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The new political marketing, or ideology of buen vivir

El nuevo marketing político o ideología del buen vivir

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Abstract

The present investigation constitutes a review and reflection of the new behaviors of political organization and alternative laws that are developing in South American countries, in which we expose various perspectives from which we carry out the theoretical description of old and new concepts, socio-historical and culture-politics. Concerning the theories and ideas built to interpret them, these force us to focus our gaze on those institutions, discourses, strategies, and procedures that were traditionally part of the understanding of what politics and law were. This relation is why, in the face of disenchantment or loss of faith in politics, in our opinion, explanations cannot continue to be constructed that insist on the distances between rulers and the governed, on the crisis of institutions, or the triumph of individualism, in the current era.

Therefore, it is necessary to reflect on how technological advancement can lead to a false premise about the ease of political marketing and the impact it has had in Ecuador in recent years, including the application of technology and the

Resumen

La presente investigación, constituye una revisión y reflexión de las nuevas conductas de organización política y del derecho alternativo que se van desarrollando en países sudamericanos, en la cual exponemos diversas perspectivas desde las que realizamos la descripción teórica de antiguos y nuevos conceptos, socio histórica y cultura-política. En relación con las teorías y conceptos contruidos para interpretarlas; esto nos obliga a enfocar la mirada de aquellas instituciones, discursos, estrategias y procedimientos que tradicionalmente hicieron parte de la comprensión de lo que era la política y el derecho. Es por ello por lo que, frente al desencanto o pérdida de fe en lo político, a nuestro juicio, no se pueden seguir construyendo explicaciones que insistan en las distancias entre gobernantes y gobernados, en la crisis de las instituciones o en el triunfo del individualismo en la época actual.

Por tanto, es menester reflexionar sobre cómo el avance tecnológico puede conducir a una falsa premisa sobre la facilidad que posee el marketing político y el impacto que ha tenido en el Ecuador durante los últimos años; considerando inclusive la aplicación de la tecnología y el diseño de la

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design of propaganda as a resource to reach the population and position itself as a political brand.

Keywords: Political marketing, buen vivir, XXI century, politics, democracy.

Introduction

The present investigation constitutes a review and reflection of the new behaviors of political organization and alternative laws that are developing in South American countries, in which we expose various perspectives from which we carry out the theoretical description of old and new concepts, socio-historical and culture-politics and a new political trend, such as “21st Century Socialism” was and is. Concerning the theories and ideas built to interpret them, these force us to focus our gaze on those institutions, discourses, strategies, and procedures that were traditionally part of the understanding of what politics and law were. This relation is why, in the face of disenchantment or loss of faith in politics, in our opinion, explanations cannot continue to be constructed that insist on the distances between rulers and the governed, on the crisis of institutions, or the triumph of individualism, in the current era.

Therefore, it is necessary to reflect on how technological advancement can lead to a false premise about the ease of political marketing and the impact it has had in Ecuador in recent years, including the application of technology and the design of propaganda as a resource to reach the population and position itself as a political brand (Macas-Acosta et al., 2022; Ochoa-Rico et al., 2022; Salvador-Guerra et al., 2023).

Political marketing constitutes a fundamental part of current processes; it transforms and overcomes paradigms created over time to build tactics and strategies that meet goals and objectives that lead to business, work, and political success. Marketing must be balanced so that both parties have the benefit or gain as participants in the management.

In this way, electoral success has depended not only on introductory offers, such as the construction of homes and schools, but also on restoring and reforming political processes that did not allow the advancement or strengthening of the country. This introduction is how marketing is currently presented as one of the commercial communication activities many companies are dedicating the most significant investment, even above advertising investment in

propaganda como recurso para llegar a la población y posicionarse como una marca política.

Palabras clave: Marketing político, buen vivir, siglo XXI, política, democracia.

conventional media. Almond & Verba (2015) and Keman (2006) divide political support attitudes according to their association with the system, processes, and outcomes. At a systemic level, there would be those related to the political regime itself (legitimacy) and those that reflect the values and support of citizens for the institutions, for example, national pride, obedience and adherence to the law, and the preferred political system. Regarding processes, we are interested in attitudes that reflect the commitment of individuals to the decision-making process and their expectations regarding the performance and work of their representatives. Finally, attitudes related to results refer to evaluating the agencies and processes involved in the election and selection of public figures and their effectiveness in developing and executing public policies; this includes feelings about voting trust in political parties, among others. Dover (2009) and Norris (2011) conceptualize “political support” by distinguishing the differences between support for the political community, the regime, and the authorities in five dimensions that are distributed on a continuum that ranges from more diffuse support for the nation-state to a more specific one, to politicians in particular:

