The Construction of Latin America as a Brand: Designs, Narrations, and Disputes in Peru and Cuba

Felix Antonio Lossio Chavez

Doctor of Iberian and Latin American Studies

School of Modern Languages, Newcastle University

May 2018

Abstract

In this dissertation, I examine the ways in which national narratives are produced and executed through the aims, concepts, techniques and language of the nation branding field and their operators. I argue that nation branding is a crucial field in which national narratives are designed, in a context dominated by neoliberal premises of competitiveness, reputation, and management, together with the contemporary mandate of consuming sensorial novel experiences.

In my case studies of Peru and Cuba, I analyse the extent to which the production of their nation brands follows the mandates and guidelines of nation branding. I argue that the produced national narratives answer the imperatives of this field, being built upon the promise of multicultural societies offering sensorial elements and exotic adventures; and managed under the expectation of positioning a 'distinctive' and 'competitive' identity in the global market. By doing so, these strategies reproduce social hierarchies and stereotyped racial images, as visible in the commercials, images, and logos created for the branding purpose.

Nevertheless, my case studies reveal that even if nation branding can be understood, mostly, as a homogeneous neoliberal global strategy, it can also operate as a platform serving different purposes and activating internal disputes. In Peru, the branding of the nation appeared in a post-conflict context dominated by a neoliberal discourse, making it the most important governmental effort to produce a discourse about the country and their ideal citizens. For this, in Peru the branding endeavour can be defined as a neoliberal cultural policy, and such branding has generated a massive prideful embracement to its referents as well as alternative counter-narratives. In Cuba, while the government has followed the nation branding guidelines, the created narrative coexists with that of the Revolution, limiting the branding endeavour to a more instrumental use, targeting mainly the external commercially-related audience. Finally, both cases show that these devices invite a discussion about the meaning of the (Latin American) nations in the 21st century.

To my parents

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Tables and Figures

Introduction

'The real difference between us and chimpanzees is the mythical glue that binds together large numbers of individuals, families and groups. […] This ability to speak about fictions is the most unique feature of Sapiens language. […] But fiction has enabled us not merely to imagine things, but to do so *collectively.* We can weave common myths such as the biblical creation story, the Dreamtime myths of Aboriginal Australians, and the nationalist myths of modern states. Such myths give Sapiens the unprecedented ability to cooperate flexibly in large numbers.' (Harari 2016, p.28).

How did I get here?

In the endeavour of reflecting on social relations, throughout my young research career I have been particularly interested in the 'fictions' permeating realities. That is, understanding how the symbolic realm, or how we represent ourselves through cultural practices and artefacts, is much more than the mere effect of a deterministic material basis or a corpus of images pursuing truthful depictions. Rather, it is a collective construction based upon the condition of their times which acts as a basis for modelling social relations. Put differently, I have been eager to investigate how the symbolic not only aims to represent reality, but in fact, produces it. Thus, I am interested in researching why and how a collective fiction or 'narrative' acting as a 'mythical glue' is constructed, what are their defining elements, and how does it permeate social bonds and shape political and economic institutions.

My use of the terms 'symbolic', 'narrative', and 'construction' are not unintentional, as my academic interests are closer to the fields of cultural sociology and cultural studies. Given the premise that reality can be read as a social construction (Berger & Luckmann 1966), I am convinced that cultural products –from films to novels, songs to videogames or, precisely, brands and advertisements– have political significance that needs to be unveiled. This is to say that cultural creations, even if produced in the intimacy of the author's symbolic universe, should be read as social documents. Their production processes and symbolic content are shaped by the material conditions and the cultural imperatives of their times, and at the same time these cultural products and the discourses

they deploy intervene in the social. Thus, following Stuart Hall (1997), I begin this thesis by underlining the role of cultural artefacts as 'constitutive' of the social:

> 'Since the 'cultural turn' in the human and social sciences, meaning is thought to be *produced* –constructed– rather than simply 'found'. Consequently, in what has come to be called a 'social constructionist approach', representation is conceived as entering into the very constitution of things; and thus, culture is conceptualized as a primary or 'constitutive' process, as important as the economic or material 'base' in shaping social subjects and historical events –not merely a reflection of the world after the event. (Hall 1997, p.6).

If cultural artefacts are shaped by the material conditions and cultural imperatives of their time, and simultaneously they intervene in them, it is sensible to analyse them by paying attention to their 'visible' and 'invisible' aspects. This means analysing the symbolic meanings and ideological contents which are visible to the external audience -i.e. the lyrics, images, stories and the content and discourses these convey, and the factors intervening in their process of creation, development, dissemination, and circulation. That is, it is crucial to examine the institutions, actors, technologies, and methods involved in their *production.*

In this vein, I agree with Nestor Garcia-Canclini in his examination of the cultural studies field in Latin America (1997) at the turn of the 20th century, where he argues that the field needs to recover empirical analysis. This means examining precisely the *processes of production* of cultural objects beyond the exclusive discourse analysis of the objects themselves. This implies conceiving of cultural studies -and broadly, the study of culture- not just as hermeneutical analysis, but as 'a scientific work that combines meaning and facts, discourses and empirical conditions' (Néstor García-Canclini, 1997 p. 60). In a sense, this is another way of recovering, as Pierre Bourdieu argues from a Marxist perspective, a sociological analysis of culture that pays attention to the 'modes of production' in what Bourdieu names the 'market of symbolic goods' (1996).

Beyond this necessary epistemological discussion, what I aim to point out here is that, to understand cultural objects and the ways they 'shape the social', it is necessary to examine its contents and results, along with the historical circumstances in which they are produced, the actors and institutions involved in their promotion and development, the economic basis in which they operate, the effects they generate in terms of consumption and reception, etc. That is, to situate them in relation to other dimensions of the society in which they appear and intervene, not in a mere deterministic cause-effect relation, but in a

complex form of mutual determination. In this thesis, as I will further develop, this means, concretely, considering the nation brands' visual forms and the set of values they convey, along with their specific processes of production, that is, the material basis they rely upon, the cultural imperatives they respond to, the institutions that lead their development, the public and private actors involved in their creation and dissemination, the methods and techniques they employ, and their impact in the public sphere.

This approach demands then to stress the complexity of any cultural product, hence assume an interdisciplinary perspective. It is in this spirit, and because my object of study specifically demands it, that I have included in this thesis concepts from the fields of branding, sociology, history, and philosophy along with methodological techniques such as visual and textual discourse analysis, interviews and non-participant observation in addition to the analysis of secondary material.

Having this academic interest, noting the massive impact of a 2011 governmental advertisement campaign about the meaning of 'Peru' and of being 'Peruvian' was both disturbing and attractive. All over the country, people discussed the so called 'Marca Perú' (from now, Brand Peru) in everyday conversations, mass media celebrated the novel portray of the nation, while critical reactions appeared subsequently. In 2011, 2012, and 2013, it was evident that this branded identity resonated in people's relations and ideas about the Peru signifier. This was likely an unprecedented government effort to define the Peruvian nation and disseminate it through various mechanisms.

In fact, one might wonder if in previous projects of national consolidation such as the post-independence period during the mid-19th century, the indigenist movement ('indigenismo') in the early 20th century, or the 'cultural revolution' of the military government during the late 1960s (Portocarrero 2003), there had been such a massive effort and resources deployed in terms of political support, economic investment, and human resources to produce a defining idea of the nation. Considering that during the 20th century nationalization processes in Peru have been rather limited and originated mainly from the civil society rather than from the government –or if so, doing so by accentuating class and race divisions as occurred during the so called oligarchic period (Drinot 2015, p. 123[1])– in this case, the national narrative building project acquired a new and interesting nuance.

---

[1]For more on this process, see Wood, David (2005, pp. 11-33).

This represented to me a unique social laboratory. In this apparently naïve piece of advertisement, Peru was directly defined as a 'brand'. Specific topics related to cultural practices –gastronomy, music, sports– were located at the centre of the national identity and Peruvian citizens were invited to engage -and they certainly did- with this novel national narrative. All of which condensed my academic interests into a concrete case. A cultural artefact with political implications and enormous social relevance had been produced in the form of a fiction which needed to be analysed from an interdisciplinary perspective.

From this initial impetus, I decided to work on this subject in my Master's thesis (2012). Here I realized that this endeavour was part of a global phenomenon operating under the broader field of 'place branding'. Since the early years of the 21st century, various national governments in western, eastern, centre or peripheral countries, activated similar strategies, making 'nation branding' a growing realm of policy-making and, over the last 10 years, a novel field of study. Understanding more about the Peruvian case, I decided that the next step had to be a doctoral stint of research to investigate nation branding as a symptomatic policy of our times, and particularly, to research its resonance in Latin American countries.

After undertaking a general review of Latin American cases, I found that during the first decade of the 21st century governments in Peru (Brand Peru 2011), Colombia (Colombia is Passion 2006, The Answer is Colombia 2011), Cuba (Authentic Cuba 2011), Ecuador (Ecuador Loves Life 2010), and Chile (Chile Always Surprising 2006), among others, had promoted nation branding strategies (see appendix D). However, it was the Cuban case that intrigued me the most. Confronted by Cuban nation branding panels in Lima and London, I asked myself how this country, embedded in a socialist model, could engage in a branding strategy. This had to be an exceptional case to research.

Subsequently, based on the cases of Peru and Cuba, I wondered about the place branding phenomenon itself, both in its 'visible' and 'invisible' aspects, this is the products disseminated publicly and the processes behind them. When and where had it started? What are its principles and techniques? Why and how do national governments of the southern-periphery engage with it? What are the potential effects on local citizens? For the cases chosen, I wondered how have they been produced? What actors and institutions are involved in their creation and development? What techniques and methods do they employ? What are their aims? In a borader sense, are these devices part of the modern project? All of this, gave me the opportunity to think about what this might tell us about the

(modern) nation in the 21st century. These were questions that ultimately triggered my decision to pursue doctoral research.

Julia Garcia in Peru and Ricardo Hernandez in Cuba were two crucial informants whom I now refer to as friends. In Peru, I would also like to thank Gisela Cánepa, with whom I established a place branding study group as part of the CRICS project, and Maria Jesus Jauler and Silvia Agreda, who helped me in the editing process.

In Cuba, Leonor la Rosa, Adiley Cruz, and Randy Pereira were always kind and helpful during my challenging and enjoyable times in La Havana. Finally, in the United Kingdom, I talked to many people about this project since before starting it, many of whom were kind enough to read and discuss my initial ideas. They include Don Slater, Liz Moor, and Celia Lury. I also thank Melissa Aronczyk, Nadia Kaneva, and Arlene Davila who also gave me their time and advice. Finally, I thank my wife Cynthia. We have gone through many beautiful, revealing, and sometimes hard times in this 'British-Peruvian-Cuban season' that will never be forgotten. This thesis, and what it represents, is now part of us and symbolizes the path we have walked together in this curious adventure named life.

This is how I got here. Now it is time to share what I have found, with both humility and confidence. At the same time, I kindly ask the reader to open these pages with a dialogical mind-set. The main purpose of any academic document is to share knowledge in an attempt to encourage an informed dialogue rather than be a piece to be judged according to its revelation of an ultimate truth. I hope this thesis will contribute to a collective experience of knowledge construction. At least, this is the sprit in which it was written. With academic consistency and rigour, my point is to understand this piece as a conversation from which new ideas and questions should arise.

Objectives, Justification, and Questions

The overall aim of this thesis is to research the social significance of constructing Latin American nations as global brands. That is, to understand why, how, and with what consequences national governments in Latin America have undertaken nation branding strategies. In Chapter Two, I define nation branding as a set of discourses, procedures, and devices that national governments, in alliance with global branding consultancies, developed from the end of the 20th century, in the aim of renewing national narratives that involve identity models for their citizens, pursuing the establishment of distinctive and coherent reputations. They aim to achieve this in order to become attractive and competitive in the global market, particularly in relation to tourism, investment, and

exports. With nation branding, a national narrative is thoroughly designed according to global expectations and target markets, is translated into consumable objects and merchandising, is expected to be 'performed' and 'experienced' by the citizens, and is globally managed through quantitative tools. At the same time, as my cases demonstrate, nation branding is not a homogeneous device, and can also operate as a platform serving different purposes, activating internal disputes and nuances. In a nutshell, I define nation branding, for most of the cases as a contemporary neoliberal cultural policy open to disagreements: from neoliberal imperatives and techniques related to competitivity, search of reputation and impact measurement; it develops a national public policy that makes use of cultural artefacts or dimensions in the purpose of intervening in the collective modes of being, which are simultaneously validated and contested.

I focus upon two cases. My main case study is the Brand Peru strategy launched in 2011. I analyse the context, the production process, the narrative of the nation displayed in the form of visual devices and the local reaction. My secondary case is Cuba and the Marca Cuba - Auténtica Cuba (Brand Cuba - Authentic Cuba) destination strategy launched in 2011. In this case I analyse the narrative of the nation displayed through visual devices, its production process and the extent to which this narrative has been resisted.

I must stress that this is not a comparative study. The case of Peru is included for three reasons. First, because the branding strategy was launched in a context of long-term neoliberal policies, which represented a strong case of an orthodox nation branding project under a neoliberal regime. Second, because its dissemination and national impact was massive, constituting a privileged social laboratory for the analysis of a national narrative building process occurring before me. The branding of Peru, as I will examine in Chapter Three, served the purpose of promoting an ideological discourse of the nation from a neoliberal perspective. Third, as Peru is my country of origin, I was very familiar with the ongoing social and political processes, and in terms of research feasibility it was much more feasible to contact key stakeholders and access official documentation -official goals, actors involved, quantitative data, methods employed etc.- making it possible to systematize and analyse, beyond the public visible results, the more invisible process of production of a specific nation brand.

The secondary case of Cuba is included as a 'satellite case', acting as a revealing counterpoint. Unlike Peru, the national branding strategy is undertaken under a socialist model. Or, at least, according to a model employing commercially-oriented promotional tools for economic sectors such as tourism, under a political regime based on socialist

ideals. This implied a crucially different scenario for the branding endeavour and meant for me a substantial challenge in my major aim of understanding the complexities of the field. In other words, owing to this differing context, researching the branding strategy of Cuba forced me to reflect on the complexities of the place branding field. Finally, the fact that both countries share a colonial background and a postcolonial scenario that continues to permeate social relations, for example, in the form of racial discrimination and stereotypes, was an additional reason to investigate them. Because of their 'colonial ghosts' (Portocarrero 1991), before undertaking this research I expected that a consented narration of the nation in the form of a solid brand would be a problematic endeavour, thus potentially rich for social analysis.

To sum up, both cases were chosen for their singular characteristics and current scenarios which have the potential to answer both my questions about the field of place-branding and national narrations of Latin America as brands. Therefore, I chose these countries not merely to demonstrate what (western) theory contemplates but also, based on their examination, to contribute to theorize on this emerging field. In this light, I must stress that this thesis attempts to avoid the unfair geo-academic relation of applying western concepts to peripheral cases. Whilst this thesis does so, I explore the inverse direction as well and by so doing problematize the field and understand our times via the analysis of the cases chosen. In this sense, while the focus on Peru and Cuba begins only in Chapter Three, this is because chapters one and two, in addition to framing my cases, are also the result of my conceptual reflection upon what the evidence showed me.

Bearing this in mind, I have three specific questions:

1. What are the premises, concepts and techniques that guide nation branding as a field?
2. How have the nation brands in Peru and Cuba been produced, and what national narratives do they promote?
3. How have these narratives been engaged with and contested?

My specific objectives are:

1. To problematize the field of nation branding from a critical perspective.
2. To reconstruct the nation brand's production processes in Peru and, secondarily, in Cuba, and to analyse the narratives of both branded nations.
3. To illustrate how these narratives have been validated and contested.

By answering these questions, I aim to invite questions about the significance of the nation in the 21st century.

Relevance

While the term 'nation brand' was coined in 1996, the expansion of studies in the 2000s. Since then, a steady growing range of investigations from different disciplines has been notable, as the following tables 1 and 2 illustrate[2]:
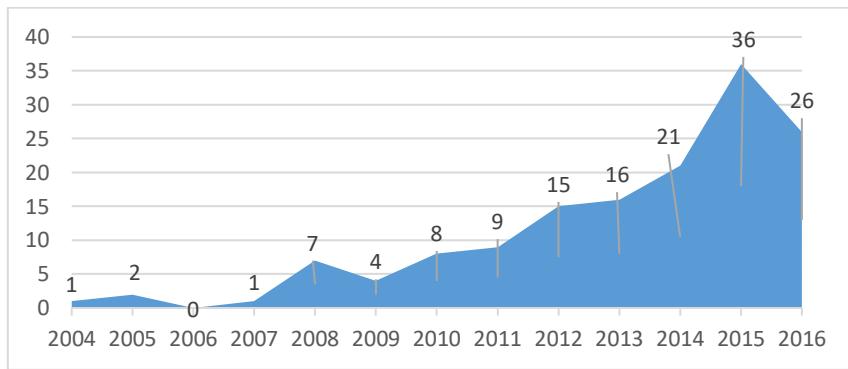
Table 1. Number of books, book chapters or articles with ['city brand(ing)', 'nation brand(ing)' or 'place brand(ing)' in their title. 2004-2016. Source: web of knowledge finder. My own elaboration. 1/ Until 30 November 2016

---

[2] Surely, the range of research is higher than the chart suggests. Some papers do not have these words in the title but address the topic, such as 'Brand America' or 'Competitive Identity' by Simon Anholt (2007), or 'Branding Geographies' by Andy Pike (2011), fundamental texts mentioned in this thesis. Also, this search tool may have not registered articles in journals covering this topic. For example, *The Journal of Place Branding Public Diplomacy*, was not indexed for their earlier editions which began in 2004. Finally, this chart does not consider unpublished documents such as theses, for which, in the Latin American region alone, I have registered works about Peru (Cuevas, 2014; Polo 2016), Colombia (Salazar & Segovia, 2009; Ordonez Castillo, Pedraza and Zambrano, 2011), and Cuba (La Rotta Pulgarin, 2011; Rodriguez, 2006). Nevertheless, these charts do give us an adequate picture of the field's growing tendency as well as the disciplines in which the research is undertaken. For more about the field approaches and researches, see Papadopoulos, N. & Heslop, L.J. (2002) and Kaneva (2011).
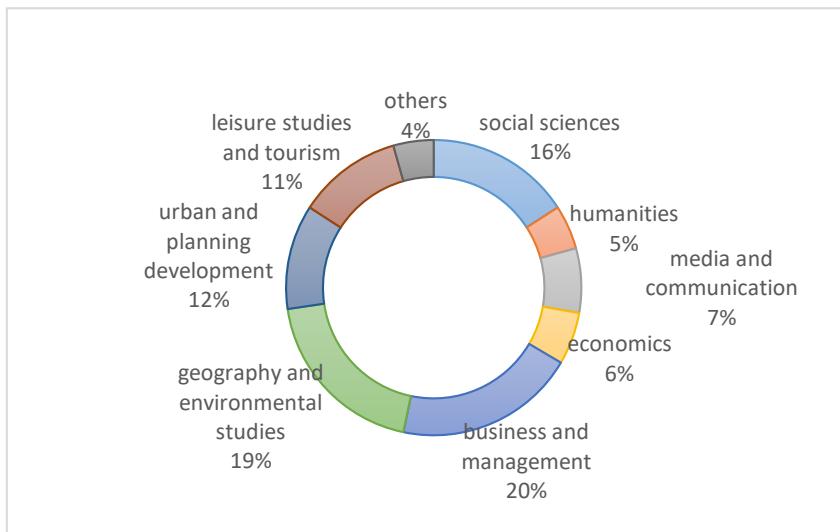
Table 2. Category / Research Area (% of total, 2004-2016). Source: web of knowledge finder. My own elaboration. 1/ Until 30 November 2016.

In a general sense, it could be said that the field of place branding - which involves the study of nations, regions or cities - is still in its infancy. Among other conceptual and methodological implications, this means that in no more than fifteen years of steady production the field has privileged specific approaches, territories, and topics, simultaneously opening some gaps in relation to these areas. This thesis aims to address these gaps and in so doing I expect to contribute to its further development.

The first gap involves the approaches adopted. While different disciplines have been involved in the study of place branding, the cases illustrated in Table 2 show that areas related to business, management, economics, tourism studies, and urban planning development have given rise to most of the studies. Such areas may privilege a more practice oriented approach. To a lesser extent, studies have been carried out from disciplines which, on the contrary, may emphasize a critical perspective, such as the social sciences, humanities or media and communication studies. Finally, there has been research in the areas of geography and environmental studies that, it could be said, emphasize the territorial dimensions of this phenomenon.

This general division validates to some extent what Nadia Kaneva found in her 2011 examination of the field's state of the art. By mapping research in the topics of nation, country, place, destination and city brand(ing), Kaneva finds that there are three major approaches to this topic: the *technical-economical* - in which the areas I have gathered under the 'practical approach' are included -; the *political* approach which emphasizes the areas of international relations and politics and could be part of what in

my table comes under the 'social sciences'-; and the *cultural* approach -in which Kaneva includes studies from the areas of sociology, media and cultural studies, that is, those I have referred as the 'critical' approach. Kaneva stresses that the cultural approach has given rise to less research -8% out of 186 studies - in comparison to the technical-economic one, by far the most productive with 57% of the total.

The second gap involves a territorial dimension. Being a relatively new field, and developed initially in the United Kingdom, it is not surprising that much research has been directed at cases in the Western-Northern hemisphere rather than in southern or 'peripheral' countries. Among others, there are an interesting number of studies focusing on cases in the United Kingdom (Anholt (2005; 2007; 2010), Dinnie (2008; 2010), Govers (2009), Pike (2011), Moor, (2011)); the United States (Anholt (2010), Aronczyk, (2007, 2013), Spain (Puig, various years)). More recently, nation or city branding strategies in Eastern Europe (Ermann (2011), Kaneva (2011, 2012), Kania-Lundholm (2016) Surowiec (2016)); Asia (Hong, Kiwon (2014), Fan (2016)), and the Arab states (Cooke (2014)) have been investigated.

Whilst referred to in some research (Aronczyk (2013), or approximated from the branding practitioners field (Dinnie (2008; 2010), Chaves (2011); Niesing (2013)), Latin American place branding cases have only been investigated in depth, from a more critical perspective, over the last seven years. In addition to the novelty of the field and its Western-Northern origins, this is reasonable insofar most of the Latin American nation brand strategies have been launched since the mid-2000s. Among others, I can highlight papers and articles such as Sanin (2010), Matta (2012), Jimenez-Martinez (2013), Cánepa (2014), Lossio (2014), Cueva (2014), and Fehimovic and Ogden (2018, forthcoming).

The third gap regards the focus of the studies, the dimensions chosen for analysis. In the main, research has focused upon the *outcomes* of the place brands rather than their processes of *production*. In the fields of semiotics, media studies, cultural studies, or more broadly social sciences, they have mostly examined the images, logos, videos, and strategies open to the public. By identifying the discourses promoted about the places being branded, these studies aim to understand and analyse how the place is represented and portrayed and to problematize the disputes involved in these representations.

Hence, while some studies, include in the equation the nation brands' production processes (Anholt 2010, Kaneva various, Aronczyk 2013, Surowiec 2016), there is a lack of in-depth systematization and problematization of the concrete stages, actors, and

techniques involved. Because of the feasibility to access 'inside data', or simply because of research interests, it could be said that most of the existing literature has primarily privileged the examination of products open to the public rather than the hidden and managerial processes.

As a matter of fact, already in 2011 Kaneva argued that studies in this field, especially those gathered under the cultural-critical approach, should move from analysing its outcomes to its processes of production and, within it, the role that several actors and institutions play. In her words: 'the present body of critical studies tends to place greater emphasis on analysing nation branding as a *discourse* (original italics). While some studies have examined its constituent practices as well, more work should be done in this area.' (2011, p. 128). Suggesting an agenda for future research, Kaneva claims that:

> 'future critiques should extend beyond the ideological claims of nation branding to examine the *political economy of its practices* (original italics). Here, research would look at the particular agents, at both the national and transnational levels (e.g. branding consultancies, national agencies, local government elites and global institutions), that are involved in perpetuating nation branding projects and the specific benefits they stand to gain. This is an important direction, because nation branding has now moved beyond the realm of ideas, into the realm of influencing national policies' (2011, p. 132)

Having said this, I believe this thesis is relevant insofar it addresses, to some extent, the three gaps mentioned. To begin with, it is written from a critical perspective. It considers nation branding as a cultural product, hence a subject of cultural analysis that aims to unveil the discourses and relations of power they portray and reproduce, in this case about the Peruvian and Cuban nations. In addition, I focus upon two Latin American cases, which hopefully will shed further light on the particularities of a still under-researched region. Beyond the main case of Peru and the secondary case of Cuba, some examples of nation branding strategies in Chile, Colombia, Brazil, Costa Rica, Argentina, among others, will be referred to.

Having said this, I argue that the main relevance of this thesis is that it is concerned both with the final *outcomes* of the branded nations, and with their *processes of production*. While it was imperative to analyse the nation brand's visual forms and contents disseminated to the public, it was also fundamental to investigate, systematize, and problematize the processes through which these nation brands were created, developed, and disseminated. Given the access I was granted to documents, testimonials,

presentations, data, and facts involved in the nation branding building process, it was imperative to read this material with the aim of presenting and understanding the material conditions of the chosen field and cases. I have done so reconstructing the specific process and dividing it, from the basis of the official documentation, in four main stages; but considering the implications of the context when this process was undertaken. This is developed in Chapter Three for the case of Peru, and in section 4.4 for the case of Cuba.

This is relevant insofar as the analysis of the production process permits a better understanding of its outcomes. By presenting the economic and political context, by considering the institutional support, by identifying the actors involved and by presenting the techniques privileged in their creation and dissemination, it is easier to capture the nation brands in all their complexity. Paying attention to the modes of production and, as Garcia-Canclini suggests, including empirical facts in the study of cultural objects, offers a whole range of elements for a holistic analysis of this (or any) phenomenon.

This gap grows larger when it involves the study of Latin American nation brands from a critical perspective. In a context in which these cases have only very recently become objects of analysis, research in this part of the world has also focused upon the examination of its outcomes and meanings in terms of the depiction of a national discourse, rather upon investigating the forms in which they have been produced. In this scenario, this thesis aims to add new insights to the field. By identifying the actors, premises, guidelines, and methods of the field itself as a global form of policy as is done in Chapter Two, and by presenting and examining the particular processes of nation branding creation and development, as is done for Peru in Chapter Three, and to a minor extent, for Cuba in Chapter Four (section 4.4), this thesis seeks to contribute to a more complex revision of nation brands as cultural objects and, generally, of place branding as a field subject to critical analysis.

Finally, I believe that to research about this current global phenomenon and the cases I have chosen is relevant, broadly, for it will enable to understand how contemporary nations are designed according to novel imperatives and strategies. To investigate about nation branding is, in a sense, a form of contributing to a long research path concerned with how nations and national narratives have been built, transmitted, engaged with, and disputed. Then, emphasizing that this is not a historiographic study, I expect this thesis to contribute to the analysis of, arguably, a new episode in a long-term process of building, contesting, and debating the idea of the nation, and; more fundamentally, I expect this research to invite new questions for further research in the field of nation and nationalism studies.

Taking this into consideration, to have conceptual clarity on the concepts of the nation and brands is fundamental. Regarding the first one, it is vital to understand how the nation has been understood from different paradigms, and from these, to frame my cases and object of study. From the main contributions of Anthony Smith (1998, 2004) in this matter, and considering that the branding endeavours is, in a long-term view, still part of the modern project; I will take into consideration what Smith names the modernist paradigm, including into this frame what he defines as the instrumental and primordial paradigms. This will be detailed in Chapter One. In addition, I will discuss the concept of brands, mainly from a critical perspective but including the definitions made by key practitioners in the field of branding. By discussing both concepts, I will set a conceptual ground from where to analyse the proper field of nation branding and I will have more elements to reflect upon the role of nation branding in the process of producing or 'building' a nation.

Methodological Approach

Given that my main aim is to identify the process of production and deconstruct the narratives developed from specific actors' perspectives and materialized in concrete devices, I follow a qualitative perspective by carrying out three methodological strategies. Firstly, visual analysis of devices used in the Peruvian and Cuban campaigns. Secondly, analysis of semi-structured interviews with Peruvian advertisers and branding consultants from private companies and with public officers of the ministries of Culture and Tourism. In the case of Cuba, I include conversations with experts in the fields of tourism, branding, and cultural policies, some directly related to their branding strategy. Thirdly, mainly in the case of Peru, I undertake critical discourse analysis of textual interactions among online social network users on the official branding platforms. In addition to these, I include observational notes taken during fieldwork in both countries and a literature review carried out on nation branding and national data produced by agencies, governments, and practitioners.

Strategy 1 and 2: Visual and Discourse Analysis

I understand discourse as 'a group of statements which provide a language for talking about –i.e. a way of representing– a particular kind of knowledge about a topic' (Hall 1992 in Tonkiss 2004, p. 290). For Stuart Hall, the discursive approach:

> 'is more concerned with the *effects* and *consequences* of representation – its 'politics'. It examines not only how language and representation produce meaning, but how the knowledge which a discourse produces connects with power, regulates conduct, makes up or constructs identities and subjectivities, and defines the way certain things are represented, thought about, practiced and studied. The emphasis in the *discursive* approach is always on the historical specificity of a particular form or 'regime' of representation.' (1997, p. 6).

Considering images as social documents, discourse analysis, as Gillian Rose affirms, 'can also be used to explore how images construct specific views of the social world' (2001, p.140). Then, through visual discourse analysis I examine the official displays of Brand Peru and Brand Cuba and, regarding the former, I analyse the counter campaign images mostly disseminated online. In addition, through discourse analysis, I examine the narratives suggested by these strategies and the counter campaign textual interactions on the Brand Peru official YouTube channel.

I have decided to work with these methodological techniques as they enable me to address the questions guiding this research. On one hand, visual discourse analysis enables me to identify the aspects considered for their depiction in the global audience and, therefore, their narrations as nations. On the other, visual and discourse analysis of the counter-campaign images and the YouTube textual interactions illustrate the tensions that this endeavour activates. Together, these techniques enable me to identify the discourses constructed about these nations, the relationships of power (re)produced and develop my primary concern, to understand the social significance of constructing the Peruvian and Cuban nations as global brands.

I will consider three steps for my interpretative strategy. First, I will refer to the *context* in which the chosen images have been produced. For this, I will follow the questions that Rose recommends when doing visual analysis: "When was the picture made? where was it made? who made it? Was it made for someone else? (…), how is it

being circulated?" (Rose, (2001), In: Mitchell, 2001: 98). The second step concerns the *description* of the images. The objective in this step is to describe with detail the characteristics –figures, colors, shapes- of the images, suspending interpretative claims. Finally, in the third step, the *interpretation* of the images will be made; considering the previous steps and my research questions.

Strategy 3: Interviews

A series of semi-structured interviews were carried out. Interviews were necessary because my intention is to understand the perspective of the field in operation. This is, to examine what do actors such as branding consultants and advertisers think about the nation (brand), and how do public officers, experts in the fields of tourism and cultural policy, and artists contesting the campaign relate to it. Semi-structured interviews enabled me to address new areas that emerged during the interview. This gave me the necessary flexibility to adapt my questions depending upon the interviewee, the context, and unconsidered themes of discussion. In addition, interviews were key because they enable me to reconstruct, organize, and/or validate, along with the analysis of secondary material, the production processes of the chosen cases.

The interviews were conducted during my fieldwork in Lima, Peru (May 2014-August 2014 and July 2015-September 2015), and in Havana, Cuba (June-July 2015), following a first analysis of the respective branding campaigns to define more pertinent questions. I interviewed 22 individuals in Peru and 10 in Cuba (see tables 3 and 4). In both cases, my interviewees were directly involved in the nation branding strategy as public officers leading the campaign or branding consultants advising them. I also interviewed independent advertisers or experts in the fields related to place branding as well as graphic designers who had publicly contested the official narrative. The interviews lasted between 20 and 75 minutes and the basic topics covered were the following:[3]

- Type of involvement of the interviewee in the branding strategy.
- The relevance of nation branding.
- The process of production and outcomes of the nation branding campaigns in Peru and Cuba and their views.

---

[3] See the questionnaire guides in appendix A.

- The current situation of the country, paying special attention to topics as national identity, social integration and current tensions.

Conditions in which the interviews were carried out were different in each country. In Cuba, I did not have much time to make contact and arrange interviews as I did in Peru, my main case. In addition, I was limited by the communication options, as I had to contact my potential informants mainly over the phone only once having arrived in La Havana. Finally, even when introduced by a personal contact, I was still a foreign student whom they had met for the first time. All my informants were keen to receive me and discuss the topic in hand, but not all of them agreed to be recorded. Therefore, I decided to frame and develop the interviews as 'conversations with experts', rather than a formal interview. This gave me the opportunity to address crucial points but not to the extent and amplitude as I would have wished. However, these conversations were vital and gave me relevant information and insights into the Cuban case.

In Peru, on the other hand, I knew some of the informants personally, or they were contacted through a close friend or colleague, which facilitated the opportunity to interview them. In addition, I had more time to prepare the field and the interviews. First, because I could arrange some appointments via email beforehand, and second because, as this was my main case, I needed to spend more time in Peru for which I had more flexibility to programme and carry out the interview. On only one occasion did the informant not agree to be recorded. This was a difference between the fieldwork in both countries.

N°	Position/Profession (at the time of the interview)	Institution	Field/Sector
P1	Former Brand Management Director, Marca Perú	PromPerú	Public
P2	Director, Marca Perú	PromPerú	Public
P3	Former Director, Marca Perú	PromPerú	Public
P4	Director, Marca Perú	PromPerú	Public
P5	Former staff member, Marca Perú	PromPerú	Public
P6	Director, EMILIMA	Lima City Hall	Public
P7	Director, Direction for Afro Peruvian population	Ministry of Culture	Public
P8	General Director, Direction for Indigenous Populations	Ministry of Culture	Public
P9	Director, Direction against Discrimination	Ministry of Culture	Public
P10	Property Rights expert, Indecopi comissionate	INDECOPI	Public
P11	Creative Director	Copiloto Advertising Agency	Advertising - private
P12	Creative Director	Virgen Advertising Agency	Advertising - private
P13	Director/Founder	Independencia Advertising Agency	Advertising - private
P14	Director/Founder	Domingo Advertising Agency	Advertising - private
P15	Creative Director	JWT Advertising Agency	Advertising - private
P16	Creative publicist	Ingenia Advertising Agency	Advertising - private
P17	Publicist/writer and former member of Marca Perú advisory committee	Freelance	Advertising - private
P18	Director	Mayo Advertising Agency	Advertising - private

P19	Marketing consultant	Future Brand branding consultancy in Peru	Advertising - private
P20	Artist – graphic designer	Freelance	Civil Society
P21	Artist – graphic designer	Freelance	Civil Society
P22	Artist	Freelance	Civil Society
P23	Marca Perú staff	PromPerú	Public

Table 3. Table of Interviews, fieldwork in Lima, Peru.

Summary:

- 22 interviews + one public workshop by PromPerú.
- 10 current or former public officers, six directly related to the Brand Peru campaign.
- Nine advertisers or branding consultants from the private sector.
- Three artists and designers from the civil society.

N°	Position/Profession	Institution	Sector
C1	Director of Communications	Ministry of Tourism	Public
C2	Staff	Publicitur – Ministry of Tourism	Public
C3	Staff	Paradiso Cultural Tourism Agency	Public
C4	Staff	Paradiso Cultural Tourism Agency	Public
C5	Director	'Turismo Cultural' and 'Cuba Contemporánea' Tourism -Cultural magazines	Civil Society
C6	Sociologist, expert in image and gender	Universidad de la Habana	Public/Academia
C7	Communicator, former member of the board of Brand Cuba advisors	Universidad de la Habana	Public/Academia
C8	Director Cultural Programming	Ministry of Culture	Public
C9	Director, Centre for the International Collaboration of Cuban Culture.	Ministry of Culture	Public
C10	Director, 'Cuba is my Brand' project	Cuba is my Brand project	Civil Society
C11	Various	Ministry of Tourism	Public

Table 4. Table of Interviews/Conversations with experts, fieldwork in La Havana, Cuba

Summary:

- 10 interviews + one public tour by the Ministry of Tourism and Culture
- Four current or former public officers, one directly related to the Brand Cuba campaign.
- One advertiser or branding consultant directly related to the Brand Cuba campaign.
- Five experts from the civil society in the fields of tourism and culture.

Main Ideas and Organization of Chapters

I develop four ideas. The first, examined in chapters one and two, is that nation branding should be understood as a novel field in which public policies, national identities and senses of belonging are not just collectively constructed but strategically and thoroughly designed. This springs mainly in Peru, from the neoliberal premises of competitiveness, reputation, and measurable self-management; together with contemporary mandates such as the enjoyment of sensorial experiences in an aestheticized world. In Cuba, while these premises and mandates exists as well, the branding strategy is finally targeted to the external global audience and not to the local citizens, as I will develop in Chapter Five.

In this light, nation branding strategies suggest a portrait of the nation which aims at building a trusted reputation and a 'competitive identity' to be exhibited in the global market, thus increasing its value. Understandably, advertisers and branding consultants lead the decision-making process; terms such as 'competitive identity', 'brand-coherence', 'brand-equity' and 'target markets' dominate the language; place brand world rankings become the privileged sources to inform strategies and actions, and specific stakeholders related to the tourism and investment industry have a direct influence on defining a nation's value.

Thus, nation branding premises and strategies play a significant role as a legitimate terrain from where to shape public policies, as has been the case for both Peru and Cuba. In dialogue with the terms 'commercial nationalism' (Volcic & Andrejevic 2016) and 'benign nationalism' (Van Ham 2001[4]; Aronczyk 2007), both coined in different contexts to shed light on diverse aspects of this phenomenon, I use the term 'designed nationalism' to name the attempt to build the nation from branding premises.

---

[4] Even though Van Ham does not employ this term, his main argument is that 'the brand state's use of its history, geography, and ethnic motifs to construct its own distinct image is a benign campaign that lacks the deep-rooted and often antagonistic sense of national identity and uniqueness that can accompany nationalism. By marginalizing nationalist chauvinism, the brand state is contributing greatly to the further pacification of Europe.' (p. 3).

My second idea, illustrated in chapters three and four, is that Peru and Cuba, among other Latin American cases, demonstrate that these branded nations are an adequate response to the imperatives of nation branding field guidelines. In these chapters I pay attention to the production processes of the referred nation brands by identifying and unveiling the actors and institutions involved and reconstructing the stages taken in these usually hidden processes. The case of Peruvian nation brand production will be closely examined while the Cuban case, similar to the Peruvian one in its formal aspects, will be briefly discussed. In the processes studied the designing of nation brands has carefully followed the imperatives of place branding handbooks suggested by world specialists and consultancies, from their content creation to their metrics management.

In terms of content, the resulting products are nation brands that guarantee enjoyment of the senses, wild adventures, and the experience of a multicultural society. In the case of Peru, the narrative of the branded nation encourages the discourse of success represented in a new ideal citizen: a successful celebrity-entrepreneur who 'lives the brand' in a celebratory manner, or what I will call a 'celepreneur'. This is a professionally successful subject who also consumes local food, listens and dances to folk music, practices local ancient rituals, and enjoys natural environments. In other words, a subject which has gained professional -commercial- success and it is devoted to the consumption and promotion of what Peru can offer in terms of living experiences or sensorial elements. This is the citizen model portrayed by the branding narrative.

However, my third idea, explained in Chapter Four, is that these promises reproduce, internally, relations of power and racial stereotypes and, externally, a self-exoticized identity, playing (again) the role of the exotic other in the global gaze. For instance, in both the Peruvian and Cuban branded nations, there is a clear division between the roles and places of the white-creole and black representatives of the nation. And in both cases, there is a clear attempt to present the country to the global gaze as a paradisiacal environment, simultaneously highlighting fields such as gastronomy, music, and nature, while suppressing others such as science, technology, or businesses.

Finally, I claim in Chapter Five that these narratives are not passively assumed but constitute a terrain of dispute. In Peru, this narrative has been celebrated by hundreds of thousands of citizens, who directly defend and share the identity proposed in the media and social networks, or incorporate the brand's visual merchandising in their clothes, cars, or houses, arguably legitimating the nation's renewed identity. In addition, several small and medium-sized businesses have since requested to the official institutions that they be considered 'brand ambassadors' or 'brand licensees' to use the nation brand logo in their products, with the expectation of gaining a reputation. In a sense, Brand Peru has triggered a renovated wave of proud national identity.

Nevertheless, at the same time the suggested narrative has been challenged, as can be seen in the work of local artists and everyday citizens' interventions, which have generated alternative narratives to the official one in the form of design activism. Evidencing the historical and current fissures of a fragmented nation, these visual interventions criticize official branded representation and open the window to dissimilar forms of 'imagining' the nation. These visual contestations have resonated for many citizens who share them publicly and in so doing they have activated a discussion about the meaning of Peru and of being Peruvian.

