BRANDING THE CHILEAN NATION
Branding the Chilean Nation
Socio-Cultural Change, National Identity and International Image

Proefschrift

ter verkrijging van
de graad van Doctor aan de Universiteit Leiden,
op gezag van Rector Magnificus prof.mar. P.F. van der Heijden,
volgens besluit van het College voor Promoties
te verdedigen op donderdag 24 november 2011
klokke 13.45 uur

door

María Cristina Prieto Larraín
geboren te Santiago de Chile in 1970
Promotiecommissie

Promotor: Prof.dr. P. Silva

Overige leden: Prof.dr. R.Th.J. Buve
               Prof.dr. C. Kay (Erasmus Universiteit / ISS)
               Dr. G. van der Ree (Universiteit Utrecht)
Table of contents

**Acronyms** .................................................................................................................. v

**Acknowledgement** .................................................................................................. VII

**Chile and its Neighbours** .......................................................................................... IX

**Introduction** ............................................................................................................... 1
  I  Conceptual Framework ............................................................................................ 5
  II Organization of the book ....................................................................................... 7

**Chapter 1 Nation-Branding, National Identity and Cultural Change** ................. 13
**Introduction** ............................................................................................................... 13
  1.1 National Identity in a Mirror: What We Are and What We Are Not ................... 15
  1.2 Modernization and Cultural Change ................................................................. 26
  1.3 Nation-branding: Just a Question of Marketing? .............................................. 38
      Concluding Remarks ............................................................................................ 49

**Chapter 2 Shaping Chile’s Traditional Self-Image of Exceptionality** ............... 53
**Introduction** ............................................................................................................... 53
  2.1 Nation-Building and the Culture of Order and Endeavour .............................. 56
  2.2 Finis Terrae: Geographic Isolationism and the National Character ... 73
  2.3 Democratic Rule in the Nation’s Self-Image .................................................... 82
      Concluding Remarks ............................................................................................ 97
Chapter 3 Exporting Chile: Neo-liberalism and the Commoditization of the Country’s Image

Introduction .......................................................................................................... 99
3.1 Neo-liberalism and the Export of the Chilean Economic Model .... 103
3.2 Chile, Tiger Nation: The Silent Revolution ............................................... 118
3.3 ProChile and the Marketing of Chile ......................................................... 131
Concluding Remarks ...................................................................................... 140

Chapter 4 Democratic Restoration and the Search for a New International Image

Introduction ........................................................................................................ 143
4.1 Exile, Socialist Renovation and the Continuation of the Model .... 148
4.2 Is Chile Cool? From the Seville World Exposition to the Pinochet Affair .......................................................... 161
4.3 The New Nation-Branding Campaigns and Regional Turbulences ........................................................................... 172
4.4 Something Old, Something New: Chile’s Difficult Marriage with South America .......................................................... 184
Concluding Remarks ...................................................................................... 193

Chapter 5 National Identity and Cultural Change in Modern Chile

Introduction ........................................................................................................ 197
5.1 Modernity and the Current Transformation of ‘Chileanness’: Who Are We? ........................................................................ 200
5.2 Los “Nuevos Chilenos”: New Values and New Cultural Reality .... 209
5.3 Thesis-Antithesis: the Quest for a Bicentennial Chile within Antagonising Forces ......................................................................................... 219
5.4 A Nation in Search of a Collective Identity ............................................ 228
Concluding Remarks ...................................................................................... 236

