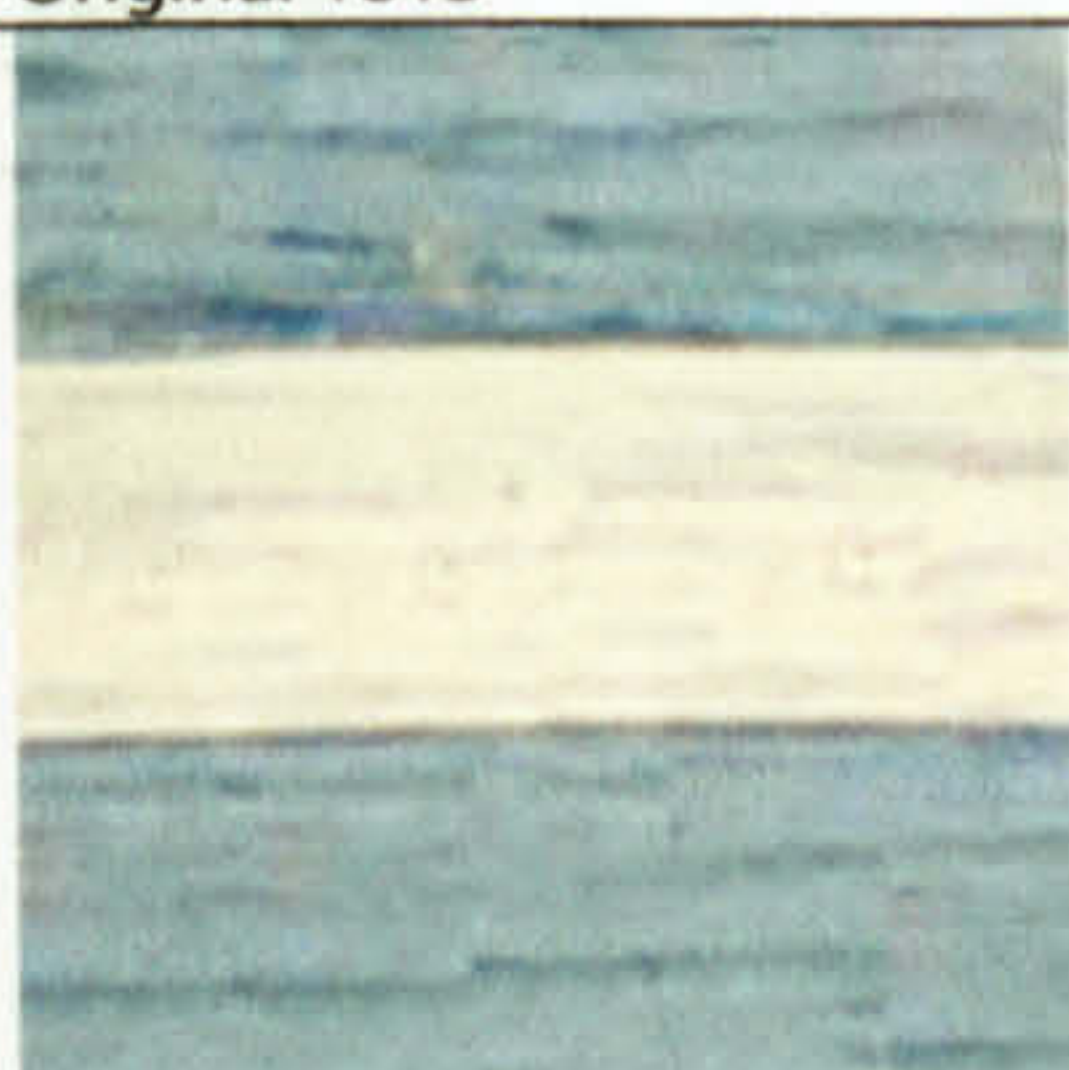


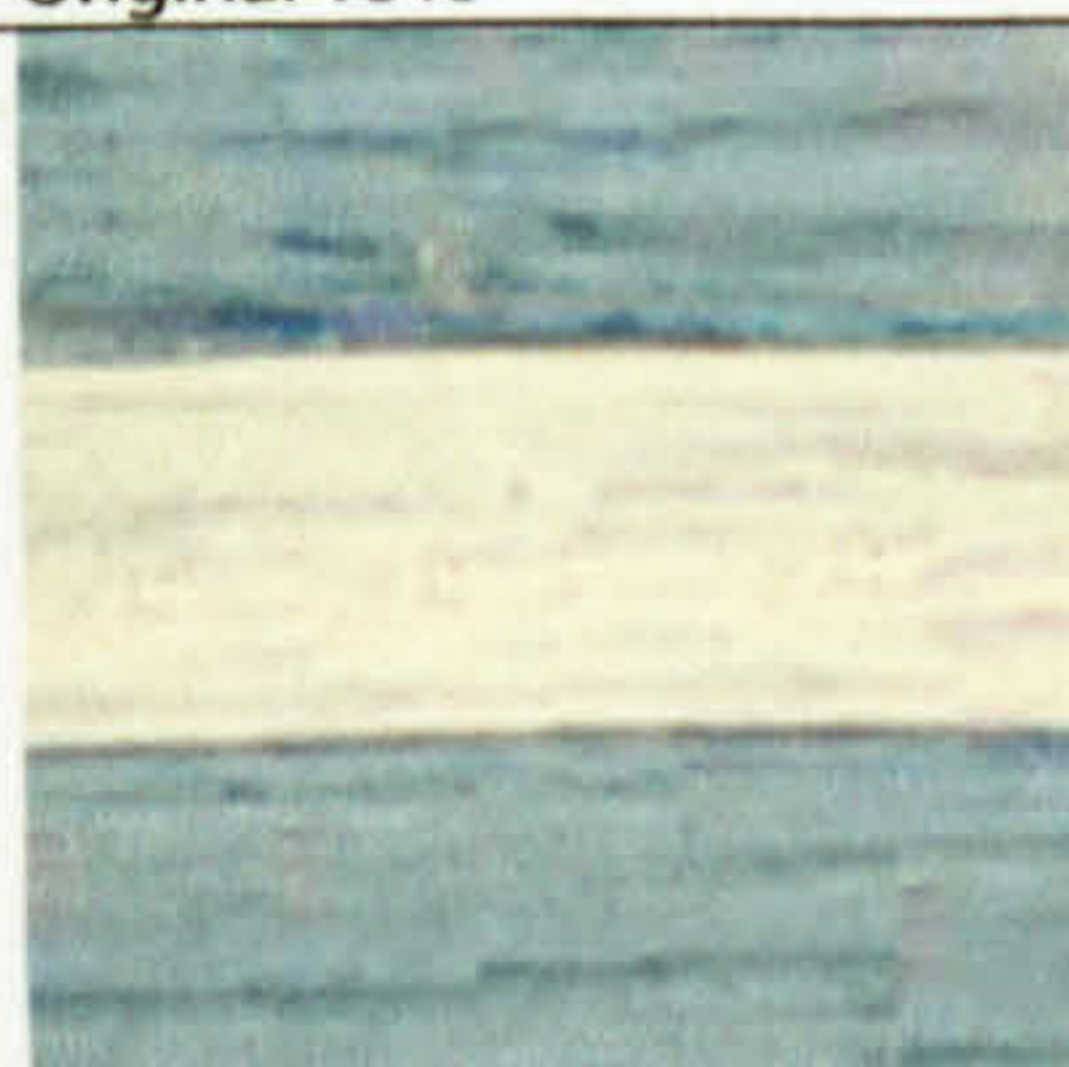

Original 1813	Original 1818	1973
		
	Color	Light blue and white
	Sun	No
	Sun expression	No
	Rays	No
	Incorporated objects	No
	Incorporated legend	No
	Comment	Peronist party (while in power)
	Use	Flag

Table 51

Original 1813	Original 1818	1975
		
	Color	Light blue and white
	Sun	No
	Sun expression	No
	Rays	No
	Incorporated objects	The sun is replaced by a symbol
	Incorporated legend	Montoneros
	Comment	Extreme left political group
	Use	Flag

7c. The apparatus of cultural fiction of the dictatorship (1976-1983)

Table 52

Original 1813	Original 1818	1976
		
	Color	Blue and white
	Sun	No
	Sun expression	No
	Rays	No
	Incorporated objects	No
	Incorporated legend	No
	Comment	-
	Use	Stamp

Table 53

Original 1813	Original 1818	1976
		
	Color	Light blue and white
	Sun	No
	Sun expression	No
	Rays	No
	Incorporated objects	The sun is replaced by the shield
	Incorporated legend	No
	Comment	-
	Use	Balcony

Table 54

Original 1813	Original 1818	1977
		
	Color	Light blue and white
	Sun	Bigger
	Sun expression	Face of an adult man
	Rays	Normal
	Incorporated objects	No
	Incorporated legend	No
	Comment	Note that the second sash has no sun
	Use	Presidential sash

Table 55

Original 1813	Original 1818	1977
		
	Color	Light blue and white
	Sun	No
	Sun expression	No
	Rays	No
	Incorporated objects	No
	Incorporated legend	No
	Comment	-
	Use	Stamp

Table 56

Original 1813	Original 1818	1978
		
	Color	Light blue and white
	Sun	No
	Sun expression	No
	Rays	No
	Incorporated objects	No
	Incorporated legend	No
	Comment	Football world cup
	Use	Stamp

Table 57

Original 1813	Original 1818	1981
		
	Color	Light blue and white
	Sun	No
	Sun expression	No
	Rays	No
	Incorporated objects	No
	Incorporated legend	We, Argentines are humans and have rights"
	Comment	The shape of the flag is cropped
	Use	Advertisement

Table 58

Original 1813	Original 1818	1982
		
	Color	Light blue and white
	Sun	Normal
	Sun expression	Face of an adult man
	Rays	Normal
	Incorporated objects	No
	Incorporated legend	No
	Comment	Malvinas's war
	Use	Military

Table 59




Original 1813	Original 1818	1982
		
	Color	Light blue and white
	Sun	Normal
	Sun expression	Face of an adult man
	Rays	Normal
	Incorporated objects	No
	Incorporated legend	No
	Comment	After Malvinas's war
	Use	Military

Table 60

Original 1813	Original 1818	1982
		
	Color	Light blue and white
	Sun	Bigger
	Sun expression	Face of an adult man
	Rays	Large and disordered
	Incorporated objects	No
	Incorporated legend	No
	Comment	Malvinas's war
	Use	Military

Section 8. The new beginning of the Argentina Republic (1983-1989)

Table 61

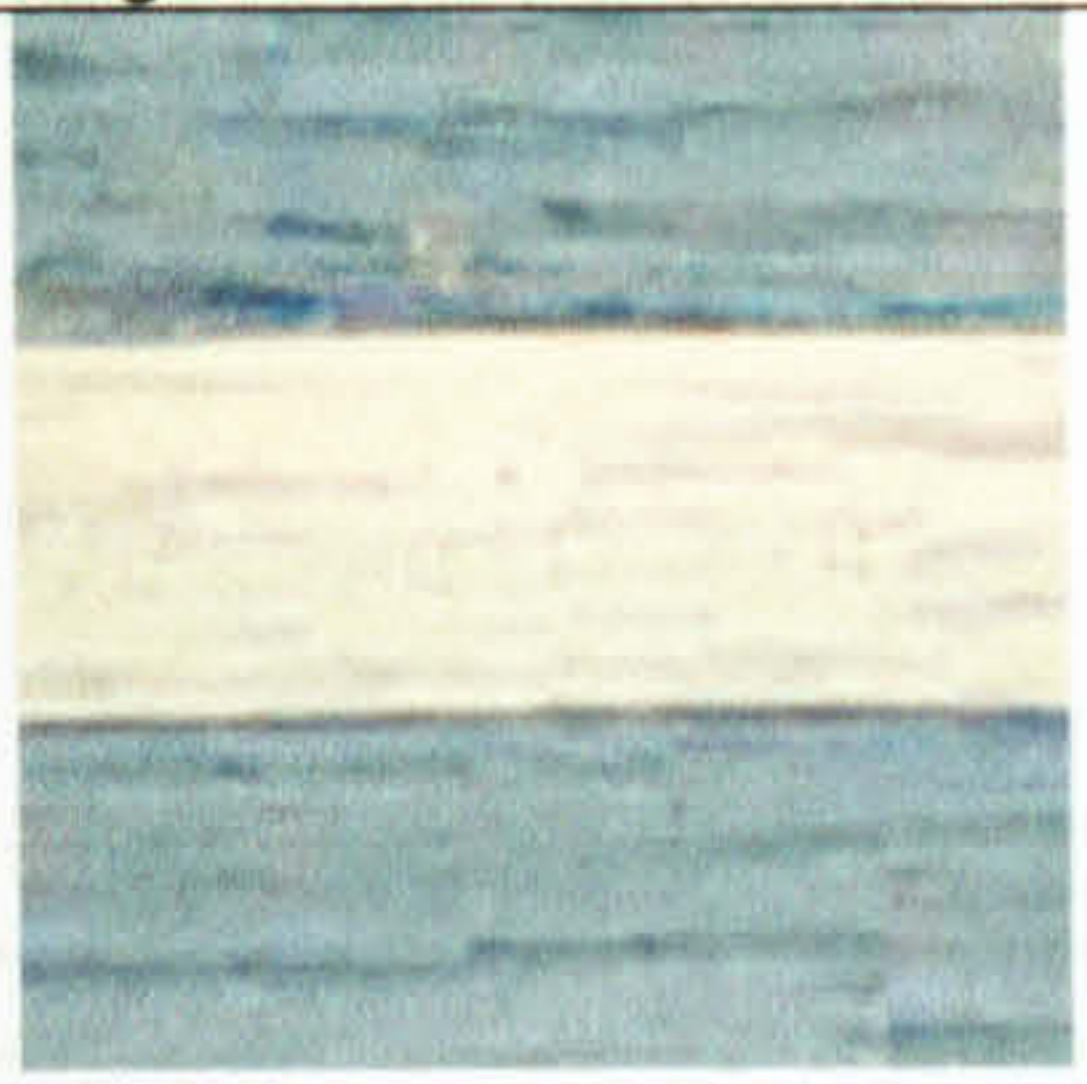


Original 1813	Original 1818	1983
		
	Color	Light blue and white
	Sun	Bigger
	Sun expression	Face of an adult man
	Rays	Normal
	Incorporated objects	No
	Incorporated legend	No
	Comment	-
	Use	Presidential sash

Table 62




Original 1813	Original 1818	1983
		
	Color	Light blue and white
	Sun	Normal
	Sun expression	Face of an adult man
	Rays	Extended
	Incorporated objects	No
	Incorporated legend	No
	Comment	-
	Use	Presidential