In Cuba, a different situation occurs: the branding strategy targets external audiences, which results in a dissimilar scenario. Since the local audience is not engaged by the branding imperatives –the logos are barely displayed inside Cuba– local citizens do not take part in its identitarian model. In this case, the dispute over the branded narrative occurs in a different form insofar as the branded identity co-exists with the much more present discourse of the nation drawn from the 1959 revolution. Briefly, Authentic Cuba targets the international tourist market (the external-private audience), barely reaching national audiences (the internal-public), and I will examine the co-existence of both narratives. Given so, this case gives new lights in the understanding of the field of place branding. In any case, both in Peru and Cuba the branding enterprise has activated a discussion about the meaning of the nation in the 21st century.

The thesis is divided into five chapters. The first establishes the conceptual and contextual foundations of my object of interest. I discuss the concepts of nation and brands as the two main pillars of my topic and, subsequently, I analyse the imperatives related to neoliberalism that, I argue, act as the cultural logics or 'conditions' of nation branding. The second chapter deconstructs and problematizes the field of place branding, shedding light on its premises, imperatives, methods, and techniques. The third chapter examines the design process of Peruvian nation branding, illustrating thoroughly a case of a 'nation by design' or 'designed nationalism'. The fourth chapter analyses the current narratives of the Peruvian and Cuban nations. The fifth chapter presents the engagement with, resistances to, and contestations of official branded narrations. Finally, conclusions and new questions for further research are suggested.

I wish to share a final image I believe depicts how this thesis has been (un)consciously written and organized, which I hope will help the reader relate to it. In the process of writing, and after constantly placing myself in the position of the reader, I noticed that this thesis was structured like a tree. The roots are placed both in the introduction -where does this thesis comes from? and in Chapter One -the conceptual and contextual premises. In Chapter Two, the main trunk, as it were, arises, setting the field's premises and logics that enable understanding of specific cases. From here the main branches appear; these are the Peruvian and Cuban cases analysed in chapters three and four. At the end, the fruits, some clearly responding to the main trunk nutrients and others less dependent, emerge in Chapter Five.

I use this image not simply to illustrate a linear writing process going from roots to fruits, but to underline that the organization of the chapters is not a compartmental one. The chapters serve specific purposes and respond to their questions, but at the same time suggest ideas that will be tackled in a definitive form on the following chapters. In other words, the ideas are built up progressively, which at some point may give the appearance of something missing. Nevertheless, they will be addressed throughout the text. In this sense, I kindly ask the reader to examine the thesis patiently, and observe the work of a humble gardener who has hopefully planted a robust and fruitful tree.

Chapter 1. Conceptual Premises and the Cultural Logics of Nation Branding.

The aim of this chapter is to present the conceptual and contextual basis of this thesis. In sub-sections 1.1, 1.2 and 1.3, I will discuss the conceptual pillars of my object of study, that is, the concepts of nation and of the brand. This is necessary to deconstruct the concepts which name my field of interest and, simultaneously, to set the conceptual premises from which I will develop my arguments. I will first introduce core ideas regarding the concept of the nation from its social constructive perspective and then discuss the concept of brands from a critical perspective, also including the views of leading global branding experts.

In sub-sections 1.4, 1.5, 1.6, 1.7, and 1.8, I will historicize the context in which nation branding as a named field first appeared, that is, the late 1990s, a period that has commonly been defined via the concepts of late modernism and neoliberalism. My aim here is to unveil the cultural logics or 'conditions' of the field that to a certain extent determine their imperatives, mechanisms, and specific outcomes in the form of nation brand strategies. I will focus upon three aspects: the centrality of (cultural) consumption as a form of identification; the mandate to pursue enjoyable 'experiences', and the demand to strengthen reputations in a context defined by competition, measurement, and management. These can be brought together as two main imperatives: the search for novel aestheticized experiences, and the need to constantly manage and evaluate personal life and professional organizations.

1.1 On Nations

I understand the modern nation as a constructed entity based on and connected to pre-modern processes, circumscribed to a bounded territory, (re)defined and

(re)created by specific contexts, actors, and institutions, which aims to build a sense of belonging and purpose for a group of people by formal and informal mechanisms which are validated and contested in everyday practices. This definition is influenced by the work of Ernest Renan (1882), Ernest Gellner (1983), Eric Hobsbawm, (1983, 1990), Terence Ranger (1983), Benedict Anderson (1983), Michael Billig (1995), Hommi Bhabha (1990, 1994), Partha Chatterjee (1993, 1996, 1997, 2004) and Anthony Smith (1998, 2004).

Anthony Smith's work enables me to frame the main approaches in the definition of the nation. For Smith, three of the main paradigms from which this concept has been examined are the 'classical modernist paradigm', the 'perennialist paradigm', and the 'primordialist paradigm'. While it is not the purpose of this chapter to expand on each of these, it is important to present their basic characteristics in order to highlight which elements I believe are useful to understand the field of nation branding and to analyse my cases.

For the modernist paradigm, the nation is a recent construction, a product of 'rational planned activity made possible by the conditions of the modern era' (1998, p. 19). According to this paradigm, nations are modern constructions territorially bounded and linked to the revolutions of the eighteenth century. They are invented or built partly by national elites, with the active civic participation and mobilization of the citizens, through several institutions, processes, ritualized events, symbols, with the use of different resources and 'discoursive networks of communication' (p.224, 1998) in order to promote a mass distinctive culture and a homogeneous citizenry.

In contrast to the modernist approach, in the perennialist paradigm nations existed before the modern revolutions that supposedly birthed them. They are ancestrally based, rooted in ethnic cultural ties rather than political agreements and are treated not as modern constructions but as 'age-old communities' in which myths of origin, language and popular support are key. (2004, p.4). Nations are not necessarily tied to a moment in history but, given the conditions mentioned, can appear in any period or place.

The primordialist paradigm suggests that nations are basic forms of human association and 'intrinsic features of human nature' (2004, p.4). They are not ancient nor modern, but 'substantial' and 'natural' and exist beyond historical time. According to this paradigm, religion, language, territory, and kinship are the cultural and sociobiological tangible attributes that activate emotional collective belonging and 'can inspire human beings and rouse them to collective action and self-sacrifice' (1998, p.158). National sentiment is not a construct but 'has a real, tangible mass base' in these primordial givens. (2004, p.182).

The primordialist paradigm has been questioned by what Smith calls 'instrumentalism'. For the instrumentalists, the nation is not a basic form of human association but a necessity for modern state elites. Through top-down strategies, states pursue their creation in order to foment cohesion, literacy, and mass consumption and deal with their economic and political interests in an industrialized, dislocated capitalist era. In this view, culture is 'used' in a calculative-manipulative manner as 'sites and resources for collective mobilisation' (1998, p.157). In broader terms, for the instrumentalist approach ethnicity and nationality are instruments of self-interest, the past being recreated from the intentions of the present: 'nations needed usable pasts, their uses being largely determined by the needs and preoccupations of present-day elites' (2004, p.212).

To these, Smith adds the ethno-symbolism paradigm, which emphasizes the use, rediscovery, and reinterpretation of ancient symbols, myths, memories, values and traditions in the production of collective bonds in the present. Meanwhile, the postmodern paradigm pays attention to the fragmentation of national identities in a context of cultural globalization, including perspectives such as feminism and postcolonialism. In definitive, Smith's contributions widen the horizon in which nations are understood and researched in favour of a 'long durée' perspective.

In doing so, Smith brings together both civic and ethnic components, 'constructed' and 'real' dimensions, modern and pre-modern processes, arguing that the nation can be defined as 'a named human population sharing a myth of common descent, historical memories and a mass culture, and possessing a demarcated

27

territory, common economy and common legal rights and duties' (2004, p.42). In short, the nation is defined as 'a modern construct built on pre-modern foundations and ethnic models' or as 'ongoing processes' (2004, p.183).

Smith's contributions are fundamental as they construct a clear frame in which to pursue research on nations and nationalisms. Considering that these are ideal types and that, in his words, 'the paradigm divisions are not set in stone' and 'scholars do in fact cross the divide' (1998, p.227), in my thesis I will dialogue my case studies with ideas principally related to the modernist approach, including elements of instrumentalism, ethno-symbolism, and postcolonialism. This is not to say that I understand the nation as an entirely modern 'imagination', but in examining my cases I will make use of ideas developed by authors who represent these perspectives.

I decide to do so for four reasons. The main one is that nation branding is a concept/strategy borne and developed within a modern-neoliberal context. As I will explain in the following section, nation branding and nation brands are, in short, modern neoliberal devices. Second, because one of my main aims is to examine the process of *production* of the nation brand, underlining its *constructive* aspects, as the modernist paradigm does regarding the nation. Third, because this approach allows me to shed light on how 'elites', in this case the bureaucratic state elite related to tourism, branding, business and commerce, 'use' cultural resources as instruments to mobilize national sentiments for commercial purposes. Fourth, because to understand my cases it is key to examine how various devices and technologies are employed as 'discoursive networks of communication' to disseminate the nation brand. In addition, specific aspects related to ethno-symbolism such as the reinterpretation of symbols, traditions, and memories are helpful to analyse the outcomes of my cases. While the postcolonial vein will be used to evidence the erosions of an intended homogeneous narrative of the nation, illustrating, on the contrary, the role of its alternative and fragmented visions.

Therefore, in relation to my case studies, I argue that, to understand the specificities of modern nations, four elements must be paid attention to: (i) the discursive elements that act as its symbolic foundation –its 'spirit' or 'ethos'; (ii) the context, or socio-economic conditions on which the nation is built; (iii) the formal and

informal devices and actions through which the ethos is transmitted and put into practice, and (iv) the conflicts and disagreements that the proposed nation engenders.

The starting point is the idea of the nation as a construction, an artificial rather than a natural, historical rather than eternal, changeable rather than an immutable entity. Ernest Renan is one of the first referents in this conceptualization. He suggested in 1882 that in the process of its creation, the modern nation ultimately becomes 'the historical result of a number of facts that have converged in the same direction' (1882, p.4); concluding that 'nations are not eternal. They have a beginning and they will have an end.' (1882, p.11). Renan underlines a constructive process in which a given nation looks at the past through the prism of the interests and needs of the present.

This idea is shared by key scholars in the field. In *Nations and Nationalism* (1983), Ernest Gellner establishes that nations are not a 'universal necessity', but came into being in the transitional context from an agrarian to an industrial society. In his words: 'neither nations nor states exist at all the times and in all circumstances' (1983, p.6). In the same vein, by analysing the role of traditions in the formation and validation of western nations, Eric Hobsbawm (1983) emphasizes that modern nations should be understood as social constructions partly based upon traditions that, far from the claim of permanent existence, were in fact (re)invented in the pursuit of cohesion, the inculcation of value systems, and the establishment and legitimization of institutions, status, and relations of authority. (1983, p.9). From this, the nation and its citizens: 'must include a constructed or 'invented' component' (1983, p.14).

As Smith has argued, for the perennialists and primordialists the nation cannot be circumscribed to a mere modern construction, but is in fact, in many cases, based on a tangible pre-modern base. This is clear in Peru, a nation built on, or arguably against, a millennial history of economic, cultural, and political development existing prior to modernity. Nevertheless, this does not invalidate the constructive element in the continuous production of the nation and, for analytical purposes, it allows to enquire when, how, by whom, and through what mechanisms nation brands are constructed and validated, that is, to reflect on their production processes.

From this premise, the first element pays attention to the discursive aspect from which the nation is formed. Renan's definition helps to illustrate this. For Renan, the crucial aspect is to understand the modern nation as 'a soul, a spiritual principle' (1882, p.10), constituted by two interdependent elements: the sharing of a heroic, sacrificed and proud past – 'a rich legacy of memories'– (1882, p.10), and in the present, 'the desire to live together, the desire to continue to invest in the heritage we have jointly received' (1882, p.10). In Renan's speech at L'Université Paris-Sorbonne, nations are defined from the basis of objective facts of the past transformed into a present will to reproduce that legacy. In the end, it is the people's will that shapes a 'moral conscience' that defines the nation.

With this definition, he underlines the possibility of moulding the nation, given that 'man is a slave neither of his race, his language, his religion, the course of his rivers, nor the direction of his mountain ranges. A great aggregation of men, in sane mind and warm heart, created a moral conscience that calls itself a nation.' (1882, p.11). In my field of interest this operates as well. Nation brands are defined from the objective facts of each country and context, but mainly, they aim to produce an 'ethos', a 'soul' or even if unintended, a 'moral conscience', hopefully engaging the popular will. Nevertheless, the difference is that, within these strategies, what is defined and shared within citizens is a 'core idea' or a 'competitive identity', as I will identify in chapters three and four for the Peruvian and Cuban nation brands.

The second element establishes that the nation is anchored in specific social conditions that define its development. For Gellner, nations cannot be understood without considering the demands of modernity and the industrial revolution. Universal literacy, mobility, individualism, political centralization, anonymity, pursue of growth or homogeneity were all processes that, not without transitional overlaps, outlined the time-space of the birth of modern nations. (1983, p. 107). Methodologically, Gellner's and other scholars of the modernists' approach encourage context analysis to understand the national forms. For the purposes of this thesis, it is clear that the context in which the nation brands appear is rooted in different conditions from those described

by the modernists. In this case, it is the transition from modern liberalism to neoliberalism, that is, the last decades of the 20th century, which needs to be clarified.

From the premise of the nation as a constructed entity and, consequently, the need to pay attention to its value systems and contextualize its conditions, it is necessary to examine the third element: the mechanisms through which the nation's spirit is transmitted. These are the symbols, practices, acts and events through which these entities aim to acquire presence and legitimization. In this vein, Benedict Anderson (1993) argues that during the 18th century, print capitalism allowed the dissemination of objects and practices which, massively repeated, engendered the idea of the nation. From the everyday and simultaneous reading of newspapers available in vernacular languages, citizens who were distant and unknown to each other shared a homogeneous space and time –same news, same language, same date-, therefore taking part in a daily 'mass ceremony' and imagining themselves part of the same community, which shaped the formation of the national consciousness. (1993, p.46).

With Anderson and other modernists, discussion of the nation sheds light on the objects, symbols, ritualized activities and practices that, in their widespread reproducibility, enabled its formation and validation. In Anderson analysis, the nation was formed through the abstract imagination of its citizens, but this was only feasible if supported by practices and objects such as the simultaneous reading of newspapers, singing of national songs and anthems, recitation of heroic poems, making sense of the national space through maps or just consuming objects sealed with distinctive patrimonial logos. Quantity -the number of printed novels and newspapers and the extent of their consumption-; technology –the printer, photography-; and practices – conscious and unconscious consumption– all boosted by capitalism, are crucial.[5]

In a similar perspective, Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (1983, p.13) claim that the nation relies upon the invention and reproduction of images and practices in the form of traditions. As in the cases of France, Germany, Britain, Italy or the United

---

[5] In a similar approach, Doris Sommer analyses the role of 19th century national novels in Latin America, pointing out that the mass reading novel's narrations of romantic encounters between characters traditionally antagonistic and distanced by class and family served as national 'foundational fictions'. (Sommer 1991). To link Anderson's ideas with Latin America, see Chasteen and Castro-Klarén (eds, 2003).

States, a set of 'patriotic-progressive' practices and symbols were encouraged during the 19th and 20th centuries which, in their deployment and repetition, solidified the idea of the nation: the national anthem in Britain; the flag in France, and the personification of the nation in a persona-image as with 'Germania' for Germany along with public monuments and memorials [6]. These 'invented traditions' were formal and official, such as the primary school or the flag, or informal or unofficial, such as football cups or collective celebrations in which the enjoyment of citizens was central. For Michael Billig (1995), for example, the quotidian and unnoticed everyday life practices and mechanisms operate as the performative supports of the nation. The nation, for Billig, is constantly 'reminded' in apparently superficial acts of consumption or symbolic displays in what he defines as 'banal nationalism'.

This is central to my arguments. As I will develop in chapters three, four and five, a similar mechanism operates in the nation brands. Nevertheless, the practices and the objects have changed. The economic basis is not print but visual capitalism; the main cultural artefacts are not newspapers or novels but videos, television spots, and images uploaded on social networks; it is not the number of printed books but the number of views, 'likes', '(re)tweets', and shares that counts, and rather than fellow-readers it is fellow-online followers who need to be considered. As Smith argues in his critique of Anderson: 'by widening the role of cultural media far beyond the relatively limited purview of print and the press, we can also overcome the limitations of an explanation of nations and nationalism in terms of 'print-communities'" (1998, p.139). The nation, however, remains a crucial institution, now operating in tandem with the corporate global private branding sector.

Hobsbawm ends his argument by suggesting that invented traditions, mainly those created from above in a top-down perspective, would not have become effective nor socially reproduced had they not resonated with peoples' expectations: 'invented traditions would neither come into existence nor establish themselves if they [societies] could not acquire them. […] it also seems clear that the most successful examples of

---

[6] It is possible to add the flag in the United States, the 'Marianne' figure as the personification of the French Republic or 'Hispan(ia)' for the Spanish first and second republics.

manipulation are those which exploit practices which clearly meet a felt –not necessarily clearly understood– need among particular bodies of people.' (1993, p. 307). This is a relevant observation since this is what nation branding strategies aim to do by inventing or promoting ancient traditions and practices in the hope that they will resonate with citizens. For example, emphasizing practices such as performing local music (Cuba) or engaging with national gastronomy (Peru) and deploying familiar, consumable merchandising.

This invention of traditions can be linked to what Smith calls the instrumentalist approach and the 'usable past' concept. In this approach, culture is used in a calculative-manipulative manner, ethnicity and nationality being instruments of self-interest. This approach underlines how and to what extent the past is used and recreated from the intentions of the present. In my cases, as I shall expand in the following chapters, nation branding strategies, led by a national-global bureaucratic elite, also make use of the past by recreating and reinterpreting pre-modern values, myths, and symbols to meet the needs of the (neoliberal) present.

Finally, the fourth element emphasizes the disputes, ambivalences, and alternative narrations in the process of building the nation. To expand on these elements, the postcolonial approach, and principally the work by Partha Chatterjee (1993; 1996; 1997; 2004) offers a set of relevant conceptual resources. In general terms, the postcolonial approach seeks to elucidate the forms and processes in which the nation is built in countries who have been embedded in a colonial period. It stresses that the modern view on the construction of the nation, particularly that elaborated by Benedict Anderson, lacks in-depth analysis around the contradictory processes involved in colonial regimes, and overlooks the role that the colonial experience and its multiple actors play in its process of formation. That is, beyond the modern state-modern citizenship model, there is a lack of understanding of the 'ambivalence', 'fractures', and 'fragments' of the postcolonial nation[7].

---

[7] Similarly, Bhabha (1994) defines the nation as an 'agency of ambivalent narration' (1994, p.4) where national identity and cultural homogeneity have become problematic if not fictitious. For Bhabha, the narration of the postcolonial nation is defined by 'ambivalence' and 'hybridity' between the colonizer and

For Chatterjee, there is a structural difference in how the nation has been constructed in colonial and non-colonial regimes. According to him, nationalism in Bengal (his main case of study) emerged from a simultaneous combination of Modern-Western and non-Modern, non-Western models, of the outer colonial state nationalism and the inner indigenous elite version. In this relation of both assimilation and resistance the nation was developed. In addition, the Indian nationalist discourse was influenced by the ways in which marginalized groups outside the mainstream of politics - women, peasants, outcasts or what Chatterjee names the 'fragments of the nation' with their alternative images of the nation, were included in the State's policies. Then, if with Anderson, the modern nation is understood as imagined in a homogeneous time from the basis of homogeneous citizens; this is not feasible in postcolonial countries where the nation is imagined in heterogeneous times. I will come back to this concept in Chapter Four.

Given the nature of my questions and the cases chosen, particularly Peru, it is necessary to question about the effects of the colonial experience in the construction of the nation brands. Principally, this fourth aspect will contribute to problematize the contestations, disputes and alternative narrations that the nation brands have produced and which will be analysed in Chapter Four. Put differently, I aim to discuss to what extent the suggested nation brands are also the products of ambivalent narrations, in what ways the 'fragments' of the political mainstream disturb the official narration and, in general terms, how the official nation brands analysed have been contested by different depictions as the result of a standpoint that conceives of the nation not only in homogeneous but in heterogeneous terms. As described by Chatterjee (1996): 'the project then is to claim for us, the once-colonized, our freedom of imagination' (p. 224).

Clearly, the conceptual discussion around the nation is a vast field. In this section I have aimed to point out the elements that help me to examine my object of study and

---

the colonized or, broadly, by the 'cultural authority' and the 'other'. For Bhabha, 'it is not the colonialist Self or the colonized Other, but the disturbing distance in-between that constitutes the figure of the colonial otherness. It is in relation to this impossible object that the liminal problem of colonial identity and its vicissitudes emerges.' (1994, p.64).

answer the questions posed. From a range of authors that can be gathered under the modernist approach and ideas underlined by the instrumentalist and postcolonial perspectives, I have focused upon the (i) discursive elements; (ii) the context; (iii) the formal and informal mechanisms and practices, and (iv) the conflicts and disagreements around the process of building a nation. These elements enable me to examine how the construction of a national narrative, operates now also in relation to a device with global prominence which I will now discuss - the brand. In doing so, I aim to build, at the end of this chapter, a conceptual bridge between these two notions.

1.2 On Brands

The key aspect of the contemporary notion of the brand is that, within its commercial purposes, it plays a significant social role. Brands have gone through a historical trajectory from which the strict commercial function of organizing production has given space to a socio-political role. This characterization will be drawn from the works of scholars with a critical perspective on the topic such as David Harvey (1990), Don Slater (1997), Celia Lury (2004), Naomi Klein (2005), Liz Moor (2007), Adam Arvidsson (2011), among others, together with contributions by some of the most well-known branding gurus such as James Gilmore and Joseph Pine II (1999), Wally Olins (2002; 2014), Kevin Roberts (2004), Debbie Millman (2011), and Robert Jones (2016).

A basic definition of brands is that they are meant to embody the ethos of companies or institutions from where various purposes are pursued: distinguishing the products; organizing their production, encouraging specific affects, and promoting a sense of belonging and identity among their customers. The brand is about the spirit, the identity to project, the 'core meaning', whereas the branding process aims at constructing the 'corporate transcendence' (Klein 2005) to be translated into a master plan and publicly deployed concrete mechanisms –advertisements, slogans, logos. For branding consultant Robert Jones (2016), brands are 'ideas in people minds that influence how people think, how people feel and how people act' and Debbie Millman

argues that: 'brands are simply a projection of what we believe is reality. […] And we use brands, these *totems*, as a way to describe– self-describe our own view of who we are, and who we want to be in reality.' (2016b).

From a sociological perspective, it can be said, with Celia Lury, that brands are the defining ethos orienting a given institution's material and symbolic production. Rather than the visual representation of an object as is commonly related –properly a logo– brands and branding have to do with the process of the organization of production and the creation of objects that 'multiply realities'. (Lury 2004, p.151). As Adam Arvidsson defines it: 'rather than the brand representing the product, the product becomes a temporary materialization of the brand.' (2011, p.320). In this perspective, brands have three intertwined functions: the production of desires (related to the individual); the production of identities and sense of belongings (related to the collective), and the governance of populations (related to the structure).

A brief review of the brand's functions throughout the 19th and 20th centuries will help to this characterization. When tracing their origins, Klein, Lury, Moor, Echmann, and Arvidsson agree that the main change in brands is the shift from marking property and possession of cattle, weapons, crafts or of slaves during the transatlantic trade in the British Empire (Moor 2007, p.17), to organizing and managing production and, with this, disseminating values and identifications. In short, the history of the role of brands can be described as a progressive shift from form to content, invading first the product, then the entire process of production, and finally the subjective and the collective.[8]

In the early 20th century, clearer links between brands and the collective – fundamentally the nation– appeared. According to Moor (2007, p.19-22), companies now had a national market to respond to, therefore their products reached a national audience, creating a sort of product-based communality between consumers and between them and the territory. Focusing on the British case, Moor argues that the nation inspired design and packaging and, simultaneously, the national-based products promoted a sense of belonging, an imagination of the community both by its own

---

[8] The term 'brand' derives from the Old Norse 'brandr' meaning 'to burn' and is it related to the marking of products to identify property ('Brand' 2017).

population and by those abroad (2007, p.20). Following Benedict Anderson, she argues that 'like the early mass-produced novel […] brand-name consumer goods were reproduced on a large scale and yet addressed their audience 'intimately' and as a part of a commonly known group. And like the readers of newspapers, the consumer of the brand-name commodity would have been aware that his or her consumption practices would be replicated elsewhere.' (Moor 2007, p.20).

For example, during this period imperialist British values were inculcated through the branding of products and 'mundane consumption activities' which gave the proposed imperial values a sense of familiarity. The aim was to take the empire closer to the everyday consumer and, to do so, images transmitting British values were printed on products such as soap or cigarettes which, stored in kitchens and living rooms, enabled the empire to be 'domesticated' and seen daily. (Moor 2007, p.23). Moreover, due to economic competition with the United States, France, and Germany, an 'Empire Marketing Board' was launched in 1926 with the purpose of campaigning to encourage people to buy nationally produced commodities. The brand and nation were directly linked, significantly in the form of campaigns led by special entities in the government, what it could be referred to as the antecedent of government promotion units such as PromPerú or the 'Dirección Promocional de Cuba' (Promotional Communication Direction).

A similar linkage within a different process occurred in the United States in the early 20th century. In this case, as mentioned by Ewen (1982) in Moor, during the immigration from Europe or rural populations into the big cities, well-known national brands served as familiar features to heterogeneous migrants in a new and strange environment. This activated not only bonds between them but loyalty to America:

> 'At a time when large numbers of people were leaving behind their stable existence in Europe or rural America and moving to the city, these trademarks and brand names were often the most familiar and stable features of a strange new environment and, in some cases, the only bond between people who were otherwise culturally heterogeneous. People were encouraged to buy these brand-name products as a

sign of their own loyalty to this new version of America.'
(Moor 2007, p.21).

Examples in Peru from the mid-20th century include products such as 'Inti' (sun in Quechua) matches, 'La Pila Chola' (the Chola battery) or 'La Llama' matches, brandishing an iconic design painted by indigenous artist José Sabogal. In the 1960s, in an effort to boost a renovated national industry, Juan Velasco Alvarado's military regime supported products which familiarized people with the idea of Peru in fields such as stationery, clothes, and domestic products. In Cuba, everyday products such as 'cigarreras' (cigar boxes) in the early 20th century depicted racial stereotypes associated with cultural practices in an aim to create a familiar, yet biased, social order and roles (Perez Jr. 2008).

Emphasis on the symbolic dimension became prominent from the 1980s. In a consumer-oriented mode of production constantly in search of new niche markets, companies reoriented their branding strategies to affects and lifestyles while advertising –the visual face of branding– focused upon the production of desires, pleasures, and fantasies as well as the actual thing being sold. Beyond the materiality of the object, the idea was to produce emotions and engage consumers into a created 'environment'. In this vein, David Harvey argues that, advertising aims to cultivate 'excess and intemperance' and 'imaginary appetites' to the point at which ideas of what constitutes social need are replaced by 'fantasy, caprice and whim'. (Harvey 1990, p.102).[9]

This distinction between material needs and imaginary appetites is also developed by Naomi Klein (2005) who, by outlining the recent history of major western capitalist companies, distinguishes between companies during the 50s that sold products via a *manufacturing* process –the old paradigm– from companies in the 80s selling 'feelings' and 'lifestyles' via a *marketing* process. In this new model, the brand is

---

[9] As Mike Featherstone puts it: 'commodities hence become free to take on a wide range of cultural associations and illusions. Advertising in particular is able to exploit this and attach images of romance, exotica, desire, […] to mundane consumer goods such as soap, washing machines, motor cars and alcoholic drinks.' (1991, p.14).

the 'real product' and consequently becomes the companies' main asset. (Klein 2005, p.4). It is the 'brand-identity' which became 'a prime source of value for the firm' (Aronczyk 2013, p.24). Therefore, companies needed to focus upon gaining territorial presence – brand positioning– to engage customers – brand-equity– and to achieve higher value in the market– the brand-value.

To overcome the materiality of the product and to create an 'environment', branding experts and techniques began to play a more protagonist role. As Aronczyk describes it (2013, pp.24-26), brand consultants gained presence in companies' management, and new mechanisms such as the measurement of consumer loyalty, engagement with communities or the use of 'reputational rankings' to measure the value of the brand-identity were incorporated. If the selling purpose was not organized by the product but by a lifestyle or, as I will develop in the next section, by an 'experience', then branding techniques and instruments became essential.

Finally, the early years of the 21st century saw the emergence of the concept of 'lovemarks', a recent milestone in the branding field that enables me to connect this section to the next one. Suggested by British consultant Kevin Roberts (2004, p.36), lovemarks are those brands –products, services, companies, places– that have established a strong emotional tie with their customers. Beyond the instrumental exchange of money-object, lovemarks (aim to) develop an affective relationship. In Roberts' words, they create an 'integrated experience' based on a 'genuine emotional connection with the communities and networks they live in' (Roberts 2004, p.60).

From the premise that shopping is 'emotional', 'seductive', and 'sensual', Roberts (2004, pp.160), encourages companies to work on the affective connection: 'emotion connections with consumers have to be at the foundation of all our cool marketing moves and innovative tactics.' (2004, p.34). For Roberts, lovemarks are the future of brands for which companies, (and now governments), need to follow five principles: (i) be passionate; (ii) involve customers; (iii) celebrate loyalty; (iv) find, tell, and retell great stories, and (v) accept responsibility. Rather than giving information, they need to create a relationship. Rather than acquiring recognition, they expect to gain love. Rather than

imposing a statement, they should tell a love story. Rather than having values, they need a spirit. (see appendix B).

To sum up, this conceptual revision highlights that the contemporary role of brands is not merely related to the subject/consumer but to the collective. In response to the demands of new forms of company valorization and consumer-oriented capitalism, brands come to play a significant role in the definition and creation of social identities, relations, and senses of belonging. I agree here with Don Slater when he states that, in a consumer culture, advertising and branding have partially displaced traditional authorities and 'systems of information' such as religion or the family, becoming a new mapping device that guides the modern subject. Beyond the marking and selling of an idea, brands and advertising are tools that orient our identities: 'with the decline of traditional social information systems such as religion, politics and the family, advertising fills the gap with its privileged discourse 'through and about the objects'. Advertising offers maps of modernity, maps of the social order that are no longer available from traditional sources.' (Slater 1997, p.152).

To conclude this conceptual frame, it is necessary to foreground more evident links between what has been argued for the concepts of the nation and the brand. In particular, to identify how the brand becomes a relevant device in the process of producing a national narrative, and at the same time how the nation is, to an extent, 'used' as an asset in branding strategies for specific purposes.

1.3 Brands, National Identity, and Senses of Belonging

Most of the reviewed authors agree, employing different terms, with the social role of branding. Andrew Harris mentions that 'branding has pervaded not simply economic activity but the fabric of popular culture and social affiliations.' (Harris 2011, p.188). Liz Moor claims that branding permeates social webs of meaning by building

'communities of interest' around the brand (Moor 2007, p.151). Adam Arvidsson argues that 'brands work as platforms for action that enable the production of particular immaterial use-values: an experience, a shared emotion, a sense of community' (Arvidsson 2005, p.239). From the branding field, Wally Olins states that 'branding is about belonging. Belonging to a tribe, to a religion, to a family. […] It has this function for both the people who are part of the same group, and also for the people who don't belong.' (in Millman 2011, p.11).

To 'build' is a key verb here. If the consumer-oriented model needs to target new niche markets, expansion to diverse groups through cultural diversity is not enough. Brands also have to play an active role in the *construction* of new identities. They have to invent new forms of belonging. In this vein, Lury states that brands frame time and space, orient communication, and create contexts or 'multiply realities' (Lury 2011, p.107). With 'post-modern marketing', argues Lury, 'consumers are believed to be more concerned with finding meaning in their lives' where 'the main function of brands is no longer to protect from imitation by marking origin, but to invent and render identities and lifestyles.' (Ibid., p.107). This function, consequently, involves intervention in the collective, the 'institutional manipulation and direction' (Moor), the 'organization' (Slater), or the 'orientation' (Lury) of consumers. It is not only that brands promote identities and a sense of belonging, but that they *invent* and *manage* them, for instance, by defining a strategy aiming at engaging consumer-citizens into a particular set of values.

Thus, it can be said that branding has expanded its initial commercial role not just to a social but also to a political level, as a way of managing the populations which are to be engaged with the brand-identity of any given product or service. In this sense, brands are also defined by Moor as a 'technique of governance' and branding as a form of 'managing populations, reshaping existing perceptions and practices among citizens' (2007, p.38), and 'shaping public behavior' (Moor 2007, p. 89). From a fixed depiction in which a product is marked in order to make it distinct, the brand is now a 'management concept' (Erman 2011, p.110) embodying values, organizing production, emotionally connecting with customers, evaluating valuation, and inventing consumers and identities.

The conceptual premises of my two fundamental notions now connect directly. If nations can be understood, mainly from a modernist perspective, as social constructions that aim to generate a sense of collective belonging which needs to be legitimated actively by various mechanisms, while brands are one of the main devices in contemporary capitalism which, given its commercial purposes, play a sociopolitical role in the activation, management, and dissemination of loyalties, affects, and collective identities, the presence of brands and branding in any given process of construction of nation and collective identity seems not only feasible but a reasonable consequence.

If there are already historical links between brands and nations in the form of transmitting visual messages through the dissemination of everyday products to national audiences, the current scope and techniques of branding give this field a crucial place in the narration of nations. In short, brands and branding start to gain a major role in the processes related to the nation or, in general, to the territory and its people. In Foucauldian terms, branding emerges as a discipline with its own knowledge and power oriented to the production of national identities and national subjects. As Aronczyk puts it:

> 'The nation, like the brand, is a boundary object –a category of discourse and practice deployed for a range of ends, […] and it is here that branding –a way to narrate the distinctive qualities and measurable quantities of corporation- started to be considered the most legitimate way to make the nation matter in the global context.' (Aronczyk 2013, p.30).

The more expansive links between brands and the nation roles, nevertheless, do not operate in a social vacuum. As Michael Billig states (1996), in a consumer-oriented economy it has changed the forms the (modern) nation is experienced. Now its presence competes or is related to other forms of identification, mainly related to the market and consumption practices. Under a neoliberal socio-political context, there is not simply a decrease in the relevance of the nation per se, but a transformation of how it is imagined and experienced. This is what needs to be examined. Billig focused in the centrality of consumption in identity processes, but did not expand on features such as the relevance of metrics or of the enjoyment of sensorial experiences.

In any case, this throws light on the shift between the context, protagonists, languages, and devices operating in the promotion and validation of the nation and national identity. Having discussed the two main concepts of my subject, it is necessary now to analyse the context or the social conditions of nation branding, that is, the logics from which it emerges. As mentioned, I will focus on three aspects: the centrality of (cultural) consumption as a form of identification; the pursuit of experiences and sensorial enjoyments, and the demand that we strengthen our 'reputation' in a context defined by competition, measurement, and management.

1.4 Cultural Consumption as a Collective Identification

> 'The right and ability to be a consumer is the ideological birthright of the modern western subject.' (Slater 1997, p.27).

If nations and brands now merge in the form of nation brands, it is partly, because they operate under the parameters of a consumer culture. Indeed, in the aim of understanding this period, scholars discussed here have identified consumption practices as their main object of study. 'Consumer culture' (Harvey 1990; Slater 1997; Featherstone 2000; Lury 2004), 'consumer society' (Baudrillard 1998; Jameson 1991; John Fiske 2000), 'cultural consumption' (Martin Barbero 2001), or 'consuming life' (Bauman 2007) are all categories used to make visible the social meaning of consumption.

Not without their differences, the notions developed by these scholars highlight two related aspects. The first is that consumable objects and consumption practices guide the construction of personal and collective identities, shaping social values and relations. The idea is that the subject's ontological status is also anchored in their role as consumer. Thus the Cartesian modern subject defined by the premise of rational thinking has been partially displaced by consumption imperatives, or as Bauman puts it:

43

'I shop therefore I am' (2007, p.17).[10] The second aspect emphasizes that a consumer culture is not only concerned with mass production and consumption where several goods become available, as in Galbraith's 'affluent society' (1958), but that a more qualitative process occurs, that is, the dematerialization of the object, the increasing relevance of the sign or the symbolic value in (partial) detriment of the merely material.

Regarding the first aspect, Slater (1997) states that we may think the idea of a consumer culture is paradoxical. While 'culture' has traditionally referred to collective values, symbols, and meanings that give individuals a perspective on life, consumption has usually been related to non-transcendental practices and objects. However, the author argues, it is because of this that 'consumer culture' can be read as a privileged field to understand the social. It enables us to connect transcendental questions –what kind of life do we want to live? – with social mechanisms –how do we organize society in terms of production, distribution and access? – and with everyday practices –the food we eat, the clothes we wear etc. Hence: 'even (especially?) the most trivial objects of consumption both make up the fabric of our meaningful life and connect this intimate and mundane world to great fields of social contestation.' (Slater 1997, p.3). Consumption is, as Slater underlines, a meaningful activity. Following Martin Barbero (2001, p.295), consumer culture is a disputed space of meaning-production in which consumption is a 'struggle that does not end in possession, insofar it is the use that shapes the social meaning of products, inscribing in them demands and mechanisms of action that mobilize different cultural competences'[11]. As Pierre Bourdieu (1984, p.2) argues, cultural consumption acts as a 'marker of class'. Tastes and consumption preferences legitimize, validate, or reproduce our positions on social maps, consumption becoming an act of deciphering and decoding.

As I have said about the social meaning of brands, a meaningful consumer culture has emerged with the idea that, through late modernity, traditional entities such

---

[10] From classic social anthropology, it is possible to trace the social significance of goods since traditional societies. Either in the form of 'gifts' (Malinowski) or 'prestations' (Mauss), goods were employed as devices enabling social relations beyond their use-value. Nevertheless, this significance has acquire since the modern project a leading role and features that need to be discussed to understand my case study.

[11] Personal translation. All the quotes or testimonies originally in Spanish are translated by myself.

as family, religion, or nation, have diminished roles as identity references, while the meanings derived from consumption practices have become the referents from which to interpret and make sense of life. For Lury (2011), consumer culture provides the 'context' in which the exploration of self-identity and a sense of belonging take place. Far beyond a wider 'external morality' ('the family', 'the community' or 'God's will'), it is through the choices we make in a consumer culture that we judge and are judged. (Lury 2011, p.215). In this vein, Zygmunt Bauman (2007, p.111) states that consumable goods relieve the difficult process of identity building, providing the objects people rely upon to construct their personal and collective identities. Contrary to the idea that goods are neutral objects, Bauman understands them as markers of identity. (Bauman 2007, p.112). Beatriz Sarlo (1994) also concludes in her analysis of shopping places and shopping practices that:

> 'When neither religion, nor ideologies, nor politics, nor the old communal bonds, nor the modern society relations can offer neither a basis of identification nor a sufficient foundation to values; the market is there, a universal and free space which gives us something to replace those disappeared gods. Objects are our icons […] because they can create a community (the one of consumers, whose sacred book is in advertising).' (1994, p. 28).

To sum up, consumption performs a fundamental social function as it provides a moral referent (the judgement of right or wrong), materiality (objects, goods or services), and practices (choices of what, when, how, with whom or where to consume), which become part of processes of self and collective identity exploration. In each act of consumption, we validate a set of values and define ourselves with and against others, we participate in a socially meaningful activity that, returning Anderson, activates the imagination of communities[12]. As Arvidsson (2006) synthesizes, consumption is a

---

[12] Several social scientists have discussed this idea such as Thorstein Veblen (1912) and his concept of 'conspicuous consumption', Roland Barthes and the 'semiotic object' (1957; 1967), Paul E. Willis and his research on bicycle sub-cultures in Birmingham during the 1960s (1978), and more recently, the works of Daniel Miller (1998; 2001) and Harvey Molotch (2003).

'critical site' where identities are forged through consumer goods functioning as 'linking devices' producing a 'community'.

As regards to my object of study, this is relevant because, ultimately, one of the main purposes of nation branding is to sell a service, that is, to present consumable images of places to the global market. Moreover, one way in which nation brand narratives seek to engage with citizens is through the production and sale of merchandising and services, both locally and globally. Consumption, in short, is central to the way in which citizens relate to the nation brand. While depth analysis of the *reception* of the national brand in the form of consumption is not the main intention of this thesis, it should be stressed nonetheless that a significant characteristic of these strategies has to do with the liaison between the national narrative, the market and consumption as a protagonist practice.

For my cases, it is possible to suggest that the act of repeatedly consuming Brand Peru or Authentic Cuba merchandising operate as a form of validating the values these narratives embrace. People are asked to support the brand by buying its products, to act as brand ambassadors or to share images of the products in their personal social networks. By doing so, the hitherto difficult process of identity-building is 'replaced', as the authors mentioned state, by a more familiar, harmless, and enjoyable form of approach: people relate to the nation by watching videos, wearing t-shirts, or pasting nation brand stickers everywhere. (figures 104-111).