Chapter 6 Chile in its Bicentennial Year: a Case Study

Introduction ....................................................................................................... 239
6.1 Quakes and the Making of ‘Chileanness’ .................................................. 243
6.2 Chile’s Modernity and Governance Under Scrutiny ................................ 248
6.3 Taking Advantage of Catastrophe-led International Visibility ......... 254
6.4 The Rescue of the 33 Miners: the Miracle Which Was Not ........... 260
Concluding Remarks ...................................................................................... 272
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Conclusions</td>
<td>275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>References</td>
<td>289</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samenvatting</td>
<td>339</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Curriculum Vitae</td>
<td>347</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acronym</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AFL-CIO</td>
<td>American Federation of Labour and Congress of Industrial Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALALC</td>
<td>Latin American Free Trade Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APEC</td>
<td>Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASEAN</td>
<td>Association of Southeast Asian Nations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AUGE</td>
<td>Plan de Acceso Universal de Garantías Explicitas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BID</td>
<td>Banco Interamericano de Desarrollo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CASEN</td>
<td>Caracterización Socioeconómica Nacional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CEP</td>
<td>Centro de Estudios Públicos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CDELCIO</td>
<td>Corporación del Cobre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CORFO</td>
<td>Corporación de Fomento de la Producción</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIBAM</td>
<td>Dirección de Bibliotecas, Archivos y Museos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIRECON</td>
<td>Dirección General de Relaciones Económicas Internacionales</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ECLAC</td>
<td>Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EU</td>
<td>European Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CEP</td>
<td>Centro de Estudios Públicos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EFTA</td>
<td>European Free Trade Agreement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FPMR</td>
<td>Frente Patriótico Manuel Rodríguez</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FTA</td>
<td>Free Trade Agreement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GATT</td>
<td>General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GDP</td>
<td>Gross Domestic Product</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMF</td>
<td>International Monetary Fund</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LanChile</td>
<td>Línea Aérea Nacional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAS</td>
<td>Movimiento Amplio Social</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MERCOSUR</td>
<td>Mercado Común del Sur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MIDEPLAN</td>
<td>Ministerio de Planificación y Cooperación</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Acknowledgement

The writing of this doctoral dissertation has been a long road during which I received the help and support of many people. I sincerely thank all those who backed me along these years of work. In the first place I would like to thank Angel Soto who convinced me to accept the challenge of writing a PhD thesis and later on put me in contact with Leiden University and Prof. Patricio Silva who accepted to direct my thesis. I find it difficult to express to my promotor all my gratefulness for his help, advice and guide along the intellectual challenge the writing a PhD thesis meant. I am very proud of having worked with him and consider myself as his disciple.

I would also want to thank Alejandro San Francisco who generously lent me a number of books and was always ready to help. In The Netherlands I met several people and I would want to express my gratitude especially to Gerard van der Ree for his friendship and support. I also thank Leiden University for letting me use its library and other facilities as well as Universidad de Los Andes who backed me when I first started my research. I also want to thank some of my students at the Communication Faculty of that university who helped me out with some specific aspects of my thesis: Natali Traverso, Trinidad Matus, and Javiera Moreno.

Finally I would like to thank my family, very especially my father and my husband. The first one read through the whole thesis and helped me immensely with his comments and reading suggestions. As for my husband, his patience during these years has been quite admirable: at the same time he supported me, he pushed me to put an end to my research. I would also want to thank my mother who also read my thesis and my two little boys to whom I gave birth in the past three years who fortunately accepted that they had to share my time and attention with my thesis. All my efforts were for them, hoping that –even in a very small proportion– my study might help to understand some important aspects of the social, cultural and economic changes Chile has experienced in the past decades.
Introduction

“There is no ear on the planet to hear my sad moaning abandoned in the middle of the infinite earth!”\(^1\) reads a poem by Chilean poet and Nobel Prize laureate Pablo Neruda: it appears to be an adequate summary of Chile’s eventful 2010. In fact, on 18 September that same year Chile celebrated two centuries since the beginning of its long quest for independence from the Spanish crown. It was not the only Latin American nation to do so as Argentina, Colombia, and Mexico also commemorated the start of their emancipation movements. As economic growth had revamped the subcontinent since the end of 2009, the region’s mood during the celebrations was fairly positive. Nevertheless, Chile’s commemoration was bittersweet as 2010 had been a year of contradictions. Thus, if on 11 January Chile was accepted as the first South American member of the OECD,\(^2\) on 27 February the country was shaken by an 8.8 earthquake and tsunami. Because of these natural disasters, an important political event scheduled for 11 March was both austerely celebrated and literally wobbly. In fact, after twenty years in government the centre-leftwing alliance Concertación de Partidos por la Democracia were voted out of power by the centre-rightwing coalition Alianza por Chile. The transfer of power from one president to another was special in many ways. In the first place, strong aftershocks kept shaking the city of Valparaíso where the swearing-in was taking place. Secondly, it meant the debarkation of those who had defeated General Augusto Pinochet in 1990 and the installation of the political sector that had backed his government. Except for the tremors, the handover