Table 63



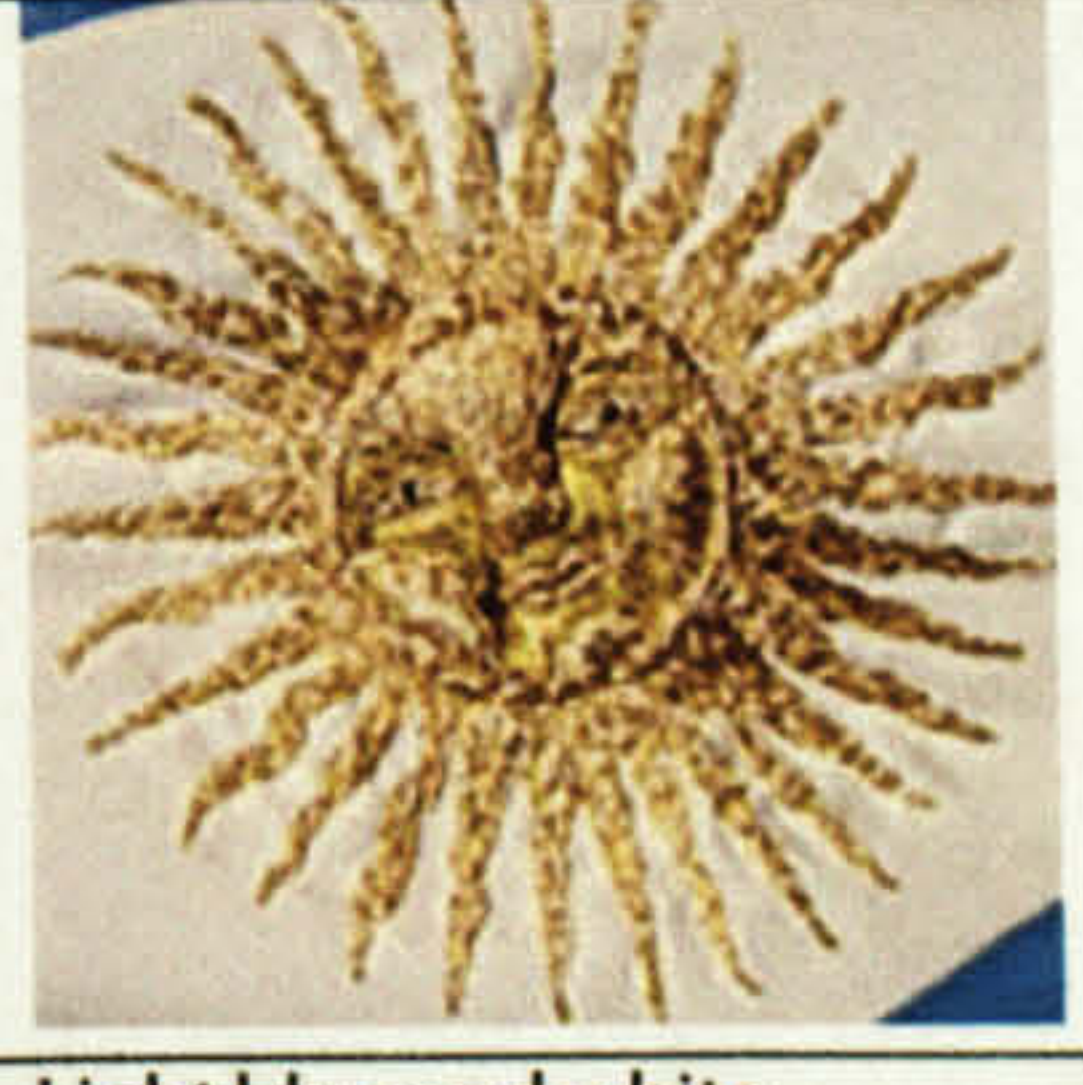
Original 1813	Original 1818	1984
		
	Color	Light blue and white
	Sun	Normal
	Sun expression	Face of an adult man
	Rays	Extended
	Incorporated objects	No
	Incorporated legend	No
	Comment	-
	Use	Government

Table 64






Original 1813	Original 1818	1985
		
	Color	Light blue and white
	Sun	Normal
	Sun expression	Face of an adult man
	Rays	Extended
	Incorporated objects	No
	Incorporated legend	No
	Comment	-
	Use	School ceremony

Table 65

Original 1813	Original 1818	1989
		
	Color	Light blue and white
	Sun	Normal
	Sun expression	Face of a happy adult man
	Rays	Extended
	Incorporated objects	No
	Incorporated legend	No
	Comment	-
	Use	School ceremony

Section 9. Menem (1989-1999)

Table 66

Original 1813	Original 1818	1989
		
	Color	Light blue and white
	Sun	Normal
	Sun expression	Face of a serious adult man
	Rays	Extended
	Incorporated objects	No
	Incorporated legend	No
	Comment	-
	Use	Government

Table 67



Original 1813	Original 1818	1989
		
	Color	Light blue and white
	Sun	Normal
	Sun expression	Face of a serious adult man
	Rays	Thin and extended
	Incorporated objects	No
	Incorporated legend	No
	Comment	-
	Use	Presidential sash

Table 68

Original 1813	Original 1818	1990'
		
	Color	Almost blue and white
	Sun	Bigger
	Sun expression	Face of a serious adult man
	Rays	Normal
	Incorporated objects	No
	Incorporated legend	No
	Comment	Antarctic base
	Use	Government

Table 69

Original 1813	Original 1818	1990'
		
	Color	Light bright blue and white
	Sun	Normal
	Sun expression	Face of a serious adult man
	Rays	Thin, straight and extended
	Incorporated objects	No
	Incorporated legend	No
	Comment	-
	Use	Government

Table 70

Original 1813	Original 1818	1997
		
	Color	Light bright blue and white
	Sun	No
	Sun expression	No
	Rays	No
	Incorporated objects	No
	Incorporated legend	No
	Comment	-
	Use	Road sign

Table 71




Original 1813	Original 1818	1998
		
	Color	Light blue and white
	Sun	Normal
	Sun expression	Face of a serious adult man
	Rays	Thin and extended
	Incorporated objects	No
	Incorporated legend	No
	Comment	-
	Use	Government

Table 72



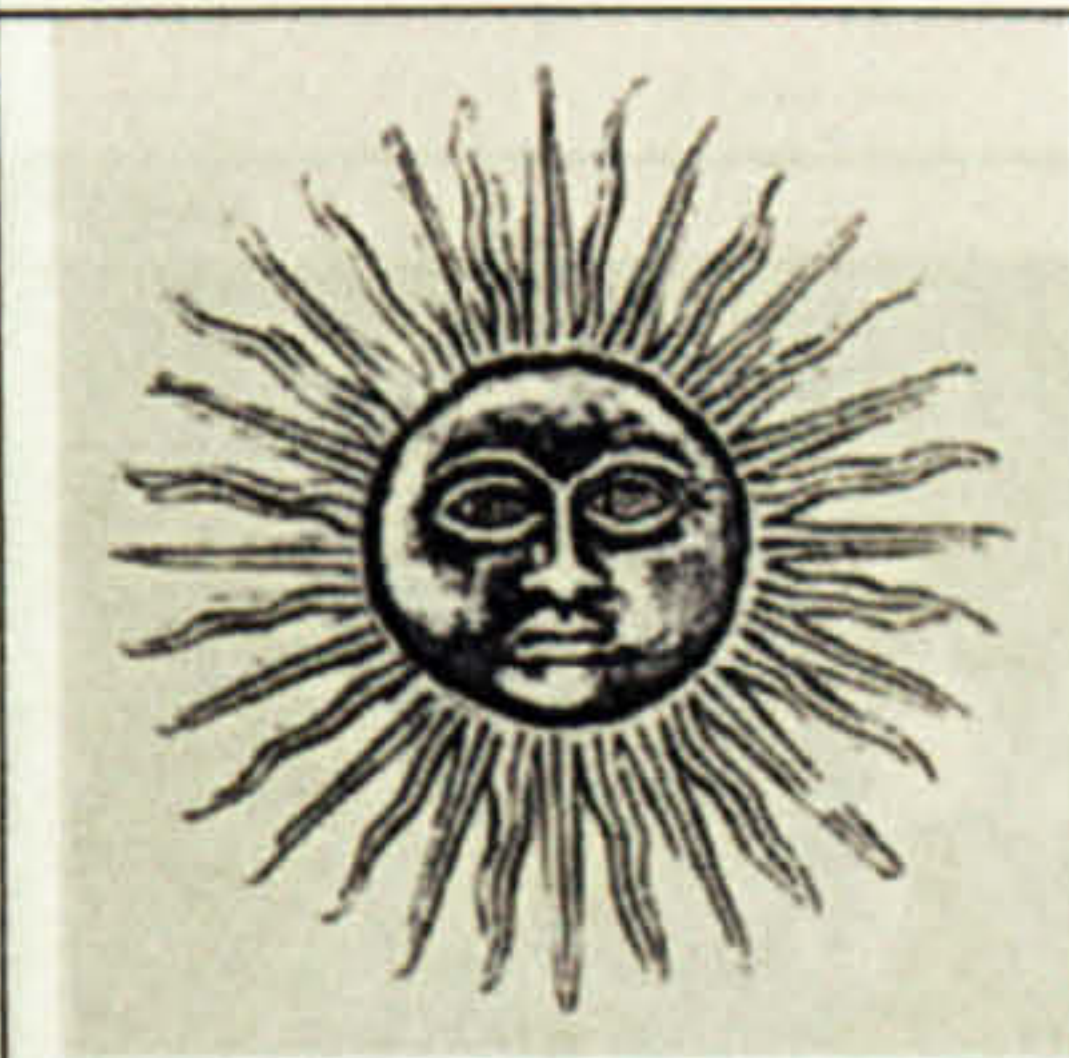
Original 1813	Original 1818	1998
		
	Color	Light blue and white
	Sun	Normal
	Sun expression	Face of a serious adult man
	Rays	Thin and extended
	Incorporated objects	No
	Incorporated legend	No
	Comment	Details of the designed sun
	Use	Government

Table 73



Original 1813	Original 1818	1998
		
	Color	Light bright blue and white
	Sun	Normal
	Sun expression	Not clear
	Rays	Thin and extended
	Incorporated objects	No
	Incorporated legend	No
	Comment	Memorial to Malvinas
	Use	Monument

Table 74

Original 1813	Original 1818	1999
		
	Color	Light grey and white
	Sun	No
	Sun expression	No
	Rays	No
	Incorporated objects	The sun is replaced by a figure
	Incorporated legend	No
	Comment	Memorial to Malvinas
	Use	Monument

Section 10 . The Alianza (1999-2001)

Table 75




Original 1813	Original 1818	1999
		
	Color	Light blue and white
	Sun	Normal
	Sun expression	Face of a serious adult man
	Rays	Thin and extended
	Incorporated objects	No
	Incorporated legend	No
	Comment	-
	Use	Presidential inauguration

Table 76



Original 1813	Original 1818	1999
		
	Color	Light blue and white
	Sun	Bigger
	Sun expression	Face of a serious adult man
	Rays	Normal
	Incorporated objects	No
	Incorporated legend	No
	Comment	-
	Use	Presidential sash

Table 77

Original 1813	Original 1818	1999
		
	Color	Light blue and white
	Sun	Bigger
	Sun expression	Face of a serious adult man
	Rays	Normal
	Incorporated objects	No
	Incorporated legend	No
	Comment	-
	Use	Presidential sash

Table 78

Original 1813	Original 1818	2001
		
	Color	Almost blue and white
	Sun	Bigger
	Sun expression	No
	Rays	Shorter
	Incorporated objects	The flag makes a figure
	Incorporated legend	The legend "No"
	Comment	Social campaign
	Use	Poster

Table 79

Original 1813	Original 1818	2001
		
	Color	Almost blue and white
	Sun	Bigger
	Sun expression	No
	Rays	Few and shorter
	Incorporated objects	The flag makes a figure
	Incorporated legend	No
	Comment	Social campaign
	Use	Poster

Table 80

Original 1813	Original 1818	2001
		
	Color	Light blue and white
	Sun	Normal
	Sun expression	Face of an adult man
	Rays	Normal
	Incorporated objects	No
	Incorporated legend	No
	Comment	-
	Use	Popular demonstration

Section 11. Duhalde's administration (2002-2003)

Table 81

Original 1813	Original 1818	2002
		
	Color	Light blue and white
	Sun	Bigger
	Sun expression	Face of a serious adult man
	Rays	Normal
	Incorporated objects	No
	Incorporated legend	No
	Comment	-
	Use	Presidential sash

Table 82

Original 1813	Original 1818	2002
		
	Color	Light blue and white
	Sun	Normal
	Sun expression	Face of a serious adult woman
	Rays	Extended
	Incorporated objects	No
	Incorporated legend	No
	Comment	-
	Use	Presidential

Table 83




Original 1813	Original 1818	2002
		
	Color	Light blue and white
	Sun	Normal
	Sun expression	Face of a serious adult man
	Rays	Normal
	Incorporated objects	No
	Incorporated legend	No
	Comment	-
	Use	School ceremony

Table 84

Original 1813	Original 1818	2003
		
	Color	Blue and white
	Sun	Normal
	Sun expression	Face of a serious adult man
	Rays	Thinner
	Incorporated objects	No
	Incorporated legend	No
	Comment	Proposed flag. Deputy Lorenzo Pepe
	Use	Chamber of Deputy

Section 12. An organizational dimension: a hegemonic left-winged populism within Kirchner governments

Table 85

Original 1813	Original 1818	2003
		
	Color	Light blue and white
	Sun	Bigger
	Sun expression	Face of an adult man
	Rays	Normal
	Incorporated objects	No
	Incorporated legend	No
	Comment	-
	Use	Presidential sash

Table 86

Original 1813	Original 1818	2004
		
	Color	Light blue and white
	Sun	Normal
	Sun expression	No expression
	Rays	No rays
	Incorporated objects	No
	Incorporated legend	No
	Comment	The Presidential administration
	Use	Government

Table 87




Original 1813	Original 1818	2004
		
	Color	Light blue and white
	Sun	Normal
	Sun expression	Face of a serious adult man
	Rays	Shorter
	Incorporated objects	No
	Incorporated legend	No
	Comment	-
	Use	Rugby match

Table 88

Original 1813	Original 1818	2005
		
	Color	Blue and white
	Sun	No
	Sun expression	No
	Rays	No
	Incorporated objects	The sun is replaced by a symbol
	Incorporated legend	No
	Comment	"Madres de Plaza de Mayo" flag
	Use	Civic

Table 89

Original 1813	Original 1818	2006
		
	Color	Light blue, blue and grey
	Sun	No
	Sun expression	No
	Rays	No
	Incorporated objects	No
	Incorporated legend	No
	Comment	-
	Use	Brand of the country

Table 90


Original 1813	Original 1818	2007
		
	Color	Almost blue and white
	Sun	Bigger
	Sun expression	Face of a smiling adult man
	Rays	Normal
	Incorporated objects	No
	Incorporated legend	No
	Comment	-
	Use	Presidential sash

Table 91




Original 1813	Original 1818	2007
		
	Color	Light blue and white
	Sun	Smaller
	Sun expression	Face of a quiet woman
	Rays	Larger
	Incorporated objects	No
	Incorporated legend	No
	Comment	-
	Use	Presidential