The second idea around the role of consumption goes together with the first and attempts to explain not just *why* consumption is socially meaningful -it serves as a marker of identity- but *what* is it that we consume and how is this related to processes of social identity. And what is consumed are not just products, nor even products with symbolic value, but services and experiences. Broadly, the argument is that, within a consumer culture, two simultaneous aspects of the same phenomenon occur. On the one hand, goods are linked, considerably more than in previous capitalist stages, with symbolic meanings beyond their materiality. On the other hand, what is understood as 'culture' –social relationships, affiliations, everyday activities or lifestyles– is captured by market logics and exchanged as commodities (Bauman 2007, p.12). In other words, it is

possible to speak of the commoditization of culture and the culturization of commodities.[13]

The centrality of the sign and the image in consumer culture has been a major topic in understanding the contemporary subject. It has been one of the most important contributions of French sociologist Jean Baudrillard in works such as *Simulacra and Simulation* (1994), *The Consumer Society* (1998), *The System of Objects* (2005), and *America* (2010). Baudrillard emphasizes consumption as a language, a mode of communication through signs. As explained by George Ritzer: 'the world of consumption is treated like a mode of discourse, a language. As a language, consumption is a way in which we converse and communicate with one another.' (Ritzer on Baudrillard 1998, p.6). For Baudrillard, we constantly read and manipulate signs, activating distinctions and affiliations, social distances and encounters, defining our position in society.

This idea was also developed by Fredric Jameson (1991), who agrees that we are not just consumers in search of plain use-value objects, but images, signs, ideas, events or services.[14]. Similarly, in words of David Harvey:

> 'Of the many developments in the arena of consumption, two stand out as being of particular importance. The mobilization of fashion in mass (as opposed to elite) markets provided a means to accelerate the pace of consumption […] across a wide swathe of life-styles and recreational activities. A second trend was a shift away from the consumption of goods and into the consumption of services –not only personal, business, educational, and health services, but also into entertainments, spectacles, happenings, and distractions. […] If there are limits to the accumulation and turnover of physical goods […] then it makes sense to capitalists to turn to the provision of very ephemeral services in consumption' (Harvey 1990, p.285).

---

[13] For an expanded view of this double process, see Featherstone, M. (2000).
[14] Whilst not entirely new, as illustrated by Baudelaire's *flaneur* experiencing modernity through various stimuli, in contemporary consumer society this tendency plays a major role.

The selection of terms employed to characterize consumption in the turn of the century is particularly relevant to my cases. While Harvey writes about 'happenings' and 'distractions', Jameson elaborates on 'events', Slater thinks of 'experiences', Featherstone about 'desires', Fiske 'pleasures', Bauman 'perpetual happiness' and so on. Within this period, 'spectacles', 'services', and 'experiences' emerge as protagonists of the new economy.

In all, to understand the social role of consumer culture is crucial to answer my questions in that one of the cultural logics from which nation branding emerges has to do with a context in which social relationships and collective identifications are based upon consumption practices and parameters. It is the learnt ability to consume that gives us a sense of belonging and the necessary social tools to operate –classify, name, organize– in society. The field of nation branding emerges from the context of subjects judged and managed as consumers rather than citizens, and of social bonds shaped by consumption practices. In addition, this occurs when the global economic model is mainly consumer-driven, emphasizing the symbolic dimension of the objects circulating. That is to say that the time-space from which nation branding emerges is not just one where consumption is central per se, but when this activity focuses upon the selling of signs, services, and enjoyable experiences.

1.5 Myths: Enjoyable Experiences as Social Imperatives

Services, *gratifications,* or, more importantly, *experiences* are key terms in this thesis. As developed in the works of Gilles Lipovetsky and Jean Serroy, Mike Featherstone, Scott Lash, and Jean Urry among others, there is a contemporary imperative in having enjoyable aestheticized experiences, which my cases illustrate. This idea constitutes in fact one of the main premises of marketing and branding textbooks from the late 1990s and early 2000s such as Roberts' *Lovemarks* (2004) and

Joseph Pine II and James H. Gilmore's *The Experience Economy* (1999), key texts that give fundamental clues as to the conditions from which nation branding emerges.

A best-seller in the marketing and branding fields during the early 2000s, *The Experience Economy* (1999) is a good example of the mandates of current neoliberalism. Departing from the notion of the need to find new markets in order to increase profit and revenue, the authors offer a conceptual model and guidelines that draw upon how to seize the emotional aspect involved on whatever is being offered to the market: 'we wrote this book for those searching for new ways to add value to their enterprises. […] So, what's new? This is new: experiences represent an existing but previously unarticulated *genre of economic output.'* (2011, p. xxiv).

This text underlines then the relevance of 'experiences' to the contemporary economy, claiming that by the turn of the century companies needed to offer something other than simpler 'fungible commodities', 'tangible goods', or 'intangible services'. They needed to offer 'memorable experiences' and, if successful, 'effectual transformations'. (appendix C) From this mandate, companies and any kind of organization such as governments, need to re-orient their production and transform their language and corporate cultures into the field of the spectacle. In the *experience economy,* any business is a 'stage', the company is an 'experience stager', the buyers are 'guests', the executives and managers are 'performers', and work is 'theatre': 'let us be very clear: we do not mean to present work *as* theatre. It is not a metaphor but a model.' (p.157). This best-seller depicts a market aware of the economic relevance of the aesthetic.

In this vein, from a sociological perspective, Featherstone (2007, p.66) speaks of the growing relevance of an 'aesthetic consumption' and the 'aesthetization of everyday life' in which the mandate both for modes of production (companies) and modes of consumption (subjects) is to pursue 'new tastes and sensations' and construct 'distinctive lifestyles'. Similarly, Lash & Urry (1994) state that the image and the experience on one side and the mobilization of capital and people (1994, p.4) on the other, are the central features in what they call an 'economy of signs and spaces'. Stress is placed upon the aestheticized added value of material objects, which is what

orients the economy (1994, p.4). Consequently, the mode of production is 'design-intensive', culture industries offering the template for production: it is the leading role of the service sector related to cultural industries based on 'heavily semiotic' 'post-industrial commodities', that defines and orients the new economy (1994, p.138)[15]. These 'either are literally signs (such as those produced by the cultural industries or advertising), or they are semiotically embedded (such as food or travel).' (1994, p.193).

To this portrait, Lipovetsky and Serroy (2013) add a new component, suggesting that we now live in an age of 'artistic capitalism'. Artistic capitalism is defined as an economic system driven by aesthetic-emotional premises in which creative and sensible imperatives, 'the aesthetic-emotional component', play a major role. (p. 55). The aesthetic dimension occupies a central place in modes of consumption – 'aesthetized hyperconsumption'– and in a mode of production which exploits visual and emotional dimensions in search of profit (p.10). From a: 'capitalism centred on production it followed a capitalism of seduction oriented to the pleasures of consumers through images and dreams, shapes and narrations' (p.33). Or, as nicely put, artistic capitalism is about 'the industrial production of sensible emotions' (p. 33).

The aestheticized world described by the French scholars is one of expansion of spectacle, amusement, and art venues and activities. Nevertheless, this is not confined to traditional spaces such as museums or galleries. The key point is that the production and consumption of enjoyable aesthetic-emotional experiences has extended to the point where it has become part of our global value system and one of the social imperatives of our times. It is about: 'feeling, living moments of pleasure, of discovery or escape' (p.23). Thus, those who put these 'experiences' into the market are not solely cultural institutions but most companies, regardless of whether they sell shoes or food.

---

[15] 'What (all) the culture industries produce becomes increasingly, not like commodities but advertisements. As with advertising firms, the culture industries sell not themselves but something else and they achieve this through packaging. Also like advertising firms, they sell 'brands' of something else. And they do this through the transfer of value through images. The culture industries are becoming not more like industrial commodity producing firms, but increasingly like post-industrial firms such as producer services.' (Lash & Urry 1994, p.138)

The imperative of contemporary capitalism is to seduce, distract, innovate (p.111) and from this, the contemporary subject is invited to consume not just a large amount of goods, not even just goods charged with extra meanings, but to acquire renovated, pleasurable, and enjoyable moments. Lipovetsky and Serroy's 'artistic capitalism' is defined then as an 'emotional economy of seduction' (p.39).

The authors argue that an ethical shift has occurred, insofar as the moral validation of the subject is judged according to his (un)satisfying answer to this imperative. The aesthetic society obsessed with 'a hedonist consumption of cultural products' (p.325) is concerned with the 'promotion of a new life ideal, a particular ethic. Based upon the pleasures of the present, the renovation of lived experiences, the permanent enjoyment; this ethic constitutes an aestheticized ethic of life'. (p. 325) With Weber, they argue that 'the original capitalist puritan ethics have been surpassed by an aesthetic ideal of life focused on the search for immediate sensations, pleasures for the senses and novelties' (p.25).

I can illustrate this point with examples from my experience of living in England during this research and which can be linked to my first study case in Peru. While reflecting on the idea developed here, I decided to place myself in the mind-set of a consumer seeking aestheticized experiences and sensorial emotions. It was relatively easy to be confronted with these kinds of services. For example, the *Secret Cinema* (Figures 5 and 6), where what is offered are not films but 'worlds'. The film is thematised, performed, and screened in an untold location specifically designed to resemble the film's set and the audience is invited to *live* and *perform* it. Not just watch it passively but to experience it as real. Also, the *Murder Mystery Dinners* (Lumley Castle. Murder Mystery*, 2017) in north England castles at which guests, prior to the dinner, are 'invited to attend a re-enactment of a murder to see if you can play detective and solve this hideous crime'. I can also refer to shoe shops in London that mimic art galleries –or the other way around? (Figure 7)–, among other examples of the trend.[16]

---

[16] In Latin America there are restaurants in which menus are based upon emotions rather than dishes or ingredients such as 'El Cielo' in Bogotá, Colombia (El Cielo. Juan Manuel Barrientos, 2017) (Figure 8).

In any case, this characterization helps me to set up the main aspect of what I define as part of the cultural logics underlying the emergence of nation branding. The 'experience economy', 'lovemarks', the 'economy of signs', 'artistic capitalism', and the 'emotional economy of seduction' are all terms employed to theorize late modernity and are fundamental for understanding the phenomenon here examined. As a first case, and in the purpose of linking this idea with the field of tourism and place branding, I will analyse in the following section one of the external campaigns of Brand Peru developed in 2012: *Peru, Empire of Hidden Treasures.*

Figures 5 & 6. Secret Cinema Experience, London. Screenshots from the Webpage (Secret Cinema, no year).

'Colombian Modern Cuisine: In El Cielo, we create unique gastronomic experiences that emphasize the sensorial dimension, by offering a menu inspired not only in the ancestral Colombian roots, but in neuroscience about the stimulation of the senses trough foods, thus, we can offer food for the body… and the soul'.
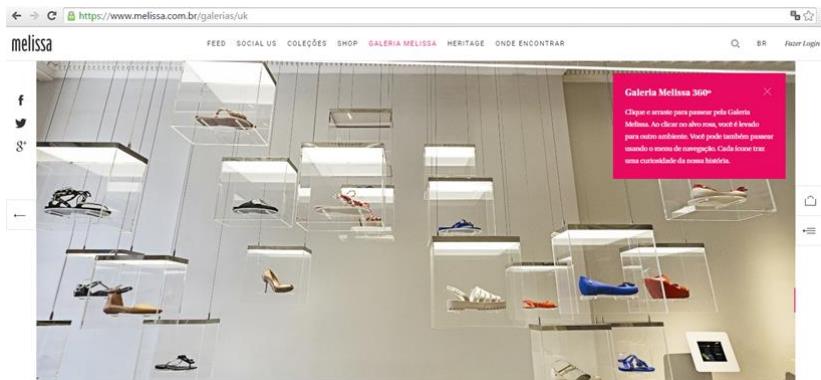
Figure 7. Art Gallery/Shoe Shop Melissa, São Paulo-London (*Melissa,* no year).

Figure 8. El Cielo Restaurant, Bogotá. (El Cielo. Juan Manuel Barrientos, 2017).

1.6 Tourism as an Aestheticized Experience: Peru as a film

> 'For the post-tourist, all the world is literally and metaphorically a stage. He or she can find pleasure in the multitude of games that can be played in the paradox of choices between them.' (Lash & Urry 1994, p.276),

A central dimension of nation branding, tourism illustrates the presence of the aestheticized logics of the global market. Firstly, because it has become the fastest growing economic sector in the world, the number of tourists steadily increasing since 2005.[17] Secondly, because it is a cultural practice that illustrates the growing search for novel, enjoyable emotional experiences, demand which shapes at the same time how places are constructed. For Lipovetsky & Serroy, artistic capitalism has engendered a consumer in constant search of 'discoveries, exoticisms and travels, […] a bulimic

---

[17] Tourism is the only economic sector that has grown steadily since 1995, except for 2009 in the wake of the 2008 world economic crash. According to The United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO), in 2014 there were 1,135 million international tourists and 937 billion euros were spent. Also, international tourism accounts for 30% of the world's exports of services and 6% of total exports, a contribution that is similar for both developed and emerging economies. 1 in 11 jobs in the world is estimated to be related, directly or indirectly, to the tourist industry. (World Tourism Organization, 2015).

consumer of novelties, spectacles, touristic getaways, sensorial pleasures', (2013, p.50), in which places:

> 'are transformed into spectacles and landscapes boosted by the desire of aesthetic perceptions or emotions […] Their (touristic) living experience is based upon an aesthetic-hedonist attitude, where evasive pleasures, contemplative pleasures, folkloric pleasures and novelty-related pleasures area all combined. The tourist resembles increasingly a hyperconsumer who pursues and accumulates continually renovated aesthetic perceptions and sensations.' (p.281).

Since modernity, tourism has been embedded in the construction of myths and simulations, as illustrated by Featherstone's references to Berman's descriptions of the flaneur (2007, p. 56) or the World's Fair exhibitions of the 19th century (2007, p. 102). For Lash and Urry (1994, pp.260-262), since its mass-organized model in the mid-19th century, tourism has required the construction of myths to attract visitors, as illustrated by the role that Thomas Cook played in Britain. However, for Featherstone, the advent of 'postmodern tourism' meant the acknowledgement of an 'agreed simulation' between those offering and those consuming places. Postmodern cities, as described by Featherstone, are saturated with signs and images, eclectically thematized, hence becoming privileged objects for the 'tourist gaze'. In this sense, touristic experiences are not dissimilar to other activities such as going to museums, theme parks, or shopping centres, that are 'meant to be constructed as 'experiences'.' (Featherstone 2007, p.101).

This view is echoed in Lash and Urry's 'disorganized capitalism' (1994, p.259), whereby, from the late 1990s, tourism became the main world activity both in economic and cultural terms. The travel and tourism industries are influenced by aesthetic and design imperatives; therefore, signs and images proliferate in their discourses, actors, and operations. The urgent demand for leisure activities, in the form of happenings or events, locates tourism in the spotlight, incorporating, deepening, and transforming modern characteristics such as the centrality of the experience, the invitation to *interpret*

the place rather than the instruction of objective facts, and the emergence of a conscious-reflective tourist –the 'post-tourist'. In all, it is stressed that (post)-tourism is about a moment to interpret, where places are stages, and the tourist knows the role they are playing: 'Since what we increasingly consume are signs or images, so there is no simple 'reality' separate from such modes of representation. What is consumed in tourism are visual signs and sometimes a simulacrum' (1994, p.272).

The relevance of the aesthetics and the experience as fundamental aspects of cultural consumption in present times can be linked to nation branding strategies and their depiction of places, most of them using the exact terms employed by the referred scholars. In a 2012 branding campaign entitled *Peru, Empire of Hidden Treasures*, the country is promoted directly as a film. The spots produced have the form of a trailer (Figure 11) and the visual ads mimic film advertising, for example, with the laurel leaves as if it had won international film festival awards (Figure 9). Moreover, the campaign seeks an active participatory audience. People are encouraged, as the main slogan states, not just to 'watch the movie' –that is, the country– but to *live it for real*. (Figure 18). For example, the strategy shares apps in the official web page for people to create their own 'Peru Movie' through social networks (Figure 10). In all, the campaign encourages an active spectator. People are exhorted to visit the country which promises a film-like experience - almost exactly like a *Secret Cinema* invitation.

Figures 9 & 10. *Peru, Empire of Hidden Treasures* campaign (*Travel Press 2017; Travel with a Mate 2016*)

In this campaign, spectacularizing the nation concerns both its history and its present. Inca and pre-Inca cultures, symbols and figures such as El Señor de Sipán, a key figure in the Moche culture in Northern Peru (100 AD to 800 AD), are mixed and depicted in the form of a rising empire, grandiose battles, and heroic leaders as in a contemporary Hollywood epic. Past and present, the rural and the urban, the Andes, the Amazon, and the Coast are all represented under the logic of film aesthetics - Peru is not even a film to watch, but to discover and live. This 'film' is also based upon a legacy of senses –food, nature, various climates. What Peru offers is a rich historical legacy and plenty of opportunities in the present, all under the logic of an entertaining quest. The 'empire of the hidden treasures' is really the empire that guarantees 'entertainment', 'highest level of comfort', and 'magic and fantasy' (Visit Peru 2012b).

This campaign reminds of the concept of the 'usable past' developed by Smith (2004) in relation to the instrumentalist approach. In this case, the Peruvian 'past' as a millenary nation and the reference to the Incan empire as the apparently most significant 'golden age' of Peruvian history, is reinterpreted through the logics and needs of the present. It is a spectacle to experience, like an entertaining film to consume, one with the aim of engaging the participation of nationals while pursuing commercial and promotional goals. As Smith states, the usable past serves the purpose

of national renewal in that 'history serves the interests of elites who use selected aspects of the past to manipulate emotions. To generate but also control mass mobilization, elites invent traditions and tailor national myths and symbols for mass consumption' (2004, p.212).

While this representation of Peru does not necessarily aim to persuade the citizens for 'mass mobilization' or 'self-sacrifice' in the name of the nation, as Smith refers to (2004, p.212), it is a device that interprets and disseminates a shared memory of the 'glorious past', that seeks the participation and involvement of citizens who are asked to create their own 'Peru movie', and that expects commercial gains through tourism and investment. All of this comes under the logics of the aesthetization of the economy and the relevance of the spectacle, the sign and the image in consumer culture.

AN·ANCESTRAL
CULTURE

WILL·COME·BACK
TO·LIFE

ENJOY·THE
HIGHEST·LEVEL
OF·COMFORT

ENTERTAINMENT
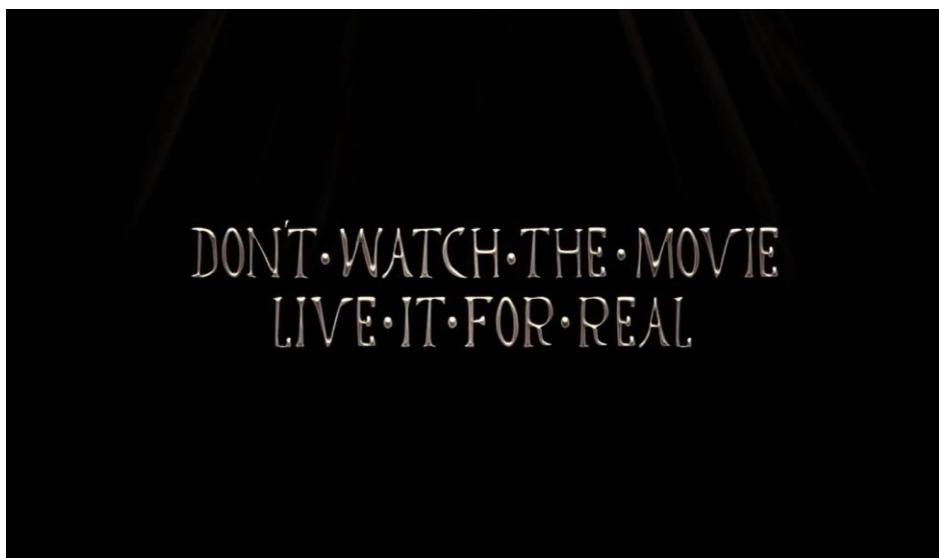
Figures 11-18. Peru, No veas la película, vívela / Empire of Hidden Treasures campaign (Visit Peru, 2012a).

To recap, in this section I have mentioned that the foundations of nation branding can be anchored in a neoliberal context in which consumption plays a significant role in the construction of personal and collective identities, framing senses of belonging and social bonds. In this vein, I argued that what is increasingly relevant is the consumption of signs and images. Specifically, with the scholars referred, I stated that the search for aestheticized, emotionally oriented experiences demanding audience engagement has become a novel imperative in present capitalism. Arising from this context, I mentioned that tourism, a constitutive aspect of nation branding, has become a privileged

economic and cultural field where places are constructed as entertaining spectacles. An illustrative case is *Peru, Empire of Hidden Treasures*, the branding campaign presented by the Peruvian government in 2012 in which the golden ages of the past are 'used' - recreated according to the needs and logics of the present.

.

Nevertheless, the cultural foundations of nation branding must also be traced in the logics of neoliberalism which I will call 'metrics'. They consist in the demand for competition, the need for management and evaluation, and the pursuit of a beneficial reputation to achieve success. By linking these aspects to those already described, I will be able to characterize more accurately the dimensions I see as constitutive elements of the rationale behind nation branding.

1.7 Metrics: Competition, (Self) Management and Reputation.

Along with the imperatives of artistic capitalism, nation branding appears in a neoliberal context which encourages competition, (self) management, and reputation. These imperatives, particularly those related to competition and management, are not entirely new. The process of modernity has been characterized in these terms, as extensively described by Max Weber (1930; 1958; 1978). Weber writes of the 'bureaucratic dimension' of modern life, the 'rational authority' as an 'ideal type' of leadership and 'instrumental action' as a central type of social relationship, or directly depicts modernity as an 'iron cage' embedded in a process of 'disenchantment of the world' closer to efficiency, competition and functionality than to pre-modern myths. With Weber, we understand that rational calculation, cost-benefit evaluations, and bureaucratic processes permeate a modern society embedded in a capitalist spirit. This is what Kojin Karatani observes when he argues in relation to modernity that 'capitalist development is simultaneously bureaucratic development.'[18] (2014, p.180).

---

[18] See Karatani on Weber (2014, pp.79, 180).

However, such imperatives acquire new nuances within neoliberalism, the name given to the economic model built upon the laissez-faire principles of deregulation, privatization, and the free play of the market against state intervention and, within these, the relevance of competition and quantitative evaluation.[19] It is important to stress that, more than an economic model or principles, neoliberalism is a cultural discourse that permeates the political and the social, a way of organizing social relationships and encouraging ideal subjects. With Foucault, neoliberalism is explained as a mode of 'governmentality', a form of governance in which a combination of specific governmental apparatuses - institutions, procedures, tactics, and fields of knowledge, that is, rules, principles and techniques, are deployed to manage populations and promote subjects (self)-aligned to governmental aims (Faubion (ed.) 1994, p.220).[20] Neoliberal governmentality is a regime that places economic knowledge as the fundamental referent, and competition as its key social relation.

Drawing on Antonio Gramsci's ideas, neoliberalism can be understood as a form of hegemony, a constructed model that has been incorporated as a natural legitimated force, as part of an unquestionable common sense operating without the need of hard power forms of coercion. As Harvey puts it: 'neoliberalism has, in short, become hegemonic as a mode of discourse. It has pervasive effects on ways of thought to the point where it has become incorporated into the common-sense way many of us interpret, live in, and understand the world'. (2005, p.3). For Read, neoliberalism is: 'a "restoration" not only […] of capitalism as the only possible economic system, it is a restoration of capitalism as synonymous with rationality'. (2009, p.32). In this vein, as Wendy Brown argues: 'Neo-liberal rationality, while foregrounding the market, is not only or even primarily focused on the economy; rather, it involves *extending and disseminating market values to all institutions and social action*, even as the market itself remains a distinctive player' (2003, quoted in Drinot, 2014).

---

[19] The 1980s saw the promotion of this model by the United States and the United Kingdom, applied in Chile during Augusto Pinochet's rule. By the early 1990s, several governments followed this lead based on the *Washington Consensus*, a set of principles written in 1989 by the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, and the US Treasury Department, and referred to by several governments as a mantra for national institutional organization and economic development. (Williamson 2004).
[20] As Read puts it, governmentality is: 'a manner, or a mentality, in which people are governed and govern themselves' (2009, p.5).

In this form of social organization, competition and evaluation are defining aspects. As Thomas Lemke argues: 'neoliberalism is a political project that attempts to create a social reality that it suggests already exists, stating that competition is the basis of social relations while fostering those same relations.' (2009, p.60). Karatani adds the dimension of ranking and evaluation, arguing that neoliberalism replicates the ideology of imperialism and global trade from the 1880s, now including the necessity not only to compete but to rank the labour force. In his words, 'the ruling ideology of the age of imperialism was a survival-of-the-fittest social Darwinism, which is today being recycled in new forms under neoliberalism. We no longer hesitate to sort people into winners and losers or question the way free competition ranks people into distinct categories: management, regular full-time employers, temporary part-time workers, and the unemployed'.[21] (2014, p.279).

Profit-oriented businesses clearly illustrate the competitive, ranked-based managerial type of relations encouraged by this model. Nevertheless, this is also noticeable in non-traditional or, in theory, non-profit-oriented sectors. For example, in a cultural sector constantly required to measure economic impacts, as George Yúdice describes in *The Expediency of Culture* (2003). Yúdice shows how, since the early 2000s, the cultural sector, having to respond to the exigencies of new investors and financial supporters such as global banks or multilateral institutions, has had to engage with administrative and bureaucratic processes in the form of measurement, evaluation, and management.

This can also be noted, notoriously, in academia, a clear example of the invasive role of neoliberal imperatives, where, increasingly, what matters if one is to access public funds or develop a professional career is to retain one's competitive personal and institutional reputation based upon 'impact cases' or 'point-based systems' in the form of rankings, surveys, Teaching Excellence Frameworks, Research Excellence Frameworks etc. Rather than a collaborative community oriented to the production of

---

[21] In this period, argues the author, capital was liberated from the egalitarian demands of the nation, the livelihood of nationals being 'sacrificed in the name of international competitiveness' (Karatani 2014, p.279).

knowledge (clearly, this still exists), universities come to seem more like companies competing for a higher position in the rankings and increasing number of clients.

As Yúdice states, in the arts field there is total subordination of technicians to administrators whereas the academy 'has turned to 'managerial professionals' in the business of producing students, research, outreach, institutional development, and so on' (2003, p.13). Unsurprisingly, it is possible to relate this imperative to regions, cities, and nations. This is what nation branding encourages, a competition between places to be managed and evaluated through rankings. In fact, for Harvey, within neoliberalism: 'competition –between individuals, between firms, between territorial entities (cities, regions, nations, regional groupings)–, is held to be a primary virtue.' (2005, p.65).

By promoting competition and management in a market-oriented society, neoliberalism encourages a specific ideal subject - the entrepreneur, the self-made man. Under neoliberalism, 'the homo-economicus is an entrepreneur, an entrepreneur of himself' (Foucault 2008, p.226), a subject who must manage himself and be responsible of their own success. Nevertheless, Foucault's neoliberal subject is nowadays immersed in new demands and, literally, 'technologies' that add different tones to the imperatives of competitiveness and management. I refer to the social media and, precisely, to branding, with which I will now discuss to expand on the links between nation branding and the second and third neoliberal imperatives: (self) management, and the pursue of reputation.

To do so, I will start with the analysis undertaken by Alice Marwick in *Status Update. Celebrity, Publicity, & Branding in the Social Media Age* (2013), an ethnographic study at Silicon Valley in California which seeks to show how an economy defined by the cultural logics of Web 2.0 influences the construction of contemporary subjectivity within a neoliberal frame. Following Foucault, Marwick describes neoliberalism as a form of governmentality whose effective ideal subject is incarnated in the entrepreneur 'focused on self-improvement' and 'self-realization'. (2013, p.13).

Marwick includes in this frame the ideals and technologies of Web 2.0 which, much more than simply a technological moment enabling content co-creation, is understood as a discourse that 'teach their users to be good corporate citizens in the

postindustrial, post-union world by harnessing marketing techniques to boost attention and visibility' (2013, p.12). The central argument is that Web 2.0 is 'a neoliberal technology of subjectivity that teaches users how to succeed in postmodern American consumer capitalism' (2013, p.14), in which, and this is central, reputation or 'status' is the foundation of success. Consequently, advertising, branding, and self-management become pre-eminent. In Marwick's words, 'Web 2.0 makes it possible for people to fully integrate advertising and marketing practices into the ways that they view their friends and themselves.' (2013, p.16).[22]

There are three aspects to develop here. The first is the mandate to build a self-brand and a solid reputation to the eyes of the market. To build and maintain a good reputation and to think of ourselves and our organizations as brands, the author states, is paramount for people trying to 'make it', hence becoming a crucial attitude from which to govern ourselves and our organizations. 'Self-branding' becomes a fundamental practice for the neoliberal entrepreneur and branding techniques expand as crucial technologies: 'The idea of turning yourself into a brand is now presented as an essential Web 2.0 strategy, and is firmly instilled in modern business culture. […] As a result, a wide swath of social organizations –including countries, ethnic groups, and the military- have adopted branding techniques.' (2013, p.165).

Unsurprisingly, this ideal has been disseminated for the last ten years all over the world via such texts as Tom Peters' *The Brand You 50, or fifty ways to transform yourself from an 'employee' into a brand that shouts distinction, commitment, and Passion!* (1999), Peter Montoya and Tim Vandehey's *The Brand Called You* (2008), Dan Schawbel's *Me 2.0: build a powerful brand to achieve career success* (2009), Catherine Kaputa's *You are a Brand* (2012), or Gary Vaynerchuk (2009) stating that: 'everyone –EVERYONE– needs to start thinking of themselves as a brand. It is no longer an option: it is a necessity' (p.9).

---

[22] This is even more complex insofar Marwick introduces the logic of the celebrity in search of visibility: 'Social media not only demonstrates the lessons of white-collar business success by rewarding flexibility, entrepreneurialism, and risk-taking; it also provides a blueprint of how to prosper in a society where status is predicated on the cultural logic of celebrity, according to which the highest value is given to mediation, visibility, and attention.' (2013, p.14).

The second aspect is that, in the pursuit of reputation, self-branding becomes not just a mandate but a practice that needs careful dedication, becoming a constant labour.[23] We are expected to work on our own self-brands consciously, acknowledging the permanent presence of the external gaze. For example, in the form of carefully choosing what to upload on our social network pages, of identifying which leisure activities might be beneficial for networking or of deciding which social events to attend. Self-branding requires not just mere promotion but constant editing –defined as 'brand monitoring' or 'brand-management'– turning this task into emotionally demanding labour (Marwick 2013, p.191). Briefly: 'self-branding necessitates the careful construction of an edited yet authentic self, which demands ongoing self-monitoring, a thick skin, and an ongoing awareness and evaluation of the audience' (2013, p.197). This is, in all, a thought-provoking portrait of the contemporary subject, an individual conscious of the external market-oriented gaze, for which they need to build and manage a strong reputation to gain social presence.

The third aspect is that, given the imperative of reputation, self-branding operates as a regulated indicator, metrics occupying a central place in the 2.0 neoliberal subject. The idea is that this imperative not only has to do with building a solid self-brand nor to constantly managing it, but to be able to quantitatively measure it in order to compete. In fact, by its own internal mechanisms Web 2.0 is de facto a measurable competitive technology. The number of friends, 'likes', or shares on our Facebook page, the number of followers and re-tweets in our Twitter account, or the number of visits on our blog or web pages are already socially relevant indicators. They have effects both on an emotional personal level, giving us a sense of gratification or failure and, as Marwick shows, in a professional context insofar as elevated numbers of 'social relevance' are associated with potential 'high impact' or 'influence', for which investors constantly pay attention to these numbers before making an investment decision.[24]

---

[23] See Sibilia (2008) and Lipovetsky (2013, pp.313-314).
[24] Yet the potential reputation and impact of the branded self is quantified not just by its internal features, but by specifically designed tools programmed for this purpose, such as, among others, the 'klout score'. Created by a start-up in California, this is an algorithm designed to quantify our impact. As Marwick illustrates: 'Klout never uses the term 'status', but it measures influence in three vectors: the number of people you reach, how likely those people are to act on your content (for example, by commenting on it or re-tweeting it), and how influential your network is'. (2013, p.105).

If rankings are well-established indicators of reputation, funding opportunities, potential valuation or competitiveness among companies, universities, or places, in the web 2.0 the same thing occurs for our own personal identities. In Marwick's words: 'metrics are thus used not only to measure a website's success, traffic, or profitability, but also as a way of determining personal status.' (2013, p.104). Thus, metrics play a considerable role in the definition of public policy, business strategies, and personal decisions.[25]

Influenced by Marwick, Michael Feher (2013) analyses the current characteristics of neoliberalism and the neoliberal self, adding a new dimension in his portrayal. Also, influenced by Foucault, he claims that, by encouraging –almost forcing– the individual/private management of our education, health, or sexuality, alongside the retreat of the state through privatization policies; the neoliberal ethos promotes life as an enterprise to manage, people being asked to behave like 'responsible companies'. The market becomes a disciplinary entity and the 'self-entrepreneur' arises as 'the new subjective form of neoliberalism.' (Feher 2013).

Nevertheless, Feher argues that rather than just a self-entrepreneur, we should understand the contemporary neoliberal subject as a 'portfolio manager'. This is a subject who, operating in an economy based upon speculation and credit, seeks ultimately to increase their reputation in the eyes of investors or lenders. As the entrepreneurial self, the portfolio manager is still very much profit-oriented, but in this case the new and chief quest is not so much immediate income but, and this is the key aspect in his argument, to make himself attractive to the external (capitalist) gaze.

Considering that in the contemporary economic model the value of capital is a function of trust given by the financial community to individuals, companies, or nations – as in the credit ratings of global agencies such as Standard & Poor's or Moody's– the key strategy is not to sell what we have at the best possible price in search of immediate profit, but to maximize the value of who we are in search of a growing

---

[25] For Marwick: 'social media plays a key role in maintaining inequalities between high- and low-status people by reducing complex relationships to visual displays of quantity and quality. […] Technologies like Twitter, Facebook, and blogs encourage status-seeking behaviours that blur the lines between work and play and promote infiltration of marketing and advertising techniques into relationships and social behaviour. The emphasis on metrics, which track attention and visibility, shows how significant these values are in the Web 2.0 scene'. (2013, p.93).

reputation. The circuit of value production, following Feher, is not (only) the basic M-C-M', but to make ourselves and our organizations attractive to the external gaze. This means acquiring the qualities that are credited in the eyes of the market - an Ivy-League university title, a strong presence on social networks etc. The goal is to maximize our potential credit, whether as a person, a start-up or, indeed, as a city or a country, in the eyes of those who can give it - investors. In his words, the aim is 'to consider yourself as the CEO of the company that is your life' (Feher 2013).

For Feher, it is possible to say that an 'anthropological shift' occurred from the entrepreneur, to project-managers looking for investors or lenders. Consequently, the construction of a solid reputation through permanent self-branding and self-management comes to define our personal and professional decisions. What we, as neoliberal subjects do, in Feher and Marwick terms, is to constantly evaluate the actions and decisions we make –whether social, sexual, or professional– in relation to the value given to us by the financial market. For this, in Feher's words: 'you try to master your own self-esteem in order to maintain your credit for the market gaze. And from this you grow again your self-esteem, in a virtuous (or vicious) circle'.

This directly connects to my field of interest. In nation branding and, consequently, in the specific campaigns analysed here, reputation is central. It is sought, managed, and ranked. In the case of Peru, the position of the nation brand in terms of reputation is periodically evaluated and, if Peru rises in the global rankings, it is shown as a proof of success. While I will detail this fact in chapters three and four, I can already mention one brief but meaningful example. In July 2016, the Reputation Institute, a global consultancy dedicated to advising and measuring companies and countries in terms of reputation performance, announced that Peru had escalated five positions in the 'RepTrack model', becoming positioned at top of the South American countries. This news was immediately announced by the Ministry of Commerce and Tourism on public media and shared by PromPerú as an obvious sign of national accomplishment and a proof of the health of the neoliberal model (PromPerú 2017a).[26]

---

[26] The Reputation Institute is, in their words: 'the world's leading research and advisory firm for reputation. We provide senior communications and marketing executives at global companies the single-best way to measure, communicate and manage reputation performance.' (*Reputation Institute* 2017).

1.8 Between Myths and Metrics: The Cultural Logics of Nation Branding

The authors and processes mentioned here comprise the conceptual and contextual frame of this thesis. From this framework, I will analyse the field of nation branding and examine my cases. However, before doing so, it is necessary a recap of the main points argued so far. To begin with, I characterized the nation as an entity based upon and connected to ancient pre-modern processes, circumscribed to a bounded territory, (re)defined and (re)created by specific contexts, actors, and institutions, which aim to build a sense of belonging and purpose for a group of people using formal and informal mechanisms and dimensions.

From this, and in relation to my case studies, I argue that to understand the specificities of (modern) nations, four elements should be paid attention to: (i) the discursive elements that act as its symbolic foundation –its 'spirit' or 'ethos'; (ii) the context, or socio-economic conditions on which the nation is built; (iii) the formal and informal devices and actions through which the ethos is transmitted and put into practice, and (iv) the conflicts and disagreements that the proposed nation engenders. This characterization derives from what Smith names the modernist paradigm, taking into consideration elements from the instrumentalist and postcolonial approaches.

Subsequently, I characterize brands as devices playing a significant role in the contemporary development of identities and sense of belonging. Beyond their marking and commercial purposes, brands are the 'ethos' of companies and institutions but, more importantly, they act as 'markers of identity' that activate social relations and affects at personal, social, and national levels. This characterization derives from both scholars critically engaged with the analysis of brands and from key practitioners in the branding field.

From the characterization of these two concepts, I present what I understand to be the social foundations of nation branding that is, the cultural logics behind this phenomenon. I argued before that the social foundations of nation branding can be found in neoliberalism as a discourse and a model that emphasizes the centrality of

(cultural) consumption, the demand for experience and sensorial enjoyment and the imperatives of competition, (self)-management, and reputation. In particular, I mentioned that aestheticized imperatives in the form of novel experiences and sensorial enjoyments are the main source of the 'artistic capitalism'.

Finally, I highlighted that competition, (self)- management, quantitative evaluation, and the pursuit of a solid reputation in the purpose to attract investors and compete in the market, have become the main imperatives of our personal and professional lives, a state of affairs which expands to institutions and places. In other words, the cultural logics of nation branding, the conditions in which it is anchored, can be characterized by a combination of the search of aesthetic experiences and the demand for metric-management.

In fact, to an extent, this is briefly stated by Lipovetsky and Serroy. For them, whilst the artistic ethos has invaded the new form of capitalism, this has not meant the elimination of capitalist-neoliberal premises such as efficiency, bureaucratization, rationalization, or profit orientation. Artistic capitalism combines the economic dimension with sensibility and imagery, calculation with intuition, the rational and the emotional, and the financial with the artistic, producing a subject governed by two imperatives - hedonism and efficiency. While businesses offer not just products but sensorial experiences, they also demand efficiency and supervise and evaluate their performance through metric mechanisms. Then, for these authors in our times there is increasing concern and demand for creativity, that is, innovation and aesthetics, while on the other, there is competitiveness, management, and calculation.

These imperatives feed into nation branding insofar the goals, mechanisms, and products generated by this field respond to them. In fact, without explicitly engaging with the concept of 'place branding' as it is now known, the phenomenon of the physical and symbolic makeovers undertaken by cities, regions, or countries with the aim of strengthen reputations, entice tourists and investors and become attractive to the external gaze in a competitive scenario, was already referred by some of the authors discussed. Lipovetsky and Serroy speak about 'territorial marketing' (2013, p.248), Lash and Urry about 'post-industrial spaces' and 'place marketing' (1994, p.215), Moor about

70

'invented homelands' (2013, p.79), Harvey about the 'competition of nations' (2005. p.65) or more recently, Pike as 'branding geographies' (2013). Referring to cities, Lipovetsky claims that 'with the disappearance of national regulations, the cities are immersing in a system of national and international scale competition and under the imperative of managing their "brand image", of participating in the career of the prestige services to enhance their beauty, attract the tourists, the corporations and their top executives.' (2013, p. 248).

Whilst distinctive, most scholars advance a similar argument: places are re-imagined (re-branded) from aesthetic premises and, given the ultimate need to compete, escalate in world rankings and increase their reputations. They need to carry out branding techniques from a neoliberal perspective. Thus, there is something new in the making of nations that needs to be explored. Put it in questions: what are the particularities of how a nation is produced through nation branding? What are the differences between (modern) nation building and (neoliberal) nation branding? To answer this, it is crucial to engage with the field's own language, techniques, and actors and understand the practicalities of how today a nation (brand) is not just collectively imagined but thoroughly designed.