- Support for the political community refers to the level of attachment to the nation regardless of the political system.
- Support for the regime's principles related to the democratic ideal and democratic values among the population.
- Evaluation of the regime's performance, that is, the degree of satisfaction with the functioning of the political system.
- Support for the institutions of the democratic system (Government, parliament, justice system, state bureaucracy, political parties, police and military).
- Support for political actors is associated with the evaluation and trust generated by politicians and authorities.

In the case of Latin America, trust in the institutions of democracy represents one of the most relevant elements in social and political analysis, especially since the democratic transition of the 1980s. Political instability was a

constant in the region during the last two decades of the 20th century and the first of the 21st. Proof of this is that of the 113 governments elected until 2010, only 15 could not fully complete their period (Becerra, 2013). On the other hand, at the end of the first decade of this century, numerous political and economic factors seemed to contribute to the formation of a promising regional scenario: a) the emergence of new movements and government experiences, b) the recognition of sectors of the population previously discriminated against; c) a greater concentration of power in the executive (presidential); d) general acceptance of the urgency of eradicating poverty and inequality; e) a general questioning of the Washington consensus; f) the emergence of a regional power with global influence; and g) recognition of the need for practical regional cooperation and integration schemes (OEA, 2010).

This article aims to analyze political marketing to influence positive law and its impact on the sociopolitical reality of the last ten years in Ecuador as a generator of a new political trend (21st Century Socialism).

Methodology

The research is qualitative, taking as reference a descriptive analysis of the analysis of political marketing in the use of new populist messages that cemented new forms of popular governments of the 21st century in Argentina-Venezuela-Bolivia-Ecuador and the method involves the structuring of a system of political-socioeconomic indicators of the area, which constitutes the source of information.

The second objective is specified in the sociopolitical effects and their types of behavior, produced by political marketing in the positive law of Ecuador, to verify the use of political discourse as a tool of the new way of governing 21st Century Socialism.

Concerning the use of political speech, in the context of the right to regulation of the media and the legal rules on freedom of expression, such as the political influence of the State that influences the behavior of millions of people, it will be possible to identify the use of political discourse and its sociopolitical effects, in 21st Century Socialism in Ecuador, which corresponds to what was stated in the objective of this research.

Once analyzed, what is the content of the right to regulation of the media and freedom of expression, from the legal-philosophical level,

from the point of view of law, according to several authors?

It raised the objective, and a series of documentary reviews were used; the first was a review of classics on the object of study, and the second was in books specialized in politics, discursive communication, and law. Likewise, the third review was of scientific articles indexed in MIAR greater than 6, Scopus, and Web of Science. The keywords to search for documents were "New Political Marketing", "Buen Vivir," and "Political Marketing.

Results and discussion

As a result, four points that encompass the systemic analysis of the object to be treated and to meet the objective will be analyzed.

Political Marketing as a Tool of 21st Century Socialism

We will begin the theoretical journey on the topic under study, discussing marketing as the genesis of creating marketing in different areas for which political marketing can be defined as a discipline somewhat discredited and misunderstood in America. Latin, not only in the epistemic field but also by the political class itself, mainly that of the "old guard," as well as by different social groups. For some, the term marketing has a note of manipulation, deception, or deceit or, at best, superficiality, form, packaging, or banality. For its part, the term politics, for many citizens, is also synonymous with lies, tricks, abuse, and even corruption or negativity.

Combining both terms shows that with the single name this scientific discipline has acquired, it acquires a double connotation with a sharp negative imprint. Hence, some of its critics have described it as "a cynical way of lying to people to gain or retain power." Since its baptism and birth, this discipline has inherited a negative image or perception in specific social sectors, associating it with deception and lies.

In the same way as a science that Political Marketing is shown to be, its consideration is based on several methods, one of them Scientific. In recent decades, the scientific method has become the standard of behavior in everything related to technology and the population's daily activities.