\(^2\) Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development. The OECD clusters most of the world’s high-income nations.
was uneventful, thus signalling that Chile’s democracy, whether administered by the centre-Left or the centre-Right, was stable.

One third of Chile’s territory was affected by February’s cataclysm. Thus, getting close to the Bicentennial celebrations in September, the entire country was quite committed to its reconstruction amidst the good news of Chile’s participation in South Africa’s Football World Cup, after being absent from this event for two consecutive periods. Also positive were the economic indicators that showed Chile was leaving behind the subprime crisis in spite of the quake-induced initial economic slowdown. Nevertheless, the ambivalent Bicentennial celebration was to suffer yet another blow when 33 miners were trapped in a quarry, and Chileans asked themselves why the country had to undergo one tragedy after another. Nevertheless, the initial disaster had a happy ending as the miners were found alive and rescued after some weeks. Moreover, whilst the 18 September celebrations took place, Chile got an unprecedented media exposure, not because of its Bicentennial but because the miner’s rescue proved to be the most powerful human-interest story of the year worldwide: in fact, the miners were among the runners-up to Mark Zuckerberg in *TIME* magazine’s ‘Person of the Year’ 2010.

Probably the most symbolic of all Bicentennial festivities was the inauguration of a gigantic Chilean flag facing La Moneda Palace, Chile’s government house, emblem of almost two centuries of republican government. Also an icon of the break with democracy in 1973 —the picture of that building being bombarded during the military coup led by Pinochet went round the world— the base of the pole that supports the flag reads: ‘This flag stands to commemorate the Bicentennial, fluttering in the wind as a symbol of unity among Chileans as well as their commitment to freedom and hope for the future’. In the presence of President Sebastián Piñera and former Concertación heads of state, as well as right and leftwing politicians, the ceremony wanted to convey a message of unity and reconciliation. The miners rescue effort also helped to convey the same message of unity as the whole country was attentive to its development and politicians from all political walks collaborated in the operation. In fact, unity and reconciliation have been rare commodities in Chile in the past. In fact, if the 1960s witnessed increased polarization in the country, 1970 was inaugurated with a controversial Unidad Popular administration that was violently curtailed by the 11 September 1973 military takeover. The seventeen years of military dictatorship all but increased Chile’s cleavage. Thus, the fact of having former enemies united during the hoisting of the Chilean flag prior to the inauguration of the Bicentennial festivities was both meaningful and hopeful.
In a way 2010, marked by the events described above, gave me the opportunity to analyze several of the features addressed throughout this dissertation within a narrow time-frame. This work focuses mainly on the last four decades of Chile’s history—approximately from 1973 to 2010—the year of the Bicentennial celebration being something like a storefront of the revolutionary changes undergone by this nation from the installation of a market oriented economic system from the mid-1970s onwards. In fact, in 1910 Chile celebrated a century of independence from Spain, but in troubled 2010 the focus was on the material and cultural shifts undergone by the country since the adoption of neo-liberalism which, in the opinion of several academics, paved the way for one of the deepest transformations ever undertaken in Chilean history. For example, although the country’s institutional stability and tendency to abide by the law were fairly distinctive features of ‘Chileanness’ by 1910, the Chileans of 2010 were also able to appreciate their country’s improved financial prosperity. Thus, while February’s earthquake was devastating, a mere 100 days later Chilean nationals could see that almost 94 per cent of the fallen infrastructure belonging to the public sector had been restored. This fact attested to governmental efficiency and leadership as well as improved economic means. Something similar happened with the rescue of the 33 miners. Along the months of their survival saga Chileans were able to perceive good governance, the presence of a relatively strong culture of order and endeavour, as well as enhanced material and technical means: probably, if the accident had taken place a few decades ago, Chile would not have had the resources to rescue the pitmen.