Table 92

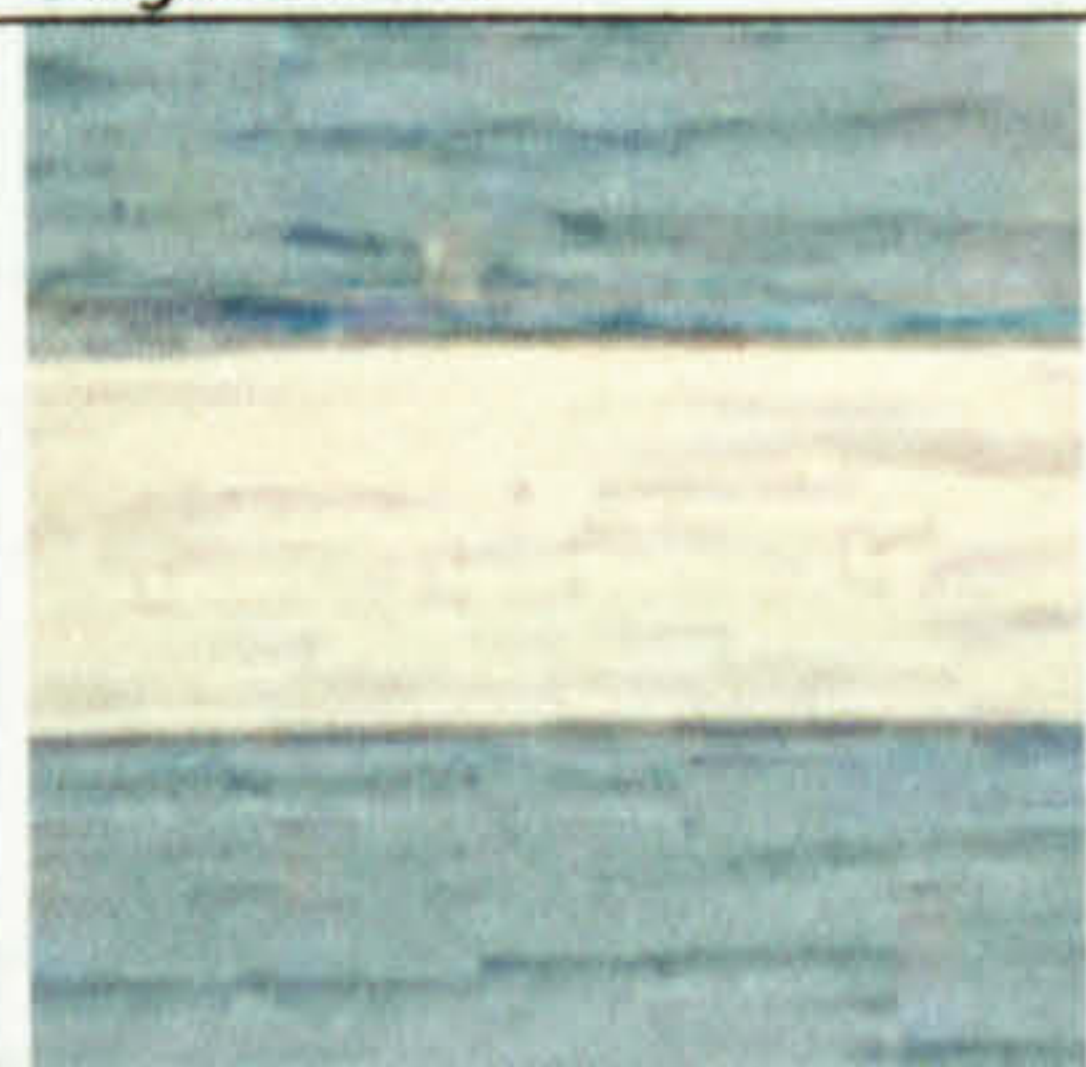


Original 1813	Original 1818	2008
		
	Color	Light blue and white
	Sun	Smaller
	Sun expression	Face of an adult woman
	Rays	Normal
	Incorporated objects	No
	Incorporated legend	No
	Comment	-
	Use	Embassy

Table 93




Original 1813	Original 1818	2008
		
	Color	Light blue and white
	Sun	Smaller
	Sun expression	Face of an adult woman
	Rays	Larger
	Incorporated objects	No
	Incorporated legend	No
	Comment	Note the similarity between the sun and the President's face
	Use	Embassy

Table 94

Original 1813	Original 1818	2008
		
	Color	Light blue and white
	Sun	Smaller
	Sun expression	No expression
	Rays	No
	Incorporated objects	No
	Incorporated legend	"Cristina"
	Comment	Government supporters
	Use	Demonstration




Table 95

Original 1813	Original 1818	2008
		
	Color	Light blue and white
	Sun	Smaller
	Sun expression	Face of an adult man
	Rays	Thinner and multiple
	Incorporated objects	No
	Incorporated legend	Social demands
	Comment	-
	Use	Demonstration

Table 96

Original 1813	Original 1818	2008
		
	Color	Light blue and white
	Sun size	No
	Sun expression	No
	Rays	No
	Incorporated objects	Red cross strip
	Incorporated legend	No
	Comment	Used in Entre Rios province
	Use	Civilian

Table 97

Original 1813	Original 1818	2008
		
	Color	Light blue and white
	Sun	No
	Sun expression	No
	Rays	No
	Incorporated objects	No
	Incorporated legend	"Democracy"
	Comment	-
	Use	Popular demonstration

5. Tables Shield

Section I. Argentina of the independence.

Table 1

Original seal 1813	1813
	
Arms	Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Shorter
Bonnet	Bigger
Background	Normal
Laurels	Closer to the oval
Sun	Normal
Sun expression	Not clear
Rays	Not clear
External objects	-
Comment	-
Use	First shield

Table 2


Original 1813	First coin 1813
	
Arms	Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Shorter
Bonnet	Bigger
Background	Normal
Laurels	Few leaves
Sun	Nonesun
Sun expression	-
Rays	-
External objects	Flags and weapons
Comment	-
Use	Coin

Table 3



Original 1813	1813
	
Arms	Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Normal
Bonnet	Bigger
Background	Normal
Laurels	Separated, olive leaves
Sun	Complete sun
Sun expression	Face of a young man
Rays	Multiple and jointed
External objects	Flags and ornaments
Comment	-
Use	Granadier cap

Table 4



Original 1813	Seal 1816
	
Arms	Normal
Pike	Normal
Bonnet	Normal
Background	Normal
Laurels	More separated
Sun	Normal
Sun expression	Frown
Rays	Thin and more separated
External objects	None
Comment	-
Use	Document

Table 5

Original 1813	Flag of Los Andes 1817
Arms	Normal. White skin
Pike	Normal
Bonnet	Bigger
Background	Mountains
Laurels	Open crown. Separate leaves
Sun	Bigger
Sun expression	Face of a woman
Rays	Jointed
External objects	Two laurel crowns
Comment	-
Use	Flag

Table 6

Original 1813	Seal 1818
Arms	Normal
Pike	Normal
Bonnet	Normal
Background	Normal
Laurels	More separated
Sun	Normal
Sun expression	Frown
Rays	Normal
Similarities	-
External objects	Normal
Comment	-
Use	Document

2.a The unitarios

Table 7

Original 1813	1820'
Arms	Normal
Pike	Normal
Bonnet	Bigger
Background	Normal
Laurels	Normal
Sun	Normal
Sun expression	Face of a male adult. Tense
Rays	Normal
External objects	None
Comment	-
Use	Medal

Table 8

Original 1813	Seal 1823
Arms	Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Bigger
Background	Normal
Laurels	Open crown and multiple leaves
Sun	Almost complete
Sun expression	Face of a boy
Rays	Multiple and jointed
External objects	Other leaves
Comment	-
Use	Medal

Table 9

Original 1813	Shield 1823
Arms	Highlighted white skin. Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Bigger and inverted
Background	Colors inverted
Laurels	Multiple, thin and larger (olives)
Sun	Bigger
Sun expression	Face of a boy
Rays	Few and thick
External objects	None
Comment	-
Use	Flag

Table 10

Original 1813	Shield 1826
Arms	Shaking hands highlighted. Arms with clothing.
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Bigger
Background	Normal
Laurels	Open crown. Bigger and separated leaves
Sun	Normal
Sun expression	Not clear
Rays	Bigger and separated
External objects	None
Comment	-
Use	Medal

Table 11

Original 1813	Seal 1826
Arms	Normal
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Bigger
Background	Normal
Laurels	Open crown and separated
Sun	Bigger and almost complete
Sun expression	Not clear
Rays	Bigger and forms a circle
External objects	No
Comment	-
Use	Document

Table 12

Original 1813	1830'
Arms	Sloping
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Not clear
Background	White highlighted
Laurels	Not clear
Sun	Almost complete
Sun expression	Face of a woman
Rays	Bigger and jointed
External objects	Flags, weapons and a leyend
Comment	-
Use	Document

2.b The Federales and the Red Federal Argentina (1830-1852)

Table 13



Original 1813	1838
	
Arms	Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Inclined
Background	Clouds
Laurels	Separated
Sun	Complete
Sun expression	Female face concentrated
Rays	Grouped
External objects	Flags and weapon
Comment	-
Use	Coin

Table 14

Original 1813	1840
	
Arms	Dressed arms . Shaking hands highlighted. White skin.
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Bigger
Background	Normal
Laurels	Separated
Sun	Bigger
Sun expression	Crowded female face
Rays	Multiple and extended
External objects	Two golden laurels crowns
Comment	Blue sky
Use	Flag

Table 15



Original 1813	1840
	
Arms	Shaking hands highlighted. White skin
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Bigger
Background	Normal
Laurels	Open crown. Separated leaves
Sun	Bigger
Sun expression	Crowded female face
Rays	Joins
External objects	Leyend
Comment	Blue/black sky
Use	Flag

Table 16



Original 1813	1840'
	
Arms	Dressed arms. Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Inclined and bigger
Background	Normal
Laurels	Not clear
Sun	Bigger, almost complete
Sun expression	Worried, frown
Rays	Thin and separated
External objects	Flags and weapons
Comment	Shield over land
Use	Document

Table 17




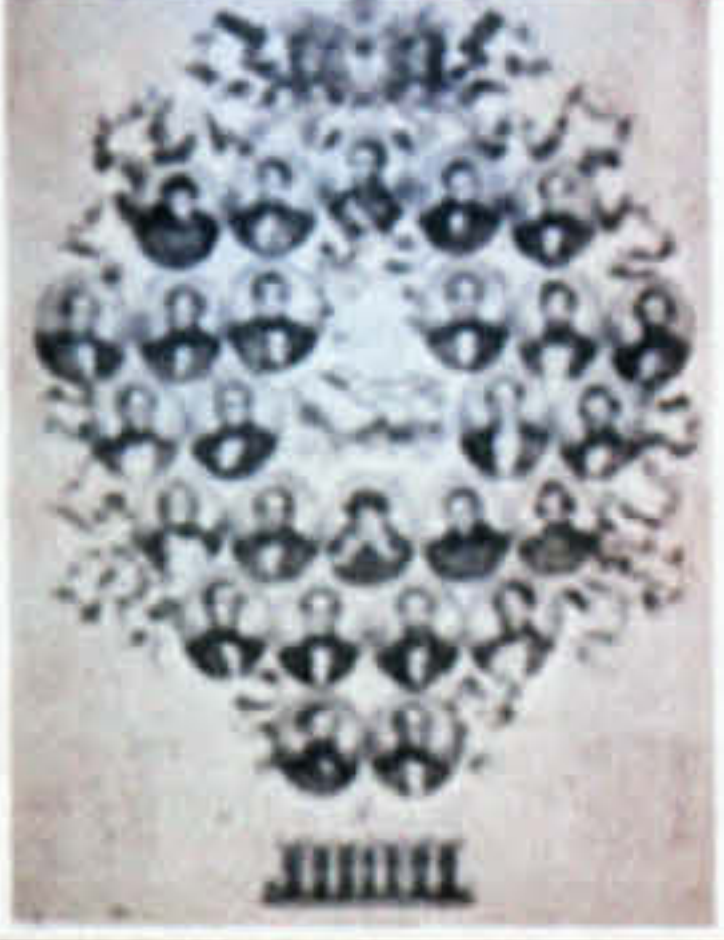
Original 1813	1848
	
Arms	Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Normal
Bonnet	Normal
Background	Normal
Laurels	Bigger and separated
Sun	Almost complete
Sun expression	Not clear
Rays	Thin and jointed
External objects	Flags
Comment	-
Use	Coin

Table 19

Original 1813	1853
	
Arms	Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Inclined and bigger
Background	Normal
Laurels	Normal
Sun	Almost complete
Sun expression	Face of a boy
Rays	Thin and separated
External objects	Flags
Comment	-
Use	Poster of the new constitution

2.c Confederation (1852-1861)

Table 18



Original 1813	1853
	
Arms	Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Inclined and bigger
Background	Normal
Laurels	Multiple
Sun	Almost complete
Sun expression	Face of a boy
Rays	Thin and multiple
External objects	6 Flags and weapons
Comment	-
Use	First National Constitution

Table 20



Original 1813	1853
	
Arms	Dressed arms. Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Inclined and bigger
Background	Normal
Laurels	Multiple (olives leaves)
Sun	Almost complete
Sun expression	Face of a boy
Rays	Thin and multiple
External objects	Flags and weapons
Comment	-
Use	Document

Table 21



Original 1813	1853
	
Arms	Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Inclined and bigger
Background	Normal
Laurels	Multiple
Sun	Almost complete
Sun expression	Face of a boy
Rays	Thin and multiple
External objects	Flags
Comment	-
Use	First National Constitution

Table 23



Original 1813	1854
	
Arms	Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Inclined and bigger
Background	Normal
Laurels	Multiple
Sun	Almost complete
Sun expression	Face of a young man
Rays	Thin and multiple
External objects	Flags and weapons
Comment	-
Use	Document

Table 22

Original 1813	1854
	
Arms	Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Inclined and bigger
Background	Normal
Laurels	Multiple
Sun	Almost complete
Sun expression	Face of young man
Rays	Thin and multiple
External objects	Flags
Comment	-
Use	Document

Table 24



Original 1813	1854
	
Arms	Dressed arms. Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Shorter
Bonnet	Inclined
Background	Normal
Laurels	Multiple (olive leaves)
Sun	Complete
Sun expression	Face of a boy
Rays	Thin, multiple and separated
External objects	Flags and leyend
Comment	-
Use	Document

Table 25



Original 1813	1856
	
Arms	Dressed and extended. Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Inclined
Background	Normal
Laurels	Open crown and multiple
Sun	Almost complete
Sun expression	Not clear
Rays	Thin and multiple
External objects	None
Comment	The oval shape is rotated horizontally
Use	Document

Table 27



Original 1813	1857
	
Arms	Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Inclined and bigger
Background	Normal
Laurels	Multiple
Sun	Complete
Sun expression	Face of young man
Rays	Thin and multiple
External objects	Flags
Comment	-
Use	Document

Table 26



Original 1813	1857
	
Arms	Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Inclined and bigger
Background	Normal
Laurels	Multiple
Sun	Not clear
Sun expression	Not clear
Rays	Not clear
External objects	Flags and weapons
Comment	-
Use	Banknote

Table 28



Original 1813	1857
	
Arms	Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Inclined and bigger
Background	Normal
Laurels	Multiple
Sun	Almost complete
Sun expression	Face of young man
Rays	Thin and multiple
External objects	Flags
Comment	-
Use	Document

Table 29

Original 1813	1858
	
Arms	Dressed and extended. Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Inclined
Background	Normal
Laurels	No clear
Sun	Almost complete. Bigger.
Sun expression	Quite man's face
Rays	Thin and multiple
External objects	None
Comment	
Use	Stamp

Table 31



Original 1813	1860
	
Arms	Dressed and extended. Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Inclined
Background	Normal
Laurels	Open crown and multiple
Sun	Not clear
Sun expression	Not clear
Rays	Thin and multiple
External objects	None
Comment	The oval shape is rotated horizontally
Use	Document

Table 30



Original 1813	1859
	
Arms	Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Inclined and bigger
Background	Normal
Laurels	Multiple
Sun	Almost complete
Sun expression	Face of a boy
Rays	Thin and multiple
External objects	Flags and weapons
Comment	-
Use	Document

Table 32





Original 1813	1860
	
Arms	Dressed and extended. Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Inclined
Background	Normal
Laurels	Open crown and multiple
Sun	Almost complete
Sun expression	Angel face or Phoevus
Rays	Thin and multiple
External objects	None
Comment	The oval shape is rotated
Use	Document

Table 33

Original 1813	1860
	
Arms	Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Inclined and bigger
Background	Normal
Laurels	Multiple
Sun	Extended
Sun expression	No clear
Rays	Plains
External objects	Flags and weapons
Comment	The oval shape is rotated
Use	Presidential furniture

Table 34

Original 1813	1860
	
Arms	Dressed and extended. Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Inclined
Background	Normal
Laurels	Open crown and multiple
Sun	Almost complete
Sun expression	Angel face or Phoevus
Rays	Thin and multiple
External objects	None
Comment	The oval shape is rotated
Use	Document