In the context of transformations from neoliberal capitalism to a self-proclaimed progressive government, the historical dimension of the State

is marked by acts of feminist protest, embodied belligerent struggles that seek to disrupt the sexual common sense of state hegemony (Calla, 2007). It is paradoxical that the language of rights, spread during the nineties of the neoliberal boom, loses ground precisely within the framework of 21st Century Socialism. There is, therefore, an inequality in the passage of history: on the one hand, feminists broaden the framework of their claim's horizons in the official public sphere, as well as in generalized common sense; on the other, the Executive power retreats to a nationalism of paternalistic estate inheritance, allowing itself to be guided by ultra-religious conservatism.

Caria & Domínguez Martín (2014) mentions that "ideology is an illusion of satisfaction of childhood desire, represented by the mother (as a symbol of liberation from need), in the face of the harsh reality, represented by the father (as a symbol of domination, sublimation, and resignation). False consciousness, which is the link between the two research programs (psychoanalysis), consists in the fact that reality stops being what it is and becomes what it should be, or rather, what we would like. That was. Finally, Marcuse (2013) will go one step further by stating that false consciousness (in capitalism) ends up becoming true consciousness through magical-ritual performative formulas, immune to contradiction and with a high authoritarian load: ideology, internalized to the complete alienation of Orwellian newspeak, it is thus constructed with tautological, dualistic definitions that pronounce condemnations of good/bad and right/wrong."

Since the beginning of the 21st century, social movements and organizations with diverse identities and structures began integrating into this new social and political fabric. Reincorporating the popular sectors into active political and economic life generated greater social inclusion in financial terms and positive social mobility.

However, this impact has favored not only the popular sectors but also social mobility, which, in turn, produced a significant expansion of the middle sectors that saw their options for social advancement multiplied (Acosta Espinosa, 2011).

The political discourse of socialism in the 21st century

It is a proposal that arises from practice rather than being the result of the reflection of one or

several authorized left-wing intellectuals (Borón, 2008). In such a way, the Constitutions of the political processes came to power at the beginning of the 21st century. From this perspective, as García Linera (2015) points out, one of the main contributions of the Greek-French sociologist Nicos Poulantzas is to rethink the importance of the State as a space or field of condensation or processing of the relations of forces between different classes, within society.

For this reason, they are not only official or professional politicians but also politicians involved in politics. If speech controls minds and minds control action, for those in power, controlling speech is essential. Above all, discourse must be analyzed not only as an autonomous "verbal" object but also as a situated interaction, as a social practice, or as a type of communication that occurs in a social, cultural, historical, or political situation.

How those in power regulate access to expression must be closely examined, as is typically observed in the case of one of the most influential forms of public discourse: mass media. In all these cases, we are talking about active access, that is, participation in the control of the contents and forms of the media, and not about the more or less passive access of consumers (even when these consumers may actively resist the messages from the press adopting interpretations different from those that are intended to be imposed on them (Van Dijk, 2009). Political cognition is an indispensable theoretical interface between politics and political discourse's personal and collective dimensions (Van Dijk, 2009).

Therefore, we must observe that. "The study of political discourse should not be limited to the structural properties of the text or speech itself; "It also includes a systematic account of context and its relations to discursive structures." (Van Dijk & Rodrigo Mendizábal, 1999)

In this way and following Lakoff's principle, "The issues can be characterized by being polarized evaluations, which is functional and effective in the political process, and in the battle for hegemony, support, and popular legitimacy." The general strategic principle of all political and ideological discourse is the frame (a theory developed extensively and deeply by Lakoff), "which refers to the political-ideological frameworks that limit speech and the political text and its evaluation." (Lakoff & Johnson, 2020).

"The most determining thing in political discourse is the structures and strategies of argumentation, in which the political dispute over semantic macrostructures occurs. The meanings, in turn, reflect the political contexts, whose polarization will generally result in contrastive meanings" (Van Dijk & Rodrigo Mendizábal, 1999).

We can observe that the strategy of the speech will always be to convince, as is the case of the different speeches used by the candidacy led by Iglesias (Leader of PODEMOS), "who has not achieved millions of votes just for what he proposes, but above all for what he criticizes and for the skill with which he does it, the skill with which he articulates and issues his political discourse." As Gómez Fernández (1995) points out, "politics becomes a field where the way of doing things is as important as what is done."