Whilst studying Chile’s neo-liberal evolution, I will pay special notice to three topics: its identity, its socio-cultural change—triggered by economic and political factors—as well as its nation-branding process. In this study I will try to delve further into what this nation is today by considering in each chapter a specific time period which I deem important for the nation’s development. What inspires me in this line of investigation is to further understand how and why Chile’s identity, its society and culture, its self-image and international reputation were forged along the centuries and were partly transformed and partly adapted to the advent of a modern liberal consumer society. Probably the most novel angle of my research refers to the process of branding Chile. Although nations normally try to have a positive international reputation, it is my view that broadly as from the 1970s onwards i.e. when a new liberal wave starts gaining adepts around the globe—several states begin to promote their ‘good character’ worldwide in a regular way. Mainly due to commercial reasons, they start developing the idea of a brand attached to their names so as to be more effective in an increasingly competitive international market of products and tourism. Nevertheless, it is only by the 1990s that an important body of academic research can be found.
Researchers such as Philip Kotler, Eugene Jaffe or Israel Nebenzhal publish books or papers commenting on how and why states should promote themselves. Nevertheless, the notion of nation-branding really starts appearing from the turn of the century onwards in publications by researchers such as Simon Anholt —generally identified as the creator of the concept—, Peter van Ham, Wally Olins or Jeremy Hildreth. Although it is undeniable that nation-branding is closely linked to marketing, it is true that it is also related to nation-building, international relations and the use of soft power, among others. As for my personal interest in this field of study, it has helped me as a useful tool to look into Chile’s identity, the Chilean self-perception, and the country’s international standing and image throughout its history, particularly from the introduction of neo-liberalism onwards. Indeed, although my study is not devoted to the study of nation-branding per se, I found that it was a window, a helpful instrument to look into what inspires my research: what has become of Chile in social, cultural, political and economic terms by its second century of existence as a sovereign republic.

Although liberalism has helped to develop this nation in material terms, its application has not been beneficial to the country in absolute terms. Firstly, it has triggered a socio-cultural modernization process that has deeply affected its identity. Thus, the loss of some of its traditional values —such as austerity or the fissure of culture and community bonds— have generated antagonistic feelings within Chile’s society, making many ask themselves what it is to be Chilean today. At least, that has been the line of argument of the social research conducted by the United Nations Development Programme in Chile (UNDP). On the other hand, other reports by the same organization show that most Chileans believe that today their country provides more chances to study, access material goods or set up a private business. What is more, as will be seen in the coming chapters, these reports also show that more than 60 per cent of Chileans believe that they can consider themselves as winners within the neo-liberal system. In my view, these reports are a good example of the ambiguous feelings brought about by neo-liberalism, applauded by some, rejected by others who feel perplexed by the invasion of consumption and market criteria into all walks of life, a factor that has greatly transformed the Chilean traditional identity. Also, while most Chileans have seen their country develop materially, an important minority of its population has not been able to get out of poverty. This fact has triggered bitter antagonism: on the one hand, a considerable segment of the country’s society has moved into the middle classes; on the other, there is an acute perception of social inequality which is generally associated with the implementation of neo-liberalism.
The feelings of antagonism are also felt in regard to Chile’s international standing and its country image. In fact, quite often this nation is praised by international organizations as successful, a model to be imitated in political and economic terms. Its smooth return to democracy accompanied by fairly fast material modernization plus international applause has triggered within Chileans a feeling of pride and increased their centenary self-perception of being exceptional within Latin America. Some of them believe that the way ahead is to keep fostering a winner mentality; some even foster the idea of being a good country in a bad neighbourhood. On the contrary, others propitiate the nation’s bonding with Latin America rather than highlighting the differences with the region. In fact, Chile may be admired by its neighbours but is not loved: this has hindered its regional standing, commerce and —most importantly— diplomatic relations.