Section 3 Nationality as a home for white people and white culture (1861-1880)

Table 35



Original 1813	1861
	
Arms	Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Inclined and bigger
Background	Normal
Laurels	Multiple
Sun	Almost complete
Sun expression	Face of a boy
Rays	Thin and multiple
External objects	Flags and weapons
Comment	-
Use	National Anthem

Table 36



Original 1813	1865
	
Arms	Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Inclined and bigger
Background	Normal
Laurels	Multiple
Sun	Almost complete
Sun expression	Face of a boy
Rays	Thin and multiple
External objects	Flags and weapons
Comment	-
Use	Document

Table 37



Original 1813	1868
	
Arms	Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Inclined and bigger
Background	Normal
Laurels	Multiple
Sun	Almost complete
Sun expression	Face of a boy
Rays	Thin and multiple
External objects	Flags and weapons
Comment	-
Use	Presidential sash

Table 39



Original 1813	1870
	
Arms	Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Inclined and bigger
Background	Normal
Laurels	Multiple (olive leaves)
Sun	Almost complete
Sun expression	Face of an adult
Rays	Multiple and jointed
External objects	Flags
Comment	-
Use	Folder

Table 38



Original 1813	1869
	
Arms	Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Inclined and bigger
Background	Normal
Laurels	Multiple
Sun	Smaller and almost complete
Sun expression	Face of a boy
Rays	Thin, extended and multiple
External objects	Flags and weapons
Comment	-
Use	Document

Table 40



Original 1813	1872
	
Arms	Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Inclined and bigger
Background	Normal
Laurels	Open crowns
Sun	Normal
Sun expression	Face of an adult
Rays	Normal
External objects	-
Comment	-
Use	Document

Table 41


Original 1813	1874
	
Arms	Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Bigger
Background	Normal
Laurels	Bigger
Sun	Normal
Sun expression	Normal
Rays	Thin and separated
External objects	Small flags
Comment	-
Use	Presidential sash

Table 43



Original 1813	1874
	
Arms	Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Bigger and inclined
Background	Normal
Laurels	Normal
Sun	Normal
Sun expression	Worried, frown
Rays	Thin and multiple
Similarities	-
External objects	Flags and weapons
Comment	-
Use	Bronze in monument

Table 42



Original 1813	1874
	
Arms	Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Bigger
Background	Normal
Laurels	Normal
Sun	Almost complete
Sun expression	Not clear
Rays	Jointed
External objects	Flags and weapons
Comment	-
Use	Presidential attributes

Table 44



Original 1813	1874
	
Arms	Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Bigger and inclined
Background	Normal
Laurels	Normal
Sun	Normal
Sun expression	Face of a young man
Rays	Thin and multiple
External objects	Flags and weapons
Comment	-
Use	Bronze in monument

Table 45

Original 1813	1875
Arms	Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Bigger and inclined
Background	Normal
Laurels	Big and few with seeds
Sun	Normal
Sun expression	Face of an adult
Rays	Multiple and jointed
External objects	Flags and weapons
Comment	-
Use	Bronze in monument

Table 47

Original 1813	1881
Arms	Highlighted white skin. Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Bigger
Background	Normal
Laurels	Open crown
Sun	Bigger
Sun expression	Normal
Rays	Thick and few
External objects	None
Comment	-
Use	Building sign

3.a The consolidation of the agroexport model (1880-1916)

Table 46

Original 1813	1980
Arms	Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Bigger and inclined
Background	Normal
Laurels	Normal
Sun	Normal
Sun expression	Normal
Rays	Thin and multiple
External objects	Flags and weapons
Comment	-
Use	Document

Table 48

Original 1813	1882
Arms	Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Bigger and inclined
Background	Normal
Laurels	Normal
Sun	Bigger
Sun expression	Normal
Rays	Thin and multiple
External objects	Flags
Comment	-
Use	Ceremony

Table 49

Original 1813	1884
Arms	Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Bigger and inclined
Background	Normal
Laurels	Normal
Sun	Normal
Sun expression	Face of a woman
Rays	Thin, extended and multiple
External objects	Flags and weapons
Comment	-
Use	Bronze in monument

Table 51

Original 1813	1884
Arms	Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Bigger and inclined
Background	Normal
Laurels	Normal
Sun	Normal
Sun expression	Worried, frown
Rays	Thin and multiple
External objects	Flags and weapons
Comment	-
Use	Banknote

Table 50

Original 1813	1884
Arms	Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Bigger and inclined
Background	Normal
Laurels	Normal
Sun	Normal
Sun expression	Face of a young man
Rays	Thin and multiple
External objects	Flags and weapons
Comment	-
Use	Banknote

Table 52

Original 1813	1881
Arms	Marked white skin. Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Bigger
Background	Normal
Laurels	Open crown
Sun	Bigger
Sun expression	Reflexive
Rays	Thick and few
External objects	None
Comment	-
Use	Furniture

Table 53

Original 1813	1886
Arms	Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Bigger
Background	Normal
Laurels	Bigger
Sun	Normal
Sun expression	Normal
Rays	Thin and separated
External objects	Small flags
Comment	-
Use	Presidential sash

Table 55

Original 1813	1888
Arms	Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Bigger
Background	Normal
Laurels	Open crown. Big few leaves
Sun	Normal
Sun expression	Normal
Rays	Multiple, joined and separated
External objects	Ornaments
Comment	-
Use	Banknote

Table 54

Original 1813	1886
Arms	Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Bigger
Background	Normal
Laurels	Open crown. Big few leaves
Sun	Bigger
Sun expression	Not clear
Rays	Multiple and joined
External objects	None
Comment	-
Use	Book

Table 56

Original 1813	1890
Arms	Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Bigger
Background	Normal
Laurels	Not present
Sun size	Not present
Sun expression	-
Rays	-
External objects	Ornaments
Comment	-
Use	Building

Table 57

Original 1813	1890
Arms	Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Bigger and inclined
Background	Normal
Laurels	Normal
Sun	Face of a young woman
Sun expression	Normal
Rays	Thin and jointed
External objects	Flags and ornaments
Comment	-
Use	Monument

Table 59

Original 1813	1891
Arms	Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Bigger
Background	Normal
Laurels	Open crown. Big few leaves
Sun	Bigger
Sun expression	Normal
Rays	Few and bigger
External objects	None
Comment	-
Use	Banknote

Table 58

Original 1813	1890
Arms	Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Bigger and inclined
Background	Normal
Laurels	Normal
Sun	Normal
Sun expression	Face of a boy
Rays	Thin and multiple
External objects	Flags and weapons
Comment	-
Use	Presidential crockery

Table 60

Original 1813	1892
Arms	Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Bigger
Background	Normal
Laurels	Open crown. Big few leaves
Sun	Bigger
Sun expression	Normal
Rays	Few and bigger
External objects	None
Comment	-
Use	Presidential sash

Table 61

Original 1813	1894
Arms	Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Bigger
Background	Normal
Laurels	Crossed crown. Big few leaves
Sun	Bigger
Sun expression	Face of an adult man
Rays	Multiple
External objects	Flags and ornaments
Comment	-
Use	Building

Table 63

Original 1813	1895
Arms	Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Bigger and inclined
Background	Normal
Laurels	Open crown, Few big leaves
Sun	Normal
Sun expression	No expression
Rays	Few and separated
External objects	None
Comment	-
Use	School Textbook

Table 62

Original 1813	1894
Arms	Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Bigger and inclined
Background	Normal
Laurels	Normal
Sun	Normal
Sun expression	Face of a boy
Rays	Thin and multiple
External objects	Flags and weapons
Comment	-
Use	Casa Rosada

Table 64

Original 1813	1898
Arms	Dressed arms. Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Bigger and inclined
Background	Normal
Laurels	Bigger (olive leaves)
Sun	Almost complete
Sun expression	Child's face
Rays	Thin and multiple
External objects	Flags and weapons
Comment	-
Use	Presidential sash

Table 65

Original 1813	1898
	
Arms	Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Bigger and inclined
Background	Normal
Laurels	Open crown, Few big leaves
Sun	Normal
Sun expression	No expression
Rays	Few and separated
External objects	None
Comment	-
Use	Everyday presidential sash

Table 67

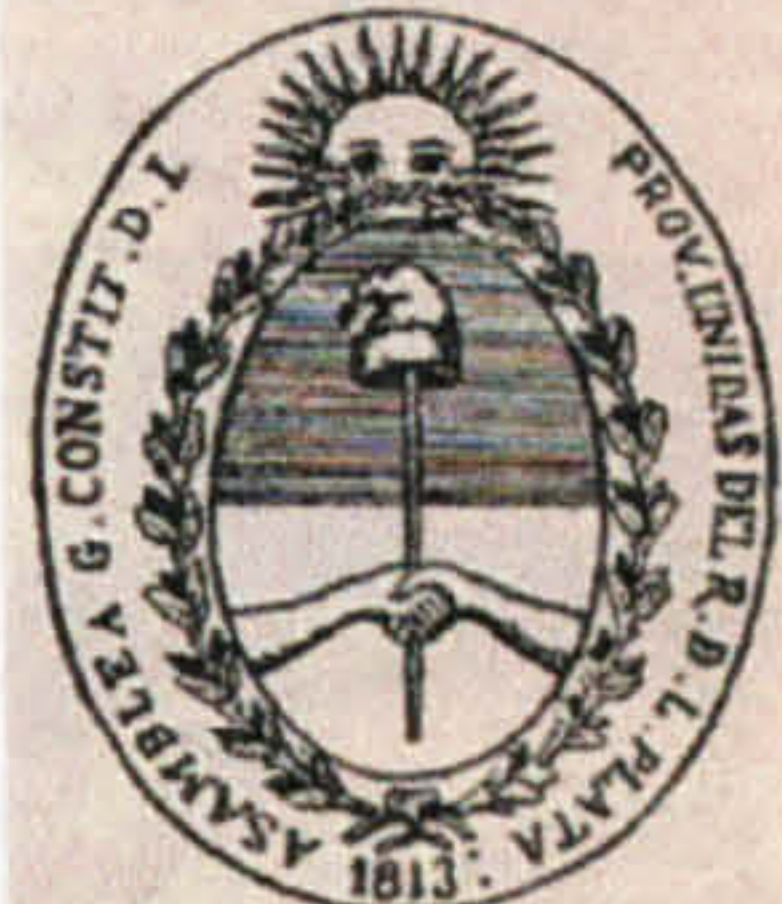

Original 1813	1900
	
Arms	Highlighted white skin
Pike	Normal
Bonnet	Normal
Background	Normal
Laurels	Normal
Sun	Normal
Sun expression	Face of an adult man. Worried, frown
Rays	Thin and separated
External objects	None
Comment	Designed by Minister Zeballos
Use	Stationery and signs

Table 66



Original 1813	1898
	
Arms	Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Bigger and inclined
Background	Normal
Laurels	Open crown, Few big leaves
Sun	Normal
Sun expression	No expression
Rays	Few and separated
External objects	Condor
Comment	
Use	Ornament

Table 68



Original 1813	1903
	
Arms	Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Bigger
Background	Normal
Laurels	Open crown, Few big leaves
Sun	Normal
Sun expression	Face of an adult man
Rays	Few and bigger
External objects	Productives ornaments
Comment	-
Use	Folder

Table 69

Original 1813	1903
Arms	Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Bigger and inclined
Background	Normal
Laurels	Open crown, Few big leaves
Sun	Normal
Sun expression	No expression
Rays	Few and grouped
External objects	Ornaments
Comment	-
Use	Stamp

Table 71

Original 1813	1908
Arms	Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Bigger and inclined
Background	Normal
Laurels	Open crown, Few big leaves
Sun	Normal
Sun expression	No expression
Rays	Few and separated
External objects	Ornaments
Comment	-
Use	Banknote

Table 70

Original 1813	1903
Arms	Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Bigger
Background	Normal
Laurels	Big and jointed leaves
Sun	Bigger
Sun expression	Normal
Rays	Almost normal, extended
External objects	Ornaments
Comment	-
Use	Building

Table 72

Original 1813	1891
Arms	Normal
Pike	Smaller and ticker
Bonnet	Bigger
Background	Normal
Laurels	Open crown. Few big leaves
Sun	Bigger
Sun expression	Normal
Rays	Multiple
External objects	None
Comment	-
Use	White room, Casa Rosada

Table 73

Original 1813	1910
Arms	Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Supported
Bonnet	Bigger and inclined
Background	Normal
Laurels	Framed
Sun	Almost complete
Sun expression	Face of an adult man. Agressive
Rays	Multiple
External objects	None
Comment	This shield belongs to the English Tower, that was a gift from the British Empire
Place	Tower

Table 75

Original 1813	1910
Arms	Highlighted white skin
Pike	Supported
Bonnet	Bigger and inverted
Background	Normal
Laurels	Open crown. Multiple
Sun size	Normal
Sun expression	Worried, frown
Rays	Multiple
External objects	No
Comment	-
Use	Postcard

Table 74

Original 1813	1910
Arms	Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Supported
Bonnet	Bigger
Background	Normal
Laurels	Extended
Sun	Normal
Sun expression	Not clear
Rays	Less and thicker
External objects	None
Comment	-
Use	Golden constitution

Table 76

Original 1813	1912
Arms	Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Bigger
Background	Normal
Laurels	Open crowns. Big and jointed leaves
Sun	Normal
Sun expression	Agressive. Face of an adult man
Rays	Almost normal, extended
External objects	Ornaments
Comment	-
Use	Building

Table 77





Original 1813	1914
	
Arms	Normal
Pike	Smaller and ticker
Bonnet	Bigger
Background	Normal
Laurels	Open crown. Few big leaves
Sun	Bigger
Sun expression	Normal
Rays	Multiple
External objects	None
Comment	-
Use	Map

Figure 79

Original 1813	1919
	
Arms	Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Normal
Background	Normal
Laurels	Normal
Sun	Almost complete
Sun expression	Face of an adult man
Rays	Multiple and extended
External objects	Flags and weapons
Comment	-
Use	Bronze plaque in a monument

Section 4. The beginning of the Republican Argentina (1916-1930)

Table 78



Original 1813	1918
	
Arms	Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Bigger
Background	Normal
Laurels	Open crown
Sun	Normal
Sun expression	Face of a young man
Rays	Multiple and extended
External objects	Ornaments
Comment	-
Use	Banknote

Figure 80



Original 1813	1919
	
Arms	Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Bigger
Background	Normal
Laurels	Open crown
Sun	Normal
Sun expression	Face of an adult woman
Rays	Thin and separated
External objects	Ornaments
Comment	-
Use	School Entrance

Table 81

Original 1813	1920
	
Arms	Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Bigger
Background	Normal
Laurels	Few big leaves
Sun	Normal
Sun expression	Face of an adult man
Rays	Less and thicker
External objects	None
Comment	-
Use	Urban infrastructure

Table 83

Original 1813	1925
	
Arms	Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Bigger
Background	Normal
Laurels	Separated crown. Few big leaves
Sun	Almost complete. Bigger
Sun expression	Face of an adult man
Rays	Less, extended and separated
External objects	None
Comment	-
Use	Navy cup

Table 82





Original 1813	1922
	
Arms	Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Bigger
Background	Normal
Laurels	Big few leaves
Sun	Bigger
Sun expression	Face of an adult man
Rays	Less and separated
External objects	None
Comment	-
Use	Presidential sash

Table 84

Original 1813	1926
	
Arms	Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Bigger
Background	Normal
Laurels	Few big leaves
Sun	Bigger
Sun expression	Face of an adult man
Rays	Less and separated
External objects	None
Comment	-
Use	Presidential sash

Section 5. The Nationalist Argentina (1930-1945)