Following Laclau, "in its (Gramscian) adaptation to our time, this model indicates that in a context of social, political and economic crisis, taking into account the unsatisfied demands of all kinds proliferate, populism serves as a logic of articulation of discourse, as an instrument to dispute hegemony in political struggles, and this is the strategy used by both leaders and movements in their fight to conquer political power; through the construction of collective identities, the importance of "floating signifiers", as well as "the construction of popular unity through the political channeling of majority social demands, that is, the need for a "social cement". These "try to unite the heterogeneous elements – a unit that is not provided for by any functionalist or structuralist articulatory logic – giving centrality to the emotional aspect in the social constitution" (Laclau, 2005).

In the set of sustainable development discourses articulated by Latin American authors, one of the emerging discourses in the last five years is "Good living." This discourse is part of the global discursive field of sustainable development since it considers the fundamental problem of sustainability (the relationship of mutual dependence between humanity and the environment) in a specific way. As we will see, as the installation of this new discourse in the regulatory landscape and certain sociopolitical practices is confirmed, its content diversifies. Thus, it became a sub-field in the global discursive field of sustainable development, a subcategory that includes a series of more or less analogous discourses constructed by the communities that have adopted and adapted it

(Hidalgo-Capitán & Cubillo-Guevara, 2014; Cubillo-Guevara et al., 2014; Gudynas, 2011).

The discourses of Good Living appear in Latin America, favored by a unique historical situation. In the 1990s, faced with the neoliberal orientation of post-authoritarian governments, different sociopolitical movements emerged in several Latin American countries (Hidalgo-Capitán, 2012; Loera González, 2015).

Although these processes are very complex, and it would be necessary to clarify the situations in different countries, it is admitted that they marked a historical turn towards "progressive" or "post-neoliberal" policies (Yashar, 2005).

According to Eduardo Gudynas and Alberto Acosta, Good Living can be defined (very openly) as an "opportunity to build another society based on the coexistence of human beings in diversity and harmony with nature, based on the recognition of the various existing cultural values." in each country and the world" (Gudynas & Acosta, 2011). As an alternative discourse to the dominant versions of development, it is the result of a particular combination between (1) certain ethical principles of the ancient Andean culture (defended by indigenous movements), (2) the contemporary contributions of some critical intellectuals and (3) the liminal incorporation of these principles in the political sphere, which is particularly visible in Ecuador and Bolivia, which included Good Living in their new constitutions.

Returning to García Linera in this reading on 21st Century socialism, we can say then that the popular struggles displayed their intensity within the State, modifying the relations of force, transforming the materiality of its legislation, altering the way of managing common goods and modifying the moral and logical schemes with which people organize their presence in the world.

In the regional context of an anti-imperialist post-neoliberal nationalism that seeks to expel foreign powers to regain control of its resources to promote national development, Ecuador raises the discourse of return to the great homeland. More than an ambiguity, the constitutional discourse points out the unresolved battle for constructing common sense, the naturalization of powers. That is where the disputes for hegemony lie. Liberal democracy is based not exclusively on capital accumulation but, inevitably, on the set of values and beliefs that make faith in the

existence of the State possible, making it function. The State is, above all, a cultural construction crossed by a sentiment widely spread by religious schools. As such, it is based on a series of discourses of truth: documents, laws, enactments, proclamations, pronouncements, routines, rituals, and ceremonies that point to its sustainability (Lagos & Calla, 2007).

The new Latin American left zones of 21st-century socialism

The reflections of Pablo Stefanoni (2016) are highly significant and current. These considerations will allow us to draw a description and analysis of the South American experiences of 21st-century Socialism. In this sense, we will try to outline three fundamental points following the common thread of the author's thoughts: a) the character of pink leftists, b) the popular nationalism inserted in them, and c) some features of the leadership.

First, it should be noted that according to our author: "...in Latin America, a kind of new left emerged that, especially within the framework of the Bolivarian Alliance for Our America (ALBA), combined reformist practices with revolutionary discourse, in variable combinations". Who showed a great capacity to generate powerful political-social stories, but also faced a series of problems linked to the exercise of power that derived from that constitutive ambiguity - which is not new - between democracy and revolution" Stefanoni (2016).

Regarding the "pink" character in the experiences of South American socialism, it is pointed out that "...the expression pink tide, used in the United States to refer to the so-called regional 'turn to the left', has the advantage of synthesizing, with that discolored red, the tensions between the survival of discourse - and a will? -of radical change and the (realpolitik) with which its representatives served in power, from where they experienced the sensation of governing in a hostile world, in which state control is not enough to carry out the political and social changes that in other decades were perceived as closer, when the 'wind of history' had not yet dissipated and seemed to guarantee the arrival, sooner or later - and it was often added, 'sooner rather than later' - to a successful port; that is, to a more just world" Stefanoni (2016).