I. Conceptual Framework

The military regime did not only increase the hatred and violence that had emerged in the country in the past decades. It also hosted what has arguably been the deepest and most successful socioeconomic revolution in Chile in the last century. Thus, the Bicentennial celebrations —ambivalent as they were— also gave way to rising hopes of what has probably been one of the driving national aspirations since the beginning of the republic: that of progress —the name it received in the nineteenth century— or development —as it is known now. Four decades of radical changes, amidst serious setbacks, orchestrated a social-engineering operation that transformed Chile from being one of the most traditional Latin American countries into a modern, liberal, consumer society with a functioning democracy and fairly stable institutions. Thus, the conversion initiated during Augusto Pinochet’s tenure, was continued by the Concertación administrations, albeit with substantial differences, probably the main one being the re-inauguration of democracy and the coordination of that political regime and a market economy system. This thesis aims to study such transformations in the belief, firstly, that one of the key agents of change has been neo-liberalism; secondly, that the Chilean political Left —in synchronicity with the decline of world socialism and after experiencing exile changed its socio-economic stance accepting the benefits of democracy and economic freedom; and thirdly, that a reformed Chilean political Right abandoned its statist views on the economy and society and renewed its traditional trust in democracy.
Whilst studying Chile’s modernization process under the neo-liberal sign, I will especially look into three topics: the country’s changing identity as some of its traditional elements have tended to disappear while new ones have entered the scene; its socio-cultural change, including a mentality shift as well as increased social mobility; and Chile’s nation-branding efforts as its international standing started changing in the last decades. There are several reasons that led me to choose these three strands as the axis along which the thesis will revolve. Firstly, the three of them allow for a multidisciplinary analysis, especially from the perspectives offered by history, sociology, political science and journalism. Given that the period that I address in the dissertation—from the 1973 coup to 2010, year of the Bicentennial— is so rich in events and significant in terms of Chile’s transformation, my idea was that all these academic disciplines would certainly contribute to the improved description and understanding of what has happened in this country in the last three or four decades. Secondly, as a university-trained journalist, the study of these strands would allow me to approach Chilean current events using journalistic data while gaining in in-depth analysis through the use of historical, sociological and political sources. Thirdly, the aforementioned three strands interact to the point of making it difficult to differentiate clearly between identity, national image and socio-cultural change. Although I do force a differentiation in order to analyse each strand in a better way, it is not my purpose to feature them as isolated realities. On the contrary, the fact that they interplay and intertwine bespeaks the existence of a living nation in which these and other realities interact to the point of identification. In fact, the differentiation between the Chilean self-image and Chilean identity or between identity and cultural changes of late is subtle and thus not easy to portray separately. Finally, this triple axis allows for a study of fairly permanent factors in Chile’s existence as well as other less stable aspects. Thus, although the country has undergone a kind of revolution, Chile retains many of its original characteristics: it is possible to find in it characteristics forged from the beginning of its nation-building process, traits that have lasted and are also present in Bicentennial Chile.