Chapter 2. Nation by Design: Problematizing the Field

In the first edition of the *Journal of Place Branding and Public Diplomacy* (2004), edited by Simon Anholt, arguably the most renowned consultant in the field, the editorial column affirms that: 'Place branding is happening. A new field of practice and study is in existence, and whatever we choose to call it or however we wish to define it, there can no longer be any doubt that it is with us.' (2004, p.4).

Anholt was right. Since 2004, this field has expanded, prompting research, reports and specialized conferences. Global consultants have appeared or established place-brand units such as Country Brand Rep, FutureBrand, Branding Latin America, and Anholt's own consultancy. New experts and techniques have been developed and, over the last five years, platforms and media observers have been created such as The Place Brand Observer (*The Place Brand Observer,* 2017), The International Place Branding Panel (*Phoenix. The International Place Branding Panel,* 2014), and The International Place Branding Association (*The International Place Branding Association,* n.d). Academic and practitioner literature has also proliferated, research being undertaken in media studies, social sciences, international relations, marketing and branding.

Since the turn of the century, governments around the world, from Canada to Bolivia and South Africa to Paraguay, have and are carrying out place branding strategies, in which a particular group of experts mainly related to the areas of branding, marketing, and management, have taken a central role in the promotion of nations and cities. Thus, a new field of expertise has emerged, with direct influence in public policy, in particular in that concerned with the shaping of national cultures. Aronczyk refers to this class as the *Transnational Promotional Class* (TPC): 'a group of diverse actors devoted to maintaining the legitimacy of the national form for a range of profit generating purposes.' (Aronczyk 2013, p.11). More extensively, the TPC includes:

> 'transnational economic institutions and national
> government departments devoted to investment and tourism
> promotion; marketing and management academics at

international business schools and affiliated think tanks; and multinational consultancies operating in a range of capacities, from strategic communications to location and tax advisory, to marketing, advertising, and branding strategy. This group participates in branding the culture, so to speak; establishing rationalized and instrumental frameworks of legitimacy within which to situate a new and improved version of national culture'. (Aronczyk, 2013, p.40).[27]

Considering this scenario, and following the conceptual and contextual premises previously presented, the purpose of this chapter is to problematize the field of nation branding in order to engage with its models, terms and techniques. Specifically, I will examine its conceptual assumptions, imperatives, techniques, and evaluation mechanisms. This will enable me to tackle two connected issues. First, to analyse the field according to its own rationale, to understand how it answers the cultural logics described before. Second, to set the ground for a more accurate analysis of Peruvian and Cuban designed national narratives. That is, to frame my case studies and to understand the rationale behind decisions taken, as evidenced in their content, visual display, and target audiences.

2.1 Nation Branding as a field of Knowledge and Power

From his research in the fields of medicine, psychiatry, and criminology, Foucault affirms that the consolidation of a field of knowledge is intertwined in the production of an exercise of power. Those who monopolize knowledge discourses, terms, and methods acquire the legitimate right to classify and create hierarchies among populations, that is, among the sick and healthy, normal and abnormal, potential criminal and law-abiding citizen etc. In Foucault's words: 'the exercise of power creates knowledge and, conversely, knowledge constantly induces effects of power' (Foucault

---

[27] it is important to emphasize this group represents a *perspective* (operating from the basis of specific expertise) rather than only a *class*. This highlights that, beyond the fact that they constitute a group of people with similar backgrounds; the field has produced, with differences and contestations, a similar way of thinking.

1975, p.752). Consequently, to analyse discourses is, for Foucault, to illustrate actors and their positions, their languages and rules and from this to unveil the power being exercised in the name of 'science' and 'truth'.[28]

Nation branding premises, imperatives, methods, and tools can be understood as a set of devices that consolidate a form of knowledge, hence operate simultaneously as a form of power. They wield, and create, new terms in relation to the understanding and managing of territories. Nation branding has placed global experts and leading consultants in a dominant position. It implements tools to evaluate and determine the rights and wrongs of 'living the brand' and constructs ideal citizens or 'brand ambassadors'. Moreover, it has created a form of knowledge which constantly validates itself. Experts create the terms, encourage the need, and suggest the methods and tools to evaluate the customers' (usually governments) performances. There is a discourse that urges governments to create a nation brand and at the same time mechanisms and evaluation tools are suggested. Nation branding is an emerging field of knowledge functioning as a form of power exercised at global and national levels.

Classical scholars who have worked on the relation between ideas, power, and the nation state can help us to expand on this idea. The nation state can still be defined as the entity owning the legitimate monopoly of violence, as stated in 1919 by Weber in *Politics as a Vocation*. After all, hard power continues to structure the national and supranational order. However, as extensively theorized by scholars such as Gramsci in his concept of hegemony, Althusser's notion of *Ideological State Apparatuses* (1970), and Foucault and his concept of discourse, it is clear that positions and hierarchical relations are determined not only via the legitimate monopoly of violence but also by the legitimate monopoly of ideas. Expressed in more contemporary terms, 'hard' and 'soft power' (Joseph Nye 2004) defines geopolitical hierarchies.[29]

---

[28] As Faubion puts it, to analyse discourses is to unveil the 'identifiable collections of utterances governed by rules of construction and evaluation which determine within some thematic area what may be said, by whom, in what context, and with what effect' (Faubion 1994, p.xvi).

[29] According to Joseph Nye (2004), unlike military force or 'hard power', 'soft power' is defined as: 'the ability to get what you want through attraction rather than coercion' (2004, p. 2). Countries too can obtain what they want by making other countries admire their political values and culture, to lead by example, and want them to follow you. Soft power then co-opts people rather than coerces them, persuades them instead of forcing them insofar as 'seduction is always more effective than coercion' and 'power comes from attraction' (2004, p.6). To do so, different resources are used,

In the case of my interest, it can be said that there has been a shift regarding who monopolizes soft power in terms of the nation's narrations. More accurately, new actors intervene in this role. If during the 18th, 19th centuries and almost the whole of the 20th century this task was directed by political leaders, military figures, national heroes, or intellectuals, there are now new players such as global branding consultants, marketing gurus, local advertisers, tourism operators and investors. They are recruited or consulted by governments to design the narrative of the nation. They have become the 'intelligentsia', the protagonists suggesting the nation's 'spirit', 'inventing traditions', or disseminating the nation's 'unconscious-banal flags'. Discussing city branding, Toni Puig, a key advisor in this field, affirms that: 'nowadays, cities are not built by princes: they are designed and carried out by teams' (Puig n.d, p.8). Similarly, for Aronczyk:

> 'those who determine what constitutes legitimate culture and national identity have changed dramatically. The knowledge identified as vital to maintain the nation now comes not from national governments, not from historical or social legacies, and not from civic sources of leadership, but from branding and marketing experts. These experts' particular expertise, tools and techniques apparently give them the license to determine what values, attitudes, behaviors and beliefs are superior to others, and allow them to see their role as one of helping the national clients adopt these superior frames and shed unfavorable ones.' (2013, p.5).

This monopoly of knowledge is evidenced by the fact that the majority of global experts in this field share a similar social profile, that is, white, male, middle-aged, middle-upper class, based in developed western European cities. Unsurprisingly, the main global consultancies advising several countries are based the same city – London–, as illustrated in a powerful map by Aronczyk, (2013). In a way, this field operates on the basis of a similar locus of enunciation and can be understood as an instrument that sustains structures of power between the North, Western-Europe

_____

intentionally or not, such as books, films, television programmes, the establishment of compelling cities to live and work in or universities with global reputations, technological advances or reputation, etc.

Centre, which have the concepts and mechanisms, and the South Periphery where the strategies (together with countries in the north centre), are implemented.

Figure 19. Brand Consultancies and Countries-Customers. (Aronczyk 2013).

Thus, the nation branding field can also be read as having a *normative-pedagogic* role. In their strategies, as in my cases, people are guided on the proper and improper, correct and incorrect, and good and bad ways of creating, applying, or 'living' the brand. To achieve a strong brand identity, the teams in charge produce handbooks and develop workshops directed to local stakeholders to show what the nation brand is about. That is, what values it represents, how to become a 'brand ambassador', or how to properly use logos in their own products. This is explained in very detailed forms: the attitudes to be encouraged; the type of products or services that can or cannot be supported, and the correct logo sizes and colours etc. In the case of Peru, as I will show in the following chapters, those who follow the rules are acknowledged as exemplary brand representatives while those who do not are unsponsored, excluded as brand representatives, or even legally threatened.

This stresses the idea that nation branding should be read not simply in terms of advertising campaigns, slogans, and logos. They are political devices which play a

crucial role in the formation of the nation, citizenship, and a sense of belonging. Rephrasing Althusser, it can be said that nation branding is part of the 'Ideological Apparatuses of the Market' or, with Weber, that in contemporary capitalism the nation-state should be defined not exclusively as the entity that owns the legitimate monopoly of violence, but the legitimate monopoly of branding. This is a novel feature of governance and the way governments now create, transform, or solidify the collective ethos, or to return to Renan, the 'nation's soul'. All of which, necessarily, demands not just definition of the concept but its problematization in the light of branding rules and mechanisms.

2.2 Problematizing the Concept of Nation Branding

Nation branding has been defined, in its own field, underlining five aspects. First, considering the global competitive order, nations need to consider branding techniques or should actually be managed *as* brands. Second, special attention must be paid to the country's uniqueness to become more competitive. Third, that both internal and external audiences must be engaged during the building and disseminating stages. Fourth, that marketing and advertising techniques must be undertaken throughout the process. Fifth, and finally, that this is all in the country's interest, strengthening its national identity, competitiveness, and global influence. To sum up, in Anholt's words: 'all this activity may look like many things, but it is really one thing: it is places trying to compete with one another in the global marketplace by building their brands'. (Anholt 2004, p.4).

In fact, nation branding is considered for some as a recent form of nation building. For Wally Olins, one of the founding fathers of nation branding, founder of two of the most important consultancies in the world, *Wolf-Olins* and *Saffron Brand Consultants* and one of the most influential specialists in the area of my interest, the process of branding a nation existed and has operated since the nation's earliest formation, despite the fact it was not given this specific name. He argues of post-revolutionary-France that:

'The Tricolour replaced the Fleur de Lys, the Marseillaise became the new anthem, the traditional weights and measures were replaced by the metric system, a new calendar was introduced. In other words, the entire French package was changed. You may not like the term, you may prefer to talk about a new or reinvented nation or state, but if revolutionary France wasn't a new brand I don't know what is' (Olins 2002, p.2).

A similar argument is presented for Bismarck's unified Germany, post-civil war unified Italy, Atatürk's post-World War I Turkey, and other historical processes in European and post-colonial nations during the 18th and 19th centuries. All either created a new brand or re-branded their ancient nations by producing novel myths, loyalties, and a sense of belonging in order to build solid identities. (Olins 2014, pp.132-135; 154-161). Hence, while the name is new and some obvious differences exist, the historical similarities between nation-building and nation branding are evident for Olins, as he illustrates by employing nation branding for a much older context than its formal 20th century origin, or by using nation branding and nation-building as analogous indistinctive terms:

'Branding the nation came into fashion with the Age of Enlightenment. The slogans, or straplines, or vision statements as some people might now call them – 'Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness' and 'Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité', respectively of revolutionary United States and newly republican France– set the style of nation building for the whole of the 19th century, when the modern nation emerged fully formed as an ideological construct.' (Olins 2014, p.132).

It is unquestionable that, along paralels, differences between how the nation was built and how it is now branded exist, as I will detail at the end of this chapter. To begin with, the concept itself was coined only in 1996, defined as 'the sum of people's

perceptions of a country across six areas of national competence' (Anholt 2005, p.2).[30] Anholt adds: 'my observation was a simple one: that reputations of countries are rather like the brand images of companies and products, and equally important' (2007, p.xi). In branding the nation, perception and reputation are central insofar as they define proper strategies. This occurs in a specific context of global competition in the pursuit of the attention and trust of investors, tourists, and consumers. For Anholt:

> 'Nation brand is an important concept in today's world. Globalization means that countries compete with each other for the attention, respect and trust of investors, tourists, consumers, donors, immigrants, the media, and the governments of other nations: so a powerful and positive nation brand provides a crucial competitive advantage. It is essential for countries to understand how they are seen by publics around the world; how their achievements and failures, their assets and their liabilities, their people and their products are reflected in their brand image.' (Anholt 2005, p.2).

In a similar vein, Olins (2014) argues that there are two premises that encourage the necessity of undertaking a national branding strategy: (i) people are ignorant of other nations, perceiving them based on foggy ideas or simple stereotypes, and (ii) nations, regions, and cities are embedded in a global system of competition for investment, tourism, and exports (2014, pp.144-146). Both of these seminal definitions underline Feher's idea of the contemporary neoliberal-self. People (nations) must build and manage a strong reputation in order to become attractive to the investor.

Since Anholt, new definitions have been proposed within the field relating to a business-managerial approach. For Keith Dinnie, nation branding is 'the unique, multi-dimensional blend of elements that provide the nation with culturally grounded differentiation and relevance for all of its target audiences'. (Dinnie 2008, p.15). Robert Govers and Frank Go argue that: 'place brand is a representation of identity, building a favourable internal (with those who deliver the experience) and external (with visitors) image (leading to brand satisfaction and loyalty; name awareness; perceived quality;

---

[30] The concept is here linked to Anholt's Nation Brand Hexagon which will be referred to in the following section.

and other favourable brand associations)' (2009, p.17). And Blain defines it as: 'the marketing activities (i) that support the creation of a name, symbol, logo word mark or other graphic that both *identifies* and *differentiates* a destination; (2) that convey the *promise* of a memorable travel *experience* that is uniquely associated with the destination; and (3) that serve to *consolidate* and *reinforce* the recollection of pleasurable *memories* of the destination experience, all with the intent purpose of creating an *image* that influences consumer's decisions to visit the destination in question, as opposed to an *alternative* one'. (Blain et al. 2005, pp.311-312).

The problem with these definitions is that the term is to some extent depoliticized and dehistoricized, not only in the seminal texts, but mainly in how it is translated into governmental mechanisms and strategies. There is no major reference to internal national antagonisms, to global geopolitical hierarchical relations or to historical structures of domination and subordination. Neither is there a proper discussion about neoliberalism, the economic model and discourse which gave birth to the field. In other words, what I argue these texts lack is a self-reflection on the cultural logics, historical anchors and economic basis that have given birth to the field.

This, nonetheless, is addressed from a more critical approach in which the field has been problematized, paying attention to its inherent socio-political dimension and to categories of history and politics. According to this view, Aronczyk understands nation branding as a form of governance and soft power with political purposes in addition to the obvious commercial ones (Aronczyk 2013, p.16), arguing that this phenomenon can be read 'as the result of the interpenetration of commercial and public sector interests to communicate national priorities among domestic and international populations for a variety of interrelated purposes' (2013, p.16). In a similar vein, considering the ideological implications and practical operations, Nadia Kaneva defines this phenomenon as:

> 'a compendium of discourses and practices aimed at reconstituting nationhood through marketing and branding paradigms. In terms of practical manifestations, nation branding includes a wide variety of activities, ranging from 'cosmetic' operations, such as the creation of national logos and slogans, to efforts to institutionalize branding within state

structures by creating governmental and quasi-governmental bodies that oversee long-term nation branding efforts. […] In short, nation branding seeks to reconstitute nations both at the levels of ideology, and of praxis, whereby the meaning and experiential reality of nationhood itself is transformed in ways that are yet to be fully understood.' (Kaneva 2011 pp.117–141).

Several authors follow this approach. Working on New Zealand, Nick Lewis claims that 'nation branding is political and has political effects. A government is vulnerable to overt contradictions in the geographical imaginaries it promotes, as well as the wider politics of identity and the narrower political economy of branding resourcing. This vulnerability may open opportunities to contest the claims made, or provide platforms for critical political projects' (2011, p.283). In the case of the New York City brand, Arvidsson suggests that this is 'something much more than the symbol or image of a city. It becomes a new assemblage of governance that effectively connects financial markets to biopolitical interventions that aims at shaping and forming actual practices and forms of life' (2011, p.309).

Volcic & Andrejevic (2011) define the field as a 'technique of governance in the era of global capitalism'. Similar arguments can be found in Veronica Koller (2008) for the cases of Manchester in England and Lübeck in Germany, Liz Moor for the United Kingdom (2011), Ulrich Ermann for Bulgaria (2011), Andrew Harris for Hoxton in London (2011), Guy Julier for Leeds in England (2011), Nadia Kaneva for post-socialist countries (2012); and for Latin America Juan Diego Sanin for Colombia (2010), Cesar Jimenez-Martinez for Chile (2013), Gisela Cánepa (2014), and Felix Lossio (2014) for Peru.

Nevertheless, Somogy Varga (2013) presents with more clarity the political implications of the field. In *The politics of Nation Branding: Collective identity and the public sphere in the neoliberal state* (p.825), Varga affirms that nation branding should be analysed as an 'implicit cultural policy', (p.826), defined as 'essentially an *inner-oriented-cultural-political measure* that, under a neoliberal discourse, targets the citizens

of the national state (2013, p.826). Discussing David Harvey's on the neoliberal nation-state (2007), Varga writes that:

> 'Nation Branding represents par excellence the kind of altered nationalism that is sufficiently empty, de-historicized, and no longer in opposition to the neoliberal agenda. Ironically, Nation Branding manages to invoke nationalist sentiments in support of a neoliberal venture that is fundamentally in opposition to the historicity of nations and the structures that have evolve with it' (2013, p.833).

I will return to Varga's definition when analising my two cases. For now, I will propose, on the basis of the literature examined, my own definition: a set of discourses, procedures, and devices that national governments have developed from the end of the 20th century in alliance with global branding consultancies and local specialists in the aim of renewing national narratives that involve identity models for their citizens, pursuing the establishment of distinctive and coherent reputations. This, in order to become attractive and competitive in the global market, particularly in relation to tourism, investment, and exports. Put simply, I define nation branding as the design of a national identity to be exhibited in the global market in competition with other countries with the aim of increasing the nation's reputation and (brand) value. In short, it is a main current neoliberal cultural policy, whose elements I need to expand. At the same time, as my cases demonstrate, and as I will expan in chapters four and five, nation branding is not a homogeneous device, and can also operate as a platform serving different purposes, activating internal disputes and nuances.

2.3 Creating Myths: Consistency, Differentiation, Engagement, and Dissemination

This definition correlates with field handbooks that guide the nation brand's building and management which I will now examine. To do so, I will focus upon the work of Anholt, Olins, Govers, Go and Puig, authors of the most widely read textbooks in the field. While these experts state that there are no universal recipes and that 'each place

has its own aims, circumstances and competences' (Anholt 2007, p.xi), it is possible at the same time to identify similar guidelines encouraged to be followed by dissimilar places or regardless of the circumstances. These can be gathered under three aspects: consistency/coherence; innovation/ differentiation, and engagement/dissemination and synthetized as follows:

- Nation brands have existed since the formation of the nation. (premise)
- Nation brands are necessary in a competitive global market. (premise)
- Nation brands must be consistent and coherent and avoid alternative interests.
- Nation brands must be unique and different from others.
- Nations-brands must be innovative and evidence the country's good news.
- The core idea of the nation brand must be disseminated wherever possible.
- The core idea must be validated by citizens and stakeholders who should embrace and 'live the brand'.
- Nation brands need to be evaluated through rankings.

A first principle demands a consistent and coherent narrative between the agreed branded identity, its visual representation, the actions developed by the different stakeholders, and the way in which citizens incorporate and reproduce the suggested nation brand. The core-idea should be retained and alternative narrations which may undermine the strength of the brand avoided. For example, returning to the description of post-revolution France, Olins argues that 'the new French republican state was much more self-consciously a nation, much more self-aware, more aggressive and more determined to create homogeneity –to create consistency and coherence– than any nation ever had before. And all of us in the branding business know, consistency and coherence are what branding is all about.' (Olins 2002, p.4). Similarly, for Govers and Go (2009, pp. 245-247), a key task is to build a consistent narrative avoiding three potential gaps: between the different narratives projected by its operators; between the different forms of performing the 'brand-experience', and between different cultural interpretations of the place-brand. Briefly, difference and incongruence are avoided

while coherence and consistency are pursued. Finally, Anholt stresses that a consistent brand identity needs to tackle the incongruences of the various stakeholders who, pursuing their own interests independently, may produce a 'complex, muddled and contradictory' image that 'never really moves forward'. (Anholt 2007, pp. 26;27).

Beyond coherence and consistency, a nation brand needs to be unique and innovative. Governments must undertake actions with potential global impact, for example in the form of events which highlight uniqueness. In his *Virtuous Circle of Competitive Identity,* Anholt advises governments that 'actions speak louder than words' and: 'don't talk unless you have something to say' (2007, p.34). The idea is that governments need to develop a strategy based upon a 'culture of innovation' (2007, p.34) in the form of 'events that are striking, relevant, compelling, part of a bigger story' which must be 'brilliantly executed' and only then communicated to the world.

Figure 2.2   The virtuous circle of Competitive Identity

Have a competitive
strategy

Tell the world
about them

Have great on-
strategy ideas

Execute them
brilliantly
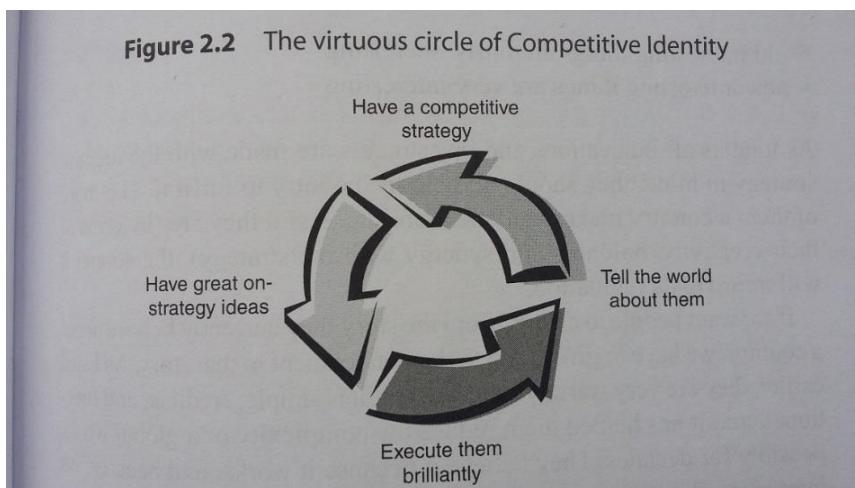
Figure 20. The virtuous circle of Competitive Identity by Simon Anholt. (2007, p.35).

Innovation, understood as constantly producing novel events with global impact, should be at the heart of the branded identity. The principle is that if you have nothing interesting to show as a country you should not show yourself to the world. You need first to create something new and big, unique and different, worthy of the media's attention. Nations need to forget the 'old and boring' and embrace the 'new and interesting':

'It's not that the media has somehow failed to tell the truth
about the place: it's usually that the country is simply isn't

doing enough new things to capture's anyone attention or prove that the place has a relevance to the lives of the people it is trying to talk to. New and interesting things are the only things that get adequately reported in the media, because they are the only things that people are always interested in: old boring things are very boring. New boring things are fairly boring. Old interesting things are fairly interesting. New interesting things are very interesting.' (2007, p.36).

Puig's ideas of place branding are worth mentioning here (*Toni Puig. Creatividad Común,* n.d). A leading figure in the successful rebranding of Barcelona during the 1990s, suggests a set of 'dos' for a city branding process in which any city should 'think about innovative ideas', 'think about the value or "soul" of the city', 'think about the city in the context of a global competitive environment', and 'listen to the city, be different' are central. (Puig, n.d, pp.15-19).

For Puig, to undertake a city branding process is relevant insofar as it will distinguish the new 'designed city' –now a referential-branded city or 'ciudad de marca'– from the out-of-place, unbranded, decadent city, or 'ciudad desmarcada'. While the 'ciudades desmarcadas' are 'in depression, sterile, outside the network of active cities, bureaucratic, deactivated, atrophied', and 'have (postponed) ideas and a perpetual passivity' (Puig, n.d, pp. 9-11), 'ciudades de marca' 'have a consistent redesign for the city, understand that the city needs to be managed, include the citizens in the suggested strategy, show dialogue and consensus, never stop and constantly search information for the redesign'. (Puig, n.d, pp.11-13).

After a consistent, coherent, and innovative strategy that highlights uniqueness to the global gaze, engagement with stakeholders and different audiences is the next step. The idea of engagement is central because it suggests that stakeholders and audiences in general must not be passive receivers of the proposed identity, but active supporters committed to perform or 'live the brand'. Nation branding strategies must seduce and capture the attention of the global audience – potential investors and tourists– and by doing so engage local citizens as active 'brand ambassadors'. The aim is to avoid the idea of a top-down identity, and rather produce an active one in which stakeholders and

common people incorporate and reproduce, through a celebratory experience, the values of the rebranded nation.

To achieve this, Anholt argues that places need to 'decide on their identity strategy and get a good number of stakeholders behind it', 'help create a new climate for innovation among those stakeholders', 'show them how these innovations can really benefit their business and be aligned with the CI (competitive identity) strategy at the same time', and 'encourage them to reflect and reinforce the identity in everything they say and do. If it follows these steps, a country will already be managing its reputation better than most other places have ever managed to achieve' (2007, p.37). For Olins, it is vital to 'look at how the messages required for the three main sectors: tourism, inward investment and export can be co-ordinated', and 'create a liaison system to launch the programme in government activities and to encourage supportive action' (2014, p.152).

Finally, these guidelines act to stimulate dissemination of the brand. The visual devices must be invasive, appearing everywhere possible and based upon sensorial elements. For Olins, after identifying the core idea, governments need to 'make it manifest by visualising it and implementing it through different activities' (2014, pp.151-152). In particular, 'the project should be […] looking at every opportunity not just the obvious trade fairs advertising and commercial week in embassies, but the reception that people get in airports, stations, government buildings, broadcasting, restaurants; everywhere, in fact, can contribute to the idea of a country. It's worth remembering that people are influenced by things they see, feel and eat as much as by what they read or hear.' (2014, p.153). Or, as Anholt argues: 'every act of promotion, exchange or representation needs to be seen not as an end in itself but as an opportunity to build the country's overall reputation; and all the bodies, agencies and organizations at each point of the hexagon have to work together, meet together, and align their behaviour to a common national strategy.' (Anholt 2007, p.27).

With this definition in mind, these guidelines have their limits. The first relates to the pursuit of differentiation and uniqueness. How can differentiation and uniqueness be achieved when most countries, in the end, can and will offer basically similar promises? How to be 'innovative' in the global scenario when, simultaneously, all the competitors

attempt to do the same thing? In Latin America, for example, this attempt at 'difference' has ultimately reinforced three dimensions frequently attached to this region. We offer monumental 'history', vivid emotions, and wild diverse nature, all of which can be enjoyed as an exciting experience.

In this region, nation branding logos and slogans such as the ones in Mexico, Bolivia, and Peru include historical symbols in their logos; natural environments and products such as sun and sea are incorporated in Cuba, Mexico, and Uruguay, coffee and flowers in Colombia, coca leaves in Bolivia, and stars in Chile, or in 'Natural Uruguay' and 'Costa Rica, no artificial ingredients' slogans. Finally, emotions appear in the former Colombian strategy 'Colombia is Passion', in Ecuadorian 'Love Life!', and again in the recent 'Essential Costa Rica'. Aesthetically, the limit of uniqueness is translated into the logos as they repeat a similar structure: the country's name and vivid colours such as red (Colombia, Peru), blue (Argentina, Uruguay), green (Costa Rica), or a more colourful palette (Bolivia, Brazil, Ecuador, and Mexico) (see appendix D). Can the region, then, escape its liaison with 'magic' or 'marvelous realism'?

Figure 21. 'Colombia is Magical Realism' (*Colombia* 2017).

Figure 22. 'Cuba, the marvelous realism' (La Escalera 2014).

Moreover, regarding the pursuit of consistency, coherence, engagement and the invasive dissemination of the brand, there is a more problematic limit that will be properly addressed in Chapter Five. This concerns the expectation of managing a

nation brand based upon an 'aligned narrative' that should be 'invasive'. In the case of Peru, for example, even while invasive, many disputes around the branding narrative appeared, activating alternative views to the national narrative promoted by the branding endeavour and the ideal citizen these strategies portrayed. In the case of Cuba, the branding enterprise had both 'political' and 'technical' barriers. Regarding the first one, clearly, the narrative of the Cuban revolution still operates as a much more present discourse about the country and their ideal citizens, limiting the nation branding endeavour to a more instrumental use and focusing it to the external commercially-related audience. Regarding the second one, the expectations of the branding operators faced a technical barrier in that, contrary to Peru, it was hardly impossible for everyday citizens (or public institutions) to disseminate the brand through social networks, given the lack of internet connectivity and penetration.

For this, my case studies reveal that even if nation branding can be understood in one level, as a homogeneous neoliberal global strategy with local impact, it can also operate, in a deeper level, as a platform serving different discoursive and technical purposes. In other words, my cases dispute the attempted strict guideline of the field. Put it in questions: how can a branding endeavour pursue consistency and coherence when so many positions and actors, usually not involved in the branding process and prior to this process, co-exist? Even more, how can a nation brand be constructed when historical processes of nation building are still unfinished? How can a nation brand be sustained when the nation itself has not yet been built? Is it correct to argue, as Kaneva claims for post socialist' nation branding experiences, that 'without a nation there will be nothing to brand'? (Kaneva in Brand South Africa, 2016). This is an almost impossible task resulting in the fact that, following Lewis (2011), nation branding, maybe unwillingly, activates 'opportunities to contest the claims made'.

2.4 Managing through Metrics: Competition, Reputation, and Quantitative Evaluation

By acquiring the form of a brand and operating under neoliberal logics, places respond to the conditions discussed in last chapter, such as the need to be managed

and measured through metrics. Indeed, city and nation global rankings appeared almost simultaneously as the concept of place branding, becoming a concrete measuring device. Places compete between each other for a better position and take strategic decisions bearing in mind the ranking results. It can be said that the relevance of rankings lies in the fact that they determine not only the nation's position in a particular table but also influence decision-making and become the visible face of their supposed strengths and weaknesses and their situation in comparison to regional peers.

There are four main place brand rankings: the FutureBrand Country Brand Index (FutureBrand 2017b); the Anholt-GfK Roper Nation Brands Index (GFK 2015); the Bloom Consulting Country Brand Ranking (*Bloom Consulting. Countries, Regions and Cities*, n.d), and the Brand Finance Nation Brand Report (Brand Finance 2015), the first two being the most disseminated. In addition, focusing upon European cities, there is the Saffron European City Brand Barometer.

These names bear reminders of actors previously referred to. The FutureBrand Country Brand Index was created and is still managed by FutureBrand, the global consultancy which advised the branding strategies for several countries including Peru. The Anholt-GfK Roper Index was launched in association with global consultancy GfK Roper by Simon Anholt, while the Saffron European City Brand Barometer is managed by Saffron Brand Consultants, once directed by Wally Olins.[31] This means that the same leading personalities and global consultancies who highlight the relevance of these policies around the world, who propose guidelines for their design and execution, and who advise governments in their strategies, are the ones who evaluate their performance using their own rankings.

What do these rankings evaluate and what can be said of their methodology? Through which criteria are nations categorized? For their relevance to my cases, I will pay attention to the FutureBrand and Anholt-GfK Roper indexes. At FutureBrand, the methodology used is known as the 'Hierarchical Decision Model' (HDM) (Figure 23), in

---

[31] Since 2015, Simon Anholt has created a new platform and ranking, the *Anholt Good Country Report* (*The Good Country*, n.d), which differentiates its methodology and aims from the classic nation branding indexes. In this case, attention is placed on the 'global contribution' of the countries to the areas of 'science and technology', 'world order', 'international peace and security', 'health and wellbeing', 'culture', 'planet and climate', and 'prosperity and equality', distancing the Report from the orthodox nation branding evaluation criteria.

which the main goal is to determine 'how key audiences –including residents, investors, tourists and foreign governments– perceive a country's brand, from mere awareness to advocacy' (FutureBrand 2013, p.5).

The consultancy undertakes two tasks. First, quantitative data is gathered from 'opinion-formers' through surveys from 20 countries, in particular from '3,600 opinion-formers and frequent international business or leisure travellers' with the aim: 'to understand today's landscape' (p.5). Qualitative data is then gathered through in-depth interviews from a 'carefully selected and diverse panel of experts in policy and governance, international relations, economics and trade, international law, national security, energy and climate change, urban and regional planning, immigration and the media.' (p.5). In FutureBrand's words: 'this model provides perceptions that help us measure how well developed a brand is and also how to approach it.' (p.5). For the Latin America 2015 index, 2,000 respondents from 15 countries in Europe, Asia, and the United States were surveyed.

Six areas are considered in the HDM: *Awareness* –Do key audiences know that the country exists?; *Familiarity* –How well do people know the country and its offerings?; *Associations* –What qualities come to mind when people think of the country?; *Preference* –How highly do audiences esteem the country?; *Consideration* –Is the country considered for a visit?; What about for investment or to acquire or consume its products?; *Decision/Visitation* –To what extent do people follow through and visit the country or establish a commercial relationship?, and *Advocacy* –Do visitors recommend the country to family, friends and colleagues? The Association area is then divided into six different categories which constitute 'the basic elements of a country brand's strength as we know it today' (p.6): Value System; Quality of Life; Good for Business – the *Status* supra-dimension– and Heritage and Culture; Tourism, and Made In –the *Experience* supra-dimension. These categories are the elements from which a nation is measured and placed in the final ranking.

The Anholt-GfK Roper Nation Brands Index methodology follows a similar procedure. Pre-selected countries –50 for the 2008 and 2009 reports[32] are evaluated in an online questionnaire carried out in 20 core panel countries: 'representing major developed and developing countries that play important and diverse roles in international relations, trade and the flow of business, cultural, and tourism activities.'[33] For the Nation Brand Index (NBI) 2009 survey, 20,939 questionnaires asked about awareness of the nation, scaled from 'very familiar' to 'haven't heard of', favourability towards it, scaled from 'extremely favourable' to 'extremely unfavourable', and the experience of and attitudes to it (Anholt 2009, pp.1-5). The report is, according to their creators, a 'clear index of national brand power, a unique barometer of global opinion' (Anholt 2005, p.1).

Ultimately, the aim of this survey is to rank the Anholt's Hexagon dimensions, in which six areas are defined so as to build a strong Competitive Identity (CI) (Anholt 2007, p.25): (i) *Tourism Promotion*; (ii) *Export Brands*; (iii) *Governance and Policy Decisions*; (iv) *Investment and Immigration*; (v) *Cultural Exchanges*, and (vi) *People*. These areas determine the weak and strong points of each country brand and from that, their position in the rankings. Some of the statements measured correspond to the areas: (i) 'I would like to visit the country if money were no object'; (ii) 'the effect of a product or service's country of origin on people's attitudes towards purchasing it'; (iii) 'the country is competently and honestly governed?'; (iv) 'willingness to live and work for a substantial period in the country'; (v) 'the country is an interesting and exciting place for contemporary culture such as music, films, art and literature', and (vi) 'I would like to have a person from the country as a close friend', 'a well-qualified person from the country would be a valuable employee'. Each dimension carries a score and the final Nation's Brand score is the resulting average (Anholt 2009, p.2,3).

---

[32] "The list of 50 nations is based on the political and economic importance of the nations in global geopolitics and the flow of trade, businesses, people, and tourism activities. Regional representation and, to some extent, the diversity of political and economic systems are taken into consideration to make the study truly global. NBISM subscription members' interests are also reflected in the selection of the countries." (GfK Roper Public Affairs & Media 2008, p.5).

[33] The core 20 panel countries are in Western Europe and North America -, U.S., Canada, U.K., Germany, France, Italy, Sweden; in Central and Eastern Europe - Russia, Poland, Turkey; in Asia-Pacific - Japan, China, India, South Korea, Australia; in Latin America - Argentina, Brazil, Mexico, and in the Middle East/Africa - Egypt and South Africa. (Anholt 2009).
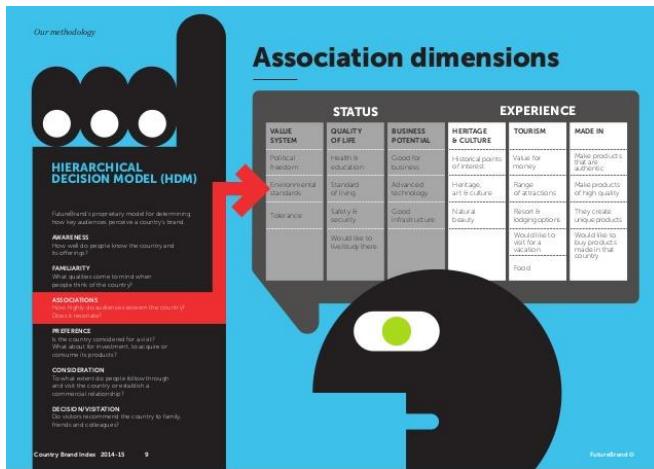
Figure 23. FutureBrand's Hierarchical Decision Model (HDM) - (FutureBrand, n.d, p.9).

Figure 24. Anholt's Nation Brand Hexagon (Branding Institute CMR 2017).

This is relevant insofar as the rankings are concrete illustrations of the conditions developed on Chapter One: experience, competence, reputation, management, and evaluation are here almost literally condensed. While some differences may be noted, in both rankings, as in others, there is an imprint of economic dimensions –tourism, exports, investment, and business potential– and social dimensions –quality of life, people, government, culture and heritage, value system. Taken together, it is about the place status and experience, as named in the FutureBrand ranking. That is, it is about the likelihood that the global public, associated mainly with tourism and commercial stakeholders, has to either invest in or visit the country. Furthermore, these dimensions shape and to guide the country's decision-making and policy, as the Hierarchical *Decision* Model name suggests. Having said this, when analysing the results, a more problematic issue appears, as illustrated in the following tables:[34]

---

[34] I will pay attention to the overall global results, the results per dimension focusing upon tourism and investment, and the results in Latin America, particularly to my two cases. I will focus upon the most recent rankings, that is, most of the cases in 2015. While the overall global tables are included in the appendix, for the analysis in this chapter I have systematized the information in two comparative tables. The first considers the overall nation brand positions and the second their positions in the areas of tourism and investment. For the first, I include the FutureBrand, Anholt-GfK, and Brand Finance reports, all of which have data for 2015. For the second, I include FutureBrand, Bloom Report, and Anholt-GfK reports all of which have disaggregated data in the mentioned areas. However, for the Anholt-GfK report, there is data only for 2009 for the top five countries.

FutureBrand	Anholt-GfK report	Brand Finance Report
1. Japan	United States	United States
2. Switzerland	Germany	China
3. Germany	United Kingdom	Germany
4. Sweden	France	United Kingdom
5. Canada	Canada	Japan
6. Norway	Japan	France
7. United States	Italy	India
8. Australia	Switzerland	Canada
9. Denmark	Australia	Italy
10. Austria	Sweden	Australia
71. Iran	n/i	96. Albania
72. Bangladesh	n/i	97. Senegal
73. Pakistan	n/i	98. Botswana
74. Ukraine	n/i	99. Mauritius
75. Nigeria	n/i	100. Jamaica

Table 25. Nation Brand Global Rankings. Top ten and bottom five countries, 2015. Own elaboration.

Bloom (Tourism) 2015	FutureBrand (Tourism) 2015	Anholt-GfK (Tourism) 2009	Bloom (Investment) 2015	FutureBrand (Business) 2015	Anholt-GfK (Investment) 2009
United States	Italy	Italy	United States	Japan	Canada
Spain	Japan	France	China	United States	United States
Germany	United States	Spain	United Kingdom	Germany	Switzerland
China	Canada	United States	China	Singapore	China
France	Australia	South Africa	Singapore	Switzerland	India
Thailand	France	n/i	France	Unite Arab Emirates	n/i
Australia	New Zealand	n/i	Brazil	Canada	n/i
China-Macao	Switzerland	n/i	Australia	Sweden	n/i
China	Germany	n/i	India	Norway	n/i
Italy	Austria	n/i	Canada	United Kingdom	n/i

Table 26. Nation Brand Global Rankings (Tourism and Investments). Top countries 2015/2009. Own elaboration.

These tables shed light on two aspects. The first refers to the overall results and is that, noticeable, the same world-power countries are at the top. The United States, Germany, Switzerland, Japan, Canada, and Australia all appear in the three main rankings while The United Kingdom, France, and Italy appear in two. Except for China, India, and Japan, the top of the lists is monopolized by European-Western countries. On

the other hand, the countries at the bottom are mainly non-western African and Asian countries such as Iran, Senegal, and Pakistan. The only European countries at the bottom of the lists are Albania and the recently conflicted Ukraine. Unsurprisingly, Latin American countries occupy mid-positions. (see appendix E, F and G).