Table 85

Original 1813	1927
	
Arms	Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Bigger
Background	Normal
Laurels	Few big leaves
Sun	Bigger
Sun expression	Face of an adult man
Rays	Less, extended and separated
External objects	None
Comment	-
Use	Police helmet

Table 87



Original 1813	1932
	
Arms	Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Bigger
Background	Normal
Laurels	Multiple and jointed leaves
Sun	Normal
Sun expression	Normal
Rays	Almost normal, extended
External objects	None
Comment	-
Use	Stamp

Table 86

Original 1813	1928
	
Arms	Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Bigger
Background	Normal
Laurels	Big and jointed leaves
Sun	Normal
Sun expression	Normal
Rays	Almost normal, extended
External objects	None
Comment	-
Use	Stamp

Table 88



Original 1813	1934
	
Arms	Normal
Pike	Normal
Bonnet	Normal
Background	Normal
Laurels	Normal
Sun	Bigger and almost complete
Sun expression	Agresive face of an adult man
Rays	Multiple and jointed
External objects	Rays
Comment	-
Use	Building

Table 89

Original 1813	1935
Arms	Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Bigger
Background	Normal
Laurels	Bigger leaves
Sun	Bigger
Sun expression	Face of an adult man
Rays	Multiple
External objects	Ornaments
Comment	-
Use	Banknote

Table 91

Original 1813	1939
Arms	Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Bigger
Background	Normal
Laurels	Open crown. Big and jointed leaves
Sun	Extended, almost normal
Sun expression	Face of an adult man
Rays	Almost normal, extended
External objects	None
Comment	-
Use	Stamp

Table 90

Original 1813	1937
Arms	Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Bigger
Background	Normal
Laurels	Open crown. Big and jointed leaves
Sun	Bigger
Sun expression	Face of an adult man
Rays	Few and bigger
External objects	None
Comment	-
Use	Cap

Table 92

Original 1813	1939
Arms	Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Bigger
Background	Normal
Laurels	Open crown. Big and jointed leaves
Sun	Extended, almost normal
Sun expression	Face of an adult man
Rays	Almost normal, extended
External objects	None
Comment	-
Use	Stamp

Table 93

Original 1813	1940'
Arms	Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Bigger
Background	Normal
Laurels	Multiple and jointed leaves
Sun	Normal
Sun expression	Normal
Rays	Almost normal, extended
External objects	Wings
Comment	-
Use	Tomb

Table 95

Original 1813	1940
Arms	Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Bigger
Background	Normal
Laurels	Open crowns
Sun	Normal
Sun expression	Normal
Rays	Almost normal, extended
External objects	Ornaments
Comment	-
Use	Building

Figure 94

Original 1813	1940
Arms	Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Bigger and inclined
Background	Normal
Laurels	None
Sun	None
Sun expression	None
Rays	None
External objects	Two people
Comment	-
Use	Building

Table 96

Original 1813	1940-1956
Arms	Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Bigger
Background	Normal
Laurels	Open crown
Sun	Normal
Sun expression	Face of an adult man
Rays	Normal
External objects	Flags and ornaments
Comment	-
Use	Building

Table 97



Original 1813	1943
	
Arms	Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Bigger
Background	Normal
Laurels	Big and few leaves
Sun	Bigger
Sun expression	Agressive. Face of an adult man
Rays	Thin and extended
External objects	None
Comment	-
Use	Building

Table 99





Original 1813	1944
	
Arms	Normal
Pike	Normal
Bonnet	Normal
Background	Normal
Laurels	Multiple (pair of leaves)
Sun	Normal
Sun expression	Worried face of an adult man
Rays	Almost normal, extended
External objects	None
Comment	-
Use	Stamp

Table 98

Original 1813	1944
	
Arms	Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Bigger
Background	Normal
Laurels	Few big leaves
Sun	Normal
Sun expression	Face of a adult man
Rays	Normal
External objects	None
Comment	-
Use	Coin

Table 100

Original 1813	1945
	
Arms	Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Normal
Bonnet	Bigger
Background	Normal
Laurels	Normal
Sun	Bigger
Sun expression	Normal
Rays	Almost normal, extended
External objects	None
Comment	-
Use	Building

Section 6 The sentiment of sharing: the nation of the Peronist workers (1946-1955)

Table 101


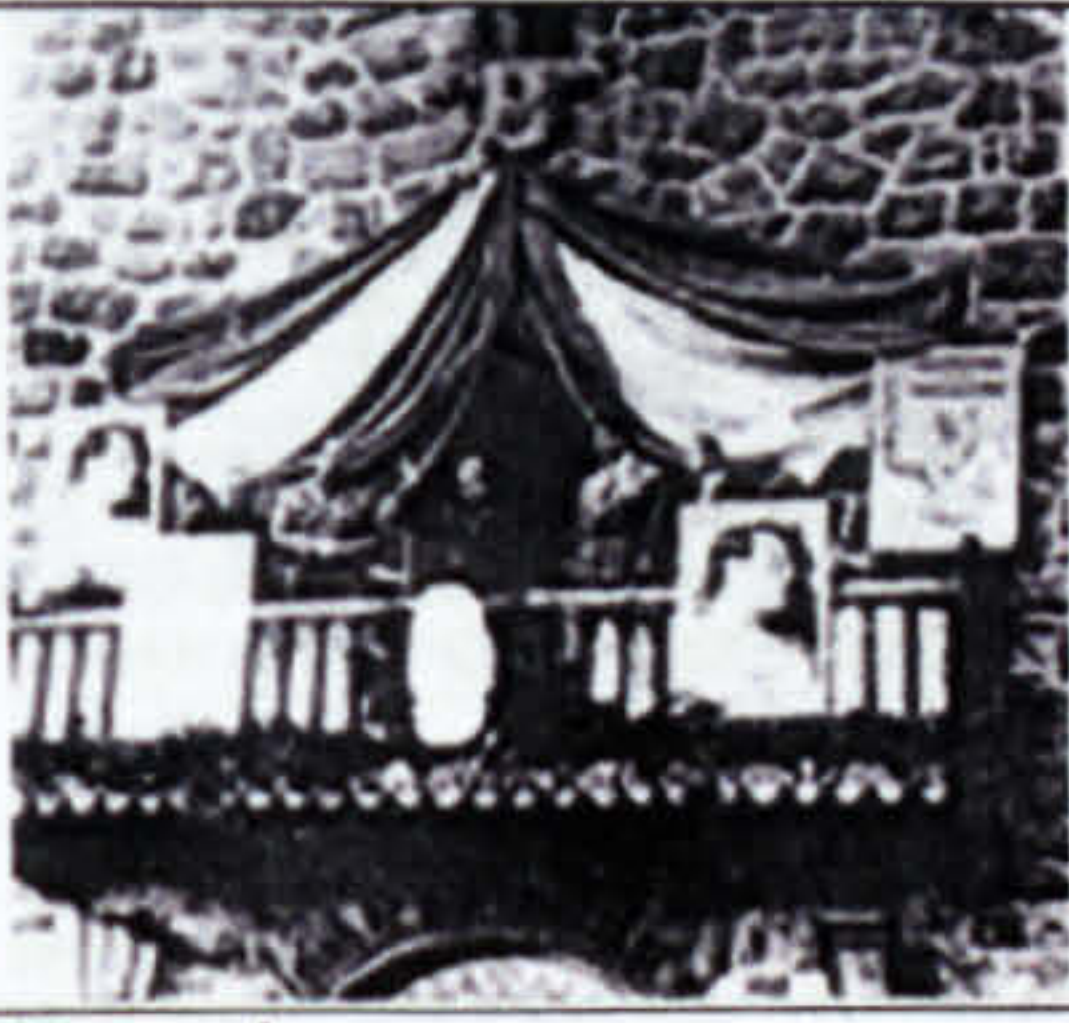
Original 1813	1950
	
Arms	Normal
Pike	Normal
Bonnet	Normal
Background	Normal
Laurels	Normal
Sun	Normal
Sun expression	Face of an adult man. Worried, frown
Rays	Extended
External objects	Justicialist shield
Comment	-
Use	Stage

Table 102



Original 1813	1950
	
Arms	Normal
Pike	Normal
Bonnet	Normal
Background	Normal
Laurels	Normal
Sun	Normal
Sun expression	Face of an adult man. Worried, frown
Rays	Extended
External objects	Justicialist shield
Comment	-
Use	Stage

Table 103

Original 1813	1952
	
Arms	Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Bigger
Background	Normal
Laurels	Open crown. Big and jointed leaves (may be olive leaves)
Sun	Bigger
Sun expression	Face of an adult man
Rays	Few and bigger
External objects	None
Comment	-
Use	Cap

Table 104



Original 1813	1952
	
Arms	Normal
Pike	Normal
Bonnet	Normal
Background	Normal
Laurels	Normal
Sun	Normal
Sun expression	Face of an adult man. Worried, frown
Rays	Extended
External objects	Justicialist shield
Comment	-
Use	Funeral

Table 105



Original 1813	1952
	
Arms	Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Bigger
Background	Normal
Laurels	Few big leaves
Sun	Bigger
Sun expression	Agressive. Face of an adult man
Rays	Extended
External objects	None
Comment	-
Use	Building

Table 107



Original 1813	1952
	
Arms	Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Bigger
Background	Normal
Laurels	Two jointed leaves
Sun	Normal
Sun expression	Face of a adult man
Rays	Normal
External objects	Ornaments
Comment	-
Use	Stamp

Table 106



Original 1813	1952
	
Arms	Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Bigger
Background	Normal
Laurels	Few big leaves
Sun	Normal
Sun expression	Face of a adult man
Rays	Normal
External objects	Ornaments
Comment	-
Use	Banknote

Table 108



Original 1813	1952
	
Arms	Normal
Pike	Normal
Bonnet	Normal
Background	Normal
Laurels	Two jointed leaves
Sun	Normal
Sun expression	Face of an adult man. Worried, frown
Rays	Extended
External objects	Justicialist shield
Comment	-
Use	Stage

Table 109

Original 1813	1952
Arms	Highlighted white skin
Pike	Normal
Bonnet	Normal
Background	Normal
Laurels	Two jointed leaves
Sun	Normal
Sun expression	Face of an adult man. Worried, frown
Rays	Extended
External objects	None
Comment	-
Use	Monument

Table 111

Original 1813	1953
Arms	Normal
Pike	Normal
Bonnet	Normal
Background	Normal
Laurels	Two jointed leaves
Sun	Normal
Sun expression	Face of an adult man. Worried, frown
Rays	Extended
External objects	Justicialist shield
Comment	-
Use	Stage

Table 110

Original 1813	1953
Arms	Highlighted white skin
Pike	Normal
Bonnet	Normal
Background	Normal
Laurels	Two jointed leaves
Sun	Normal
Sun expression	Face of an adult man. Worried, frown
Rays	Extended
External objects	None
Comment	-
Use	Document

Table 112

Original 1813	1954
Arms	Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Bigger
Background	Normal
Laurels	Open crowns
Sun	Bigger
Sun expression	Face of an adult woman
Rays	Extended
External objects	Leaves
Comment	-
Use	Poster

Table 113




Original 1813	1950'
	
Arms	Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Bigger
Background	Normal
Laurels	Open crowds. Separated leaves
Sun	Bigger
Sun expression	Face of an adult man
Rays	Few, separated and extended
External objects	Ornaments
Comment	-
Use	Furniture

Table 115

Original 1813	1960
	
Arms	Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Bigger
Background	Normal
Laurels	Open crowns
Sun	Bigger
Sun expression	Face of an adult man
Rays	Extended
External objects	Ornaments
Comment	-
Use	Banknote

Section 7. The internal fights between the military force and democratic political parties (1955-1983)

Table 114



Original 1813	1957
	
Arms	Normal
Pike	Normal
Bonnet	Normal
Background	Normal
Laurels	Jointed (two leaves)
Sun	Normal
Sun expression	Worried and frown face of an adult man
Rays	Almost normal, extended
External objects	None
Comment	-
Use	Document

Table 116

Original 1813	1960
	
Arms	Normal
Pike	Normal
Bonnet	Normal
Background	Normal
Laurels	Jointed, two leaves
Sun	Normal
Sun expression	Face of an adult man. Worried, frown
Rays	Normal
External objects	None
Comment	-
Use	Coin

Table 117

Original 1813	1966
Arms	Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Bigger
Background	Normal
Laurels	Open crowns. Big few leaves
Sun	Bigger
Sun expression	Face of an adult man. Agressive
Rays	Extended
External objects	None
Comment	-
Use	Cap

Table 119

Original 1813	1969
Arms	Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Bigger
Background	Normal
Laurels	Open crown. Big and separated leaves
Sun	Smaller, complete and separated
Sun expression	Face of an adult man
Rays	Few and smaller
External objects	Legend
Comment	The shape is almost a circle
Use	Seal

Table 118

Original 1813	1968
Arms	Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Bigger
Background	Normal
Laurels	Open crowns
Sun	Bigger
Sun expression	Face of an adult man
Rays	Extended
External objects	Ornaments
Comment	-
Use	Poster

Table 120

Original 1813	1969
Arms	Normal
Pike	Normal
Bonnet	Normal
Background	Normal
Laurels	Two jointed leaves
Sun	Normal
Sun expression	Face of an adult man.
Rays	Extended
External objects	None
Comment	-
Use	Banknote

Table 121



Original 1813	1972
	
Arms	Normal
Pike	Normal
Bonnet	Normal
Background	Normal
Laurels	Two jointed leaves
Sun	Normal
Sun expression	Face of an adult man. Worried, frown
Rays	Normal
External objects	None
Comment	-
Use	Building

Table 123



Original 1813	1974
	
Arms	Normal
Pike	Normal
Bonnet	Normal
Background	Normal
Laurels	Two jointed leaves
Sun	Normal
Sun expression	Face of an adult man. Worried, frown
Rays	Normal
External objects	None
Comment	-
Use	Building

Table 122



Original 1813	1974
	
Arms	Normal
Pike	Normal
Bonnet	Normal
Background	Normal
Laurels	Two jointed leaves
Sun	Normal
Sun expression	Face of an adult man. Worried, frown
Rays	Normal
External objects	None
Comment	-
Use	Sign

Table 124



Original 1813	1975
	
Arms	Normal
Pike	Normal
Bonnet	Normal
Background	Normal
Laurels	Two jointed leaves
Sun	Normal
Sun expression	Face of an adult man. Worried, frown
Rays	Normal
External objects	None
Comment	-
Use	Stage

Table 125

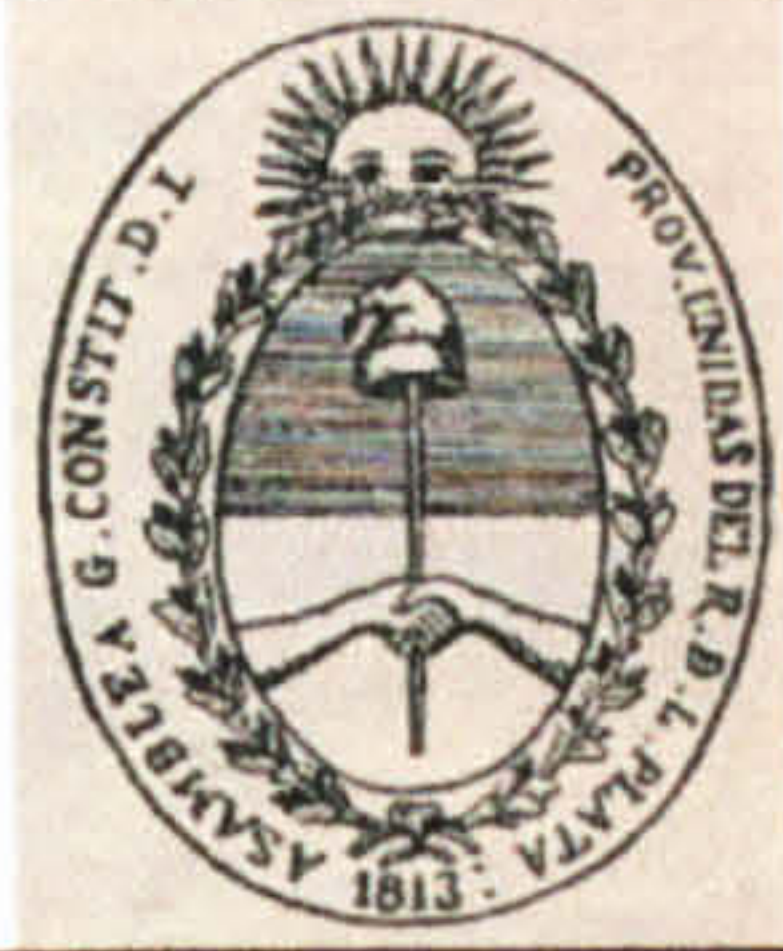

Original 1813	1975
	
Arms	Normal
Pike	Normal
Bonnet	Normal
Background	Normal
Laurels	Two jointed leaves
Sun	Normal
Sun expression	Face of an adult man. Worried, frown
Rays	Normal
External objects	None
Comment	-
Use	Stage