Out of the three components analyzed, possibly the most original is national image in its nation-branding slant. A contentious art—some intellectuals consider that building a nation’s brand is pure marketing and not consonant with a country’s dignity—it has been implemented by several nations with success. In fact, although linked to commercial marketing, this discipline is also connected to multiple fields of the social sciences and acts in tandem with nation-building and the process of structuring a country’s identity. Moreover, the art of branding a nation is also related to a country’s international relations policy and national development. Thus, the
management of a nation’s good reputation—which is basically what nation-branding tries to achieve—does not only relate to straight selling-oriented publicity. Moreover, the study of Chile’s branding shows that this art is connected to non-commercial aspects such as the reinforcement of an identity and the study of socio-cultural changes. In addition, with reference to how Chile is perceived by other nations and the country’s efforts to reflect a positive representation of itself outside its frontiers, Chile’s national brand also has to do with its citizens’ self-reading. As mentioned above, a nation’s repute operates in tandem with its identity and idiosyncrasy. Image and identity also bond through nation-branding given that the construction of a message to convey a country’s standing necessitates the selection of historical events, psychological traits, and behavioural trends among others. Moreover, the mere fact of selecting aspects of the nationality in order to pass them on to others collaborates towards a nation’s identity-building.

II. Organization of the book

In the coming pages I analyze issues related to identity traits, Chile’s country image and nation-branding practices as well as socio-cultural change, locating this triple-axis in specific historical contexts I deemed relevant for their development. Although the three strands are tackled throughout the six chapters, each of them concentrates on one or two of the intertwining trio. Nevertheless, regardless of the emphasis made in the different sections, they all do delve into Chile’s country image and the different governments’ efforts to create a positive brand for this nation.

Following the introduction, Chapter 1 describes and defines the state of the art as regards the triple axis and related concepts. Thus, this section addresses topics such as nation, national identity and national culture, followed by several Latin American and Chilean identity traits. Subsequently it describes the most outstanding features of Chilean idiosyncrasy, largely derived from the geographical isolation of its territory, the harshness of the terrain and natural disasters such as earthquakes. These characteristics are partly responsible for the formation of a culture of order and the allegedly sombre temperament of Chileans. This chapter will also address the engraved belief that Chileans have about the exceptional character of their country, compared to other Latin American nations. Two other concepts that are theoretically described in Chapter 1 refer to modernity and social change. The term modernity is ambiguous, as it denominates a wide array of ideas and has been interpreted by several schools of thought. For the purposes of this thesis, I match modernity with socio-economic
and political development. Then the chapter revises several historical events that are illustrative for this dissertation and have been important in the country’s evolution towards modernity. Such milestones are independence from Spain, the increasing influence of French and Anglo-Saxon cultural models, the creation of the main national emblems, the 1910 Centennial celebration ending in the global planning era towards the Bicentennial. The final part of the chapter examines the art of branding nations as one of the sides of building a country image. The chapter tackles a ‘classical’ nation-branding exercise in the process of nation-building. Nevertheless, there is also a current nation-branding strand that despite having some elements of the classical is more related to international relations and commercial marketing.

Chapter 2 analyses those identity traits generally accepted as being most representative of Chileanness. Present along Chile’s history, they keep cropping up through the centuries in diverse circumstances. They are the culture of order and endeavour, Chile’s deep-seated belief in its exceptionality and democratic culture and the nation’s geographical isolation from both the rest of the continent and the world. Of the trio of concepts addressed in the thesis, Chapter 2 pays further attention to identity topics, while not neglecting the analysis of socio-cultural aspects and country image. Chapter 2 starts by describing the formation of such features along Chile’s first centuries of existence and also mentions early nation-branding attempts by the colonizing Spaniards. The chapter describes the difficulties of the conquest of Chile, as it was isolated and of difficult access. To boot, it homed fierce natives and offered little material wealth to compensate for the hard toil. During those years Chile was known as the Flanders of America. The colonial period also witnessed the development of mestizaje and the hacienda, which contributed to the formation of a culture of order. Also, the formation of the so-called Portalian state played an important role in that sense. The governmental style established in the early 1830s was republican albeit authoritarian. Nevertheless, the fact of having been a functioning democracy almost from the start helps explains why Chileans feel that democratic rule is one of the country’s identity traces. Moreover, Chileans like to consider themselves as exceptional as regards the rule of law and the good functioning of its public institutions. Yet, it is also undeniable that the country has had dictatorships and civil wars. The dictatorial period spanning from 1973 to 1990 is mentioned as it represents the biggest breakaway from Chile’s democratic exceptionality.