The second idea is that when the rankings are disaggregated into *Tourism* and *Investment*, two of the main aspects defining nation branding, some countries rank as attractive to visit but not so much to invest in, that is, Thailand, Spain, and South Africa. At the same time, some countries are perceived as great for business but not so much to visit, that is, Singapore and the United Arab Emirates. If we extend the analysis per dimension, Peru, Egypt, Greece, and India excel in *Heritage and Culture* (see appendix F). Nordic countries such as Norway, Finland, and Sweden lead the *Quality of Life* dimension, and in the Made In category, there are positive associations with Japan, Germany and Switzerland. The top countries –the United States, Canada, France, Japan, and Germany– appear in most of these categories.

Rankings are tools that give relevant information about the scalar state of different fields. They help to understand a situation in the form of a panoramic picture, and to make an informed decision, as in the form of a public policy. Nevertheless, to rank nations as per their brand-value defined by a 'global public opinion' closer to tourism and investment is more debatable. It is valid to ask here whether they help us to know the current 'value' of nations or if they just reproduce common sense, validating what may already be thought considering the world's hierarchies. My point is not to argue against the research validity of the rankings. After all, they have conceptual premises, clear methodologies, targeted audiences, and enormous amounts of data gathered through privileged fieldwork and solid research. I argue that, in the end, these results, even more if we include the tendency over the last five years, may also be seen as a device that reproduces common-sense images of world power.

Put differently, if it is acknowledged that the main superpowers from Europe and North America lead the table, that Latin American and other emerging countries remain in the mid positions, and that the poorest and most conflicted African and Asian ones appear at the bottom, it can be said that nation branding global rankings are also

94

another form of global hierarchy. The United States, Germany, Canada, or France are probably not anxious about their nation branding positions dropping. Unless a major lasting conflict or a series of harmful events occur, they will lead the table for a while. On the other hand, is there much that Bangladesh, Pakistan, or Botswana can do to escalate in theirs? Should they care about it? I will illustrate this idea with one more table. If the countries' national gross domestic products (economics) and participation as permanent members of the United States Security Council (politics) are included to the global country brand rankings, we have the following:

FutureBrand (2015)	Anholt-GfK report (2015)	Brand Finance Report (2015)	GDP (nominal, 2014)[35]	UN Security Council permanent members[36]
Japan	United States	United States	United States	United States
Switzerland	Germany	China	China	China
Germany	United Kingdom	Germany	Japan	France
Sweden	France	United Kingdom	Germany	Russia
Canada	Canada	Japan	United Kingdom	United Kingdom
Norway	Japan	France	France	
United States	Italy	India	Brazil	
Australia	Switzerland	Canada	Italy	
Denmark	Australia	Italy	India	
Austria	Sweden	Australia	Russia	

Table 27. Global Nation Brand Rankings plus Gross Domestic Product plus United Nations Security Council. Own elaboration.

From this table, it can be noticed that leading economic powers, and those that control a significant part of the global market, are the countries with a powerful position in the political control of the world order and also have the most valuable nation brands. In relation to my cases, have Latin American countries expecting to escalate positions in these rankings lost the battle even before fighting it? In fact, for Latin America, what can be noted, as illustrated in subsequent figures, is again a reproduction of the expected. Brazil, Argentina, and Mexico, the biggest economies and the most politically influential in Latin America, are at the top of the regional ranking, while Haiti, Guatemala, Nicaragua, and El Salvador are at the bottom. Peru occupies the fifth and Cuba the

---

[35] Information obtained in The World Bank 2017.
[36] Information obtained in United Nations 2017.

95

eight positions. In terms of specific dimensions, Peru does well in *Heritage and Culture* but performs poorly in *Value System,* especially in political freedom, in *Quality of Life,* and in *Business,* especially in technology. Cuba also performs very badly in *Value System,* especially in political freedom, in *Business,* especially in technology and infrastructure, but achieves good scores in *Tourism* and *Heritage and Culture*.

For nation branding, rankings are simultaneously tools that locate places in a numeric order and influence management of the territory. They also illustrate the importance of metrics in a competitive world. They function as specific (necessary) knowledges that (re)produce hierarchies.

Ranking General

1 BRASIL		11 COLOMBIA	-2
2 ARGENTINA		12 VENEZUELA	+1
3 MÉXICO	+3	13 PARAGUAY	+3
4 CHILE		14 REP. DOMINICANA	-3
5 PERÚ		15 ECUADOR	-1
6 COSTA RICA	-3	16 BOLIVIA	+2
7 PANAMÁ	+1	17 HONDURAS	
8 CUBA	+4	18 HAITÍ	+3
9 PUERTO RICO	+1	19 GUATEMALA	+1
10 URUGUAY	-3	20 EL SALVADOR	-1
		21 NICARAGUA	-6

RANKINGS COUNTRY BRAND REPORT AMÉRICA LATINA 2015 / 16 FUTUREBRAND 16

Ranking por dimensiones

	PROPÓSITO			EXPERIENCIA		
TOP TEN	SISTEMA DE VALORES	CALIDAD DE VIDA	APTITUD PARA LOS NEGOCIOS	PATRIMONIO Y CULTURA	TURISMO	MADE IN
1 BRASIL	BRASIL	ARGENTINA	BRASIL	BRASIL	BRASIL	BRASIL
2 ARGENTINA	ARGENTINA	BRASIL	ARGENTINA	MEXICO	MEXICO	MEXICO
3 MÉXICO	COSTA RICA	CHILE	MÉXICO	ARGENTINA	ARGENTINA	ARGENTINA
4 CHILE	CHILE	COSTA RICA	CHILE	PERÚ	CHILE	PERÚ
5 PERÚ	PERÚ	MÉXICO	PANAMÁ	CUBA	COSTA RICA	CHILE
6 COSTA RICA	MEXICO	PANAMÁ	COSTA RICA	CHILE	CUBA	CUBA
7 PANAMÁ	PANAMÁ	URUGUAY	URUGUAY	PUERTO RICO	PERÚ	COLOMBIA
8 CUBA	URUGUAY	PUERTO RICO	PERÚ	COSTA RICA	PANAMÁ	COSTA RICA
9 PUERTO RICO	PUERTO RICO	PERÚ	PARAGUAY	COLOMBIA	COLOMBIA	PANAMÁ
10 URUGUAY	PARAGUAY	CUBA	PUERTO RICO	PANAMÁ	REPUBLICA DOMINICANA	VENEZUELA

Figure 28. FutureBrand Country Brand Latin America Ranking. Top 21 countries and Top 10 countries by dimensions 2015-2016. (FutureBrand, n.d- b, p.15).

Figure 29. FutureBrand Country Brand Latin America Ranking. Top 21 countries and Top 10 countries by dimensions 2015-2016. (FutureBrand, n.d- b, p.16).
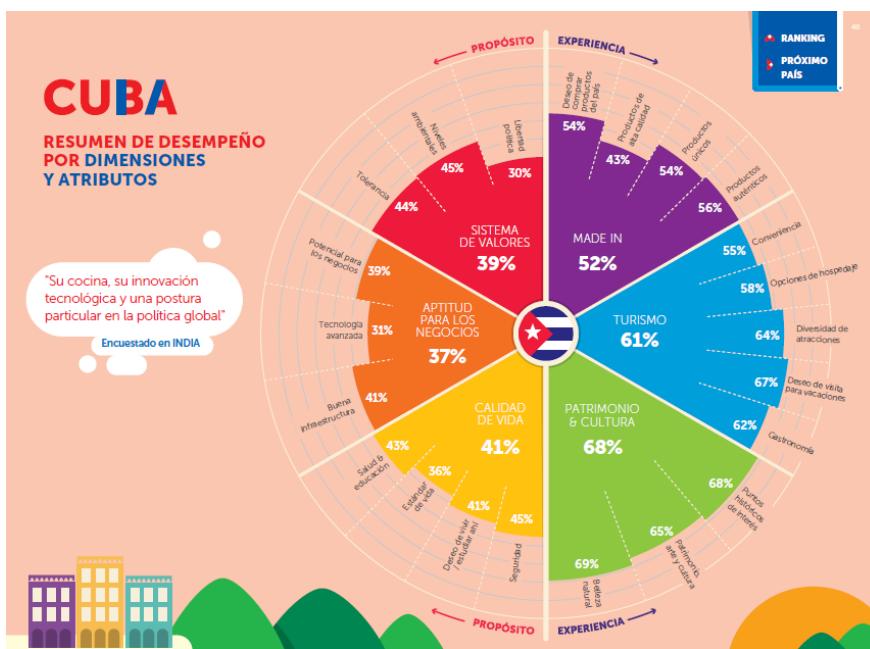
Figure 30. FutureBrand Country Brand Latin America Index. Peru and Cuba by categories 2015-2016. (FutureBrand, n.d- b, p.31).

Figure 31. FutureBrand Country Brand Latin America Index. Peru and Cuba by categories 2015-2016. (FutureBrand, n.d- b, p.41).

2.5 Nation Branding as a Logical Answer to Our Times

I will now return to the last chapter's ideas and connect them, in a final reflection on this chapter, to the next one. The connection lies in that, to a major extent, nation branding validates the cultural logics of our times pointed out in Chapter One. While Lipovetsky, Serroy, Feher, Marwick among others do not have this specific field in mind when seeking to theorize our times at the individual, local, and global levels, it seems appropriate to argue that the imperatives, practices, and social relations they underline are mirrored to the field's internal discourses and methods. In fact, the conceptual premises, manuals, and tools (rankings) analysed in this chapter emphasize four aspects.

First, that nation branding strategies clearly respond to the imperative of experience and enjoyment. Along with other criteria, the field orients countries to present, in their renewed national narratives, a series of memories and seductive promises, to depict the country as a sum of 'hidden treasures' to be discovered/ consumed in the form of an exciting fiction, as Peru did in the first strategy examined. Places, in general, are referred as 'styles' or as 'seductive experiences' and are encouraged to constantly create 'novel events', to showcase good or interesting news, and to attract both global audiences and local citizens who hopefully will 'live the brand' as a celebratory consumer experience. This imperative can be noted not only in the content but in the field's evaluation mechanisms, as in FutureBrand's HDM which evaluates two main categories, one of which is the nation brand's 'experience'.

The second aspect in this examination of the field is that the premises, methods, and the rankings employed emphasize the need to *compete* with other countries. The premise is that, embedded in a competitive world order, governments must work on finding, creating, and managing what makes their nations distinct from others. As Olins states, 'branding the nation has become vital for economic success. […] And the competition between nations is intense. The more globalization, the more competition' (2014, p. 137) For this, it is imperative to 'create the central, powerful, simple idea […] that captures the unique qualities of the nation. […] Find the difference' (2014, p. 152).

For Anholt, such 'difference' is central to build and maintain a strong 'competitive identity' and gain a 'competitive advantage'. In short, the issue is that nations already compete with each other in the struggle to attract investors and tourists, for which a solid branding strategy will boost their presence in the global scenario. This is what Michael Porter (1990) defined as the 'competitive advantage of nations', or what can be called now the 'aesthetic competition of the nations'. As Aronczyk puts it:

> 'As monolithic, business-based conceptions of globalization and neoliberalism have come to dominate public institutions and forms of governance, national identity has been mobilized as a competitive resource to narrate distinction and difference in global settings. In this context, the brand emerges as a way to manage and control this resource and create distinction and difference.' (Aronczyk 2013, p.11)

The third aspect is that a main goal is to achieve or maintain a strong reputation or status in global public opinion. As in the neoliberal self, nations must be self-conscious and work constantly on gaining and keeping a strong reputation. This is quantified through specific dimensions, producing a concrete number and from this a position in country brand global tables. For Olins, the aim is 'to improve perceptions of the nation' and consequently: 'increase and further prosperity' (2014, p. 153). For Anholt, 'Competitive Identity is about government, companies and people learning to channel their behaviour in a common direction that's positive and productive to the country's reputation, so that they can start to earn the reputation they need and deserve.' (2007, p. 30-31). As individuals, nations are pushed to become attractive to the eyes of the investor.

Fourth, this problematization of the field illustrates that there is an imprint not just in achieving or pursuing goals of status and competitivity, but that this needs continuous managing. That is to say that nation branding demands constant and careful control and evaluation. What to showcase to the world? What to post on official pages? What to privilege as pillars of identity? How to evaluate outcomes and results? This enables governments to manage the nation brand or, better yet, manage the nation *as* a brand. The elements analysed in this chapter, it could be said, are the material concretization of the neoliberal management imperative translated into national identities. For Olins,

'politicians everywhere now realize that every nation has an identity. They can either seek to manage this, or it will manage them'. (2014, p. 153). For Anholt, it is crucial for nations to 'achieve some control over its international image.' (2007, p. 30-31).

These four elements lead me to a final reflection which will be illustrated in the next chapter with concrete examples. From Machiavelli to Weber, Marx, and Foucault, how to govern has been a key question facing modern nation-states. That is: by whom, for whom, using what methods? Is it better to be feared, desired, respected, or all together? Is it wise to legitimate governance using science and facts, or by common sense and populism? By hard power or by soft power? The field of nation branding might answer that governments need to manage their nations by design: they need now a strategic design in accordance to the imperatives here described.

That is, as mentioned, branded nations need to define concrete targets; to consider the markets and stakeholders to address and to reach and engage the local and external audiences. They also need to analyse and define their regional and global competitors and intervene accordingly (Egypt and Greece are defined as competitors for Peru because of the history dimension; Caribbean countries are the competitors for Cuba because of the 'sun and sea' destination). They need to produce a national narrative based upon meticulous research using selected stakeholders and they need, finally, to evaluate the nation's performance through point-based indicators in the form of models and rankings that will guide decision-making.

Nations brands are produced and operate through a careful strategic plan, quantitative tools, models and under the direction of specific actors related to the branding and design fields. In this process, they respond to the cultural imperatives of our times: to manage ourselves in a competitive order through seductive experiences and metrics; to be quantified and measured according to rankings, and to achieve a solid reputation for the global gaze. If this is being undertaken for products, businesses, universities, and for the sake of our personal lives; unsurprisingly, it is also being done for nations, or, in general, for places[37].

---

[37] Following Foucault, it could be asked to what extent we could add one more stage in the history of governing and state power. To the feudal legal state, the 15th and 16th century administrative state (regulation and discipline) and the

Moreover, the characterization of the field of nation branding as a public policy enables me to synthesize a final reflection around the continuities and changes between nation building and nation branding. In so doing, I will connect my conceptual and contextual frame to the field of nation branding problematized in this chapter, and link it to the following chapter, in which I will analyse in detail the production of the Peruvian nation brand.

As mentioned, scholars devoted to the study of nation and nationalism gathered by Smith under the modernist approach do not understand nations as ancient or immemorial nor as products of natural forces. They define nations, on the contrary, as social constructs designed in an age of revolutions and mass mobilization, products of rational planned activity made possible by the conditions of modernity. From this, 'nation building' both as a term and as an approach is developed.

Nation building emphasizes, primarily, that nations can and are built, thus are subject to and moulded by specific historical conditions (modernism, colonialism), social processes (mobility, literacy), cultural artefacts (songs, anthems, newspapers, various modes of social communication), cultural structures (religion, language), institutional apparatuses (bureaucracy), and political will (mass participation, elites' leadership). In Smith's words, nation building is defined as a process through which nations 'were built through a variety of processes and institutions. The key to success of nations was […] the creation of an infrastructure of social communications -transport, bureaucracy, language, education, the media, political parties, etc.' (Smith 1988, p.20). All this with the ultimate purpose of assimilation, integration, and cohesion.

In terms of content, the nation building approach underlines that nations are, or aim to be, *territorial-political* communities. Nations aim to be sovereign and cohesive communities of legally equal citizens, they constitute the primary political bond, they are considered the main political actors in the international arena and they are built, partly, by national elites with the active role of citizens. In this sense, the political dimension of

---

17th – early 20th state of government (statistics and population, management and security), could it be included nowadays the contemporary state of calculated seduction?

nations is central to nation building: nations are, ultimately, political entities based upon equal rights.

From this approach, given the particularities pointed out in this section, nation branding can be understood as a form of nation building. To begin with, and primarily, nation branding derives from the premise, as with nation building, that nations can be constructed, or in the field terms 'designed'. Nation brands are also the product of planned activity made possible by historical conditions and social processes, with the use of cultural artefacts and structures, or by the re-interpretation of elements associated with a 'golden past'. They are attached to, or at least developed in relation to specific territorial communities, and they are considered by their promoters -the 'Transnational Promotional Class'- to be the main actors in the international arena. In addition, they are designed at the behest of an elite and invite, in most of the cases, the participation and engagement of citizens. To sum up, they are also a form of producing a national narrative and identity through various devices and mechanisms in a neoliberal context, or what I have referred as a neoliberal cultural policy.

At the same time, if these are somehow conceptual and procedural similarities between how the nation is built and how is it branded, there are as well substantial changes that have already been alluded to in this chapter, and that will be expanded with examples throughout chapters three and four. To begin with, as saw in Chapter One, the historic conditions have changed from a modern-industrial to a modern-neoliberal model, with all the implications this entails. As mentioned, the term 'nation brand' only appeared in the mid-nineties. Second, the main professional and institutional actors involved in their production are not only national but global and they belong not exclusively to a bureaucratic state elite but also to a private global one, mainly in the areas of branding, tourism, commerce, and exports.

Regarding the devices and technologies used to build and communicate the nation brand narrative - the 'infrastructure of social communications' - in nation branding these are much closer to visual and information technologies, social networks being their main platform, and they are not circumscribed to the national territory, but operate simultaneously in the local and global terrains. Finally, in nation branding there is a

strong component of management and evaluation, which occurs in the form of specifically created metric indicators such as global place brand rankings.

Nevertheless, it could be said that the main difference consists in the substantial character of each process. While in both processes the creation of a national narrative is crucial, the targets are somehow different or at least have different emphasis. If in the process of nation building the *political-territorial* goals in terms of the creation of *legally equal citizens* and national cohesion is key, in branding the nation it is the *promotional-commercial* goal in terms of economic revenue and *pursuit of reputation* which is the primary aim. If in nation building the internal territorial and cultural integration of national citizens is fundamental and, in theory, constitutes one of its main purposes, in nation branding this (multi) cultural cohesion is surely relevant and may certainly be depicted as part of the nation's distinctiveness and a resource to its 'competitive identity' in the global arena, but it is not its ultimate purpose.

To be more precise, it could be argued that in nation branding, national cohesion goes hand in hand, or is arguably subsumed, in the main objective of pursuing the attention of the global scenario, mainly investors and tourists. If for nation building, the assimilation and integration of multiple cultures is considered, ideally, vital for the cohesion of the nation -evidently this did not reflect on how historical processes of nation building occurred in reality- in nation branding this is a symbolic resource attractive in the global arena but does not imply the legal defence, instalment or promotion of civil and political rights for culturally different groups. In Peru, while nation branding aims to boost the self-esteem of national citizens, this is not accompanied by the defence of legal, civil, cultural or political rights; being the ultimate aim to promote, internally and externally, the good news and accomplishments of a, in theory, democratic multicultural society. In Cuba, clearly, the branding endeavour focuses on the commercial global arena, leaving aside any political or civil aspect of its citizens.

In other aspect, if in nation building 'sacrifice' for the nation is an ultimate expectation of citizens, in nation branding the expectation lies more in that people relate to the nation in a celebratory manner via the mediation of the market, both as their conditions of citizens and consumers. The mobilization of citizens is needed, not in the

form of self-sacrifice 'in the name of the nation', but in terms of their participation and symbolic validation of the branding narrative via the consumption of merchandise, sharing the videos created, participating in nation branding campaigns, etc. The citizens here need to 'consume' and celebrate the nation offered. In addition, if in nation building the internal target is chief and predominant, in nation branding the capture of the internal audience goes along with campaigns devoted to the external audience. At the end, if in nation building the purpose is the creation of the nation, in nation branding the aim is the production of both a renewed narrative of the 'nation' together with the design of a 'brand', in their now inescapable bonds.

This is not, to conclude, a simple 'hard' versus 'soft' or 'material' versus 'imagined' division, nor is it a stronger against weaker intervention in social relations and collective identifications. If it is said that in nation branding the symbolic is fundamental, this does not mean, as referred to above, that the political dimension is entirely absent. In nation branding there is also a significant influence over citizens and the ideal citizenship and over state-citizen relations, -as demonstrates the case of Peru. The symbolic has, as referred in the introduction, a constitutive dimension as it shapes the social. Nation brands do intervene in how state-relations are practiced and thought of, and they reproduce collective identifications embedded with relations of power. In this sense, they are political as well, but the idea of citizenship or the defence of the national territory are not defended nor promoted in the terms that nation building, in theory, did.

Having said this, an in-depth examination of a specific nation branding process is required. To do so, I will now look at my cases and answer the following: How have Peruvian and Cuban nation brands been designed based on the imperatives mentioned above and considering the conceptual and contextual premises addressed? What are their core-ideas? What can be said about their narratives? Which devices have been created to disseminate them and how consistent are they? How have they been managed? Which actors are involved? How do we reconstruct, empirically, the process of producing a nation brand?

Chapter 3. Designing the (Peruvian) Nation as a Neoliberal Cultural Policy

When discussing the origins of the Peruvian nation branding process, the former Brand Peru manager mentioned that:

> 'when the nation branding work began, research was done, people from FutureBrand did research to find out the value that this brand had worldwide and one of the findings was that Peru was not a brand! Peru is a country, obviously, but the challenge was to become a brand […] because in the nation branding world, Peru did not ring a bell.' (Personal Communication, Brand Peru former director, 8 August 2014).

Whereas the strategy's creative director publicly claimed that:

> 'My objective was to approach Peru as a brand with different attributes and not as a state' (Universidad del Desarrollo, n.d).

The first quote condenses most of the actors, mechanisms, and contemporary demands examined so far. To begin with, it underlines the need for competition, positioning, and reputation, which now act as premises activating these endeavours. The brand 'Peru' 'did not ring a bell' in the nation branding world and this was a challenge to overcome, even more crucially when other countries were doing so. Secondly, and more significantly, it suggests that there is an absence or something yet undone that needs to be addressed. Peru is defined in terms of something to be constructed since, surely, it is a country, 'but the challenge is to become a brand'. Thirdly, key actors are highlighted. In Peru, global branding consultant Future Brand, in charge of developing the branding strategies of various countries in the region and responsible for the most important country brand global ranking, was appointed 'to find out the value of the Brand Peru', later proving the absence. This, clearly worrying, finding was not just a hint, but the result of meticulous research that demonstrated that Peru presented a problem that needed to be addressed.

This quote, simultaneously, addresses this chapter's goal of examining the nation branding process in Peru as a neoliberal cultural policy. With the use of primary and secondary material gathered during fieldwork in Lima, I will illustrate with facts and data how a nation brand is *produced* or designed (conceived, developed, and disseminated), in dialogue with the conceptual and contextual elements previously explained. I have two secondary objectives. First, to identify the contextual, conceptual, and technical basis from which Brand Peru is produced in order to understand more accurately its outcomes, that is, the narration of the nation exhibited in the branding devices analysed in the next chapter. Second, to have more elements to understand how a nation branding process operates 'empirically' and from this, to reflect upon the global phenomenon[38].

The chapter is divided into four sections. The first historicizes the context in which Brand Peru emerged. The second, third, and fourth analyse the nation brand design process from initial ideas to creation, development, dissemination, managing and evaluation, as part of what I define as a neoliberal cultural policy. Finally, I will set the terms of the following chapters.

As hinted by the first quote in this chapter, the Peruvian nation branding process responds both to the neoliberal imperatives defined on Chapter One –competition, management, metrics, reputation– and to the nation branding's own field guidelines described on Chapter Two –core-idea definition, consistency, emotional engagement, dissemination, reinforcement of good and novel ideas, monitoring and measuring.

Somogy Varga's (2013) understanding of this phenomenon, briefly presented in the last chapter, is relevant here insofar as, for Varga, place branding strategies should be read as 'inner cultural policies' developed under a neoliberal model. In particular, Varga argues that place branding devices illustrate a triple agenda: the *conservative* as it legitimizes the neoliberal nation-state by combining the neoliberal vocabulary together and the nationalist discourse; the *transformative,* in that the new language of the nation suppresses historical-political and cultural contexts, changing the concept of national

---

[38] Like many others, my secondary case of Brand Cuba follows a similar procedure as that described here. It seems redundant to detail the whole Cuban procedure again, and while I will mention some of its aspects in the next chapter, here I will focus upon my main case.

identity, and the *transferable* one as bureaucrats and democratically elected governments transfer its 'definitional power' to advertising agencies (2013, p.826-830). In short, in keeping with Varga's approach, I understand that nation brand strategies are powerful neoliberal cultural policies.

This is mirrored in my case. To begin with, the transfer of government power to branding agencies is evidenced notably in the institutional public support and experts involved. The process was requested of and directed by PromPerú, a branch of the Ministry of Tourism and Commerce. Hence the institutional culture and political aims are connected to the promotional dimension and the search for profit. In addition, the entire brand design was developed by international branding consultants, local experts working for global consultancies, and well-known branding 'gurus'. It is their techniques, strategies, and voices that are mainly heard, recalling Aronczyk's map illustrated showing the hierarchical order between experts from the global north suggesting guidelines to governments in the global south (Figure 19).

The transferable dimension, however, does not simply include branding or advertising actors, as Varga mentions, but those related to commerce, tourism, and investment. It is from the mandate to promote the country's reputation in relation to pre-defined commercial targets and audiences that the branded national identity was built and such a mandate continues to guide its narrative, its devices, and specific activities. The national narrative was then developed on the basis of a particular locus of enunciation –stakeholders related to commerce, tourism, and investment– and considering commercial and reputational purposes in relation to pre-defined strategic areas and markets. These actors' voices and demands were the most vocal in the branding process, in the production of the nation brand.

The *transformative* dimension in which, following Varga, the new language of the nation suppresses the historical-political and cultural contexts is also clear throughout the Peruvian process and mainly in its resulting objects. As I will develop, if place branding was assumed to be necessary, it was because of its depoliticized premises. In fact, nation branding premises establish that the need to engage with this endeavour had to do with seizing the context of Peruvian national pride (the first decade of the 21st

century) through a depoliticized hence 'effective' field of expertise (place branding). This promise of depoliticization was translated both in the designing process –the conscious goal of the branding team being to avoid the intervention of the political Peruvian class in the process– and in the suggested narrative of the nation.

If fields such as gastronomy, music, or fashion were chosen as identity pillars, it was because they were considered the most relevant for contemporary Peruvian society during those years, with potentially higher impact from which people could celebrate the nation brand and strengthen national identity in a benign form, that is, distanced from historical problematic issues. In the same vein, the portrayers of the nation, those entitled to speak about it, are the so-called brand ambassadors or, as I name them, the celebrities-entrepreneurs or 'celepreneurs'. They are a group of successful Peruvian representatives involved with the topics the new nation portrays, topics which relate in a closer manner with ordinary Peruvian people. Rather than politicians or military figures, these new 'Peruvian heroes' carry the national flags in a joyful celebratory form, epitomizing the ideal subject of the novel national narrative.

The *conservative* dimension, that legitimizes the neoliberal nation-state by merging neoliberal vocabulary with nationalist discourse, is the final consequence of this process and can be noted throughout Brand Peru. In this endeavour, the signifier 'Peru' can only be effective by adding the suffix 'brand'. Peru, as the videos state 'is a great brand'. Nevertheless, the name is not the only change. Given this neoliberal vocabulary, citizens are no longer simply that, but are transformed into consumers required to act as proper 'brand ambassadors' by 'living the brand'. In other words, as occurs with other social dimensions of neoliberalism, the responsibility of the nation no longer depends only on the government but on the citizen-consumers. After declaring that 'Peru is a great brand', the videos state at the end that 'and all of you are invited to be its ambassadors'. Throughout the process, as the testimonies gathered show, the language of neoliberalism is used to reflect on the branding process and, consequently, on the meaning of the nation.

A final example supports the idea of understanding this process as a neoliberal policy. As was explained to me by their creators, even the nation brand's specific

colours –red, purple, green and black– were defined as the official ones for two reasons. First, the aim of softening the pictorial representation of the country, exclusive to red and white to a varied palette. Second, to connect Peruvian visual identification to the target market audiences' visual imagination of the country. Considering the research undertaken and the commercial country targets, Peru also needed to be associated with green and blue:

> 'what is Peru's colour?' Peruvians will tell you red and white but go to Japan, Tokyo and ask them what Peru's colour is and they will tell you green. In the United States and Europe everyone said Peru was green.'
>
> *Me: Because of the Amazon?*
>
> 'Macchu Picchu. No, not because of the Amazon, the Amazon is Brazil, no one knows, nor even suspects, that the Amazon is here! The only picture they have seen in their lives is Macchu Picchu and it is always green, sometimes they would say blue, because of the sky, the Huayna Picchu and the blue sky. That is their only reference, crazy! Well for that reason, a green and blue logo has been included in the brand. The six colours are: green, blue, yellow, brown, and there is also a purple one.' (Personal Communication, Brand Peru former director, 8 August 2014).

If Peruvians associate the country with red and white, clearly the colours of the country's and nation's brand, to this has to be added the external target market association. Peru was also green and blue, not because of the Amazon, the largest region in the country as I mistakenly thought, but because of Macchu Picchu, the main tourist attraction for Europeans, the United States, and Japan, three of the most important markets and crucial actors of the global public opinion. In all, while these three dimensions will be analysed by reflecting on the premises, creation, and management of the nation brand, it is necessary first to historically locate the issue at hand. What was occurring in Peru in the years before this narration was inscribed? What does the context can tell us about it?

3.1 Historicizing 'Marca Perú'

In order to historicize my study, it is imperative to reflect on the social scenario from which Brand Peru emerged. That is, the political, cultural, and economic contexts that rooted the campaign in a specific time and space and enabled a better comprehension of its outcomes and impacts. Brand Peru has been in the making since 2006 and was officially launched in 2011. It was, therefore, conceived, born, and raised during the first decade of the 21st century. This context can be characterized by three main processes. First, a post-conflict period and the subsequent 'battles for the memory'. Second, the consolidation of the neoliberal model as a discourse and its effects, such as economic growth, stability and inequality. Third, the expansion and dissemination of national-cultural referents mainly in the form of consumable objects and services.

The first process has to do with the post-conflict/post-crisis period in the aftermath of the systematic crisis experienced between 1980 and the early 2000s. During the 1980s, known as the 'lost decade', the country went through such political, economic, and social instability that challenged even the sustainability of the nation state. In economic terms, high rates of inflation, money depreciation, and scarcity of basic everyday products characterized Alan Garcia's first government (1985-1990). In addition, the country experienced an internal armed conflict that, according to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, caused the death and disappearances of almost 70,000 people, the majority being rural indigenous Quechua-speaking peasants (Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación, 2003). These deaths were perpetrated in similar proportions by the terrorist group *The Shining Path* (46%) and the (para)-military forces (37%) (Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación, 2004) and instilled a profound sense of insecurity, distrust, and despair among Peruvians[39].

During the 1990's, Peru witnessed a political dictatorship in the regime of Alberto Fujimori (1990-2001). Elected democratically, in 1992 Fujimori shut down Congress

---

[39] This sense of despair and distrust has been covered by Gonzalo Portocarrero in *Sacaojos: Crisis Social y Fantasmas Coloniales* (1991).

using military force (the so-called 'autogolpe', self-coup), subsequently giving himself illegal and unaccountable roles. Extensive corruption, appropriation of the media and national institutions to satisfy personal agendas and persecution of opposition parties, unions, and civil associations occurred under Fujimori's rule, adding to institutional precariousness and reinforcing authoritarianism and 'clientelism' as a mode of government. Fujimori's rule ended in 2001 when, after being illegally declared President for a third term, videoed bribes to members of Congress and media owners from Vladimiro Montesinos, his closest ally and former director of the National Intelligence Service, were broadcasted on national television, boosting the fall of the regime[40].

With *The Shining Path* and the *Movimiento Revolucionario Tupac Amaru* leaders captured and terrorist action diminishing considerably, along with the stabilization of the economy and the return of a democratic government, by the late 1990s the political debate focused upon the analysis of the armed conflict and political dictatorship. In the wake of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission report, public debates in the media, artistic interventions, academic research, and literature devoted to the subject appeared (Lopez Maguiña et al. 2006; Degregori 2010; Portocarrero 2012; Vich 2015; Milton 2015, etc.) which activated public disputes on how to narrate the recent traumatic past and, from this, how to re-narrate the present. In short, the 'battles for the memory' occupied a central place during these years.[41]

The second process concerns the economy and continuity of the neoliberal model from which Peru has implemented its public policies for the last twenty-five years. The neoliberal model was installed by Fujimori after the 'autogolpe' in 1992 through reforms such as the liberalization of the market, the privatization of state-owned companies, the dismantling of unions, and less regulation of economic activities, as advised by the 'Washington Consensus'. These policies were continued by the

---

[40] Fujimori fled the country for Japan, where he resigned the presidency by fax. He was later captured by Interpol and arrested and imprisoned in 2004, along with his governmental allies including Vladimiro Montesinos. It is estimated that 14,087,000 dollars were stolen via corruption practices by this regime. (Quiroz 2005).
[41] This can be illustrated by ongoing attacks on the Truth and Reconciliation Commission Report or to public memorial sites such as the 'Crying Eye' ('Ojo que Llora') memorial in Lima, the Memory Museum (Museo de la Memoria) in Junín, central Peru, and the Place for the Memory (Lugar de la Memoria) in Lima. See Milton 2007, Poole & Rojas 2011, and Vich 2015.

successive governments of Alejandro Toledo (2001-2006), Alan Garcia (2006-2011), and, surprising because of his initially leftist discourse, Ollanta Humala (2011-2016).

In macro-economic terms, Peru grew every year since 2002, at an average rate of 5.9% until 2015 (The World Bank 2016). This growth had as a direct impact the expansion of the middle class and its consumption capacity, usually illustrated by the shift from a pyramidal to a rhombus-shaped social structure (Arellano 2010), the reduction of poverty from 54.3% in 2001 to 23.9% in 2013, and of extreme poverty from 24.1% in 2001 to 4.7% in 2013 (Mendoza & García 2006). Simultaneously, this growth has widened economic inequality and increased volatility, some questioning the so-called 'Peruvian miracle' (Luna 2016). This is not exclusive to Peru, as almost the whole of Latin America, following the same model, went through a similar process during those decades. Considering that in some countries these reforms were more radical (Peru, Chile) than others (Argentina), in general, similar outcomes occurred during the era. Evaluating the region's performance during the 1990s Evelyn Huber and Fred Solt conclude that:

> 'Higher levels of liberalization and more radical processes of liberalization are associated with higher levels of inequality and poverty. The changes in inequality are impressive: the countries with the more liberalized economies as of 1995 started around 1982 with lower levels of inequality than the countries with the less liberalized economies as of 1995, but the two sets of countries switched position, with the more liberalized economies ending up with the higher levels of inequality around 1995 than the less liberalized economies'. (2004, p.156).
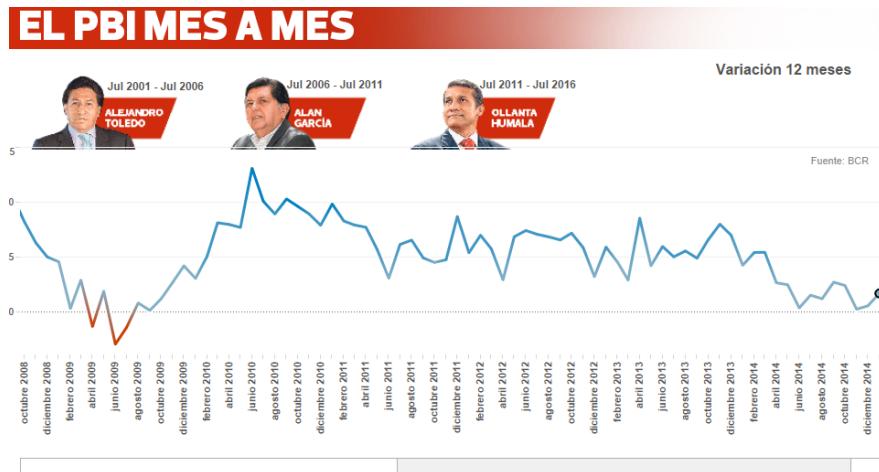
Table 32. Peruvian PBI per month and year, 2008-2014 (El Comercio 2015)

In addition, these decades saw the invigoration of economic sectors such as construction, mining, and exports and tourism, the latter coming to be promoted as a crucial field to increase revenues, contribute to GDP, and generate direct and indirect employment via the increasing number of tourists. During the 1990s PromPerú, a unit exclusively dedicated to the promotion of the country for the tourism, commerce, and investment sectors, was created.[42] In 2014 the contribution of tourism to GDP was 3.75% and in 2012 it was directly and indirectly responsible for 1,081,035 jobs.
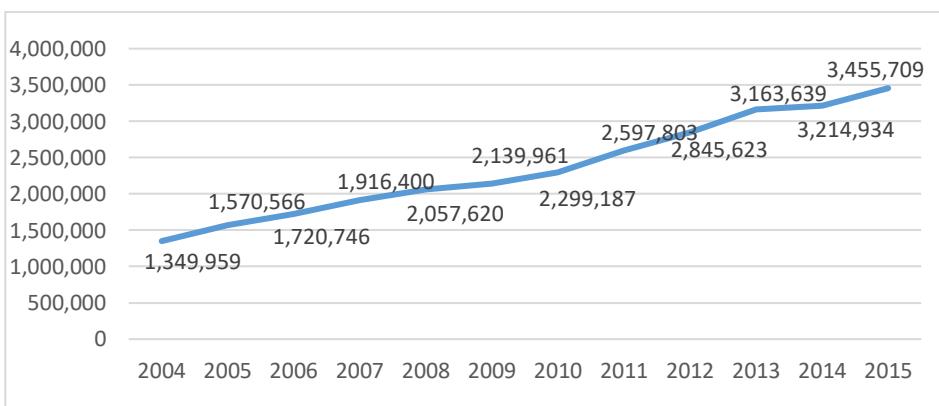
Table 33. Number of Tourist Visitors 2004-2015 (Ministerio de Comercio Exterior y Turismo 2015; Gestión 2016) My elaboration.

---

[42] For more on tourism in Peru and the role of PromPerú, see Gonzales-Velarde 2013.

The neoliberal model also implied cultural transformations and global discourses, and a new role model was promoted: the self-made man, the successful entrepreneur, the subject that, even whilst facing serious difficulties, 'can make it' relying upon effort and hard work. This is 'the entrepreneur of himself' in Foucauldian terms, or the portfolio manager in search of credit value and reputation, in Feher's ones. In these years, local literature from branding and business-related experts appeared in to focus upon individual management as the key to success, such as works by David Fishman (2005; 2009), Nano Guerra Garcia (2006), Rolando Arellano (2007; 2010), Ines Temple (2010), Daniel Córdova (2010), among others. This 'new Peruvian hero' resonated with the figure of the 'migrante exitoso' (successful migrant), suggested by the leftist academic spectrum during the 1980s and 1990s in order to understand recent waves of migrations and transformations in Lima (Degregori, Blondet and Lynch 1986; Adams and Golte 1990; Franco 1991). However, in the case of the neoliberal subject, dimensions such as networks, reciprocity, families, the state or society itself were downgraded, placing the success or failure on individual endeavour.

The third process regards a socio-cultural phenomenon. Over the last 10 or 15 years, national cultural referents mainly linked to the popular classes have begun to gain more presence in the media, at public events, and in everyday conversations. I am referring specifically to local gastronomy, which gained prominence during those years as the centre of national identity, as have, to a minor extent, music, literature, sports, fashion, and film. In the wake of growing international recognition, Peruvian personalities, products, and services were no longer, as in previous years, thought of as low-quality and of bad reputation; but became associated to originality, innovation and entrepreneurial success. In a sense, national-popular expressions were re-discovered by the media and the middle and upper classes.

As analysed by David Wood (2005) for the areas of literature, football, and crafts, the eruption of the 'popular' in Peruvian identity and national culture occurred around the turn of the century. Despite the reproduction of social and regional hierarchies and the unresolved 'imprecision' of 'the national' (p. 251), it is also true that 'cultural diversity in Peru is more patent and present within the concept of the national' (p. 21), and the

'multiracial and multicultural character of Peru is finally finding full expression and greater acknowledge at the national level'. This occurs in an ongoing process in which the 'popular classes have penetrated the hegemonic classes' activities; making it possible to gain a space within the national culture' (2005, p.251).[43]

In connection with this self-rediscovery, these years saw the growth of national tourism. If during the 1980s and early 1990s exploring the national territory was considered a risky practice, since the late 1990s and specially during the 2000s, people were more keen to visit cities and regions throughout the country, and tourist agencies were more enthusiastic to promote cities previously unconsidered. If only on a formal level, this generated new possibilities of physical connection and, with it, cultural encounters. It was, in short, much more feasible to explore national territory. Finally, at the same time and directly related to governmental sectorial strategies, these years saw an extensive promotion to 'consume local' through branding campaigns such as 'Cómprale al Perú', 2004 (El Comercio 2009), 'El Perú está de moda' ('Peru is in Fashion', 2007), and 'El Perú es Super' ('Peru is Super', 2008). In all, these campaigns and events showed that there was something interesting called 'Peru' which deserves more attention. The following events are highlighted in Figure 34.