Table 127

Original 1813	1978
	
Arms	Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Bigger
Background	Normal
Laurels	Open crowns. Big few leaves
Sun	Bigger
Sun expression	Face of an adult man
Rays	Extended
External objects	None
Comment	-
Use	Cap

Table 126

Original 1813	1978
	
Arms	Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Bigger
Background	Normal
Laurels	Open crowns. Few big leaves
Sun	Bigger
Sun expression	Not clear
Rays	Extended
External objects	None
Comment	-
Use	Bronze plaque

Table 128



Original 1813	1978
	
Arms	Normal
Pike	Normal
Bonnet	Normal
Background	Normal
Laurels	Two jointed leaves
Sun	Normal
Sun expression	Face of an adult man. Worried, frown
Rays	Extended
External objects	None
Comment	-
Use	Banknote

Table 129

Original 1813	1979
Arms	Normal
Pike	Normal
Bonnet	Normal
Background	Normal
Laurels	Two jointed leaves
Sun	Normal
Sun expression	Face of an adult man. Worried, frown
Rays	Normal
External objects	None
Comment	-
Use	Stage

Table 131

Original 1813	1980
Arms	Normal
Pike	Normal
Bonnet	Normal
Background	Normal
Laurels	Two jointed leaves
Sun	Normal
Sun expression	Face of an adult man. Worried, frown
Rays	Extended
External objects	None
Comment	-
Use	Banknote

Table 130

Original 1813	1981
Arms	Normal
Pike	Normal
Bonnet	Normal
Background	Normal
Laurels	Two jointed leaves
Sun	Normal
Sun expression	Face of an adult man. Worried, frown
Rays	Extended
External objects	None
Comment	-
Use	Banknote

Table 132

Original 1813	1982
Arms	Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Bigger
Background	Normal
Laurels	Open crowds. Few big leaves
Sun	Bigger
Sun expression	Face of an adult man
Rays	Extended
External objects	None
Comment	-
Use	Cap

8. Democracy as an ideology (1983-1989)

Table 133

Original 1813	1984
Arms	Normal
Pike	Normal
Bonnet	Normal
Background	Normal
Laurels	Two leaves
Sun	Normal
Sun expression	Face of an adult woman
Rays	Extended
External objects	None
Comment	-
Use	Stamp

Table 134

Original 1813	1985
Arms	Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Bigger and inclined
Background	Normal
Laurels	Open crown, Few big leaves
Sun	Normal
Sun expression	No expression
Rays	Few and separated
External objects	Ornaments
Comment	-
Use	Banknote

Table 135

Original 1813	1987
Arms	Normal
Pike	Normal
Bonnet	Normal
Background	Normal
Laurels	Two leaves
Sun	Normal
Sun expression	Face of an adult man
Rays	Extended
External objects	None
Comment	-
Use	Banknote

Table 136

Original 1813	1988
Arms	Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Normal
Bonnet	Normal
Background	Normal
Laurels	Two jointed leaves
Sun	Normal
Sun expression	Face of an adult woman
Rays	Normal
External objects	None
Comment	-
Use	Document

Section 9. The use of public resources to support the private interests (1989-1999)

Table 137

Original 1813	1990'
Arms	Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Bigger
Background	Normal
Laurels	Open crowns. Few big leaves
Sun	Bigger
Sun expression	Face of an adult man
Rays	Extended
External objects	None
Comment	-
Use	Building

Table 138

Original 1813	1990
Arms	Normal
Pike	Normal
Bonnet	Normal
Background	Normal
Laurels	Two jointed leaves
Sun	Normal
Sun expression	Normal
Rays	Normal
External objects	None
Comment	-
Use	Banknote

Table 139

Original 1813	1998
Arms	Normal
Pike	Normal
Bonnet	Enlarged
Background	Normal
Laurels	Jointed
Sun	Normal
Sun expression	Face of an adult sad man
Rays	Disordered
External objects	None
Comment	-
Use	Document

Table 140

Original 1813	1999
Arms	Normal
Pike	Normal
Bonnet	Normal
Background	Normal
Laurels	Almost separated crowns. Bigger and less leaves
Sun	Bigger
Sun expression	Face of an aggressive adult man
Rays	Normal
External objects	None
Comment	-
Use	Internet. Official page

Table 141



Original 1813	1999
	
Arms	Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Bigger
Background	Normal
Laurels	Open crowns. Few big leaves mixed with olives
Sun	Bigger
Sun expression	Face of an adult man
Rays	Multiple and extended
External objects	None
Comment	This is the shield of the Province of Buenos Aires, however it was used by the nation-state
Use	Document

Table 143



Original 1813	1999
	
Arms	Normal
Pike	Normal
Bonnet	Normal
Background	Light
Laurels	Two leaves
Sun	Normal
Sun expression	Face of an adult worried woman
Rays	Extended
External objects	None
Comment	-
Use	Poster

Table 142





Original 1813	1999
	
Arms	Normal
Pike	Normal
Bonnet	Normal
Background	Normal
Laurels	Normal
Sun	Bigger
Sun expression	Face of an adult man. Worried and frown
Rays	Normal
External objects	Legend
Comment	-
Use	Sign

Table 144

Original 1813	1999
	
Arms	Normal
Pike	Normal
Bonnet	Normal
Background	Normal
Laurels	Separated crowns. Jointed leaves
Sun	Bigger
Sun expression	Face of an adult worried woman
Rays	Few and grouped together
External objects	None
Comment	-
Use	Poster

Section 10. The Alianza (1999-2001)

Table 145

Original 1813	2000
Arms	Normal
Pike	Normal
Bonnet	Normal
Background	Normal
Laurels	Two jointed leaves
Sun	Bigger
Sun expression	Face of an adult man. Worried and frown
Rays	Normal
External objects	Leyend
Comment	-
Use	National University diploma

Table 146

Original 1813	2000
Arms	Normal
Pike	Normal
Bonnet	Normal
Background	Normal
Laurels	Two jointed leaves
Sun	Bigger
Sun expression	Face of an adult man. Worreied and frown
Rays	Normal
External objects	Leyend
Comment	-
Use	Locator sign

Table 147

Original 1813	2000
Arms	Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Bigger
Background	Normal
Laurels	Two jointed leaves
Sun	Normal
Sun expression	Face of an adult woman
Rays	Thicker
External objects	None
Comment	-
Use	Advertisement

Table 148

Original 1813	2000
Arms	Shaking hands highlighted. Skin color tone variations
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Bigger
Background	Normal
Laurels	Two jointed leaves
Sun	Normal
Sun expression	Face of an adult woman
Rays	Thicker
External objects	None
Comment	-
Use	Internet page

Table 149



Original 1813	2000
	
Arms	Shaking hands highlighted. Skin color tone variations
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Bigger
Background	Normal
Laurels	Two jointed leaves
Sun	Normal
Sun expression	Face of an adult woman
Rays	Thicker
External objects	None
Comment	-
Use	Leaflet

Table 151





Original 1813	2001
	
Arms	Shaking hands highlighted. Skin color tone variations
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Bigger
Background	Normal
Laurels	Two jointed leaves
Sun	Normal
Sun expression	Face of an adult woman
Rays	Thicker
External objects	None
Comment	-
Use	Poster

Table 150

Original 1813	2001
	
Arms	Shaking hands highlighted. Skin color tone variations
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Bigger
Background	Normal
Laurels	Two jointed leaves
Sun	Normal
Sun expression	Face of an adult woman
Rays	Thicker
External objects	None
Comment	-
Use	Book

Section 11. Duhalde's administration (2002-2003)

Table 152


Original 1813	2002
	
Arms	Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Bigger
Background	Normal
Laurels	Two jointed leaves
Sun	Normal
Sun expression	Face of an adult woman
Rays	Thicker
External objects	None
Comment	-
Use	National bond

Table 153



Original 1813	2002
	
Arms	Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Bigger
Background	Normal
Laurels	Two jointed leaves
Sun	Normal
Sun expression	Face of an adult woman
Rays	Thicker
External objects	None
Comment	-
Use	Casa Rosada

Table 155





Original 1813	2002
	
Arms	Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Bigger
Background	Normal
Laurels	Two jointed leaves
Sun	Normal
Sun expression	No expresion
Rays	Multiple and thinner
External objects	Legend
Comment	-
Use	Ballot box

Table 154

Original 1813	2002
	
Arms	Shaking hands highlighted. Skin color tone variations
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Bigger
Background	Normal
Laurels	Two jointed leaves
Sun	Normal
Sun expression	Face of an adult woman
Rays	Thicker
External objects	None
Comment	-
Use	Casa Rosada

Table 156

Original 1813	2003
	
Arms	Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Bigger
Background	Normal
Laurels	Two jointed leaves
Sun	Normal
Sun expression	Face of an adult woman
Rays	Thicker
External objects	None
Comment	-
Use	Document

11. Kirchner's ideological state apparatus (2003-2008)

Table 157



Original 1813	2005
	
Arms	Smaller
Pike	Larger
Bonnet	Smaller
Background	Normal
Laurels	Normal
Sun	Smaller
Sun expression	Face of an adult man
Rays	Shorter
External objects	None
Comment	-
Use	Casa Rosada

Table 159



Original 1813	2007
	
Arms	Shaking hands highlighted. Skin color tone variations
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Bigger
Background	Normal
Laurels	Two jointed leaves
Sun	Normal
Sun expression	Face of an adult woman
Rays	Thicker
External objects	None
Comment	-
Use	Internet page

Table 158


Original 1813	2006
	
Arms	Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Bigger
Background	Normal
Laurels	Two jointed leaves
Sun	Normal
Sun expression	Face of an adult woman
Rays	Thicker
External objects	None
Comment	-
Use	Internet

Table 160


Original 1813	2008
	
Arms	Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Bigger
Background	Normal
Laurels	Two jointed leaves
Sun	Normal
Sun expression	Face of an adult woman
Rays	Thicker
External objects	None
Comment	-
Use	Internet

Table 161

Original 1813	2008
	
Arms	Shaking hands highlighted
Pike	Smaller
Bonnet	Bigger and inclined
Background	Normal
Laurels	Few and big with olives and seeds
Sun	Normal
Sun expression	Face of an adult
Rays	Fews and jointed
External objects	Flags and weapons
Comment	-
Use	Internet (Chancellery)

Table 163



Original 1813	2008
	
Arms	Normal
Pike	Normal
Bonnet	Normal
Background	Normal
Laurels	Two jointed leaves
Sun	Bigger
Sun expression	Face of an adult man. Worried and frown
Rays	Normal
External objects	None
Comment	-
Use	I.D.

Table 162





Original 1813	2008
	
Arms	Normal
Pike	Normal
Bonnet	Normal
Background	Normal
Laurels	Two jointed leaves
Sun	Bigger
Sun expression	No expression
Rays	Jointed
External objects	None
Comment	-
Use	Car number

Table 164

Original 1813	2008
	
Arms	Normal
Pike	Normal
Bonnet	Normal
Background	Normal
Laurels	Two jointed leaves
Sun	Bigger
Sun expression	Face of an adult man. Worried and frown
Rays	Extended
External objects	No
Comment	-
Use	Passport

Date	Description
	<p>Faded text describing the first entry.</p>
<p>Faded text describing the second entry.</p>	<p>Faded text describing the second entry.</p>
	<p>Faded text describing the third entry.</p>
<p>Faded text describing the fourth entry.</p>	<p>Faded text describing the fourth entry.</p>

6. Tables Banknote

3.a The consolidation of the agroexport model (1880-1916)

Note: National banknotes started to be issued in 1884. Some periods of time will not be described because no design change was produced at that time.

Table 1



 <p>A</p>	 <p>B</p>
What or who is the main figure of the note?	Figure A Avellaneda and shield, Figure B The Republic
What activity is performed?	Figure A and Figure B posing
What is the background portraying?	Text and signatures
Is there any other relevant artifact, place or ornament detectable?	Ornaments
Color of the note	Green
Legend	"Republica Argentina"
Comments	Printed by the American bank note Co.NY

Table 2

 <p>A</p>	 <p>B</p>
What or who is the main figure of the note?	Figure A Sarmiento and shield, Figure B Gaucho
What activity is performed?	Figure A posing, Figure B galloping
What is the background portraying?	Text and signature
Is there any other relevant artifact, place or ornament detectable?	Ornaments
Color of the note	Green/light blue
Legend	"Republica Argentina"
Comments	-

Table 3

 <p>A</p>	 <p>B</p>
What or who is the main figure of the note?	Figure A Mitre, Figure B cow
What activity is performed?	Posing
What is the background portraying?	Shield, signatures and text
Is there any other relevant artifact, place or ornament detectable?	Signature and ornaments
Color of the note	Green
Legend	"Republica Argentina"
Comments	-