Stefanoni points out that "... the turn to the left could be associated with a consumer pact (internal market), an inclusion pact (social policies) and a sovereignty pact (independence from the United States, new international alignments) that, in various degrees, they dye all 'pink' experiences and established new common senses that condition conservative oppositions and force them to include, with or without faith, these topics in their agendas" Stefanoni (2016).

Referring to popular nationalism in the experiences analyzed, Stefanoni states that "if socialism ('of the 21st century') has returned to the agenda, it is thought of as a deepening of nationalism; a kind of posthumous triumph for the national left of Jorge Abelardo Ramos. Hence, the socialism of the 21st century is more of a state product than a socializing product and will take the form of left-wing populism" Stefanoni (2016).

He concludes: "It is not that there is no production of radical anti-systemic thought, even in a Marxist key, but that thought is increasingly cryptic, disconnected from political struggles and produced very far from the spaces where political and social actors are constituted" (Stefanoni 2016).

Considering Atilo Borón's definition, this author maintains that "whoever wants to talk about development today has to be willing to talk about socialism; and if you do not want to talk about socialism, you should remain silent when talking about economic development" (Borón, 2008). "It refers to the fact that the capitalist route to development is closed and that it is necessary to create a new one, given that within capitalism, there is no solution to the multiple problems of Latin America. Borón (2008) concludes that "If there is a solution - and if we have time to find a solution, given the threat of ecological holocaust that looms over the planet -we will have to look for it outside of capitalism, in the field of socialism." Thus, "from this observation this author proposes to develop a definition of the socialist horizon and he does so through a tripartite reflection: the modular values and principles, the project program and the historical subject of that project" (Borón, 2004).

"Modular values and principles. The first thing that must be affirmed in this regard is the unquestionable ethical superiority of socialism concerning capitalism. Indeed, socialism is a superior form of civilization, given the predominance of values such as altruism, solidarity, democracy, respect for nature, and

appreciation of socio-diversity, among others. Then, it would have to be said that the axiological apparatus of 21st-century socialism is built on an affirmation and a denial: the first refers to overcoming the economic vision. At the same time, the second relates to anti-values that should not be assumed. Regarding the abolition of economism, it is clear that the fundamental value is the person, and, in this sense, the economy must be at the service of the person and not the person at the service of the economy, as has happened until now with capitalism.

“This implies assuming two fundamental values: solidarity between people and respect for nature. Regarding the anti-values that should not be assumed, Lebowitz (2006), cited by Borón (2008), maintains that they are the following: statism, populism, totalitarianism, the idolatry of technology and, finally, resignation before the logic of capital”.

Although the values presented embody the socialist ideal and constitute the mobilizing utopia of socialism, the truth is that every ideology must have concrete supports that become historically and truly visible in a project of social transformation. If this were not the case, 21st-century socialism would risk being relegated to the realm of ideas stripped of all practical resonance. Thus, this project must assume at least two major programs. The first refers to economic planning that adjusts to Latin America's concrete and particular needs (especially to the circumstances of each country in its here and now). Nothing indicates that foreign models should be imitated. For example, today, nothing would justify a centralized scheme of direction and control of economic life and, much less, its complete nationalization, as occurred at the time in the Soviet Union, since this would favor the predominance of the bureaucracy and the consolidation of its interests. The second program refers to breaking the “single thought” that mythologizes socialism and conceives it as a monolithic, dogmatic, and static system applicable anywhere in the world and at any time in history.

On the contrary, today, a different socialism is needed, capable of reinventing itself, creating new realities, making new alliances, and breaking old schemes. In effect”, “Clinging to an old model, even if it has been successful in the past when the conditions that made it possible and reasonable have been extinguished, is equivalent to embarking on a path that inexorably culminates in a major and painful failure” (Borón, 2008). For this reason, Mariátegui states:

“We certainly do not want socialism in America to be a carbon copy. It must be a heroic creation. We must give life to Indo-American socialism with our reality, in our language. Here is a mission worthy of a new generation” (1952).

Socialism of the Ecuadorian 21st century: Political marketing or ideology of Buen Vivir?

Political marketing tools effectively seek to modify electoral behavior, which requires two consecutive phases: notoriety and adhesion.