---

[43] For the fields of music and fashion, see Patiño (2014) and Montero-Diaz (2016).

2002
'El Peru es Super'(Peru is Great) advertising campaign is launched.

2006
• 'Cómprale al Peru' (Buy Peruvian products) campaign is launched.

2008
• 'Mistura' food fair is launched and Chef Gaston Acurio is declared the figure of the year.
• Artist Cherman opens with great success 'Pesos Pesados del Peru y del Mundo' exhibition on pop-images of Peruvian popular culture figures.
• 'El Peru es Super' (Peru is Super) campaign is launched

2010
• Mario Vargas Llosa wins the literature Nobel Prize.

2004
• Sofia Mulanovich wins the world surf championship.
• 'Hecho en el Peru' certification logo is launched by the MInistry of Production.

2007
• Machu Picchu is declared one of the New Seven Wonders of the World, initiative started by The New7Wonders Foundation and the New Open World Corporation.

2009
• 'Cumbia' by Bareto, composed by popular songs of the Amazon and the Andes, is awarded the album of the year.
• 'The Milk of Sorrow' by Claudia Llosa wins the Golden Bear at the Berlinale film festival in Berlin.
• Kina Malpartida wins the box world championship.

2011
• OAS grants the title of 'Cultural Heritage of the Americas' to Peuvian Gastronomy.
• The 'G9 forum' –the best nine chefs in the world- takes place in Lima.
• Peru ends 3rd at the Copa America football competition. (this is considered a sucess).

Figure 34. Highlights of successful Peruvian events and strategies, 2004-2011. My own elaboration.

To sum up, this is a context defined by a post-conflict scenario which opened up a discussion about the collective memory and the meaning of the nation; a period of continuity of the neoliberal model and discourse and, with it, economic growth, the expansion of consumption, social inequality, and the promotion of the successful entrepreneur as an ideal model, and a wave of national pride and re-appropriation, arguably on a superficial commercially oriented level, of previously rejected local cultural referents.

These processes framed Brand Peru. The post-conflict, post-crisis scenario was an opportunity to produce a new national narrative. This was undertaken according to a model in which public policies were appropriated by a discourse that aimed to de-politicize them in favour of technified methods and a technocratic expertise as the unquestionable model. Thus, the internal and global processes in course pushed a novel narrative which was mainly captured by market imperatives, logics, and operators. If, historically, Peru was understood by Flores Galindo as in a constant 'search for an Inca', that is, in search of a messianic leader capable of transforming social structures and lead a return to the greatest past, 21st century Peru is in search of a brand.

3.2 The Premises, or why pursue a nation brand?

Considering this context and with the use of my interviews, I identify three premises orienting the need to design a Peruvian nation brand. That is, three reasons/conditions that, mainly for the branding consultants interviewed, justify the creation of this national strategy. The first is that Peru experienced a wave of national pride, therefore a branding campaign of this kind was the right idea at the right time, and branding and advertising techniques were useful devices to enhance this national feeling. Discussing the Peruvian context during the early years of the 21st century, a local advertiser working in a global company recalled:

> 'I remember, before, when I was a kid, lots of people felt ashamed of being Peruvian. You felt as if you were less than others. But something (during the last five years) started changing. And I think this was when this identity mini-

117

concept started to be created and the campaign began. It was just the precise moment. Now the concept of identity has already been created and people are saying 'right, OK, I am now proud of all these things'. (Personal Communication, Advertiser, 16 July 2014).

In the same vein, and consonant with national advertising campaigns, a branding consultant who worked on one of the Brand Peru strategies observed:

'We started believing in clichés such as 'Peru is on the spot', 'our kitchen conquers the world', and things like that that are not necessarily true, but as Peruvians were waiting for good news about ourselves, we strongly believed in such phrases, right? Advertising helped a lot, let's say contributing to this optimistic climate that Peruvian things are cool' (Personal communication, branding consultant, member of the nation brand advisory committee, 22 September, 2014).

Peru, as the brand slogans suggested, was 'super' and 'on the spot'. Something new, in the form of a collective 'mini-identity', was happening and it had to be encouraged. Advertisements jumped onto this wave, contributing to boost the optimistic Peruvian climate of those years, and the nation brand campaign had the perfect scenario to be launched.

The second premise had to do with the fact that nation branding was understood as a relevant mechanism that every country should develop, a field that provided a set of convenient tools to promote the country and, in this sense, it was a game that Peru needed to play. It helped to boost investment, tourism, and exports. Moreover, exactly as the field defines, it helped to build a strong identity and reputation for global audiences, and by doing so, to escalate country ranking positions, which would again return to economic sectors in a perfect virtuous circle. In dialogue with the instrumentalist approach as defined by Smith, it could be said that in nation branding the nation is re-created in a calculative manner to achieve 'the needs of and preoccupations of present-day elites' (2004, p.212), in this case mainly of commercial nature.

Moreover, not only was the scenario of an optimistic (re)newed identity perfect, but there was now a proper field to manage and develop a commercially oriented nationalist strategy, as PromPerú officers and most branding consultants interviewed agreed. In this vein, the former director of Brand Peru, and a branding consultant from the FutureBrand branch in Peru, both observed about the field of place branding:

> 'It is a promotional tool which adds value to the country as a tourist destination, an exporting country and a receiver of investments, it is amazing, when we were doing the presentation the identity didn't exist, which seemed beyond comprehension. Tourism, along with foreign trade and investment, are expected to contribute to the country's performance, but when the identity becomes strong, it will provide feedback on investment, commerce, and tourism and for that reason we are looking for a virtuous circle. We were looking to fulfill a virtuous circle to develop synergies […] to position Peru in the minds of the key audiences as a distinctive country at a global level' (Personal communication, former Brand Peru director, 8 August 2014).

> ***

> 'What Peru, PromPerú specifically, made of the issue of tourism, was seeing this study (the FutureBrand Country Brand ranking), which seemed interesting and suitable and they said, 'OK, I'm trying to make a statement like other incumbent countries are doing. How can I scale positions in this study (ranking)?' This is how PromPerú came to be aware of FutureBrand. And this is a tool, used by FutureBrand to raise awareness of those countries.' (Personal Communication, FutureBrand consultant in Peru, 16 September 2014).

The third premise had to do with a technical-apolitical discourse, the *transformative* dimension in Varga's terms. This stipulates that, in order to succeed, a depoliticized birthmark of Brand Peru was considered a fundamental condition. This premise, as official representatives bore out, had two aspects. The first is that the campaign's concept was understood without any political orientation. The second is that this aspect conditioned the specific strategies undertaken. Off the record, I received

detailed accounts of how, in order to legitimate the nation brand's reputation at its early stages, the unwritten goal shared by the responsible team was to avoid any association with political parties and leaders. To do so, the team involved had internal non-written agreements on how to deal with congressmen and women or government officers related to a political party. I was also told that the lack of involvement, almost rejection of the brand's strategy by President Alan Garcia before it had been launched (early 2011), was seen as an opportunity rather than a threat.

For nation brand officers, the main consideration at the time was –and remains– to build the image of a technical project and from this, to assure a brand that transcends evolving government interests. Lack of relations with politicians and with politics was a fundamental condition for the brand's creation and has been used to explain its success. Even PromPerú, as a branch of the Ministry of External Commerce and Tourism and formally responsible for promotion of Peru throughout the world, is usually presented as an institution without political bonds and its accomplishments are explained, among other rationales, by its particular ethos of a public institution operating as a private company, or a sort of private company with ministerial faculties. In any case, I argue that this rationale has to do with the technocratic imperatives of the nation brand, the managerial and metric legitimization of a nation branding project. About this, the former brand management director explained:

'It was in late 2010 when the Peru brand was established, the identity had already been created, and we were considering when to launch it because the government was in the process of changing. There was a political issue. Presidential elections were in progress and, in theory, we required the 'go-ahead' of the then-President Alan García. Neither did we wish it to be political, to be politicized in such a way that if the incoming President did not care to associate himself with the Peru brand, all the work we had done would have been placed on hold. We waited and made use of the channels available to us. Within the structure of PromPerú, a board of directors was formed by tourism and export associations to represent private interests and, in due course, we had the support of many private enterprises which, at the time, were more important than any political

120

support.' (Personal Communication, Brand Peru's former brand management director, 23 July 2014).

Similarly, our interviewee from FutureBrand in Peru elaborated:

'Another thing was the conviction that it didn't have to be a political issue. This did not have to be pushed by the President of the Republic, at that time Alan García, but, rather, it needed to be a technical issue, linked to PromPerú, to the (tourism and export) associations, to the main stakeholders who were going to benefit from the brand, but certainly not as a political issue.' (Personal communication, FutureBrand consultant in Peru, 16 September 2014).

Peruvian and Latin American history teaches us that public policies have had enormous difficulty to continue throughout governments, being usually re-invented every five years or less. Also, successful institutions and policies are influenced by political parties with private interests, weakening their original purposes. Taking these lessons into consideration, the fears of the political association and the depoliticization strategy manifested by the Brand Peru officers makes considerable sense. Consequently, the premise underlying the necessity of creating Brand Peru was that place branding was a depoliticized technocratic tool that was deemed necessary to take advantage of a wave of national pride and improve the image and reputation of the country.

Nevertheless, it would be wrong to say that the campaign has no political orientation. On the contrary, what I attempt to establish is precisely that a political – ideological narrative about the meaning of the nation, hidden under the veil of the technical-apolitical discourse, orients the campaign (and the entire nation branding field). And, broadly, that this field, as defined by Varga (2013), is in fact a cultural policy developed under a neoliberal model with political implications.

3.3 Creating Marca Perú: The Pursuit of Reputation in a Competitive Scenario

The need to create and manage a nation brand in a competitive scenario to gain status and reputation for the global gaze, has been a constitutive aspect of the Peruvian branding process throughout its development. Indeed, considering favourable national macro-economic indicators and the aggressive promotion of nation brand strategies in Latin American competitors such as Colombia, Mexico, and Brazil, in 2006 the Peruvian government sought to create a nation brand that would place the country in a better position in the global market by transferring this responsibility to 'adequate' actors.

In 2007 the creation of Brand Peru was officially announced by Executive Decree ('Decreto Supremo') Nº009–2007 MINCETUR, in which PromPerú was committed 'to carry out pertinent actions that lead to the formulation, implementation and administration of the 'Nation Brand' and would allow to identify Peru at a national and international level, positioning this (Nation Brand) as an instrument for the promotion of exports and of internal or receptive tourism promotion.' (*PromPerú 2017a)*

In 2008 the 'Country Brand Project' was created. The aim of this project, as stated in official documents, was to contest the clichés and stereotypes in the global media and public opinion about Peru such as poverty, instability, natural disasters (a major earthquake had occurred in 2007) and bad news. These stereotypes 'did not reflected the reality of Peru' (PromPerú 2013, Slide 11) during those years, such as the growing economy, the reduction of poverty, political stability, the renewed legal frame attractive to foreign investment or the international recognition of Peruvian innovation in gastronomy, film and literature. Therefore, 'all these things needed to be communicated through a strategy, as they were doing in other countries' (PromPerú 2013, Slide 30). It was necessary to manage the national image and compete in the region in the form of a brand, which Peru did not have.

Influenced by Anholt, whose Nation Brand Hexagon appears in PromPerú's presentations, the Country Brand Project began to design their aims and methods. Two goals were defined both internally (i) and externally (ii):

(i) Strengthen national self-esteem, based on the assessment of their own identity

(ii) Generate differentiation with respect to the rest of the world. This creates a competitive advantage, since it implies a clear agreement about how Peruvians wish to represent themselves to the world. (PromPerú 2013, slide 42).

To do so, it was first necessary to create a country-image to be positioned internally and externally. This country-image had to avoid dispersion and, in concordance with the field's guidelines, pursue consistency and coherence both in content and form. In the Peruvian case, to begin with, it was necessary to articulate existing sectorial campaigns such as 'Perú Moda' (for fashion), 'Perú Ahora' (for investment), 'Cómprale al Perú' (for production), and 'Perú Mucho Gusto' (for gastronomy) in a unified national strategy that would consolidate a 'brand architecture' for Peru.

In addition, as nation branding handbooks suggest, the nation brand aimed at differentiating and highlighting Peru's uniqueness in order to create its competitive identity. The intention was clear. Peru's reputation was stereotypical and poor, even though the context was in fact favourable. Therefore, as other countries in the region were doing, the country needed to seize the opportunity and intervene in global public opinion with the help of a national branding strategy aimed at re-creating a national narrative. This would reverse the situation described and generate social and economic benefits by increasing, following Feher, the potential value in the eyes of the investor. As one of my interviewees affirmed:

> 'There are over 200 nations in the world, right? And the human being builds an idea of each of those nations in an erratic, automatic, intuitive way. Therefore, any kind of demonstration, news, photograph that you see makes you create an idea of what such a nation is like. Thus, creating a brand helps the country that emits such a brand, emits a univocal sign that is convenient to position the country. It is related to the theory of positioning. When you think of a country, what comes to mind? And that makes transactions and choices easier, and makes you more competitive among

the international community. We live in a world in which we choose by association, then each country should try to identify what its audience wants in relation to what the country can offer. In that intersection, the nation brand should be created so that emotional transactions happen in an easier way, more naturally.' (Personal Communication, branding consultant, member of the nation brand advisory committee, 22 September, 2014).

To make this happen, a Country Brand Work Group was installed by the Directive Council Presidency Resolution Nº 07---2008---PROMPERÚ---PCD (PromPerú 2008). This group was led by representatives from PromPerú and the Ministry of External Commerce and Tourism, and composed of members of the Ministry of Foreign Relations, ProInvestment, an office dependent upon the Ministry of Economy and Finance, and a committee integrated by stakeholders from the tourism, commerce, and investment private sectors. Clearly, the locus of enunciation of the Country Brand Work Group was dominated by actors of the three economic target sectors.

After a public contest, the Country Brand Work Group employed the international branding consultant FutureBrand to assist with the design process. Between 2008 and 2010, they managed Brand Peru. FutureBrand is a global consultancy specializing in, among other areas, place branding. They define themselves as 'the creative future company' and their work is described as adaptable, positive, and entrepreneurial, FutureBrand affirming that 'we unite experts in strategy, design, innovation and experience, who work together across five continents to harness the power of brand for growth' (FutureBrand 2017b). It has branches in London, New York, Shanghai, Beijing, Madrid, Moscow, Bogotá, Lima, Buenos Aires, Santiago, São Paulo, and other major cities. They have worked on nation branding campaigns in several countries and every year release the Country Brand Index, one focusing upon Latin America.

Working with FutureBrand was crucial for the Brand Peru officers as the company's expertise offered information about other nation brand projects in Latin America and suggested the necessary steps for Peru to undertake. Thus, the work

began by establishing the relevance of this strategy in a competitive regional scenario and understanding what was happening in other Latin American nation brands processes:

> 'We did research on who had done this before and on who had done it well. Mexico was one of the first ones and it was also a project with FutureBrand. In fact, when we did the analysis of the Country Brand Index, what we saw was that the only nation brands, by levels of association, acknowledgment etc., were Mexico, Brazil, and Argentina. Costa Rica did a great job many years ago, since the '90s it had been working with this thing 'With no Artificial Ingredients'. And then Colombia had worked with 'Colombia is passion' some months before.' (Personal communication, FutureBrand consultant in Peru, 16 September 2014).

Figure 35. Brand Peru competitors. (PromPerú 2014).

During this stage, four actions were carried out: research and baseline; concept creation and validation; graphic design and brand test, and country brand strategy which included implementation, dissemination, and communication activities. As described on the last chapter, these are the same steps that other nation branding strategies follow and, as Aronczyk (2013) observes, can be organized in: (i) evaluation;

(ii) training; (iii) identification, and (iv) implementation. It was during these years (2008-2010) that Brand Perú's specific features were conceived.

In order to work on the brand's concept, the first action was to produce a report about the country in the context of a globalized economy. That is, to create Peru's nation brand 'core-idea', as Olins (2002) puts it, or the 'nation's soul' as Renan does. Five pieces of research were conducted by FutureBrand: internal analysis of the political, economic, social, technological, and ethical context named the 'PESTE' report; external analysis of Peru's perception in the world with fieldwork conducted in the United Kingdom, the United States, Germany and Japan; studies of the nation branding of Mexico, India, Colombia, Chile, and Brazil considered as direct competition; analysis of the potential links between Brand Peru and the country's national goals, and extensive fieldwork in different regions in Peru, in the form of interviews, focus groups, and workshops with stakeholders related to tourism, commerce, and investment. The topic of discussion was the meaning and essence of Peru, identifying its main characteristics, potentialities, weaknesses, and opportunities:

> 'We carried out more than 80 interviews, travelling to the north, centre, and south of the country. The team separated and carried out lots of interviews, covered the different tourist spots, or the different locations where we could observe how the export profile was being handled. It was super extensive fieldwork and deskwork.' (Personal communication, FutureBrand consultant in Peru, 16 September 2014).

After gathering this information, for the decision-making process FutureBrand worked on the nation brand's concept with an ad honorem advisory committee referred as the 'national experts', composed of 15 top successful Peruvian businessmen and advertising agents. That is, exactly, the 'Transnational Promotional Class' as defined by Aronczyk: experts monopolizing the creation of the national narrative. In fact, as stated by the brand's former director, it was due to the absence of skilled state employers in the field of nation branding that the branding experts were necessary:

'it always happens that the state does not have an expert in communications, and they say 'now you have to launch the national branding' and you are like 'help!!'. So, you contract a professional, FutureBrand, but who needs support when making reports, my expert group. They are really nice people, not charging for their services, going to a large number of meetings, advising the PromPerú team at Mincetur. They were local professionals, all of whom are more or less well-known in advertising, marketing, and also research agencies. They all collaborated ad honorem'. (Personal communication, Brand Peru former director, 8 August 2014).

From this research and with this committee's advice, the first concept of 'Peru' was proposed by FutureBrand[44]: (i) *Perú Boutique* (specialized, dazzling, rich); (ii) *Irresistible Attraction* (intense, stimulating, urgent, irresistible), and (iii) *Fabulous Fusion* (complex, extraordinary, original, open). These dimensions were tested on a national level with the same stakeholders in eight cities (Arequipa, Cusco, Huancayo, Iquitos, Lima, Puno, Tacna, and Trujillo) and discussed once more with the advisory committee. After this consultation, the final concept of the Peruvian nation brand was defined, highlighting three national backbones:

- *Multifaceted Perú (Polifacético),* referring to the varied cultures, geographies, and products.
- *Specialist Perú (Especialista),* referring to history, legends, and ancestral knowledge.
- *Captivating Perú (Cautivador),* referring to the emotional effect that the visitor gets by visiting Peru.

---

[44] Personal communication with FutureBrand consultant in Peru, with former BrandPerú director, and former BrandPerú brand management director. In the original: *Perú Boutique* (especializado, deslumbrante, rico); *Atracción irresistible* (intenso, estimulante, urgente, irresistible), and *Fabulosa Fusión* (complejo, extraordinario, original, abierto).

Figures 36 & 37. Validation process in Huancayo and Puno, Peru (PromPerú 2013).

Figures 38 & 39. BrandPerú three national identity backbones: multifaceted, specialist and Captivating. (Montalvan 2014)

While I will analyse in depth the brand narrative in the following chapter, it is already clear how the dimensions of multiculturalism, (fusion, versatility, complexity), experience (seduction, captivating, stimulant), and the novel and the distinctive (specialized, original, extraordinary) were, consonant with the field, being agreed as the novel backbones of the Peruvian (branded) identity. With this core idea established, FutureBrand began the third stage –graphic design and testing– for which they proposed the four options shown in Figure 40. Three of these were tested in São Paulo, Madrid, New York, London, Tokyo and Los Angeles by a different international

company, Inmark. After this test and one more consultation with the local advisory committee and the Country Brand Group, the logo elected was the first from the left and the slogan 'Hay un Perú para cada quién' ('There is a Peru for each one') was approved.

Figure 40. BrandPerú alternatives, designing stage. "Peru Country Brand Strategy". (PromPerú 2013).

3.4 Managing Marca Perú: the 'celepreneurs' and the rules of the national narrative

With the core-idea, logo, and slogan approved by the presidency, in 2010 the fourth stage -implementation and dissemination- began. It was decided at this point that, rather than just a work group, an office exclusively in charge of brand management was needed. By Executive Decree (Decreto Supremo) Nº014–2010–MINCETUR (*El Peruano* 2010) published 2 September 2010, The Country Image and Promotion Direction (Dirección de Promoción de Imagen País - DPIP) was installed and granted a budget of 120 million soles –about £26 million for 2010– for a three-year period. Isabella Falco, former advertiser consultant, was appointed as its director. The goal of this office was to manage Brand Peru in order 'to improve the image of Peru, internally and

externally', and from this, contribute to the development of the country. The specific objectives were (*El Peruano* 2010):[45]

       (i)   Contribute to improve perceptions of Peru around the world;
       (ii)   Increase positive exposure of Peru in the international media
              of the targeted markets;
       (iii)   Contribute to strengthen the self-esteem and pride of Peruvians;
       (iv)   Contribute to strengthen relationships between Peruvian citizens.

The Country Image and Promotion Direction had to manage the brand in all the technical, legal, administrative, and communicative dimensions considering the three defined targeted sectors: Tourism, Export, and Investment; markets (Latin America, Brazil, the United States, Germany, the United Kingdom, France, Spain, China and Peru), and fields (gastronomy, fashion, film, arts and culture, sports, music, self-esteem and values. At a press conference on 10 March 2011, in the presence of public officers of the ministers involved and private sector representatives, BrandPerú was officially launched.

Figure 41. BrandPerú launch press conference, 2011 (PromPerú 2013).

The press conference, in which the picture above illustrates the predominance of male-urban-white-business-oriented actors, was the first official public activity.

---

[45] El Peruano (2010)

Nevertheless, the dissemination strategy was more complex, tackling two fronts; the internal and the external audiences. For the internal campaign, a national public contest was launched and private advertising company Young & Rubicam Perú, the local branch of global group Young & Rubicam, was made responsible. They came up with the idea of *Peru, Nebraska* and *Loreto, Italia*; two spots that I will examine in the next chapter. *Perú, Nebraska* was officially released in May 2011 and *Loreto, Italia* in June 2012, both via YouTube.

For the external campaign, private company McCann Erikson Perú*, the local branch of global group McCann Erikson*, was appointed and they brought the idea of *Recordarás Perú*, a spot directed by Peruvian film director Claudia Llosa (*Madeinusa*, 2005, *La Teta Asustada*, 2009, *Aloft*, 2014) and released in July 2012. The spot was translated into five languages - German, English, Portuguese, French, and Chinese, in strict accordance with the defined targeted markets. For both concepts, the advisory committee was again involved.

Globally, Brand Peru spots and messages were, and still are, exhibited in the targeted countries at events related to the privileged areas such as tourism festivals in Berlin, Barcelona, Dubai and Madrid, at the World Economic Forums in Davos, at stock exchange opening ceremonies in London and New York, at film festivals in Berlin, Cannes, and Venice, at food festivals in the United States, France, Spain, and Argentina, at global public spaces as Times Square in New York and St Mark's Square in Venice, and at more intimate social events co-financed by private mobile company Telefónica del Perú, the 'Ceviche & Pisco Parties' held in Germany, Spain, France, and the United States. In addition, thousands of merchandising products –stationery, clothes, technological devices, handbags– were given to the public (see appendix H).

Alongside the dissemination activities, the Country Image and Promotion Direction had to manage the brand. This amounted to keep running the promotional activities, taking care of the legal implications such as the logo's copyrights, defining the proper uses of the brand, and ensuring that the brand's core idea and visual identity was accurately transmitted and reproduced. In all, this department was created to strengthen the brand's reputation through dissemination activities while policing its

consistency, the main imperatives in any place branding strategy. For these purposes, a sub-direction was created; the Brand Management Department:

> 'Two departments were formed by that time, one was the brand management department, which I am head of now, and the other was the special projects one. The brand management department was going to be in charge of managing BrandPerú, managing the protection of the brand, of identifying the uses of the nation brand, taking care of the authorization processes of these brand uses, and any other thing that related to the brand, and of establishing brand strategies.' (Personal Communication, former BrandPerú management director, 23 July 2014).

The most important strategy this department had to develop was the 'brand-ambassadors' programme, which deserves further analysis. The brand ambassadors' strategy is well-known in the place branding field and has been implemented by different countries including Germany, Ecuador, Jamaica, and New Zealand. The goal of this action is, officially, to reach a wider audience (i.e. have more followers and fans in the nation brand's social networks), to emotionally connect the brand with people through charismatic local personalities-celebrities or familiar 'national' brands and to engage common citizens, avoiding the idea of a 'top-down' strategy, as suggested by the field's guidelines. To return to Smith and the discussion on nation building, in reference to Lucien Pye and Daniel Lerner, the brand ambassadors are 'mobile personalities', 'able to empathize with others', and mobilized as a complementary strategy for the formation of national communities and social cohesion (Lucien Pye 1957 and Daniel Lerner (1958) in Smith 2004, p.83).

This was no different in the Peruvian case, where the Peruvian brand ambassadors chosen were mainly chefs, musicians, artists, sportsmen and women (Table 42)[46]. Their role was to promote the brand, participating ad-honorem in national and international events, workshops, and any other dissemination activities and, by doing so, connecting emotionally with citizens, adding more followers to Brand Peru's

---

[46] As these representatives were invited to visit several cities around the world, they gained reputation and a wider audience both nationally and internationally.

social networks and reinforcing the nation brand discourse. This action was celebrated by local advertisers, in that using a celebrity connected with people captured the attention of the media:

> 'The ambassadors' programme was an outcome of the marketing campaign [...] For the *Perú, Nebraska* campaign, one of the strategies was to use popular national figures that enabled us to add fans or Brand Peru followers, and it worked really well. It helped us to have more fans. However, now we are in another position. It is not only that they help us add fans, but we also give them support, right? Not anyone can be a Brand Peru ambassador.' (Personal Communication, former brand management director, Brand Peru, 23 July 2014).

> 'The best thing this campaign has is the nomination of ambassadors and to include such talented Peruvians'. (Personal Communication, advertiser and marketing consultant, 22 September, 2014).

> 'They were smart in using celebrities, people like celebrities. [...] If you want people to do something, using celebrities is a strategy that is always going to make a buzz because the press will surely take notice, and you are talking about the country's brand, so they are going to cover it whatever it is' (Personal Communication, independent advertiser, 21 August, 2014).

Name	Profession	Racial Group	Gender	Age range
Gaston Acurio	Chef	White-creole	Male	40-45
Christian Bravo	Chef	White-creole	Male	40-45
Ivan Kisick	Chef	White-creole	Male	30-35
Daniel Wong	Chef	[Japanese-Peruvian]	Male	60-65
Magaly Solier	Actress	Andean	Female	30-35
Perú Negro Band (6)	Musicians	Afro-Peruvian	Male & Female	30-50
Gonzalo Torres	Actor	White-creole	Male	40-45
Gabriel Villarán	Surfer	White-creole	Male	25-30
Sofia Mulanovich	Surfer	White-creole	Female	25-30
Carlos Alcántara	Actor	White-creole	Male	40-45
Rafo León	Journalist	White-creole	Male	60-65
Dina Páucar	Musician	Andean	Female	40-45
Juan Diego Flórez	Musician	White-creole	Male	40-45
(not identified)	Indigenous representative	Amazonian-indigenous	Male	40-45
Cumbia band (5)	Musicians	Amazonian-creole	Male	30-60
Claudia Portocarrero	Model	Amazonian-creole	Female	40-45
Christian Bendayan	Artist	Amazonian-creole	Male	40-45

Miguel Schiaffino	Chef	White-creole	Male	40-45
(not identified)	Doctor (natural medicine) / spiritual leader	Amazonian-creole	Male	40-45
(not identified)	Herb adviser	Amazonian-indigenous	Female	40-45

Table 42. Peruvian brand ambassadors by profession, race, gender, and age (2016). My own elaboration.[47]

Figure 43. Brand Peru ambassadors' recognition ceremony. (De la Cruz 2011).

Nevertheless, there are more implications in this strategy than those official ones, which have to do with the transferable, transforming, and conservative dimensions mentioned by Varga. The ambassadors' programme helps to understand the strategy's foreground of neoliberal imperatives. In particular, with the brand ambassadors' programme, there is a depoliticization of the national narrative. Making the narrative

---

[47] Representatives included in the table have at least one line in both videos. The information in the table follows the order of their appearance. In *Loreto, Italia*, Gonzalo Torres and Carlos Alcántara appear twice.

familiar and closer to areas such as sport, music, fashion, or gastronomy, the nation brand's values are detached from historical episodes, ongoing social conflicts, and economic fissures while transmitted identity in a more celebratory and enjoyable manner. In this sense, as Aronczyk argues, the use of brand ambassadors: 'has the effect of "depoliticizing" the concept, if not the practice, of national governance' (2013 p. 163).

In Brand Peru, the brand ambassadors' delegation, as I will expand by analyzing the suggested national narrative, involves individuals who have accomplished significant achievements, who count on a solid public reputation, and who are well-known figures from television, film, sports or other sectors. They are a combination of social celebrities and economic entrepreneurs, that is, 'celepreneurs'. Then, while the slogan invites any Peruvian to be a brand ambassador and, in a sense, it does so, the brand's public association is connected, at the end, to successful celebrities as the national referents. They are now the nation's authoritative voices, and represent a canon carrying the national renewed identity. In relation to the context of its appearance, the neoliberal figure of the successful celebrity, mainly an 'entrepreneur of himself' with status and capable to influence, becomes the new Peruvian protagonist.

More specifically, they are the 'new Peruvian heroes', working on and promoting the fields that precisely for the last years have been associated with innovation and good news, as illustrated on the timeline at the beginning of this chapter. Then another dimension comes into play: by defining these celepreneurs as the privileged national canon, the national narrative simultaneously reinforces the centrality of the discourse of 'success' as an ultimate proof of the neoliberal subject and of proper citizenship. In short, the ambassadors reinforce the brand through an association with reputation based upon creativity and innovation, connecting emotionally with people, spreading the message of the brand, and reinforcing the neoliberal subject.

At the same time, when inviting 'common people' to become ambassadors of the nation, as the selected canon represents, the responsibility of the nation is given to local individuals who now have to perform the brand properly, following its values and

mandates. In doing so, they are expected to share the brand and make it 'viral' as in a real-life Web 2.0 social network:

> 'The primary responsibility for the success of the nation brand lies with the individuals […] For national citizens in particular, the key function is to 'live the brand' –that is, to perform attitudes and behaviors that are compatible with the brand strategy. By 'immersing' themselves in the brand identity, as one consultant put it, citizens carry 'the microbes of the brand' and 'infect' those whom they come into contact. This role is described variously as brand ambassador, brand champion, brand exemplar or brand carrier'. (Aronczyk, 2013 p. 76).

Or, as stated by Gisela Cánepa for the case of Peru, they represent the new national 'moral subject' 'fulfilling a civic duty, assuming responsibility as citizens for a public interest' (Cánepa 2013, p.10), which turns into a more problematic situation insofar as:

> 'The invitation to participate as an entrepreneur and ambassador do further imply new forms of social classification and exclusion that are based on criteria and performativity. […] Celebrating the entrepreneurial spirit of Peru as an intrinsic characteristic is therefore an ideologically and problematic thing, since it puts all the weight on the individual. If a Peruvian fails to participate in the terms established by the campaign of *Marca Perú* it might be due to his incapacity to perform properly'. (Cánepa 2013, p.14).

In addition to these personalities, the ambassadors' programme also involved companies traditionally associated with national identity. Whilst most of them are now multinational corporations owned by foreign capital, the association between their products and service to the national identity remains. Thus, to include them as brand ambassadors served the ultimate purpose of connecting the Peruvian people to the nation brand in a familiar and celebratory manner. In particular, they boosted a national sentiment through the association of everyday commercial products and consumption, as Moor (2007) illustrates in the British and American contexts or, more recently, in the

'country of origin effect', investigated by Pike (2011; 2015) at regional, national, and global levels.

Interestingly, the relevance of enhancing nationalistic sentiments by the familiar consumption of products with collective-affective connections was defined by PromPerú's strategists with the exact terms used to refer to the branding field in Chapter One: 'some national *lovemarks* felt they had to share and spread the message, for which they became 'Brand Peru proud ambassadors' (PromPerú 2013, my italics). Similarly, the former brand management director told me that 'the companies' brand ambassador programme was formulated to include the Peruvian lovebrands with the promotion of the nation brand'.

The idea was then to engage Peruvian lovemarks with the national consumer in the form of a familiar collective experience, as in the model suggested by Kevin Roberts. If individual role models were successful 'celepreneurs', in this case they were national companies with affective bonds. The Peruvian lovemarks invited were Inca Kola (soft drinks), Gloria (milk and derivate), Field (biscuits), BBVA - Continental (banking), Cielo (water and soft drinks), Banco de Crédito del Perú (banking), and Cristal (beer) (see appendix I). In addition to becoming brand ambassadors, these companies committed to a financial contribution and between 2011 and 2012 they donated around £3 million pounds to the strategy.

Nevertheless, the brand ambassadors and companies need not only be successful 'celepreneurs' or lovemarks. They need to constantly prove it by performing accordingly. This is crucial because it means that the challenge for PromPerú was not simply the selection of a novel neoliberal national canon, but to monitor them, to constantly assess whether these figures and businesses were properly carrying the suggested national values. For this, written agreements, guidelines, and reputations were produced:

> 'we subscribed to an agreement with them [the ambassadors] to formalize the use of the image, to be able to spread their image, so that they could help us with the activities. And since last year we have been working on guidelines for the ambassadors, brands, and personalities.

So now there are established guidelines that will be published as internal regulations to be respected. The guidelines are now about people who can contribute to promote Peru, who have a good reputation, who are professional, active professionals. These people will be evaluated every year to check if they are fulfilling their task of promoting Peru' (Personal Communication, former brand management director, Brand Peru, 23 July, 2014).

This testimony illustrates my case, in that the Peruvian brand manager stresses both the need to identify and acknowledge but also to monitor and control professional success and reputation through specific mechanisms, an almost identical translation of the neoliberal premises described. That is, 'active professionals' with 'good reputation' are those able to 'promote Peru' and 'spread its image'. But this comes not as a granted opportunity, it has to be evaluated through internal regulations.

At the same time, this quote allows me to expand on the second task of the Brand Management Department: to engage the public and regulate proper uses of the brand. To achieve this, this unit encouraged local companies to apply for the use of the brand logo and become 'licenciatarios' (licencees). A brand licensee is an individual or company which, following certain procedures and rules, owns the right to use the Brand Peru logo in their products. By granting this visual license, the licencees won prestige with the association of an already well-known brand whereas Brand Peru, in accordance with the field's guidelines, engaged the key stakeholders and expanded its message and visual identity in all possible spaces.

More importantly, with this second task, the pedagogic and monitoring function became more incisive. Rules and guidelines on how to obtain and properly use Brand Peru were established in detail in the form of a 'User Manual for Licencees' ('Manual de Uso para Licenciatarios', Figure 45), and a more general 'Norm for the Use of the Nation Brand' ('Reglamento para el Uso de la Marca País', Figure 44). In addition, seminars and workshops on how to become a licencee are regularly undertaken in which the concepts, objectives, visual identity properties, legal owners, and forbidden uses of Brand Peru are defined and taught (figures 46 & 47, appendix J and K).

For example, the Norm for the Use of the Nation Brand indicates that 'this norm has the purpose of establishing the dispositions that guide the use of Nation Brand Peru'. It is a norm which demands 'mandatory compliance' for 'all PROMPERÚ units and any natural and legal person, national or foreigner, which requests and obtains the license for the use of Nation Brand Peru' (Marca Perú 2012). The Nation Brand is defined as 'a promotional tool for Peru which has the aim of boosting the tourism, exports and investment sectors as well as the country image, principally in the areas of gastronomy, art and culture, sports, education and the development of self-esteem and values in a national and international level'. PromPerú is defined as the 'exclusive owner of the Nation Brand rights' but can authorize its use through 'Use Licenses or the designation of Ambassadors'. (Marca Perú 2012).

Simultaneously, forbidden uses of Brand Peru are demarcated, the first being central to this thesis, that is, 'Political uses, in which we include activities and goals pursued by individuals or political organizations such as political parties and movements, nonpartisan political organizations and their members, as well as any activity with a political goal' together with uses 'related to any religious or spiritual belief', 'contrary to the Peruvian Constitution or to the current National Law', and 'contrary to the promotion of the country image, generating polarized positions which could lead to negative consequences in the country image perception, they being because of damaging health, the environment, generating social conflicts or others.' (Marca Perú 2012).

In more specific terms, connected to broader issues of identity and reputation, the Use Manual defines the proper uses of the logo in terms of aims, sizes, fonts, position, and correct colours. It is established that 'the colour is an important support to the Peruvian identity, because the institutional colours allow to commercially distinguish the brand' and that 'to keep the attributes of the identity intact, the reproduction of the brand will have to be done always using the colours especially selected for Peru'. (appendix J and K). During my fieldwork in Peru, I attended one of these licencees' workshops, at which the presenter stated:

'What we are going to see now in a general way is the correct uses of the Brand Peru, the authorization of the graphics, posters, or magazines, because it is important to know that there are regulations and there is a proper way of using the Brand Peru, which we will see briefly now, although it is important. We will start with the basic regulations, the most important thing. We should ask ourselves what the brand logo is. In this case, the logo is the name in its graphic form, what we are looking at is the visible expression of the brand, which embodies a lot of meanings, our identity, our pride. It is important that we manage the logo in correspondence with the appropriate regulations, so that it keeps expressing its meaning in an accurate manner.' (Brand Peru workshop, 30 June, 2014).

Both the brand ambassadors' programme and the specific norms and guidelines clearly demonstrate the aim of a celebratory, depoliticized experience of the national narrative. While the use and dissemination of the national brand values by representatives from successful areas is encouraged, in doing so locating the centrality of successful entrepreneurship, any 'political' use, or, for that matter, any use contrary to commercial and reputational purposes, is officially forbidden. Moreover, in the ambassadors' strategy a revealing mechanism operates insofar as responsibility for the nation is transferred to the ideal subject or the successful national-related company. Expressed differently, as occurs in areas such as health or education overcome by the neoliberal agenda, in the building of national identity it could be said that there is a demand that individual citizens behave accordingly. That is, they respond to the individual challenge of portraying the national flag.

As Feher argues, if within the neoliberal model the subject is demanded to manage professional dimensions as an individual endeavour, this also happens, in a sense, with the national identity. Finally, the mechanisms examined here are, simultaneously, illustrative actions that demonstrate how the official national brand narrative aims to pursue consistency, while alternative narrations and uses are sanctioned. In all, this section demonstrates one of the main ideas of this thesis, that a nation branding strategy, more than a banal advertising campaign, is about designing

and monitoring a neoliberal public policy of national citizenship and identity in a global scenario.

Figure 44. Norm for the Use of the Nation Brand (*Marca Perú* 2017).

Figure 45. Use Manual for Licencees (*Marca Perú* 2017).
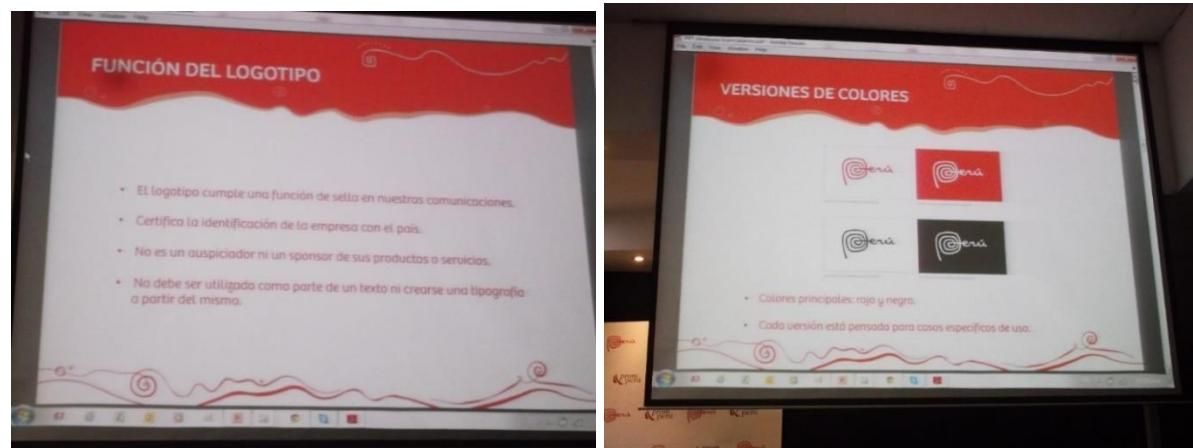
Figures 46 & 47. PromPerú workshop for Brand Peru licencees. Brand Peru licencees' workshop. Lima, 2015.