Table 4


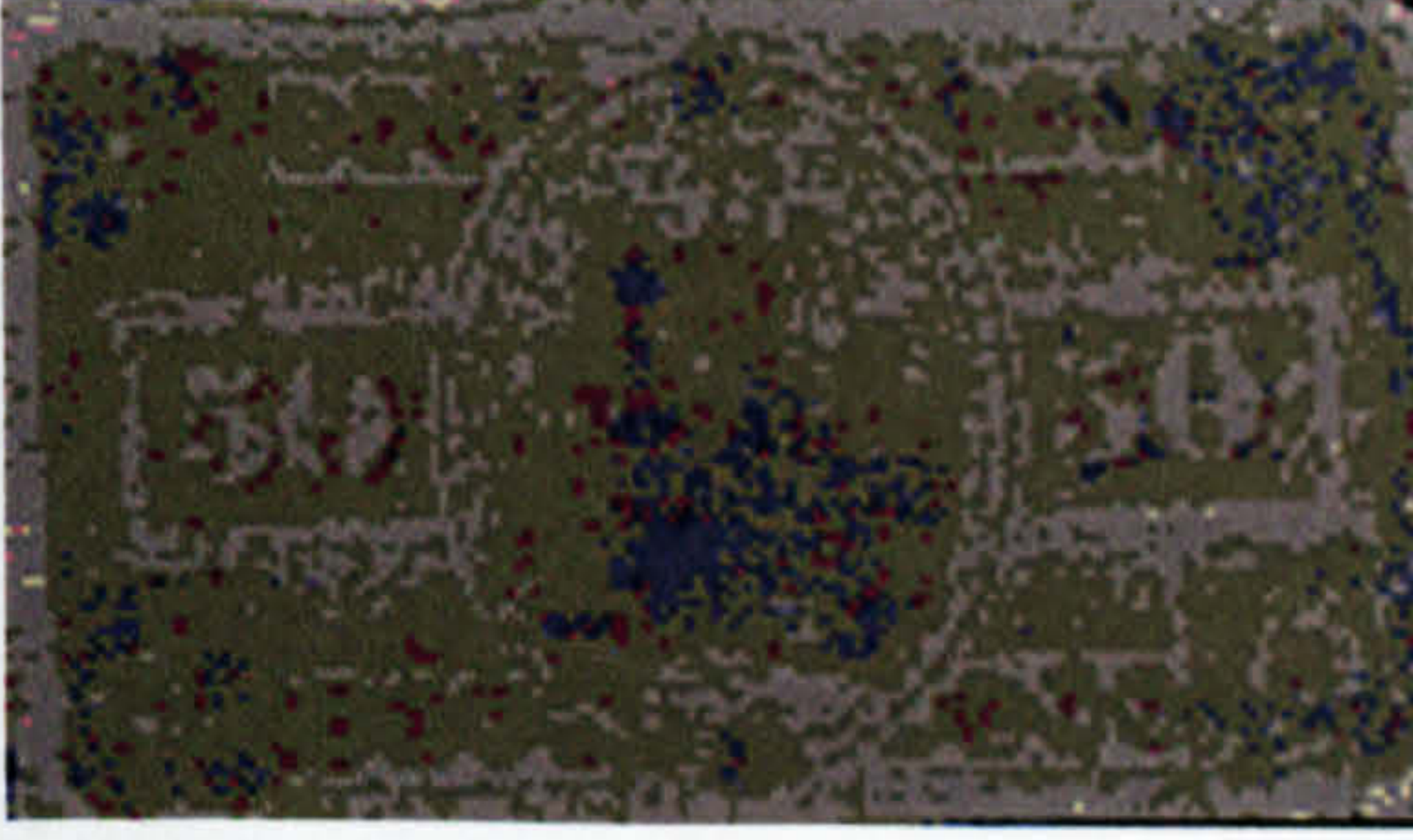
 <p>A</p>	 <p>B</p>
What or who is the main figure of the note?	Figure A Urquiza and shield, Figure B no clear
What activity is performed?	Posing
What is the background portraying?	Text and signatures
Is there any other relevant artifact, place or ornament detectable?	Ornaments and signature
Color of the note	Grey and green
Legend	"Republica Argentina"
Comments	-

Table 5



 <p>A</p>	 <p>B</p>
What or who is the main figure of the note?	Figure A Avellaneda and the national coat of arms, Figure B the Republic
What activity is performed?	Posing
What is the background portraying?	Text and signatures
Is there any other relevant artifact, place or ornament detectable?	Ornaments
Color of the note	Green
Legend	"Republica Argentina"
Comments	-

Table 6





 <p>A</p>	 <p>B</p>
What or who is the main figure of the note?	Figure A Sarmiento and shield, Figure B gaucho
What activity is performed?	Figure A posing, Figure B galloping
What is the background portraying?	Text and signatures
Is there any other relevant artifact, place or ornament detectable?	Ornaments
Color of the note	Grey and pink
Legend	"Republica Argentina"
Comments	-

Table 7

 <p>A</p>	 <p>B</p>
What or who is the main figure of the note?	Figure A Sarmiento and shield, Figure B Republic
What activity is performed?	Posing
What is the background portraying?	Text and signature
Is there any other relevant artifact, place or ornament detectable?	Ornaments and textures
Color of the note	Pink and green
Legend	"Republica Argentina"
Comments	-

Since 1881
Table 8



 <p>A</p>	 <p>B</p>
What or who is the main figure of the note?	Figure A Sailor and unknown hero, Figure B male figure with two portrayed woman
What activity is performed?	Figure A and Figure B Posing and seducing
What is the background portraying?	Shield, landscape, bed and signature,
Is there any other relevant artifact, place or ornament detectable?	Ornaments and textures
Color of the note	Light orange and grey
Legend	"El Banco Nacional"
Comments	-

Table 9



 <p>A</p>	 <p>B</p>
What or who is the main figure of the note?	Figure A Brown and Women, Figure B Shield
What activity is performed?	Posing
What is the background portraying?	Text and signature
Is there any other relevant artifact, place or ornament detectable?	Ornament and textures
Color of the note	Ochre and grey
Legend	"La Nación"
Comments	-

Table 10





 <p>A</p>	 <p>B</p>
What or who is the main figure of the note?	Figure A Velez Sarsfield and shield, Figure B ship
What activity is performed?	Figure A Posing, Figure B sailing
What is the background portraying?	Animals, signatures and text
Is there any other relevant artifact, place or ornament detectable?	Ornaments and textures
Color of the note	Grey-blue
Legend	"El Banco Nacional"
Comments	-

Table 11

 <p>A</p>	 <p>B</p>
What or who is the main figure of the note?	Figure A Brown and children, Figure B ship
What activity is performed?	Figure A Posing and playing, Figure B sailing
What is the background portraying?	Shield, signatures and text
Is there any other relevant artifact, place or ornament detectable?	Ornaments and textures
Color of the note	Grey-pink
Legend	"El Banco Nacional"
Comments	-

Since 1900
Table 12



 <p>A</p>	 <p>B</p>
What or who is the main figure of the note?	Figure A Statue of progress and shield, Figure B Shield
What activity is performed?	Posing
What is the background portraying?	Signatures and ornaments
Is there any other relevant artifact, place or ornament detectable?	Texture
Color of the note	Figure A Blue Figure B green
Legend	"Republica Argentina"
Comments	-



Table 13

 <p>A</p>	 <p>B</p>
What or who is the main figure of the note?	Figure A Statue of progress and shield, Figure B Shield
What activity is performed?	Posing
What is the background portraying?	Signatures and ornaments
Is there any other relevant artifact, place or ornament detectable?	Texture
Color of the note	Figure A Blue Figure B Red
Legend	"Republica Argentina"
Comments	-

Table 14

 <p>A</p>	 <p>B</p>
What or who is the main figure of the note?	Figure A Statue of progress and shield, Figure B Shield
What activity is performed?	Posing
What is the background portraying?	Signatures and ornaments
Is there any other relevant artifact, place or ornament detectable?	Texture
Color of the note	A Blue, B Light blue
Legend	"Republica Argentina"
Comments	-

Table 15

 <p>A</p>	 <p>B</p>
What or who is the main figure of the note?	Figure A Statue of progress and shield, Figure B Shield
What activity is performed?	Posing
What is the background portraying?	Signatures and ornaments
Is there any other relevant artifact, place or ornament detectable?	Texture
Color of the note	A Light blue, B Light violet
Legend	"Republica Argentina"
Comments	-

**Section 5. The Nationalist Argentina (1930-1945)
Since 1935**

Table 16



 <p>A</p>	 <p>B</p>
What or who is the main figure of the note?	Figure A San Martin, Figure B Cabildo (council)
What activity is performed?	Figure A Posing, Figure B Independence meeting
What is the background portraying?	Frames, shield and text
Is there any other relevant artifact, place or ornament detectable?	Ornaments and signatures
Color of the note	Brown
Legend	"El Banco Central" and "Republica Argentina"
Comments	-

Table 17



 <p>A</p>	 <p>B</p>
What or who is the main figure of the note?	Figure A San Martin, Figure B Tucuman Congress
What activity is performed?	Figure A Posing, Figure B Independence meeting
What is the background portraying?	Frames, shield and text
Is there any other relevant artifact, place or ornament detectable?	Ornaments and signatures
Color of the note	Brown
Legend	"El Banco Central" and "Republica Argentina"
Comments	-

Table 18





 <p>A</p>	 <p>B</p>
What or who is the main figure of the note?	Figure A San Martin, Figure B Tucuman Congress
What activity is performed?	Figure A Posing, Figure B Independence meeting
What is the background portraying?	Frames, shield and text
Is there any other relevant artifact, place or ornament detectable?	Ornaments and signatures
Color of the note	Brown
Legend	"El Banco Central" and "Republica Argentina"
Comments	-



Table 19

 <p>A</p>	 <p>B</p>
What or who is the main figure of the note?	Figure A San Martin, Figure B Tucuman Congress
What activity is performed?	Figure A Posing, Figure B Independence meeting
What is the background portraying?	Frames, shield and text
Is there any other relevant artifact, place or ornament detectable?	Ornaments and signatures
Color of the note	Brown
Legend	"El Banco Central" and "Republica Argentina"
Comments	-

Section 6. The nation of the Peronist workers (1946-1955)

Since 1950

Table 20

 <p>A</p>	 <p>B</p>
What or who is the main figure of the note?	Figure A Justice. Figure B New Constitution
What activity is performed?	It is showing the new constitution
What is the background portraying?	Furniture and ornaments
Is there any other relevant artifact, place or ornament detectable?	Text and signatures
Color of the note	Figure A Brown, Figure B green
Legend	"Republica Argentina"
Comments	-

Since 1952
Table 21

A	B
What or who is the main figure of the note?	Figure A Woman with balance, Figure B House of Tucumán
What activity is performed?	Figure A Open-eyed justice supporting new constitution, Figure B showing house of independence
What is the background portraying?	Figure A Frame and furniture, Figure B shield and symbols of industrial production
Is there any other relevant artifact, place or ornament detectable?	Text and ornaments
Color of the note	Brown and saturated grey
Legend	"El Banco Central" and "Republica Argentina"
Comments	Centered composition

Section 7. The internal fights between the military force and democratic political parties (1955-1983)

Since 1961
Table 22

A	B
What or who is the main figure of the note?	Figure A San Martín, Figure B Monetary House
What activity is performed?	Figure A Posing, Figure B showing
What is the background portraying?	Frames, shield and text
Is there any other relevant artifact, place or ornament detectable?	Ornaments and signatures
Color of the note	Grey and beige
Legend	"El Banco Central" and "Republica Argentina"
Comments	-

Table 23

A	B
What or who is the main figure of the note?	Figure A Old San Martín, Figure B Home of San Martín in Grand Bourg
What activity is performed?	A Posing, B showing
What is the background portraying?	Frames, shield and text
Is there any other relevant artifact, place or ornament detectable?	Ornaments and signatures
Color of the note	Blue
Legend	"El Banco Central" and "Republica Argentina"
Comments	Old San Martín started to be represented in banknotes

Table 24



 <p>A</p>	 <p>B</p>
What or who is the main figure of the note?	Figure A San Martin, Figure B Frigate Sarmiento
What activity is performed?	Figure A Posing, Figure B Navigating
What is the background portraying?	Frames, shield and text
Is there any other relevant artifact, place or ornament detectable?	Ornaments and signatures
Color of the note	Purple
Legend	"El Banco Central" and "Republica Argentina"
Comments	-

Table 25





 <p>A</p>	 <p>B</p>
What or who is the main figure of the note?	Figure A San Martin, Figure B National Congress
What activity is performed?	Figure A Posing, Figure B showing
What is the background portraying?	Frames, shield and text
Is there any other relevant artifact, place or ornament detectable?	Ornaments and signatures
Color of the note	Ocher
Legend	"El Banco Central" and "Republica Argentina"
Comments	-

Table 26

 <p>A</p>	 <p>B</p>
What or who is the main figure of the note?	Figure A Old San Martin, Figure B San Martin liberating Chile
What activity is performed?	Figure A Posing, Figure B Meeting
What is the background portraying?	Frames, shield and text
Is there any other relevant artifact, place or ornament detectable?	Ornaments and signatures
Color of the note	Orange
Legend	"El Banco Central" and "Republica Argentina"
Comments	-

Since 1970
Table 27



	
A	B
What or who is the main figure of the note?	Figure A Gral. Manuel Belgrano, Figure B Bariloche
What activity is performed?	Figure A Posing, Figure B Showing
What is the background portraying?	Textures, shield and text
Is there any other relevant artifact, place or ornament detectable?	Ornaments
Color of the note	Orange
Legend	"Banco Central" and "Republica Argentina"
Comments	-

Table 28



	
A	B
What or who is the main figure of the note?	Figure A Gral. Manuel Belgrano, Figure B Monument to the flag (Rosario)
What activity is performed?	Figure A Posing, Figure B Showing
What is the background portraying?	Textures, shield and text
Is there any other relevant artifact, place or ornament detectable?	Ornaments
Color of the note	Grey-blue
Legend	"Banco Central" and "Republica Argentina"
Comments	-

Table 29



	
A	B
What or who is the main figure of the note?	Figure A Gral. Manuel Belgrano, Figure B Iguazú Falls (Misiones)
What activity is performed?	Figure A Posing, Figure B Showing
What is the background portraying?	Textures, shield and text
Is there any other relevant artifact, place or ornament detectable?	Ornaments
Color of the note	Violet
Legend	"Banco Central" and "Republica Argentina"
Comments	-

Table 30



 <p>A</p>	 <p>B</p>
What or who is the main figure of the note?	Figure A Old San Martín, Figure B River (Mendoza)
What activity is performed?	Figure A Posing, Figure B Showing
What is the background portraying?	Textures, shield and text
Is there any other relevant artifact, place or ornament detectable?	Ornaments
Color of the note	Grey
Legend	"Banco Central" and "Republica Argentina"
Comments	-

Table 31



 <p>A</p>	 <p>B</p>
What or who is the main figure of the note?	Figure A Old San Martín, Figure B Usuhaia port (Tierra del Fuego)
What activity is performed?	Figure A Posing, Figure B Showing
What is the background portraying?	Textures, shield and text
Is there any other relevant artifact, place or ornament detectable?	Ornaments
Color of the note	Red
Legend	"Banco Central" and "Republica Argentina"
Comments	-

Table 32



 <p>A</p>	 <p>B</p>
What or who is the main figure of the note?	Figure A Old San Martín, Figure B Cerro de la Gloria (Mendoza)
What activity is performed?	Figure A Posing, Figure B Showing
What is the background portraying?	Textures, shield and text
Is there any other relevant artifact, place or ornament detectable?	Ornaments
Color of the note	Grey
Legend	"Banco Central" and "Republica Argentina"
Comments	-

Table 33



	
A	B
What or who is the main figure of the note?	Figure A Old San Martín, Figure B pyramid of May (Buenos Aires)
What activity is performed?	Figure A Posing, Figure B Showing
What is the background portraying?	Textures, shield and text
Is there any other relevant artifact, place or ornament detectable?	Ornaments
Color of the note	Light-brown
Legend	"Banco Central" and "Republica Argentina"
Comments	-

Table 34

	
A	B
What or who is the main figure of the note?	Figure A Old San Martín, Figure B Mar del Plata (Province of Buenos Aires)
What activity is performed?	Figure A Posing, Figure B Showing
What is the background portraying?	Textures, shield and text
Is there any other relevant artifact, place or ornament detectable?	Ornaments
Color of the note	Light-blue
Legend	"Banco Central" and "Republica Argentina"
Comments	-

Table 35

	
A	B
What or who is the main figure of the note?	Figure A Old San Martín, Figure B El Palmar (Entre Rios)
What activity is performed?	Figure A Posing, Figure B Showing
What is the background portraying?	Textures, shield and text
Is there any other relevant artifact, place or ornament detectable?	Ornaments
Color of the note	Orange
Legend	"Banco Central" and "Republica Argentina"
Comments	-

Table 36



	
<p>A</p> <p>What or who is the main figure of the note?</p> <p>What activity is performed?</p> <p>What is the background portraying?</p> <p>Is there any other relevant artifact, place or ornament detectable?</p> <p>Color of the note</p> <p>Legend</p> <p>Comments</p>	<p>B</p> <p>Figure A Old San Martín, Figure B Monetary House (Buenos Aires)</p> <p>A Posing, B Showing</p> <p>Textures, shield and text</p> <p>Ornaments</p> <p>Brown</p> <p>"Banco Central" and "Republica Argentina"</p> <p>-</p>