“The concept of good living has aroused much interest within and outside the borders of the Andean context in which it emerged.” (SENPLADES, 2013), following (Walsh, 2010), “is to unravel the interpretation and application of the paradigm of good living as a guiding principle of a (supposed) new regime” that “opens the door to formulate alternatives to development” (Acosta Espinosa, 2011) “beyond development” (Gudynas & Acosta, 2011) Considering that “the Government of the Citizen Revolution, collecting the approaches of the Andean-Amazonian peoples, raises the notion of good living as a central objective of public policy » (SENPLADES, 2013), “we will focus on analyzing how and to what extent the principles of good living are used as a reference in the construction and articulation of the different public policies of Ecuador.”

In the preamble of the Constitution of the Republic, the objective of the constituent National Assembly is set: to build “a new form of citizen coexistence, in diversity and harmony with nature, to achieve good living, the Sumak Kawsay” (Constitution of Ecuador, 2008). “Good living, also defined as “new social pact” or “new coexistence pact” (Ramírez Gallegos, 2010), “implies a comprehensive vision of the human being and integrates the material and spiritual aspects of well-being. It is identified with “life in its fullness” (Ramírez Gallegos, 2010) as balance and harmony between the different dimensions of the human being. Good living is “the need to live in harmony with nature, oneself and others, recognizing cultural diversity.”

Considering this and taking the definition of Sousa (2014), “it is not necessary to resort to convoluted socio-anthropological-postcolonial analyses. Simply put, in a country characterized by high levels of inequality and exclusion, the policies of transferring resources to marginalized sectors and modernizing an old and inefficient institutional apparatus have had the effect of a

revolution and have made it possible to compensate for the postponement and degradation of the other constitutive dimension of Good Living: the environmental one. The question is whether it was and is necessary to embellish and embellish a project of this nature with all the poetry of good living", that "vigorous spirit that drives learning and improvement" and "is present in love, in friendship, in fraternity, in solidarity and harmony with nature" (Senplades, 2013)

According to Dieterich (2006), "The historical moment to build and implement 21st-century socialism has already arrived since the bourgeois civilization on which the capitalist system is based is ending. This finding is based on scientific and ethical knowledge that demonstrates that the classic phase of the bourgeoisie, which began at the end of the Second World War and reached its most evolved configuration, marks, at the same time, its decline towards post-capitalist civilization. In particular, three pieces of evidence show this: 1. The structural exhaustion of the basic institutions of the bourgeois system; 2. the appearance of constitutive structures within the new post-bourgeois civilization in contemporary global society; and 3. the logic of the social evolution of humanity".

Conclusions

The emergence of political marketing in Western democracies has turned them into another market for capitalism and the consumer society, transforming the citizen into a consumer and politicians and programs into products for sale. With this, the entire democracy has undergone a profound modification, some of whose features we have wanted to highlight. The professionalization of the political class, the reduction of parties to a power apparatus advised by a team of experts, and the predominance of personal ambition and self-interest as the origin of the political vocation.

In the political field, socioeconomic imbalances could further weaken the acceptance of the model, even by business sectors. Both private and public law, specifically, will be linked to the exploitation and hegemony of political marketing.

Marketing as a way of creating discourse in the mediatization of politics requires a specific adaptation of the political message, considering that the media act as a sounding board for political communication.

The bourgeoisie that dominated Latin America was responsible for generating new political trends, as events and circumstances have been presented that clearly show that capitalism, and more specifically neoliberalism, is an unsustainable and decadent system that must give way to a new reality: socialism of the 21st century.

The potential of Good Living lies in its ability to interact with these pre-existing cultural, sociopolitical, and economic arrangements and with the other discourses that have drawn the bifurcated paths of sustainable development for more than 40 years.

We can observe that these governments, with the political ideal of 21st Century Socialism in the region, present the severe problem of progressive and revolutionary governments concerning their ethical and moral reform. However, the return of Cristina Fernández de Kirchner to Argentina seems somewhat debatable.

The construction of our vision of the social world is the product of struggles for the imposition of a principle of vision and division - as Bourdieu maintains - in which the media space is fundamental. The cosmopolitanism derived from this economic, technological, and sociocultural situation is not exclusive to the dominant classes, and anthropology occupies a privileged position to explore how various groups incorporate a "global ecumene" and its effects on our political structures. and our democratizing project.

In politics, 21st Century Socialism has used the media's most powerful tools and the reach of solid, consistent discourse with great social acceptance.

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