Nation brand monitoring and measuring is the final and ongoing step, and is stringently based upon metrics. As we have seen, one of the reasons for pushing this

project was to escalate Peru's position in the FutureBrand Country Brand Index. In addition, it was common for my interviewees to defend Brand Peru, arguing that it is a tool based upon measurable indicators.

Producing and measuring the 'numbers of the nation' is fundamental. As with the case of Peru, in the metrics, branding a nation has a strategic imperative. Metrics act as a proof of the brand's success or failure, as in improving the areas suggested by global branding consultancies, positioning the country in relation to its regional competitors in the rankings. They determine the next strategic action –prioritize gastronomy rather than literature as a main national field to be shared, for example. They show publicly the impact that national values have on different audiences –increase of Web 2.0 metrics, number of businesses willing to become licencees– and they guarantee a monetary return –covering costs in free global media. That is to say that metrics, as seen, function both as tools that 'objectively' locate places in a numeric order and as devices that influence the management of the territory, as knowledges that may (re)produce notions of national common sense and global hierarchies.

For example, the campaign's creative process and strategies were defined on the basis of quantitative surveys, global rankings, and data gathered inside and outside the country from stakeholders of the targeted areas. And, for the monitoring and impact evaluation, they relied upon the measuring of concrete indicators such as those determined by FutureBrand's HDM or Anholt's Hexagon. Indeed, the use of global rankings are crucial in this step and this was a persistent topic during my interviews with Brand Peru officials, who constantly mentioned that the global positioning of Brand Peru had risen steadily in the most well-known. Regarding the brand monitoring, I was told by the former Brand Peru Manager:

> 'Another thing that we at the Department of Image Management do is to monitor how Peru's image is progressing, through the purchase of two studies - the CBI and the Country Rep. We also monitor the brand at a national level and we have just obtained the monitoring results of the brand at the international level. (Personal communication, former brand management director, Brand Peru, 23 July, 2014).

This ranking- based monitoring is also measured by the social metrics of Web 2.0. Indicators such as the number of followers and shares in social media, the results of specific surveys measuring these platforms or the general presence in global media, are also fundamental for nation branding purposes. Off the record, I was told by the former Brand Peru director, regarding the dissemination and positioning strategy, that the team knew that if Brand Peru's official Facebook site posted an image or news of, for example, national literature, it would receive an interesting number of 'likes' and shares. By contrast, if they posted an image or news of local dishes or recipes, these numbers grew considerably. Hence their choice to continually reproduce gastronomy news to pursue their aims. Even acknowledging that this field was already repetitive and much used, the nation brand, as with the neoliberal self, had to pay attention to Web 2.0 demands of status, potential impact, and influence.

Brand Peru's proof of success was demonstrated, quantitatively, in its massive reach through both traditional and social media. For instance, its coverage in top print media such as the *Financial Times* and the *Washington Post,* or the record-breaking number of views on YouTube and 'likes' and shares on Facebook and Twitter. All these numbers are controlled by PromPerú, which gathers data on who visits the official web pages according to gender, age, country etc., what sites are linked to Brand Peru official pages, how many subscriptions, views, and 'likes' the Brand Peru social network pages have received, or exactly when the peaks and troughs of people talking about the brand occur. All of this is monetarily valued:

> 'the monetary value resulting from publicity in the first week was 1,000,000, 189,000 dollars. That would have been the cost to Peru of taking the media coverage which was given free due to the interest of the news programmes. So, in one week, the entire investment was recovered. […] And now all Peru is talking about the Peru Brand, including 100% of the population enthusiastic about it. That's it. […] It was a phenomenon on YouTube, with worldwide downloads, it had some incredible peaks. It broke a record. In the film category it was the second most visited video on YouTube from the 5th to the 8th May this year. And then, posts began which have not stopped coming in.' (Personal communication, former Brand Peru director, 8 August, 2014).

Finally, 'remembering' the brand, properly defined as 'brand awareness', measures to what extent the brand is known and remembered by the public. This is regularly evaluated based upon questionnaires and interviews with 'global experts' from the targeted market countries and within Peru. The results proved higher than the regional average rate for the years 2013 and 2014, while the national licencees were surveyed and supported the brand.

In conclusion, 'designing the nation' is anchored on the neoliberal 'triple agenda' translated into material support in the form of particular narratives. I do not believe this is wrong per se. Evidently, as in any other branding strategy or entrepreneurial endeavour, the actors, methods, and decisions involved must respond to pre-determined objectives and to what the fieldwork data has shown. And such fieldwork has to be carried by specific institutions, in the case of promotional activities, comprehensibly related to advertising and branding fields.

For this, in fact, the branding of Peru as a nation has been carried out, regarding the field's terms, with care, professionalism, goodwill, and clear successful results. It has won several prizes and has become a reference for other countries in the region. In other words, it is not my aim to portray a Manichean image in which evil advertisers and public officers have re-narrated the nation for their own commercial benefit to the detriment of more constructive options for a nation- building process such as one led by potentially more committed intellectuals or artists. The problem is that, as, paradoxically, some experts warn (Anholt 2010), branding a nation cannot be understood in the same way as branding furniture, clothes, or fast food. This being the case, a national project that goes beyond the commercial dimension, officially aims at strengthening citizenship and self-esteem, the premises, and the conceptual and material basis that guide its process need to be questioned.

In other words, we should ask why privilege only these areas, countries and fields, considering that the beneficiary of this endeavour is the whole country and its citizens? What if, instead of commerce and tourism, the creative industries were chosen as a key economic field? What, rather than focusing upon Spain, Italy, or

Germany as target audiences where to build new liasions, we focused upon Bolivia, India or China? Or what if more artists or academics where involved in the committee of advisory experts rather than mainly advertising consultants? And what if the Ministry of Culture, the Ministry of Social Inclusion, or the Ministry of Women were involved on equal terms as PromPerú? To put it in Marxist terms, how does this specific economic basis influence the designed nation brand? How would a material and institutional twist have changed the results? Answering these questions would be conjectural here, but posing them is imperative.

What can be properly examined is, with the help of the theory on the nation analysed in Chapter One, the resulting 'spirit' or 'soul', along with the mechanisms and devices created to disseminate the national narrative. In other words, from the understanding of the nation as a social construction, anchored in specific conditions, aiming to build senses of belonging through formal and informal mechanisms validated and contested in everyday life, I can now focus upon my main and secondary cases. What is the national spirit or soul proposed by Peruvian and Cuban brand nations? Through which mechanisms and devices are they transmitted and put into practice in everyday life? How have they been validated and contested?

Chapter 4. The Narratives of the Peruvian and Cuban Branded Nations

Having analysed the conceptual and contextual premises, problematized the field's concepts and methods and, for the case of Peru, the strategy's internal process, it is necessary now to examine the visual devices that, in the form of videos, slogans, and images, are released to internal and external audiences. These are the vehicles of the nation brand narratives or 'core-ideas' in Peru and Cuba. To do so, I will analyse, for the case of Peru, the *Perú, Nebraska (2011)* and *Loreto, Italia (2012)* internal campaigns and the *Recordarás Perú* (2012) external campaign. I will identify the premises of the Peruvian (brand) nation and I will underline the role of the actors involved, especially the brand ambassadors.

For the case of Cuba, I will analyse the *Auténtica Cuba* (2011) campaign, paying special attention to the images and textual support disseminated on the web page and in official documents. I will also identify the promises of the Cuban (brand) nation and in this case I will include narrations about the island in relation to tourism produced in previous decades. In addition to the visual discourse analysis, for both campaigns I will support my findings with the testimonies of advertisers, public officers, and professionals related to the strategies.

4.1 *Perú, Nebraska, Loreto, Italia,* and *Perú, 2032*

The Brand Peru logo is the word 'Perú' written in white letters on a red background (the colours of the national flag) with a 'P' that mimics pre-Inca symbols such as those found in Moray, Cusco, or the 'Nazca lines' in Nazca; a fingerprint, and a '@' symbol. The objective of the logo was to link Peru's history and ancient cultures to its current and aimed insertion in the contemporary global digital world, all part of the Peruvian unique identity (the fingerprint). Briefly, to connect identity, tradition, and technology/modernity:

> 'The spiral was a motif in Incan culture, the Nazca and the Chimu cultures, you could find this spiral form in all cultures

that developed on Peruvian soil. The idea was to find our identity and when one searches for an identity you identify yourself through a fingerprint. […] So it is like the past, the rich past, the historic heritage of our country which ultimately manifests itself with a sign, an '@', so with a single stroke you rediscover our historical past of which we are proud. But we also drew an '@', so we are able to confidently project ourselves with a plan for the future. And as you can see, […] it is such a simple design that even a child can draw it.' (Personal Communication, former Brand Peru director, 8 August 2014)[48].

Figure 48. The visual signifiers of the Brand Peru logo. My own elaboration. Marca Perú (2017).

Dissemination of Brand Peru began with the release of *Perú, Nebraska* (Marca Perú 2011). This 15-minute video was officially launched on YouTube on 12 May 2011 and since then until 12 May 2017 it had been viewed 1,030,046 times on the Brand

---

[48] This recalls what Smith described as the myths of the nation: 'myths […] are widely believed tales told in dramatic form, referring to past events but serving present purposes and/or future goals' (2004, p.34).

Peru YouTube channel. Nevertheless, it is almost impossible to estimate the number of viewings from unofficial versions or on social networks. *Perú, Nebraska* has gone viral since its publication and it could be the most disseminated and viewed video about national identity in Peruvian history. *Loreto, Italia*, the second video, was officially released on YouTube on 19 July 2012 and until 12 May 2017 it has been seen 1,332,938 times and, again, it has received innumerable shares through the social networks. The concept is similar in both cases but the locations altered. While *Perú, Nebraska* is more generic regarding Peruvian identity, in *Loreto, Italia* the narrative is circumscribed to the Amazon region (Marca Perú 2012a).

Both videos follow a similar structure. Peruvian chefs, actors, sportsmen and women, musicians and in *Loreto, Italia,* indigenous representatives travel on the Brand Peru bus to the towns of Peru in Nebraska, United States and to Loreto in Italy. Both videos start with a panoramic view of the bus going along isolated highways into small faraway country towns (figures 49 & 53) while Andean and Amazonian music is heard. Images of tractors, farms, and country houses appear in the first case and small village houses in the second, while a voice in the background affirms in both films, 'every Peruvian/Loretano, for the mere fact of being Peruvian/Loretano, has the right to enjoy how wonderful it is to be Peruvian', adding: 'Peru, Nebraska/Loreto, Italy has one problem: they are Peruvian, but they do not know what that means'. This is a fundamental issue because the constitutive element of the nation and of national identity is characterized by the ignorance on the adequate 'Peruviannes'. If these Peruvians do not know their rights as Peruvian citizens, they need to be educated about what Peru is in order to acquire their new citizenship.

These videos construct the idea of isolated and unpopulated towns (Figure 55). When the buses finally arrive, the voice in off states: 'Our mission? To be ambassadors of our country and read them their rights as Peruvian people'. Then the brand ambassadors ('real' Peruvians from Perú) interact with the locals ('fake' Peruvians from Nebraska and Italy) by announcing them their own 'Peruvian rights', a sort of national values associated with the country's distinctiveness referred last chapter (figures 50 & 51). In short, real Peruvian representatives teach the local inhabitants how to be(come)

proper Peruvian people. Initially, these rights are heard with suspicion and distrust, but finally they are welcomed with joy. When the false Peruvians acquire and understand their Peruvian rights, hence the lessons on how to be real Peruvian, they celebrate in a collective party (figures 52 & 56).

Technically, both videos oscillate between a fictional story and a real documentary, or what it is known as a 'mockumentary'. While most of the locals are indeed inhabitants of the towns of Peru in Nebraska and Loreto in Italy, and various scenes are genuine reactions to the Brand Peru incursion, some scenes use local actors and a script, yet with the intention to show that they had not been staged. This pedagogic interaction on the Peruvian identity is partially real and partially contrived. It is a framed stage performed as if to be as real as possible to transmit the actual experience of being Peruvian. Through the mockumentary format, we have the blurred limits of the 'real' and a 'fiction', the experience of the nation as a hidden movie.

Figures 49-52. Scenes from *Peru, Nebraska* (Marca Perú 2011).

Figures 53-56. Scenes from *Loreto, Italia* (Marca Perú 2012a)

Unlike the first two which addressed a national audience, the third video, *Perú 2032,* was the first spot released for the external campaign (Marca Perú 2012b). It was directed by one of the most famous Peruvian film directors, Claudia Llosa, and produced by the advertising company McCann Erickson Perú. It was officially released on 3 July 2012 and until 12 May 2017, the English version has had 2,046,928 views. Again, it is impossible to calculate the numbers of views of unofficial versions or from sharing on personal social networks.

In *Perú 2032*, the protagonist is a successful middle-aged white male executive, quite strict with his employers and apparently with no time for his family or for leisure activities (Figure 57). Set in 2032, the businessman is confronted by his own past in the form of a video left by himself in 2012 while traveling around Peru (Figure 58). By showing him footage of his adventures in Peru, his backpacker friendly past] prompts him to remember that life is more than work and that there are more important things than business - friends, travel, exploration, and adventure. This is done by using evocative footage accompanied with phrases such as: 'remember when we were drive by curiosity?'; 'when we always had time to make friends?', and 'remember that life is a succession of events and it all depends on how we live them'. Finally, he urges his future self to 'remember, wherever we are in twenty years' time, when we came to Peru', after which the executive immediately phones his wife and tells her that they must travel together to this country.

Figures 57 & 58. Scenes from *Perú 2032* (Marca Perú 2012b).

Clearly, *Perú 2032* differs from the two internal campaign videos. While the latter revolves around a bus occupied by contemporary Peruvian role models or 'celepreneurs' leading the announcements, in the former a young backpacker speaks from the past. While in *Peru, Nebraska* and *Loreto, Italia* we had naive inhabitants 'listeners', now the protagonist is a successful middle-aged male European executive. Small faraway towns and outdoor spaces such as local parks, the street, and the public plaza have been replaced by a dystopian futuristic office in the city. There are no Peruvian representatives or a bus, only a USB as the medium by which Peruvian scenarios and promises are screened.

At the same time, there are similarities. There is, again, a combination of fiction and reality. While the characters (the executive) and scenarios (his futuristic office) are staged and evidently fictional, the footage of Peru and Peruvian people interacting with the backpacker is real, offering the sense of a staged Peruvian experience. In addition, as in the former videos, there is a pedagogic imprint in that the young character from the past educates his future from the lessons of his life-changing travel to Peru. More importantly, based upon the branding design examined in the last chapter, the three

videos share a similar national narrative by making alike promises about the Peruvian nation.

4.2 Peruvian Promises: sensorial experiences, the narrative of success, and a new colonization

In the first two videos, Peruvian representatives openly announce the 'Peruvian rights' to be learned by their audiences. What are they about? What is the knowledge that false 'Peruvians' must acquire? What it is that real Peru completes in false Peru in this foundational collective event? Briefly, what are the promises of the Peruvian nation offered by Brand Peru?

In *Peru, Nebraska* the rights announced are: (i) eat wonderful food; (ii) dance to huayno music; (iii) surf great waves/the longest left wave in the world; (iv) dance to Afro-Peruvian music; (v) (read) Cesar Vallejo poetry; (vi) (enjoy) traditional festivities such as the Guinea Pig game; (vii) participate in religious traditions (make a symbolic tribute to the Pachamama [Mother Earth] while cooking a pachamanca (Andean dish), and (viii) enjoy creole waltz music. In *Loreto, Italia* the rights include: (i) take off your coats; (ii) move your hips; (iii) enjoy the heat and the colours; (iv) eat a lot of fruit; (v) eat organic-light food; (vi) enjoy traditional festivities such as the yunza; (vii) get organic medical treatments; (viii) be sexually potent; (ix) enjoy popular art, and (x) be in harmony with the world. Whilst not stated directly, in *Peru 2032* the audience follows the young backpacker eating at a local market, playing football with indigenous kids, sleeping in the desert, crossing the Amazon River, surfing on the coast, and climbing Macchu Picchu.

i		Eat wonderful food
ii		Dance to huayno (Andean traditional music)
iii		Surf great waves
iv	Peru, Nebraska	Dance to Afro-Peruvian music
v		Read Cesar Vallejo poetry
vi		Enjoy traditional festivities (Guinea Pig game)
vii		Participate in religious traditions (tribute to Pachamama)

viii	Loreto, Italia	Take off your clothes
xix		Move your hips
x		Heat and colours
xi		Eat a lot of fruit
xii		Eat organic-light food
xiii		Enjoy traditional festivities (yunza)
xiv		Get organic medical treatments
xv		Be sexually potent
xvi		Enjoy popular art
xvii		Be in harmony with the world
xviii	Perú 2032	Eat at a local market
xix		Play football with indigenous kids
xx		Sleep in the desert, cross the Amazon, surf in the coast and climb Macchu-Picchu

Table 59. 'The Peruvian Rights'. My own elaboration. See appendix L for more detail.

In all of them, audiences (and here we should include the audience watching the videos) are re-skilled in 'Peruvian-ness'. Notably, food, music, and in a minor extent traditional festivities and ancient rituals, and natural landscapes and locations become the national identity pillars and, simultaneously, the promises to citizens, potential tourists, and investors. This is no surprise, as it is consistent with the nation branding design in which food, music, and culture were defined as targeted sectors. Moreover, these promises reinforce Peruvian common sense about the identity pillars during these years, in which the selected areas appear as fundamental. In a survey in 2009 in Peru, 47% answered that the most representative aspect of Peruvian culture was the food, 28% said archeological ruins, and 24% said music and dance (Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Instituto de Opinión Pública 2009).

Because of its relevance, I will analyse the role of gastronomy in more detail. This is a constant element in this narrative. The chefs are the protagonists in this mission and in *Peru, Nebraska*, the Brand Peru bus is driven by the most important 'celepreneur' in the country, brand ambassador chef Gaston Acurio (Figure 60). This is unsurprising, as Acurio is the leading figure of the Peruvian 'gastronomic revolution', and a figure with enormous popularity and success who always stresses the social responsibility of gastronomy, crucial in a country with social inequalities and a lack of

opportunity. Rumours about Acurio's potential presidential candidacy are common. He incarnates the ideal celebrity-entrepreneur. His Facebook page, for example, has more followers than all the Facebook pages run by Peruvian political parties combined.

In *Loreto, Italia*, the chef Miguel Schiaffino, a specialist in Amazonian food, introduces the video. In both cases, national and local products and dishes are offered, shared, and tried by the not yet proper Peruvian. More strikingly, both videos begin with the chefs-ambassadors announcing by megaphone Peruvian rights to the local people, the first and foundational one being: 'You have the right to eat delicious food! I repeat, you are from Peru! Anticuchos! Ceviche! Papa Rellena!'

Figure 60. Scene of Chef Gaston Acurio driving the Brand Peru bus. (Marca Perú 2011).

The relevance of gastronomy in Brand Peru is foreseeable as it has crucial social presence. For the last 10 years, the 'gastronomic revolution' and its massive economic and social impacts have been topical in Peru. Lima was nominated the gastronomic capital of the Americas by the Organization of American States in 2011, documentaries such as 'Mistura, the Power of Food' (Patricia Perez, 2011) and 'Perú Sabe: Cuisine as an Agent of Social Change' (Jesus Santos, 2012) were exhibited, books and articles discussing this phenomenon appeared, and even a new comic representing the gastronomic national hero of the boom – 'chefman'– appeared. For many, gastronomy is defended as one of the few topics with the potential to produce horizontal-democratic spaces among different social classes and cultural groups.

For instance, the national gastronomic fair 'Mistura', established in 2008, is attended by more people than any other social event in the country; around 500,000 attended the 2013 edition. Here, representatives from different regions, from farmers to small local businesses and top Lima restaurants, share and sell their products while several events related to the field take place (*Mistura. La Feria Gastronómica más Importante de Latinoamérica* 2017). According to the Commerce Chamber of Lima, in 2008 the revenue generated by 'gastronomic tourism' was US$120 million (around £100 million) (Gamarra, 2009) and, according to APEGA, the Peruvian Gastronomic Association, in 2010 20 restaurants opened per day in Peru, generating employment and leading to the economic dynamization of different districts in the country (Valderrama 2010). In all, as Raul Matta attests, the gastronomic wave aims to show the nation as a 'country of cooks', by doing so intertwining the dimensions of politics, identity, and culture (Matta 2012, p. 51), to which I would add the economic dimension.

For the branding strategy, gastronomy is understood as having the power to change the Peruvian mindset, to transform a collective consciousness anchored in a sense of disorientation and depression generated by the conflict and crisis scenario of the 1980s, to one of collective pride and international achievement. Discussing this topic, advertisers related to the strategy highlighted:

> 'I arrived from Mexico in 2009 and I realized that there has been an incredible change in the people's mindset. From 'I want to be successful despite being Peruvian' to 'I want to be successful because I am Peruvian'. It is a very interesting change in the attitude of people, you know? Then along came the trend with the theme of food and any Peruvian who has always needed these anchors to feel pride […] people swallow such a story both for good and not so good reasons, because I believe this touches a little on fanaticism, doesn't it? […] The thing is that we did not have a strong point, so when food came, all sang the same tune, from the old lady selling street food, dude! Gastón has done a great deal for the country.' (Personal communication, Advertiser and co-director of *Perú, Empire of Hidden Treasures*, 14 August, 2014).

This gastro-based nationalism is defined by the advertisers interviewed as one of the key ingredients for the strategy's success. For them, Peruvians took the brand to heart because local gastronomy was at its peak, so it was clever to use it as a novel backbone of collective identity. They acknowledge this field as a fundamental trigger and justify its use for the purposes of the campaign: 'if Argentina and Brazil have football, we have food', gastronomy becoming 'a strong weapon to battle with' as one branding consultant for the campaign told me. For many publicists, a national promotional campaign anchored again to Macchu Picchu or the Incas, as traditionally has been the case, would have not generated this social phenomenon; it would have been a boring, repetitive strategy.[49] It can be argued, in dialogue with Cecilia Mendez, that now we do not even care about the Incas or the Indios, but about the product or the experience to be consumed and say with her: 'Comida sí, Incas no, Indios tampoco'.

The creative twist of Brand Peru, focusing on a vivid practice of contemporary culture rather than on the material heritage of the past, is worth highlighting as it created a novel and more complex Peruvian identity. If 15 years ago, the immediate bond was Macchu Picchu, chullos, and lamas, now it is gastronomy, heritage, and natural diversity, as confirmed by the former director for the management of Brand Peru and underlined by local branding consultants:[50]

> 'I think that, no matter how foolish or trite it may seem, the thing about gastronomy, it gives you a voice for the outside world and I would not stop this, dude. Years before, and this may have happened to you as a Peruvian, you went to another country and perhaps you had a few arguments when talking about your country and if so they were bad things; an Argentinian always would talk about football, Brazilians too, I don't know, dude, each country has something and you cannot have it all. So, I think that isn't bad because I hear many people saying "fuck, we have to believe this gastronomy story rubbish", but I don't see that as bad because I see this is making Peru seem exotic and cool in

---

[49] Some publicists criticized the campaign entitled *'Peru, don't watch the movie, live it for real'* analysed in Chapter One, because it re-evoked to the 1980s and 1990s promotional concepts, usually depicting the country's Incan history.
[50] However, advertisers are aware that the gastronomy discourse has weakened and that it is urgent to find new elements to brand. As a social discourse, local gastronomy has started to lose strength. Media figures such as Gaston Acurio no longer generate the same emotion or empathy as they did in 2011; and publicists interviewed mentioned me that they have begun to be dubious about employing this sector as a resource for next campaigns.

the world, you know, the proliferation of Peruvian restaurants in London and all these phenomena. I think it is incredibly good for the country.' (Personal communication, independent advertiser, 30 July, 2014).

***

'I remember because when I started work 20 years ago, I was travelling on business and they told me "Ah Peru, Laura Bozo". I almost died [...] and prior to that, "Peru, Machu Picchu" and before that, "Peru, where is it? In Africa?" Completely off the map. And now I travel outside and it is "How cool to be Peruvian, I love the food, I think it is beautiful all what you have, I'd like to visit it", so they have a much more concrete and real view of what Peru is.' (Personal Communication, marketing and advertising consultant, 22 September, 2014).

If the 'new Peruvian hero' is epitomized by a successful chef, gastronomy was the catalyst that explained national branding success in that, during the first years of the 21st century, gastronomy represented an opportunity to imagine a shared and celebrated topic of national accomplishment. If, 20 years ago, Peru was 'off the map' and being Peruvian was seen as an impediment to success, now Peru was 'cool', foreigners had a 'real view of what Peru is' and being Peruvian became not an impediment but the motivation for success. Evidently, this gastro-nationalism or, as I will phrase it, the digestive apparatus-centred citizenship, is not straightforward and presents failures and limits that I will illustrate in the next section.

The second pillar is music and, regarding this field, central Peruvian musical traditions are represented. In *Peru, Nebraska*, contemporary Andean (Dina Páucar, huayno singer, Figure 61), Afro-Peruvian ('Perú Negro' dance group), and white/creole (Juan Diego Flores, opera singer) musicians perform. In *Loreto, Italia*, Amazonian cumbia musicians perform. However, it is necessary to point out some inconsistencies and differences. The members of Perú Negro collective never speak, the song that the Andean musician Dina Páucar performs was Bolivian (which was corrected after the mistake was publicly noted) and, while Andean and Afro-Peruvian musicians play in private spaces such as restaurants or bars; Juan Diego Flores' version of Peruvian creole waltz 'La Flor de la Canela' by Chabuca Granda is broadcasted at the local radio

station through public speakers, thus the entire town listens. The Amazonian band also performs publicly in the plaza of Loreto.

Local festivities and ancient rituals appear as well such as the Guinea Pig game and symbolic indigeneous tributes to the soil or to Mother Earth, practices related to Andean and Amazonian cultures (figures 62 & 63), though conducted in *Peru, Nebraska* by white-creole actors from Lima. As I did for the campaign *Peru, Empire of Hidden Treasures* in Chapter One, both the Brand Peru logo examined at the beginning of this chapter and the 'ancient' elements in the videos analysed here can be related to the instrumentalist and ethno-symbolist approaches presented by Smith.

Certainly, both in the logo's reference to pre-Incan figures and in these spots' references to indigenous practices, the 'malleable past' is reinterpreted and disseminated to meet the needs of the present, that is, of the branding strategy. In this case the past is a resource to inspire the local and global audience by foregrounding Peruvian 'authenticity', its 'originality' related to the country's connection to its past or, in branding terms, its 'competitive and distinctive identity' which highlights Peruvian multiculturalism. This is undertaken through a widely disseminated strategy which is fundamental to the ethno-symbolist approach. As Smith argues, an ethnic past is usable if 'it can be recovered through artefacts, records and oral transmission, and that it can be transmitted through a system of popular, public education as well as in the mass media' (2004, p.230), as it happens in the videos deployed by the branding strategy.

Natural landscapes are also a persistent presence. In the first spot the Pacific Ocean appears, in the second the Amazon, and in the third the highlands; all compose the 'natural column' of Brand Peru. This is highlighted in *Peru 2032*, in which the young backpacker travels around the country from the coast to the Andes, from the Amazon to the city. Sports such as surfing, represented by world champions Sofia Mulanovich and Gabriel Villarán, has a regular presence but minor role. They speak of the uniqueness and beauties of the Peruvian rivers and sea (the biggest wave in a river) (Figure 64). Finally, in *Peru, Nebraska,* a book by Cesar Vallejo (1892-1938), for many the most important Peruvian poet, is placed in a local college library together with a cookery book

of Peruvian dishes. In *Loreto, Italia* paintings by contemporary Amazonian artist Christian Bendayán are displayed.

Figures 61-64. Music, surf, and local traditions (Marca Perú 2011; 2012a).

Finally, these elements evidence how Peru define itself in relation to the 'other' or to what it is not. For Edward Said, national identity is created in a process that 'involves establishing opposites and "others" whose actuality is always subject to the continuous interpretation and re-interpretation of their differences from "us"' (Said 1995, p.332). That is, national identity is defined in oppositional terms using an external other or, internally, by defining what we are not. In the analysis of the Peruvian narrative transmitted in these videos, as it is indispensable to capture the elements being depicted, it is also essential to illustrate, as discourse analysis suggests, what it is not - the silences of the text (Rose 2001, pp.157-158). If these are the Peruvian 'identity presences', there are, simultaneously, 'identity absences' or 'opposites'. In this case,

science and technology, the business sector or academic knowledge do not appear while literature, painting, and other forms of art are barely present.

Consonant with the defined target sectors, these signifiers structure the national identity on three levels, as mentioned in Lossio (2012). First, the national identity pillars (the presence); second, the national identity complements (the invisible presence), and third, the national identity excluded (the absences). Simultaneously, while some promises are highlighted, the possibility of linking the nation to other referents is suppressed (Table 65). This is obvious in *Peru 2032*, in which a binary opposition between two moments (2032 versus 2011) and spaces (Europe versus Peru) structure the script. If Peru is the exotic rural, the foreign is the tedious urban. If Peru is enjoyment of the senses, the foreign is drab business life. If Peru encourages face-to-face interactions, they are mediated by screens and computers. If Peru is fantasy and adventure, the foreign is they are the ordinary, and if Peru is the past, they are the future. Thus, by aiming to reveal its distinctiveness to the global market, Brand Peru simultaneously produces absences and reinforces stereotypes (Table 66).

The Pillars	The Complements	The Absences
Food	Literature	Science
Music and Dance	Art (painting)	Technology
Local traditions and festivities, environmental concern	Sports	Academic Knowledge
Natural landscapes		Business[51]

Table 65. National identity pillars, complements, and absences. My own elaboration.

What Peru has and can provide the world	What Peru lacks and the world has
Experiences, Exoticism	Work, business
Senses: food, music, natural environments	Technology, science, constructed
Fantasy, Adventures	Ordinary, boredom
Face-to-face interactions	Mediated interaction
The past (2011)	The future (2032)

---

[51] The field of business is more nuanced than the other 'absences'. In this case, it is possible to say, for example, regarding gastronomy, this is considered a significant industry and its representatives are successful entrepreneurs. In this sense, it could be argued that there is an implicit reference to the food industry and businesses. However, at the same time, in the videos analysed, gastronomy is not presented as such, that is, as a potential and major business, but as a form of enjoyment, a representation of the natural and cultural variety of Peru.

Like a film	Like everyday life
Bright colours: green, yellow, light blue,	Dark colours: black, grey, blue.

Table 66. Peru 2032: What Peru has and what it lacks. My own elaboration.

In all, these elements consolidate both the identity reference proposed to Peruvians in internal campaigns aiming to reinforce self-esteem, and the promise to the foreign tourist and investor in the external campaign. Through its beautiful natural landscapes and varied people, exotic products, and experiences, Peru provides an endless emotional adventure. The narrative of the nation is built, to begin with, upon sensorial and natural enjoyment, extreme emotions, and multicultural relations. Taking the argument to an extreme, it can be said, as I argue elsewhere (Lossio, 2012), that a colonial figure appears, that is, Peru is still the indigenous from the 15th century lost paradise. It offers tasty dishes, corporeal pleasure, beautiful sounds, exciting nature, sexually charged herbs, and intriguing ancient rituals, all of which relocate the purpose of life. This idea is not alien to our times, in which to 'consume the nation' through 'authentic' experiences is directly anchored on what I have mentioned about cultural consumption.

By doing so, Peru highlights its absences and otherness, in that the possibility of linking the nation to referents such as science, technology, and literature, and to spaces such as urban environments or even the city, is almost impossible. In this cultural encounter, Peru is still, following Said (1993), the exotic image for the Western gaze, the 'other' of Europe, now recycled through exotic consumable commodities and practices as in *Perú 2032*. If, as Morley and Robins (1995) put it, 'in a process of unequal cultural encounter, "foreign" populations have been compelled to be the subjects and subalterns of Western empire, while, no less significantly, the West has come face to face with the 'alien' and 'exotic' culture of its "Other"' (Morley & Robins 1995, p.108); in this double exercise of geopolitical characterization, Peru defines both itself and the other.

4.3 Who Speaks in the Name of the Nation and Who is Spoken To? The Paradoxes of the New Colonization

This idea begs us pay attention to the actors speaking in the name of the nation and those being spoken to. By addressing this I will complete the analysis of the 'Peruvian promises'. As mentioned, the promises hawked by Brand Peru are presented by Peruvian representatives who tutor specific audiences. Who are then these Peruvian ambassadors? What can be said about their social composition and how do they interact among them? Who are the audiences? As presented in Table 42, the nation brand delegation is composed in the case of *Peru, Nebraska*, by white-creoles (10), Andeans (2), Afro (1) and Nisseis (Japanese descendants born in Peru) (1). Brand Peru gathers a multicultural collective that includes almost all the racial groups in the country, excluding the Amazonian-indigenous (2) and the Amazonian-creole (4) representatives which are the protagonists of *Loreto, Italia.* In this second video, the group was mainly from urban areas of the Amazon basin, in addition to white-creole representatives.[52]*.*

More significantly, the videos depict a horizontal-democratic experience, a shared community of Peruvian people from different social and racial backgrounds. The Quechua speaking actress jokes with the urban surfer from the capital (Figure 67), the white creole comedian works together with the Afro-Peruvian percussionist (Figure 51), the indigenous naturist doctor laughs with the urban model, etc. They are all embracing the mission of teaching Peruvian rights to the uneducated 'Peruvian' people. The people in these locations, and the audience in Peru, can witness an uncommon situation: a micro Peruvian society where racial fractures and distances have been surpassed. Regardless their origins and social conditions, these representatives share the joy of being members of the Peruvian nation.

---

[52] I am including the Perú Negro and the Cumbia bands as having one representative each.

Figure 67. Multicultural horizontal Peru? White surfer from the capital mingles with rural-Andean actress. (*Net Joven* 2012-2013).

Nevertheless, despite this multicultural depiction, can it be concluded, following Portocarrero (2015), that the imagination of an 'us' (nosotros) has been achieved? Is this truly a multicultural-democratic space, or does it obediently seize the commercial opportunities of diversity when, as Klein puts it, diversity has become for late capitalism 'the mantra of global capital' and where identity politics 'weren't a threat, they were a gold mine'? (2005, p.115). In my case, it can be said that this multicultural democratic experience is portrayed but it is not that straightforward. To begin with, the white-creole group is the most prominent, being 9 out of 13 representatives in *Peru, Nebraska*, unlike the representation of the Andeans, Afro-Peruvians, and Nisseis. Moreover, the team is composed basically of men (13 out of 18 representatives) and are middle-aged (mainly between 40 and 45 years old). In addition, the representatives are successful national celebrities - entrepreneurs.

More significantly, the videos present some inconsistencies, such as those mentioned for the fields of music and ancient rituals, which are led by white-creole actors. Furthermore, as Matta (2012) observes –idea with which I partially agree– while white-creole representatives can assume cultural practices associated with minority groups –the white surfers of the capital sell Afro-Peruvian food, or the urban actor conducts the 'pay to the soil' Andean ritual– the other option is not possible. That is, the representatives of Andean, Afro- Peruvian, or migrant populations do not assume nor

conduct practices related to the white-creole-urban, being circumscribed to (their) folkloric stereotypes.

Even though both videos include representatives of different origins, racial groups, and cultures, which is a sensible decision on the part of PromPerú and the branding consultants in a context in which, for years, visual models in 'aspirational' advertising campaigns tended to focus upon the white population (Bruce 2007); it is also correct to affirm that most of those who can educate about Peruvian rights occupy a position of privilege in terms of race, gender, social position, and media attention, diminishing the potential powerful effect in the construction of an 'us'. Thus, the profile of the Brand Peru representatives speaking in the name of the nation can become problematic in a society based upon a 'precarious nationalism' where, for Portocarrero, in a book beautifully entitled 'La Urgencia Por Decir "Nosotros"' (2015) –*The Urgency to Say 'Us'*, it can be said that:

> 'this uncertainty about the value of Peruvian-ness, which inhibits and limits, reminds us of the precariousness of Peruvian nationalism, still in the process of germination. It reminds us of a society in which colonialism is a very internalized model, or ideal, which shames and corners the indigenous, the most original and repressed element in Peruvian history' (Portocarrero 2015, p.9).

Regarding the audience, there is a more complex and revealing dynamic operating. This is the promise of (self)-colonization. The Peruvian ambassadors symbolically seem to 'invade' the United States, Europe, and the entire world, offering 'Peruvian people' renewed rights and citizenship. When I asked to my interviewees why, beyond gastronomy, did *Peru, Nebraska* and *Loreto, Italia* work so well in terms of social activation and positive Peruvian responses, advertisers agreed that it was because the Peruvian culture of defeat was now being overturned. As Peruvian people have always been the losers, as it were –from wars to football– or those being conquered or expropriated, thanks to Brand Peru they have now become the conquerors and the educators. In a sense, history is turned over. The Peruvian people

'take the lead', 'knock those foreigners', and 'conquer other countries with our culture' which becomes the 'climax' of this new national identity:

'[This campaign] could be summed up as the conquered conquering the conqueror and this brings up a cultural issue that has been going on for years. Now, you are a Peruvian travelling abroad and conquering, not literally, but 'conquering' the outsider when it was always the case that the outsider came here and somehow we always end up as the conquered. For me, the crucial issue, the success of the campaign, is that the Peruvian, he who has always been conquered, head bowed, now takes the lead, handles the baton, and says 'fuck off, now I'm going to knock the shit out of those foreigners'. So, I believe that is what triggered what, in advertising agencies, we call an 'inside', the thing for which one says 'hey, I don't know what it is about this commercial but I like watching it', this thing, it touches a nerve, with a humorous theme, familiar characters, but ultimately for me it was a load of 'fuck, it is my turn now!' So in some ways it had that positive aspect.' (Personal communication, Advertiser and [co-responsible] for Peru, Empire of Hidden Treasures, 14 August, 2014).

***

'To stage in this campaign that Peruvians arrive at a culturally undeveloped community, if you compare this to the storm that is now Peru as a country, it is, like, scoring big time, right? This is to say, to conquer other countries with our culture is for us the climax, the orgasm. And this also tells of our weaknesses as a society and how a deficiency, a weakness, can be utilized, as in judo, to put forward an issue on the agenda' (Personal communication, independent advertiser, 9 August, 2014).

***

'Hell, my country is great!!!! Long live Peru!.... we seem to be the conquerors hahahahaha it is just a joke, Peru, Nebraska are now our brothers', Juan Carlos GOMEZ GONZALES July 2016 (Marca Perú 2011).

The complexity of this operation does not end here insofar as this colonization can also be read as false, or, more properly, a self-colonization. Put it in questions: to whom do these ambassadors speak? Who do they conquer and colonize? To answer this, it is necessary to go back to the official Brand Peru's aims. The first two videos, officially part of the internal campaign, were made for a Peruvian audience. This is underlined by Isabella Falco, the Brand Peru director at the time: 'this campaign (*Peru, Nebraska* and *Loreto, Italia*) targets the Peruvian people living in Peru and in foreign countries. It helps to fortify our self-esteem, for everyone to be proud of being Peruvian.' (Gonzales 2011).

Similarly, Flavio Pantigoso, the Creative Director of *Peru, Nebraska*, declared that: 'we aim to show the Peruvian from Peru, South America, in a fresh and new way, the attributes and assets of the country brand. We aim to show our people the strength of our brand and invite them to be ambassadors of it'. (Mercado Negro.pe Advertising News, n.d). Of *Loreto, Italia*, the official Brand Peru website states that: 'we propose a Peruvian-style 'loretization' week to Loreto, Italy, where we arrive with a display of tropical joy and good vibes to read the residents their rights as Loreto Peruvian people. And in the evidence on how our culture impacts, we will transmit to all the Peruvian people, our audience, more strengths and values of the Brand Peru.' (*Marca Perú* 2017).

As these quotes and the official documentation establishes, the central aim of the first two videos is to strengthen national identity, to promote national values in the local Peruvian audience. And to do so, they teach 'false Peruvian people' how to become real ones. What can it be concluded then about the concept of Peruvian successful ambassadors educating about how to be real Peruvians to residents of faraway towns that, apparently, are the national audience? Being this the declared official goal, it can be said that Brand Peru has a pedagogic role that offer Peruvian people a citizen model, a correct form to be Peruvian, a catalogue of national rights.

This becomes more interesting considering that, as I have stated elsewhere (Lossio 2012), it is them, Peruvian people from Perú, South America the ones who need to be instructed about how to be/become proper Peruvians. If the campaign's real target

audience is Peruvians from Perú and the videos' audience target are Peruvians from United States and Italy, then the depiction that the campaign produced about Peruvian people from Perú is a countryside, plain and ignorant in the Peruvian-ness. Therefore, unskilled Peruvian people must be re-educated, or re-conquered, with suitable Peruvian values and 'rights'. It is only after this re-(self)-colonization process, now anchored upon the imperatives of the 21st century, that unsuitable Peruvian people can be considered Peruvian citizens and obtain a national identity card, as Glenn, symbolically born on a 28 July, did (Figure 68):

Figure 68. Local resident, Glenn, is given a Peruvian DNI (National Identity Document) in *Peru, Nebraska.* (Marca Perú 2011).