Table 37



	
<p>A</p> <p>What or who is the main figure of the note?</p> <p>What activity is performed?</p> <p>What is the background portraying?</p> <p>Is there any other relevant artifact, place or ornament detectable?</p> <p>Color of the note</p> <p>Legend</p> <p>Comments</p>	<p>B</p> <p>Figure A Old San Martín, Figure B New Monetary House (Buenos Aires)</p> <p>Figure A Posing, Figure B Showing</p> <p>Textures, shield and text</p> <p>Ornaments and signatures</p> <p>Red and black</p> <p>"Banco Central" and "Republica Argentina"</p> <p>-</p>

Table 38



	
<p>A</p> <p>What or who is the main figure of the note?</p> <p>What activity is performed?</p> <p>What is the background portraying?</p> <p>Is there any other relevant artifact, place or ornament detectable?</p> <p>Color of the note</p> <p>Legend</p> <p>Comments</p>	<p>B</p> <p>Figure A Old San Martín, Figure B Foundation of the city of Buenos Aires</p> <p>Figure A Posing, Figure B Meeting</p> <p>Flag, textures, shield and text</p> <p>Ornament, shapes and signatures</p> <p>Light-green</p> <p>"Banco Central" and "Republica Argentina"</p> <p>-</p>

Table 39

	
A	B
What or who is the main figure of the note?	Figure A Old San Martín, Figure B Cabildo (council)
What activity is performed?	Figure A Posing, Figure B independence meeting
What is the background portraying?	Textures, shield and text
Is there any other relevant artifact, place or ornament detectable?	Ornaments
Color of the note	Pink
Legend	"Banco Central" and "Republica Argentina"
Comments	-

8. Democracy as an ideology (1983-1989)

**Since 1985
Table 40**



	
A	B
What or who is the main figure of the note?	Figure A Alberti, Figure B Congress of Independence
What activity is performed?	Figure A Posing, Figure B Meeting
What is the background portraying?	Textures, shield and text
Is there any other relevant artifact, place or ornament detectable?	Ornaments and shapes
Color of the note	Red, light-blue and purple
Legend	"Banco Central" and "Republica Argentina"
Comments	-

Table 41



	
A	B
What or who is the main figure of the note?	Figure A Bernardino Rivadavia, Figure B Republic
What activity is performed?	Posing
What is the background portraying?	Flag, shield
Is there any other relevant artifact, place or ornament detectable?	Ornaments, shapes, signatures
Color of the note	Green
Legend	"Austral" and "Republica Argentina"
Comments	Similar design than 1900's banknotes

Table 42

A	B
What or who is the main figure of the note?	Figure A Urquiza, Figure B Republic
What activity is performed?	Posing
What is the background portraying?	Flag, shield
Is there any other relevant artifact, place or ornament detectable?	Ornaments, shapes, signatures
Color of the note	Red, ochre and orange
Legend	"Austral" and "Republica Argentina"
Comments	-

Table 43

A	B
What or who is the main figure of the note?	Figure A Serqui, Figure B Republic
What activity is performed?	Posing
What is the background portraying?	Flag, shield
Is there any other relevant artifact, place or ornament detectable?	Ornaments, shapes, signatures
Color of the note	Blue and light-blue
Legend	"Austral" and "Republica Argentina"
Comments	-

Table 44

A	B
What or who is the main figure of the note?	Figure A Mitre, Figure B Republic
What activity is performed?	Posing
What is the background portraying?	Flag, shield
Is there any other relevant artifact, place or ornament detectable?	Ornaments, shapes, signatures
Color of the note	Purple
Legend	"Austral" and "Republica Argentina"
Comments	-

Table 45



 <p>A</p>	 <p>B</p>
What or who is the main figure of the note?	Figure A Sarmiento, Figure B Republic
What activity is performed?	Posing
What is the background portraying?	Flag, shield
Is there any other relevant artifact, place or ornament detectable?	Ornaments, shapes, signatures
Color of the note	Orange and ochre
Legend	"Austral" and "Republica Argentina"
Comments	-

Table 46





 <p>A</p>	 <p>B</p>
What or who is the main figure of the note?	Figure A Avellaneda, Figure B Republic
What activity is performed?	Posing
What is the background portraying?	Flag, shield
Is there any other relevant artifact, place or ornament detectable?	Ornaments, shapes, signatures
Color of the note	Green and pink
Legend	"Austral" and "Republica Argentina"
Comments	-

Table 47

 <p>A</p>	 <p>B</p>
What or who is the main figure of the note?	Figure A Juarez Celman, Figure B Republic
What activity is performed?	Posing
What is the background portraying?	Flag, shield
Is there any other relevant artifact, place or ornament detectable?	Ornaments, shapes, signatures
Color of the note	Red and orange
Legend	"Austral" and "Republica Argentina"
Comments	-

Section 9. The use of public resources to support the private interests (1989-1999)

Since 1989

Table 48



 <p>A</p>	 <p>B</p>
What or who is the main figure of the note?	Figure A Roca, Figure B Republic
What activity is performed?	Posing
What is the background portraying?	Flag, shield
Is there any other relevant artifact, place or ornament detectable?	Ornaments, shapes, signatures
Color of the note	Purple
Legend	"Austral" and "Republica Argentina"
Comments	-

Table 49



 <p>A</p>	 <p>B</p>
What or who is the main figure of the note?	Figure A Pellegrini, Figure B Republic
What activity is performed?	Posing
What is the background portraying?	Flag, shield
Is there any other relevant artifact, place or ornament detectable?	Ornaments, shapes, signatures
Color of the note	Blue and grey
Legend	"Austral" and "Republica Argentina"
Comments	-

Table 50

 <p>A</p>	 <p>B</p>
What or who is the main figure of the note?	Figure A Saenz Peña, Figure B Republic
What activity is performed?	Posing
What is the background portraying?	Flag, shield
Is there any other relevant artifact, place or ornament detectable?	Ornaments, shapes, signatures
Color of the note	Green and ochre
Legend	"Austral" and "Republica Argentina"
Comments	-

Table 51





 <p>A</p>	 <p>B</p>
What or who is the main figure of the note?	Figure A Uriburu, Figure B Republic
What activity is performed?	Posing
What is the background portraying?	Flag, shield
Is there any other relevant artifact, place or ornament detectable?	Ornaments, shapes, signatures
Color of the note	Red and brown
Legend	"Austral" and "Republica Argentina"
Comments	-

Table 52

 <p>A</p>	 <p>B</p>
What or who is the main figure of the note?	Figure A Quintana, Figure B Republic
What activity is performed?	Posing
What is the background portraying?	Flag, shield
Is there any other relevant artifact, place or ornament detectable?	Ornaments, shapes, signatures
Color of the note	Black, red and light-blue
Legend	"Austral" and "Republica Argentina"
Comments	-

Since 1991

Table 53



 <p>A</p>	 <p>B</p>
What or who is the main figure of the note?	Figure A Roca, Figure B Conquest of the desert
What activity is performed?	Figure A Posing, Figure B military action
What is the background portraying?	Shapes and shield
Is there any other relevant artifact, place or ornament detectable?	Ornaments, textures, signatures
Color of the note	Violet and light-blue
Legend	"Banco Central de la Republica Argentina"
Comments	-

Table 54



 <p>A</p>	 <p>B</p>
What or who is the main figure of the note?	Figure A Pellegrini, Figure B National Congress
What activity is performed?	Figure A Posing, Figure B Showing
What is the background portraying?	Shapes and shield
Is there any other relevant artifact, place or ornament detectable?	Ornaments, textures, signatures
Color of the note	Light-blue and red
Legend	"Banco Central de la Republica Argentina"
Comments	The figure of the Republic is changed by different topics

Table 55



 <p>A</p>	 <p>B</p>
What or who is the main figure of the note?	Figure A Mitre, Figure B Mitre museum
What activity is performed?	A Posing, B showing
What is the background portraying?	Shapes and shield
Is there any other relevant artifact, place or ornament detectable?	Ornaments, textures, signatures
Color of the note	Light-blue and red
Legend	"Banco Central de la Republica Argentina"
Comments	The figure of the Republic is changed by different topics

Table 56



 <p>A</p>	 <p>B</p>
What or who is the main figure of the note?	Figure A San Martín, Figure B Cerro de la Gloria (Mendoza)
What activity is performed?	Figure A Posing, Figure B showing
What is the background portraying?	Shapes and shield
Is there any other relevant artifact, place or ornament detectable?	Ornaments, textures, signatures
Color of the note	Light-green and red
Legend	"Banco Central de la Republica Argentina"
Comments	-

Table 57



 <p>A</p>	 <p>B</p>
What or who is the main figure of the note?	Figure A Belgrano, Figure B Flag's monument (Rosario)
What activity is performed?	Figure A Posing, Figure B Showing
What is the background portraying?	Shapes and shield
Is there any other relevant artifact, place or ornament detectable?	Ornaments, textures, signatures
Color of the note	Light-green, blue and brown
Legend	"Banco Central de la Republica Argentina"
Comments	-

Table 58





 <p>A</p>	 <p>B</p>
What or who is the main figure of the note?	Figure A Rosas, Figure B Vuelta de Obligado
What activity is performed?	Figure A Posing, Figure B war action
What is the background portraying?	Shapes and shield
Is there any other relevant artifact, place or ornament detectable?	Ornaments, textures, signatures
Color of the note	Pink and blue
Legend	"Banco Central de la Republica Argentina"
Comments	-

Table 59

 <p>A</p>	 <p>B</p>
What or who is the main figure of the note?	Figure A Sarmiento, Figure B Pyramid of May (Buenos Aires)
What activity is performed?	Figure A Posing, Figure B Showing
What is the background portraying?	Shapes and shield
Is there any other relevant artifact, place or ornament detectable?	Ornaments, textures, signatures
Color of the note	Red, light-blue and black
Legend	"Banco Central de la Republica Argentina"
Comments	-

New design adjustments since 2002 to 2008

Table 60



 <p>A</p>	 <p>B</p>
What or who is the main figure of the note?	Figure A Mitre, Figure B Mitre museum
What activity is performed?	Figure A Posing, Figure B Showing
What is the background portraying?	Shapes and shield
Is there any other relevant artifact, place or ornament detectable?	Ornaments, textures, signatures
Color of the note	Light-blue and red
Legend	"Banco Central de la Republica Argentina"
Comments	-

Table 61

 <p>A</p>	 <p>B</p>
What or who is the main figure of the note?	Figure A San Martín and the liberation of Chile, Figure B Cerro de la Gloria (Mendoza)
What activity is performed?	Figure A Posing and meeting, Figure B Showing
What is the background portraying?	Shapes and shield
Is there any other relevant artifact, place or ornament detectable?	Ornaments, textures, signatures
Color of the note	Light-green and red
Legend	"Banco Central de la Republica Argentina"
Comments	-

Table 62


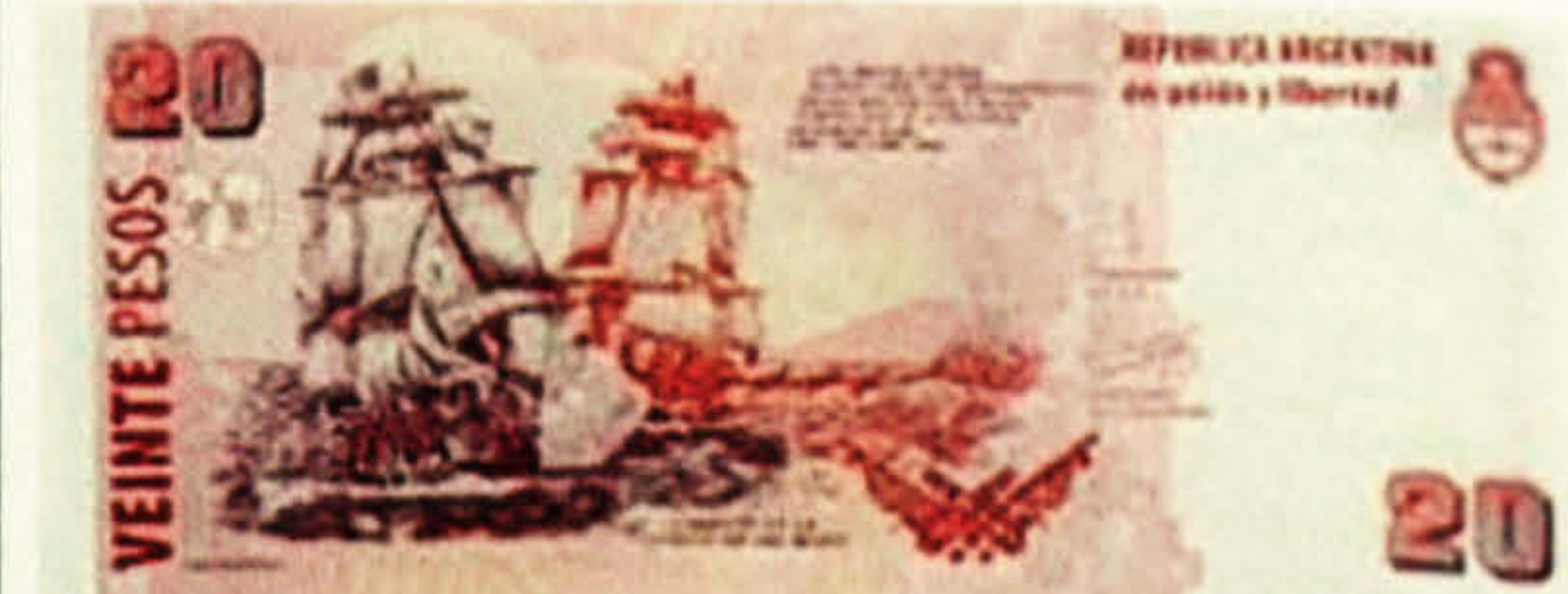
 <p>A</p>	 <p>B</p>
What or who is the main figure of the note?	Figure A Rosas and his wife, Figure B Vuelta de Obligado
What activity is performed?	Figure A Posing, Figure B war action
What is the background portraying?	Shapes, weapons and shield
Is there any other relevant artifact, place or ornament detectable?	Ornaments, textures, signatures
Color of the note	Orange and red
Legend	"Banco Central de la Republica Argentina"
Comments	-

Table 63




 <p>A</p>	 <p>B</p>
<p>What or who is the main figure of the note?</p>	<p>Figure A Old and young Sarmiento, Figure B Pyramid of May (Buenos Aires)</p>
<p>What activity is performed?</p>	<p>Figure A Posing, Figure B showing</p>
<p>What is the background portraying?</p>	<p>Shapes and shield</p>
<p>Is there any other relevant artifact, place or ornament detectable?</p>	<p>Ornaments, textures, signatures</p>
<p>Color of the note</p>	<p>Light-blue, grey and black</p>
<p>Legend</p>	<p>"Banco Central de la Republica Argentina"</p>
<p>Comments</p>	<p>-</p>

Table 64

 <p>A</p>	 <p>B</p>
<p>What or who is the main figure of the note?</p>	<p>Figure A Roca and prosperity figures, Figure B Conquest of the desert</p>
<p>What activity is performed?</p>	<p>Figure A Posing, Figure B military action</p>
<p>What is the background portraying?</p>	<p>Shapes and shield</p>
<p>Is there any other relevant artifact, place or ornament detectable?</p>	<p>Ornaments, textures, signatures</p>
<p>Color of the note</p>	<p>Violet and light-blue</p>
<p>Legend</p>	<p>"Banco Central de la Republica Argentina"</p>
<p>Comments</p>	<p>-</p>