Chapter 3 starts enquiring into the specific years encompassed in this thesis, i.e. from the military coup to the end of the Concertación era, which can be considered as a time of especially acute self-perception of exceptionality. It specifically delves into the importation of neo-liberalism by young Chilean economists that had been
trained at the University of Chicago. Neo-liberalism fostered Chile’s participation in international trade and enhanced its export-led economy. It also contributed to export Chile’s image as a successful, dynamic and developing nation, even as a model to be imitated. Liberalism also fed the beginning of radical changes in the social and cultural structures of the country. Consequently, Chileans suffered some identity and self-image mutations. On the one hand, the country began to experience significant material improvements even in spite of the 1975 and 1982 economic crises. In fact, Chileans saw how their nation started to evolve in economic terms as well as socio-culturally and started experiencing a mentality shift more in accordance with a liberal society with rising consumption levels. Also the political Right initiated its conversion from being fairly statist in its social and economic views. In fact, the Chicago Boys not only provided the military government with an economic plan that was going to prove revolutionary: they also bestowed the Right with an all-encompassing ideology that would renew a declining political sector. Once the 1982 economic crisis was overcome, the image of Chile as a new tiger country —a comparison with the fast developing Asian Tigers— strengthened. Already before the end of the military dictatorship Chile was feeling the effect of a revolutionary transformation which, despite not reaching everyone, put the country on the path towards further economic development. At that time, Chile’s country image was ambivalent as its good reputation increased because of its pragmatic and sound economic policies, while remaining an outcast nation because of its non-compliance with human rights. This fact, together with the need to foster exports, triggered the establishment of ProChile, which was relevant both as a nation-branding attempt and as the enhancement of a commercially driven diplomacy.

Although in 1990 Chile regained its status as a democratic nation, its international human rights stance did not improve as fast as expected. Chapter 4 shows how, in spite of being admired for its economic performance, very few in the globe realised the drastic regime shift that had taken place in this Latin American nation. Even among those who did, many considered that the Concertación was not doing enough to bring to trial those who had committed violations against human rights. At the same time, the Chilean authorities kept trying to promote a positive country brand for their nation. In this context Chapter 4 refers to two important branding events: Chile’s participation in ‘Expo Seville 92’ and the organization of APEC 2004 on Chilean soil. While these events yielded positive results, two other occurrences made Chileans realize that they still had a bad international reputation. In the first case, Pinochet’s detention in London in 1998 revealed that his tenure in government and the perpetration of violations against civil liberties had not faded from world memory. As for APEC, that same year 2004 witnessed the development of relatively serious diplomatic tensions with Argentina, Peru and Bolivia. In fact, for years
Chile has tried to convey the message of being a successful nation in economic terms and, through this image, insert itself in the world. Nevertheless, although this branding met with the approval of the global economic/business elites, it was not well received in the rest of Latin America. Moreover, Chile’s economic and political systems clashed with alternative projects which have appeared in the region. Like Chapter 2, Chapter 4 studies some key Chilean identity traits —isolation, culture of order and endeavour, self-perception of exceptionality— although this time operative in a very different historical context. As for the socio-cultural change strand, this focus concentrates on the transformation of Chile’s Left, a fact that proved to be vital during the Concertación era, a time during which the country furthered its shift towards a liberal consumer society.

Chapter 5 narrates the relatively deep and fast socio-cultural changes undergone by Chile and the concomitant surge of confrontations and conflicts. This chapter aims at summing up such changes, describing the society that Chile is becoming, and depicting the ill feelings generated mainly after the 1998 economic crisis, which brought into the open the internal antagonisms brewing for a long time because of the current modernization process. Moreover, the advent of a new century and the approach of the Bicentennial celebrations fostered reflection, even more so when the adjustments undergone by this country since the 1970s were quite drastic. In times of conflicting ideological discussions, an area that has triggered debate is the replacement of a traditional order and conservative values, which has increased the ill feelings and antagonism within the nation. Chapter 5 also addresses the issue of Chile’s quest for an identity. In fact, some intellectuals suggest that Chileans have no image of self and feel as if they did not belong to their country. At the same time, several opinion polls show exactly the contrary. Chapter 5 also shows the development of empirical indicators of modernity such as urbanization, general improvement in living standards and education levels, the growth of a qualified workforce and the introduction of women into the labour force. This chapter points out that this nation has experienced an accelerated —albeit uneven— economic growth and modernization process. Nevertheless, although Chileans are better off today than ever before in the country’s history, there are still considerable sectors of the population that live in depressed conditions. This is why Chile’s development since the mid-1970s onwards has left a bitter-sweet aftertaste and has allowed the questioning of the success of the liberal revolution, given that an important segment of society lives in poverty.\(^3\)

\(^3\) The number of people living under the poverty line is quite unclear, as will be seen in Chapter 5. Nevertheless, research conducted by the government after the subprime crisis and earthquake
Chapter 6 starts by describing February 2010’s quake and tsunami to then make a historic recount of the main earth movements and tidal waves that have hit this nation along its history. The chapter shows how strong telluric movements —which shake Chile’s territory every twenty five years or so— have contributed to create a culture of endurance and order as its inhabitants long for the stability that natural disasters thwart. This section analyses the shortcomings of Chile’s technical capability to face a mega-quake, the response after the initial shock and the failure to release a tsunami warning. Other issues that the chapter deals with are the slowness with which aid was delivered and military personnel deployed in the affected zone to ensure law and order. Next, Chapter 6 moves on to deal with core issues, i.e. Chile’s international prestige, world exposure and further construction of its national brand during two of the tragedies that hit the country in 2010, namely the above mentioned earthquake and the cave-in and rescue operation of thirty-three miners trapped in the Atacama region. Mostly following media statements and some academic analyses, it appeared that post-quake Chile was perceived as organized, efficient and resilient. Probably the role played by Fundación Imagen de Chile and the catastrophe of post-quake Haiti helped to foster Chile’s good image. To complete the study of the performance of Chile’s international image, Chapter 6 describes the accident in the San José mine in Northern Chile and how the workers were found alive. Operación San Lorenzo’s live broadcast made an impact on Chile’s international reputation. Some studies have shown that several positive attributes were attached to the country: efficiency, organizational capacity, solidarity, effective political leadership and strong spirit/resilience. Although February’s quake attracted a larger share of world attention than normal for Chile, it was the miners’ saga what was to become the most important visibility window that Chile has had since the fall of Allende and rise of Pinochet. In fact, their heroic survival and efficient rescue implied a great and positive leap in the country’s global reputation and visibility. The event marked a once-in-a-lifetime chance to improve this small and peripheral country’s good name.

The final section of the study explores some conclusions which emerge from the study of the formation and evolution of the Chilean identity traits, tested and confronted in diverse historical periods, especially from 1973 military coup to the end of

points out that as much as 19 percent of Chileans can be considered poor. See CASEN 2009 in http://celade.cepal.org/redatam/paises/chl/mideplanii/casen2009/Index.html and the poll conducted after February 2010’s earthquake at www.mideplan.gob.cl/encuesta-post-terremoto/documentos/informe-encuesta-post-terremoto.pdf
the Concertación administrations. This last section also draws conclusions from the analysis of social and cultural changes —economically and politically driven— since the formation of the nation, with an emphasis on the 1973-2010 time period. Finally, the section concludes with the development of the Chilean country image and the handling of its national brand throughout its history and mainly from Pinochet’s tenure up to the Bicentennial celebrations.