In *Perú, 2032,* the imagined spectator has radically changed and this fact reinforces the idea of (self)-colonization. Unlike the first spots for the internal campaign, in this case the audience is not, at least officially, Peruvian people from Peru but potential tourists and investors from foreign targeted countries, in particular from Europe. The main objective in this case is not to strengthen local values or national self-esteem, but to promote the country to a global audience. As stated on the Brand Peru web page regarding this spot:

> 'The promotion [of Peru] is developed now with the spot directed by Claudia Llosa, translated into the corresponding languages and with other ingredients that enrich the presentation in order to show what the country has to offer in tourism and exportations.' (Andina 2012).

Consequently, a new imagined spectator emerges: the successful middle-aged white European businessman. This character/spectator need not to be educated in Peruvian rights, but receives a moral lesson. This lesson is that the most important thing in life is to find ourselves, to remember the joy of living, to know and meet different people. To live, as Lipovetsky (2013) emphasizes, in an adventure-experiential mode. Brand Peru imagines and constructs the foreign subject as one who has forgotten what is important in life but, fortunately, Peru can remind him of this. As stated in the official website: 'Peru is not only the perfect place to get lost, but the perfect place to find yourself. In Peru, you do not only learn to get to know its jungles, its beaches and mountains, its people, its culture… you also learn to know yourself. And that is a learning that you will never want to forget' (Marca Perú 2012b).

Curiously, the process of Peruvian 'colonization' of the world has changed as well. In *Perú 2032* there are no ambassadors. Peru cannot colonize the capitalist subject using a bus full of Peruvian people showing off local food, music, or traditions, but only through the businessman's own phantasmagoric past that haunts him in the present. Perhaps it could be said that the successful Peruvian entrepreneur is not good enough to access the successful businessman. The only way to access this hi-tech fortress and the businessman is via some time in the past when he was a young backpacker in South America who already knew that life would eventually bury his free spirit. Peru cannot educate the business-oriented global subject. Only he can recall life lessons he thought he had forgotten, paradoxically, because of a world of alienated labour where he is a protagonist.

In all, the spots imagine and produce different spectators, both in the videos and in the real targeted audience. There are clear differences between the national and international official audiences that can be summed up as following: the rural against the urban; the friendly against the dull; the outdoors against the indoors; the collective versus the individual; the funny interaction against the nostalgic memory; the present versus the future; the agrarian versus the industrial, and the citizens' rights versus the moral lesson, among others:

National campaign spectator/target /strategies	International campaign spectator/target/strategies
Rural (towns)	Urban (cities)
Friendly	Serious
Free-time	Busy
Outdoors	Indoors
Collective/groups/families	Individual
Dialogue	Monologue
Bright colours	Dark colours
Present	Future (Past)
Face-to-face interaction	USB
Agrarian economy	(Post)-industrial Capitalism
Moral lesson: how to be a proper Peruvian	Moral lesson: remember what life is about

Table 69. National and Foreign Spectators. To whom does the nation speak? My own elaboration.

Cultural artefacts, as stated in the introduction, have a political role, intervening in the formation of mentalities and the process of socialization. People learn how to be citizens of a nation not only from the learning of a set of rights and duties, but also from the reading of novels –as Sommer examined for 19th century Latin America, in the watching of films –as Carlos Monsivais and Carlos Bonfil (1994) note for Mexican people confronted with Mexican films, in listening to popular songs –as Vich (2006) describes for Peru throughout the 20th century, or in any related form of cultural consumption. In 21st century Peru, Peruvian people are also encouraged to achieve citizenship through national branding strategies, in the joyful consumption of the fields structuring national identity pillars.

To sum up, the Peruvian nation articulates three main promises. The first is the promise of the enjoyment of the senses and experiences. Food, music, and nature are the three national identity pillars, all of them to be enjoyed, celebrated, and to take pride in. Beyond 'hard' mechanisms and devices such as the national anthem, heroic figures or official symbols such as the flag, these topics gratify the senses and, in consuming them and 'living the brand', nationalist sentiment is boosted. However, these areas simultaneously supress others such as science, technology or business, which are not defined as constitutive elements of the nation.

The second promise concerns the narrative of success. The ideal national type is the successful entrepreneur, the self-made man who not only enjoys economic

success but is also a celebrity pushing the country's progress. If, as stated in *Perú, 2032* by the young backpacker of the past, we should 'remember there was a time when the whole world said 'it can't be done''' (as in the conflict and crisis decade), years later, in a context of growth and economic stability, 'the hopes of a country demonstrated that the world was wrong'. In *Peru, Nebraska* and *Loreto, Italia*, an image of the economic growth rates of 10% appear in fireworks, mimicking a local popular celebration, now partying around the Peruvian economic steady growth. And both videos end reminding that 'Peru is a great brand and we are all invited to be its ambassadors'. In all three videos, the new portrayers of the nation are successful celebrity-entrepreneurs.

The third promise refers to the new (self)-colonization process. In a historical twist, Peruvian people are now conquerors and invaders, teaching the 'foreigners', what they are missing, what they do not have. Nevertheless, in this case the real issue is self-colonization, as it is Peruvians from Peru who are the real audience to be educated in their lack of understanding of the meaning of the nation, and only from this learning process can they 'acquire citizenship'. By contrast, the real 'foreign audience' in *Perú 2032* cannot be colonized but only transformed by its own past.

In short, the Peruvian national branding narrative encourages a multicultural nation led by the successful entrepreneurial celebrity which promises both the uneducated Peruvian citizen and the capitalist foreigner an experience of nature, the sensorial, and adventure thanks to which they can re-learn how to be(come) proper Peruvians and truly enjoy life. By doing so, these promises reproduce a hierarchical relation of power. While the foreigner is constructed as an educated businessman in the global capitalist world, the local is an uneducated rural or provincial subject who needs to re-learn what Peru is about.

4.4 Designing 'Marca Cuba'

The central argument of my secondary case study of the current Cuban branding campaign entitled *Auténtica Cuba* is that the Cuban branded nation is, as in the case of

Peru, based upon sensorial enjoyments that are invited to be consumed in the form of an adventure. Nevertheless, contrary to what it can be seen in other nation branding cases and nation branding theory suggests, in Cuba my fieldwork offers evidence that the campaign has not engaged Cuban citizens so much as an identity reference, that is, they are not compelled nor made responsible to 'live the brand'. Put differently, the promises of the Cuban branded nation target the external audience and limit its influence in the internal one, which has other national referents. Consequently, in this case the branding project has more an instrumental rather than an ideological use, as it was the case of Peru, and consequently it is in the interstices between the branding project and the political-revolutionary one where a current discussion of the meaning of the Cuban nation is taking place.

This argument will be developed into two sub-arguments. First, the brand identity of Cuba does not differ much from other representations in the 19th and 20th centuries. In this sense, it can be said that, beyond economic and political regimes (with the exception of the first decades of revolutionary Cuba), similar promises, images, and hierarchies persist. The second, related, sub-argument, is that the novelty resides in the fact that the construction of this image is now undertaken by global branding operators employed by the Cuban government in collaboration with local specialists. That is, it follows the nation branding process described in chapters two and three. To support my arguments, I use critical discourse analysis to analyse the texts and images of the branding campaign's official documentation such as the web page and social media. (*Autentica Cuba* 1995-2017). In addition, I include conversations with experts, notes, and images taken during fieldwork carried out in La Havana. I also include literature related to the tourism industry and analysis of secondary material about the campaign.

To begin with, I will describe the process in which the nation brand was created and developed, pointing out some formal aspects. The Cuban process of branding the nation follows the same methods and techniques, and involved similar experts as in different contexts. Indeed, during one of my first conversations with an expert directly related to Brand Cuba and a lecturer in the Media Department at La Havana University, he described almost the same actors, stages, and expectations as those pertaining to

the Peruvian process. In the case of this expert, as a member of the Brand Cuba 'experts' advisory committee' composed by local advertisers and publicists, his role was to advise on the slogans, logos, and content options, and contribute with new ideas.

Similarly, by examining the management of the Cuban brand, Alexey Rodriguez (2006) describes, basically, the same stages as those in Peru. To begin with, the conceptual basis was created in 2004 by the Ministry of Tourism, Publicitur (the Cuban government advertising agency), and the National Design Office - ONDI (Oficina Nacional de Diseño), in the form of a document entitled 'Proposal for the creation of a touristic destiny Brand Cuba' ('Propuesta de creación de una marca de destino turístico Cuba'). It presents an analysis of the international and national contexts, examines the previous Cuban brand-destiny campaigns ('Cuba, Alegre Como Su Sol', 'Cuba Armonía Vital', 'Cuba Si'), and states the objective strategies of the Cuban brand. While the internal strengths underlined were the relevance of tourism to the Cuban economy and the unique attributes of Cuba, limited resources for promotional activities or the absence of a clear visual identity for Brand Cuba were defined as weaknesses.

From this, a creative team was installed, directed by members of ONDI, Publicitur, and local advisors from the fields of advertising and media. This process also implied seeking economic and logistic contribution from national companies such as Havana Club or Habanos –both related to Cuban national identity– the involvement of local advertisers, the legal protection of the brand through intellectual property rights in Cuba and in the main target market countries, and the regulation of proper uses. In all, the main aim was to create 'a brand or a visual identifier born from the primary industry of tourism, but capable to transcend the tourism scenario, move to dissimilar sectors and, involve under it, touristic brands as well as products from and outside this sector'. (Colectivo 2003, p. 22).

For the nation brand logo, the visual identity guidelines established that it had to represent 'cultural hierarchy and dignity', it had to be 'popular' (in the sense of being close to the people), it had to be 'complementary to patriotic symbols', and be 'Cuban'. The ultimate vision stipulated that Cuba 'is not just a beautiful beach, but a sociopolitical model with high historical and cultural values' (Colectivo 2003, p.21). Then, under the

direction of ONDI, Publicitur and foreign branding experts such as the Argentinian consultant Norberto Chavez, different options were suggested. The final option selected was a plain logo with a white star surrounded by a red triangle, as in the form of the national flag, together with the word 'Cuba' in blue and 'formal' letters. (Figure 70). According to Rodriguez (2006, p.103), this was presented as a country-brand to the Minister of Tourism and the Cuban Communist Party Central Committee, who approved the logo.[53]

Figure 70. Cuban Country brand logo. (*Naranjo Publicidad* 2016).

From this initial nation branding platform, Authentic Cuba was developed. As the Communication Director at the Cuban Ministry of Tourism told me, 'there is no difference (between Brand Cuba and Authentic Cuba). The nation brand modifies its campaign every five years. We currently have Authentic Cuba but five years before we had "Viva Cuba", both sponsored by Brand Cuba' (Personal Communication (2015a) Email to Felix Lossio, 13 November 2015). Authentic Cuba is then, formally, a 'destination campaign' focusing upon tourism, but part of the nation branding overall strategy. It was launched in 2011 and it is expected to last until 2016-2017, when a new campaign should be undertaken. The strategy was led by the Cuban Ministry of Tourism, specifically by the Promotional Communication Direction, a unit in charge of

---

[53] The idea was not to give too many meanings, just a plain signifier from which other specific campaigns under the general nation brand logo could be developed. As examined by Alexey Rodriguez (2006), in Cuba the 'nation brand' has been, at least until now, closely associated with the 'destination brand', that is, focusing primarily upon tourism. This may change in the near future. In May 2016, it was announced on the radiocamaguey webpage that a more complex nation brand strategy may be launched in 2017. (Radio Camaguey 2017).

developing the promotional tools regarding tourism in Cuba 'in correspondence with the working guidelines of the Ministry of Tourism and the Party's communications policies' (La Rotta Pulgarin 2011, p.55).

The branding process of this campaign implied first elaboration of the campaign briefing by the Promotional Communication Direction at the Ministry of Tourism. This is the official guide in which the aims, values, target markets, and expectations of the strategy were established. Like the Peruvian Country Brand Project, this document was released for potential branding companies competing to lead this task. It describes the Cuban context by highlighting the relevance of tourism and the importance of increasing the number of visitors. As a key economic activity, the campaign is designed to develop the tourism industry and, to do so, the document underlines the need to compete with regional peers such as the Dominican Republic, Jamaica, the Bahamas, Florida, Caribbean Mexico, and any other international destination specializing in 'sun and beaches'. In addition, the campaign's target markets were identified. Along with Cuba itself; Canada, the United Kingdom, Spain, Italy, Germany, France, Norway, Finland, Brazil, Russia, Colombia and Mexico, countries from where the higher number of tourists come from (La Rotta Pulgarin 2011).

Formally, the strategic objectives of the campaign were both to 'position Cuba, from its heterogeneity, as a multi-destination' and, interestingly, 'to project 'cubanía', a concept which I will discuss next. The next step was to describe the 'uniqueness' of Cuba, a source value from which the branding company could start creating potential pieces. The document depicts Cuba as possessing 'a wide range of touristic attractions, in which the ones to highlight are the fabulous beaches and well-kept landscapes, but it also distinguishes it as a seductive destiny in the historical and political realm, with a joyful people, welcoming and a high level of education' together with differentiating elements (in regard to competition) of 'peace, security and health' (La Rotta Pulgarin 2011, p.139).

Cuban people idiosyncrasy is also characterized as 'unique', that is, 'the rhythm in their walk, the sound in their talk and the courage in their dressing, make Cuban

people a special mix' in which 'joy, happiness, cultural level and hospitality make Cuba destination a singular option within the Caribbean area' (La Rotta Pulgarin 2011, p.83). After establishing the campaign's aims and expectations and Cuban values and uniqueness, a bidding process was launched and the Canadian branding consultant BrandWorks was appointed. They established an advisory committee composed of local experts and Publicitur officers. Considering different options, they elected Authentic Cuba, and a new round of discussion with the Ministry of Tourism was undertaken to define its content more precisely.

The promotion and dissemination stage began subsequently. This was carried out through the production of visual devices in the form of a logo, spots and various images, using social platforms, as in Facebook and YouTube pages, and by paying for space in traditional media such as television and newspapers in the target markets. Indeed, Authentic Cuba produced a central logo, several images, and three six-minute videos under the same name, disseminated online and via traditional media. The first video was released on YouTube in June 2010, the second on 17 July 2013, and the third on 25 April 2014. Until 11 May 2017, all had in total more than 250,000 views and 1,000 'likes'. (Auténtica Cuba 2010; Globalia Multimedia 2013; Mintur Cuba 2014).

However, they have also been shared by individuals and tourism offices in different countries. Consequently, as in the case of Peru, the number of views is higher. I have chosen not to analyse the videos since they do not have a storyline or dialogue. The videos do not suggest a specific narrative in addition to the images. They are basically a succession of footage accompanied by local songs based upon the images analysed in this chapter, for which additional analysis was not relevant. Finally, considering the target markets, the campaign left images in taxis and buses, participated in international tourism fairs in several countries, and produced everyday products and merchandising (clothes, stationery, kitchen products etc.).

Figure 71. Brand Cuba in a London cab. (Rod, 2009-2017).

Figure 72. Brand Cuba merchandising. My own image.

The last stage of the campaign was evaluated by an external consultancy, measuring the impact and 'brand awareness' in the targeted markets from which results, as I was advised by a public officer at the Ministry of Tourism, the following campaigns would be (re)-oriented. (Personal Communication (2015b) Email to Felix Lossio, 13 November 2015). Whereas the Cuban campaign does not have as an official goal to strengthen the national self-esteem as is the case in Peru, these devices still convey a narration about what Cuba is supposedly about, targeting both internal and external markets, namely, to project cubanía. In fact, Authentic Cuba was legitimized as a real depiction of the nation for the global gaze, more exactly, to show it to the different markets, to make a good impression and gain recognition, as when the Ministry of Tourism stated in an official event that the strategy aimed:

> 'to show us to the world as we are, authentically Cuban, to show things as they are, as we do it, and as such we have presented ourselves in different markets, making a good impression and gaining recognition […] Cuba is genuine: as is its people; attractive, like their beaches; full of surprises, like their cities; full of contrasts like its scenery, and admirable like its culture. It is a blend of richness. A varied mixture of races and knowledge, of rhythms and style, smells and tastes, the archipelago imposes its charm and attracts more visitors eager to live it in full and with intensity'. (Marrero cited in La Rotta Pulgarin 2011).

180

Genuineness, surprise, variety, and intensity are, among others, key values highlighted by this public officer in relation to Cuba, central dimensions at the basis of the branding promises.

4.5 The Promises of 'Authentic Cuba': Sensorial Experiences, only if…

What are the branded nation's promises? As in the case of Peru, I will start by analysing its logo (Figure 73). It is composed of five signifiers, in which three are textual, that is, ['Auténtica'] plus ['Cuba'] plus [Auténticacuba.com], and two are visual - a star and a curved line which depicts a wave. All are put together in the form of a circular seal[54]. The logo invites the audience to make a direct association with the idea of authenticity. Authenticity has different semantic associations including [real], [genuine], [true] or anchored in its origins. Brand Cuba plays the card of the genuine, of being an 'authentic' nation, in opposition to its unoriginal, fake, or artificial competitors. In this regard, the Communication Director of the Cuban Ministry of Tourism advised me that:

> Me: What did you find most interesting about the campaign, which are its strong points?
>
> Publicitur Officer: 'As far as I see it, the strong point lies in the campaign title 'Authentic Cuba'. It is being suggested by the Ministry of Tourism that foreigners who visit us know Cuba for its authenticity, for its people and places. […] It speaks about its people, about Cuba, about the authentic. (Personal communication, 13 November, 2015).

---

[54] The round logo, together with the black and white visual identifiers, can also be related to a baseball. Baseball is a major sport in Cuba and it is also depicted in the branding strategy. Given that this reference has not been validated, it will not be developed, but it is certainly a possible additional visual reference.

Figure 73. Auténtica Cuba logo (*Autentica Cuba* 1995-2017).

The 'authenticity' of Brand Cuba is, as in Peru, composed of sensorial elements offered to the audience in the form of an experience, which becomes the central idea of the nation. The promise is the possibility of enjoying a paradisiacal experience, supported in two main aspects: (i) diverse natural landscapes (beaches, in particular), and (ii) culture and heritage (music and urban architecture, in particular). Both nature and culture function as the promise of unique and authentic enjoyment. To illustrate this, I will start by analysing the web site auténticacuba.com, as this is the official and most complete text in which the brand identity is deployed. Rather than just touristic guidance on accommodation, restaurants, and services, the texts and images on the web page act as discursive supports to the narrative of the nation, elements offered to the global audience which define the nation's (branded) identity, their core idea.

The web highlights the possibility of exploration. The first link is labeled *Explore Cuba* and the selection of the term 'explore', rather than 'visit' or 'get to know', as can be seen in other nation branding campaigns, needs to be pointed out. To explore is to investigate, to take an excursion, to discover, and what the explorer explores is usually an undiscovered land, a place of hidden treasures. This is stressed in the first text of the mentioned label. To the question *what to do in Cuba?* the campaign answers: *Explore, Experience, Indulge*, the subject depicted riding a horse through a vast land surrounded

by mountains. (Figure 74). In this same line of narrative, under the link *Things to do and see*, the country is presented by the text: 'Beyond Cuba's spectacular beaches, there are countless **adventures to enjoy**' (my emphasis).[55].

Figure 74. What to do in Cuba. (*Auténtica Cuba* 1995-2017)

The explorer is then offered a range of options gathered in ten areas: beaches; water adventures; land adventures; ecotourism; arts and culture; for the kids; resort and hotels; spas & wellness; weddings and honeymoons, and festivals and holidays. All of which can be grouped into two main fields: (i) natural landscapes, and (ii) culture and heritage. In this sense, what makes the Cuban branded nation distinct from 'just another island getaway', that is, its competitive identity, is the multiple options available such as wildlife (forests, beaches, exotic animal species), nightlife (arts, music, parties, shows), and culture (architecture, vintage cars, history).

In the campaign's own terms, Cuba offers 'Perfect weather. Pristine waters. Spectacular scenery. Soaring architecture. Exotic wildlife. Exuberant nightlife. And a distinctive procession of vintage automobiles. This is not just another island getaway. This is Cuba'. These 10 areas attempt to engage the potential visitor in an atmosphere of excitement, convincing them with the idea of Cuba as a paradise where it is possible

---

[55] The Oxford English Dictionary defines the word 'explore' in three senses: (i) 'to investigate, seek to ascertain or find out'; (ii) 'to look into closely, examine , scrutinize, to pry into (either a material or immaterial object)'; (iii) 'to search into or examine (a country, a place etc.) by going through it; to go into or range over for the purpose of discovery […] 'to make an excursion', or 'to go on an exploration' (*Oxford English Dictionary* 2017).

to escape from the world. I will present five of these areas - beaches, arts and culture, water adventures, land adventures, and ecotourism, emphasizing in subsequent analysis the first two. For *Beaches,* the following can be read and watched:

'Cuba is renowned for its spectacular beaches, which are kissed by the Atlantic Ocean on the north coast and the Caribbean Sea to the south. […] Swimming and diving in the calm, clear waters can be enjoyed year-round thanks to a pleasant, subtropical climate. In fact, Cuba averages an enviable 330 days of sunshine a year.'
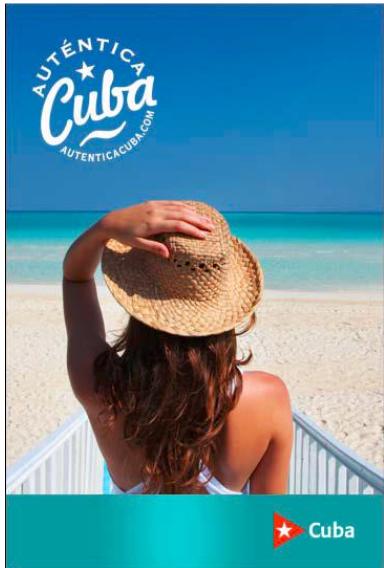
Figures 75 -77. Beaches in Auténtica Cuba. (*Ministerio de Turismo de Cuba* 2011).

For *Water, land adventures and ecotourism*, it is guaranteed that:

'One of the best places in the world for water sports, Cuba is an island paradise blessed with calm, clear water and spectacular scenery, both above and beneath the sea. […] Here you will discover 1,000 species of fish and 1,100 species of crustaceans, along with 58 different kinds of coral, 160 varieties of sponges and 68 types of gorgonians.'

'Soaring mountains, fertile plains, lush wetlands, tropical forests, vast underground caves, and even an alpine microclimate provide the perfect backdrop for outdoor adventures like hiking, biking, horseback riding, rock climbing, snorkelling… and even zip lining' (*Ministerio de Turismo de Cuba* 2011)

Figures 78 & 79. Water, land adventures and ecotourism (*Ministerio de Turismo de Cuba* 2011).

Promotional brochure gathered at the Cuban embassy in London

Areas such as *For the kids*, *City Life,* and *Spa* & *Wellness*, claim that:

'Children are welcome virtually everywhere in family-friendly Cuba. No matter where you travel, you won't be far from entertainment options that cater to young people.'

Figures 80. *For the kids*, *City Life,* and *Spa* & *Wellness* (*Ministerio de Turismo de Cuba* 2011).

'Cuba's stunning natural attractions provide the perfect backdrop for the array of health and wellness facilities designed to help relax, rejuvenate and revitalize you. […] For a wide selection of pampering options, head to Cuba's most noted spa town, picturesque San Diego de los Baños in Pinar del Río.'
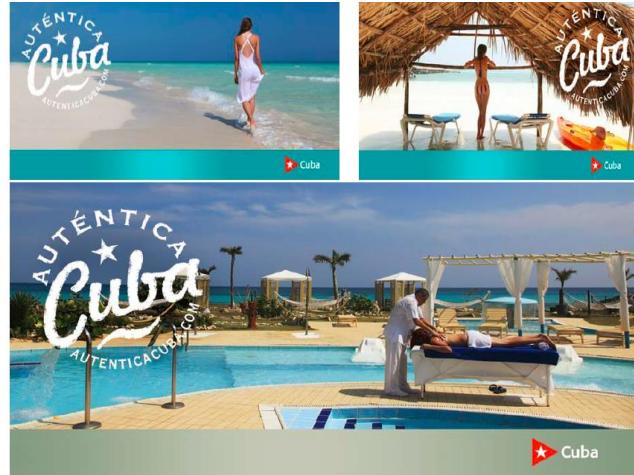
‘Beyond Cuba's stunning beaches lie some of the Caribbean's most intriguing cities. […] Cuba's cities boast great architectural diversity, offering up magnificent examples of colonial, pre-baroque, baroque, neo-gothic, neoclassical, art nouveau, art deco, modern and post-modern style. But it is the glorious mix of history and music, poetry and passion, adventure and astonishingly rich culture that makes Cuban city life so magical.'

Figures 81 & 82. *Arts and Culture* in Auténtica Cuba (*Ministerio de Turismo de Cuba* 2011).

Finally, under *Arts and Culture* and *Festivals and Holidays,* it is mentioned that:
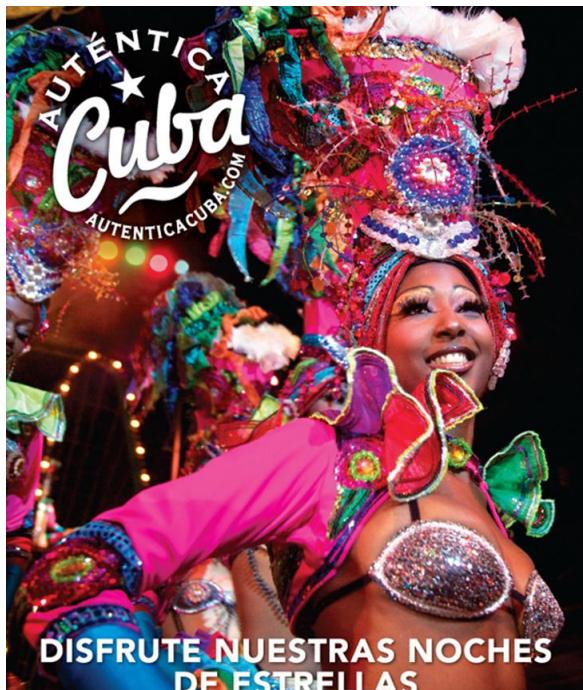
‘Cuba certainly knows how to party, and the calendar is full of events to celebrate. […] Experience Cuba's festive spirit by planning your trip around one of the country's legendary fiestas.'

'The cultural heritage of Cuba is enormous and varied, and perhaps one could say that the country was born to the sound of music and the rhythm of dance. Music in all its forms, from chamber pieces to the most contagious danceable rhythms or the idiosyncratic traditional dance, is quintessential to the life and character of the inhabitants of this harmonious archipelago'. (*Ministerio de Turismo de Cuba* 2011).
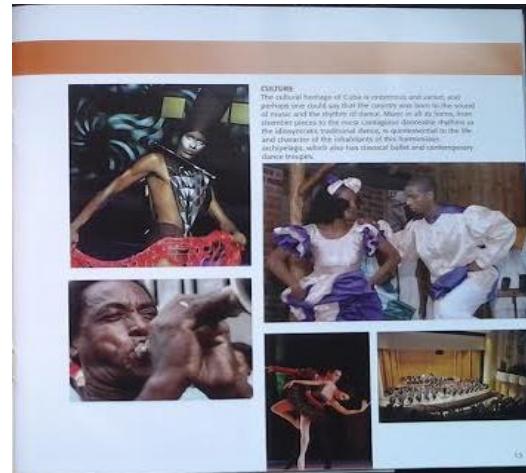
Figures 83-87. *Arts and Culture* and *Festivals and Holidays* (*Ministerio de Turismo de Cuba* 2011).

188

The imperative of entertainment and enjoyment is the defining characteristic from which all the campaign is articulated. This is obvious in the repeated use of terms such as 'explore', 'discover', 'adventure', 'paradise', 'picturesque', 'passion', 'sensuality', 'magical', 'diversity', 'entertainment', 'party', and 'celebrate', in the texts presented. All of them constitute the semantic chain of the branded nation, the vertebral column, as it were, of Cuban branded identity. The crucial issue is that all these descriptions of places, people, or situations, regardless of territory, social relations, or history, are attached to this imperative. All the features that Cuba offers as a specific territory –the Antilles– at a particular time –the beginning of the 21st century– are re-narrated in relation to the promise of Cuba as a brand, and the (expected) demands of the global tourist.

The festive spirit, for example, is affirmed as a sort of nation's birthright 'Cuba certainly knows how to party', 'the country was born to the sound of music and the rhythm of dance'. Natural resources and environments are re-signified as attractions that guarantee relaxation, rejuvenation, and wild adventure: 'Cuba's stunning natural attractions provide the perfect backdrop for the array of health and wellness facilities designed to help relax, rejuvenate and revitalize you'; 'soaring mountains, fertile plains, lush wetlands, tropical forests, […] provide the perfect backdrop for outdoor adventures'. Furthermore: 'swimming and diving in the calm, clear waters can be enjoyed year-round'. Individuals, couples, or families can find in Cuba a place where 'no matter where you travel, you won't be far from entertainment options', while cities are transformed into spa-towns: 'head to Cuba's most noted spa town, picturesque San Diego de los Baños'.

Significantly, even national history is aligned with this discourse in an ambiguous way, as can be noted under the section 'History'. Here, foundational episodes are included, evidencing relationships of power and domination – Spanish colonialism and British rule– but also, and mainly, as an additional asset to brand the country. This use of history in the branding narration already illustrates one of the main arguments I will develop in the final chapter, that is, the consequent tension between two main discourses. The first is political, in which relations of power and social conflicts are

mentioned as part of Cuban history in relation to foreign empires, specifically, invasion, slavery, and corruption:

> 'In 1526, after most of the original inhabitants had been killed, the Spanish landowners began to bring in African slaves, and slavery remained in force until the latter half of the 19th century. The period of Spanish colonialism was also one of pirate attacks; an invasion by a British fleet, which resulted in England controlling Havana briefly (1762-63); and scandalous corruption. […] In 1953, Fidel Castro and a group of other young people attacked the Moncada Garrison, in Santiago de Cuba. That heroic action initiated the struggle, which led to the triumph of the Revolution of January 1, 1959.' (http://autenticacuba.com).

The second is the branded discourse, in which history is transformed into a resource –an asset, to evoke George Yúdice, for the renewed national narration. According this version, Cuba is the seductive island seen by Columbus, full of hidden treasures. While the first discourse is only briefly mentioned in a formal way, the second appears throughout the campaign, now with the use of the term 'real' as the key adjective. While the political past was scandalous and corrupt, and the 1959 revolt heroic and triumphant, the paradisiacal past lets you to lose yourself:

> 'The real Cuba is a vibrant mix of history and music, poetry and passion, adventure and astonishingly rich culture. Christopher Columbus called it 'the most beautiful land human eyes have ever seen.' But don't take his word for it. Discover it for yourself'
>
> 'Cuba continues to be the same seductive island which one day appeared before a Genoese sailor, eager to unearth its unknown treasures. […] This is Cuba, authentic and unique'.
>
> 'Wander through history. Lose yourself in a romance with the past, in the Caribbean's most fascinating cities.' (*Ministerio de Turismo de Cuba* 2011).

The textual supports correlate with the visual display. To begin with, in the images the same discourse is reinforced. The subject addressed navigates the pristine

waters (Figure 79), relaxes with strolls along the white sands (Figure 82), contemplates majestic landscapes and goes into the wild forest (Figure 78), is intrigued by the cities' diverse architectural forms (Figure 85), experiences traditional Cuban festivities, or listens to popular music and dances in street fiestas (figures 87 & 88). The architecture of La Havana Vieja and Santiago de Cuba, the beaches of Varadero and Cayo Largo, the natural landscapes of Pinar del Rio, and lively street music constitute the mise-en-scène of the branded nation.

Moreover, in this visual display, and within the defined imperative, the Cuban nation is in a sense detached from its own space. There is no anchor to the territory. The beaches, for example, could be anywhere in the Caribbean or the Mediterranean and the natural landscapes resemble any other rainforest. In fact, some critics of the strategy point out precisely that if it was not for the Authentic Cuba seal it would be almost impossible to tell the exact location of the images. In his thesis about the communicational process of Authentic Cuba, La Rotta Pulgarin (2011, p.102) affirms that 'they have included non-authentic images that could be representative of any tourist destination of the Caribbean, as in the three examples of beaches.' In terms of the global touristic field, this is both problematic and logical. While the uniqueness of Cuba is to some extent rendered invisible, it also makes sense in a context in which places are detached from history and territory. If the 'paradisiacal past' of the texts suppresses history, in this case the images suppress the territory from a discourse in which, for Jameson (1991), there is no 'historical depth' and the final goal is to become attractive to a wider global audience.

Regarding the images, there is a last and more problematic characterization insofar as they produce a hierarchical division of labour. I refer to those representing beaches and those featuring festivities, arts, and culture. There is a clear distinction between the protagonists of the first group - white families, couples and children - and the second - Afro-Cuban men and women. Both people, and events are represented differently. While in the former, people are passively enjoying and relaxing (figures 75-84), in the latter they are actively producing (figures 85-89). If in the first group people are being attended to in luxurious resorts, in the second workers play and perform. The

first group are consumers and the second producers. Aesthetically, if in the first case there are plain colours –white, light blue– in the second there are yellows, reds, and oranges. This signifies a division between those who generate the exotic –the second group– and those who enjoy exoticism. As noted by La Rotta Pulgarin (2011), this was a matter for debate after the campaign was released, specialists claiming that genuine Cuban multiculturalism was suppressed:

> 'None of these images suggest multiculturalism. Because this would not only refer us to different geographical environments but also to different racial groups. There is a diversity of racial groups and cultures not shown in these images. I insist, this is a very 'cold', […] very 'postal picture'. To be authentic, one must show things as they really are, and what is there is not Cuba'. (Yamilé Ferrán, advertising specialist quoted by La Rotta Pulgarín 2011, p.97).

In short, the national narrative of Brand Cuba responds to the imperative of enjoyment and excitement, becoming, in doing so, an exotic paradise dislocated from its own place and history and composed by a multicultural society which nevertheless still reproduces a clear division of labour between afro and white subjects. This is the authentic Cuba promised to the current global market.

4.6 A Persistent Narrative: A Brief Review of the External Image of Cuba

> 'Cartoons are little more than tangible expressions of established myths. […] And on those occasions when cartoons treat issues involving two or more nations, there is added to the above the very present realization that they mythologize the world of international relations by physiognomizing it'. (Johnson 1980, p.22).

These Cuban promises are not entirely new. Certainly, from various devices such as cartoons, films, advertisements, and novels, similar social depictions offered to the global gaze were produced about Cuba and Cuban people throughout the 20th century.

192

I will focus upon those related to the tourism industry, dividing it into four periods: The American protectorate and early 'independence' (1898-1920); the American prohibition era (1920-1933); the post-prohibition era (1935-1959); the beginning of the 'special period', and current era (1990-2016). I have purposely omitted the period between the 1959 revolution and the special period, which will be referred in the next section. It is important to stress that my intention is not to analyse these periods historiographically, a task that does not correspond to my main topic, but to connect a historic and repeated narrative to the current nation branding strategy and from this, to discuss novel aspects that characterize my case. [56]

A fundamental study in this regard is *Cuba in the American Imagination. Metaphor and the American Ethos* (2008), in which Louis A. Pérez Jr. argues that it was through metaphors charged with moral imperatives that the idea of Cuba penetrated the American mind-set and, by doing so, stimulated intervention on the island. Metaphors, states Pérez, were not just naïve and inaccurate illustrations of Cuba and its people, but a mode of producing knowledge and, by doing so, legitimate imperialist social, economic, and political relations. In this sense, Cuba became, between the turn of the 19th century and the first decades of the 20th, an American self-creation, a fiction created to support America's agenda: 'a figment of their own imagination and projection of their needs (p. 27).[57]

Pérez Jr. identifies two metaphors created about Cuba by the United States between 1898 and 1902, disseminated in the form of drawings in magazines such as *Puck* and *The New York Journal*. These metaphors circulated in the context of the

---

[56] I have opted for this periodization, very much grounded in a Unites States' point of view, precisely to shed light on the influence of this country in Cuba, particularly in relation to tourism and the subsequent constructed images of the island throughout these periods. These are also, to some extent, the periods covered by Louis Pérez Jr. and Pérez Firmat, cited in this section.

[57] In his words: 'Metaphor has been central to the premise of empire. It has served as a source of plausible purpose by which the colonial polity imagines the creation of empire as self-explanatory and self-confirming, thereupon transacting the exercise of power as an obligation of duty and deed of disinterest.' (p. 21). For more on the role of images and national representation in Cuba during these years, see Johnson 1980 and Catala-Carrasco 2015.

American intervention against Spanish rule, their four-year protectorate, and the instalment of the Platt Amendment in 1902. The first, deployed before the intervention, presented the island as a weak young woman, victim of the abuses committed by the Spaniards and pleading for rescue by the United States. This legitimized the moral superiority of the American people, represented as white adult men whom, in response to chivalrous duty, had to intervene and 'save' Cuba (Pérez Jr. 2008, p.66) (Figure 90).

After the intervention and liberation from Spain, a second metaphor emerged. In the context of the American protectorate (1898-1902), Cuba was depicted both as an unprotected woman and as an orphan child. This had to do with the image of Cuban people as politically and economically inexperienced, without any agency therefore unable to conduct their affairs on their own. As a 'logical consequence', this conferred upon the United States the duty to take care of the Cuban people and prepare them – almost raise them– in the arts of governing for the forthcoming 'independence'. Hence this metaphor served as a 'strategy of domination' (Pérez Jr. 2008, p. 98) (Figure 91). In this context, according to Kapcia, the myth of the United States as a model of a postcolonial society which had achieved power, cohesion, self-belief, and advancement gained presence as a potent example of what Cuba could accomplish, for which 'many of the American nation building myths were imported as part of the new ideological baggage of accommodationism' (2000, p.153).
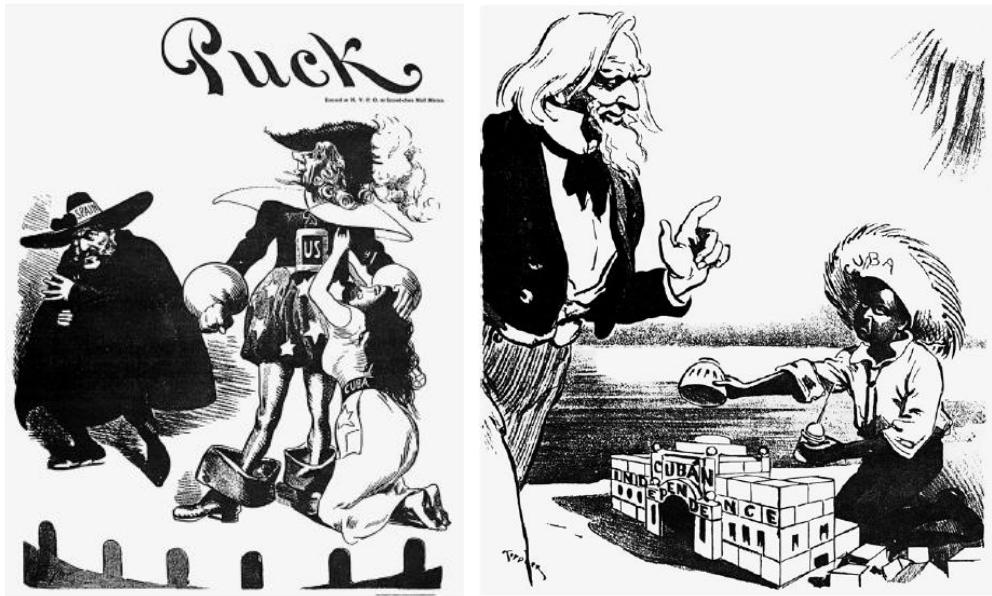
Figure 88. Representations of Cuba in *Puck.* June 3, 1896 (Pérez Jr. 2008, p.73).
Figure 89. Representations of Cuba in *Puck.* February 27, 1901 (Pérez Jr.2008, p.120).

Against the backdrop of this period and upon the basis of this symbolic construction (and the consequent geopolitical relation), new metaphors about what Cuba could offer America were created. As a result, the metaphorical construction of Cuba found strong resonance in the growing tourism industry. Indeed, the first decades of the 20th century saw touristic artefacts such as brochures, guides, advertisements, and travelers' tales play a major role in the production of images of the island. Tourist guides were powerful cultural artefacts that circulated around the United States and, through them, as Pérez Jr. argues, not only did potential visitors from America learn about accommodation, weather, and popular restaurants but they also were made aware of the (biased) claim about the significant role that their country, and by association, they, had played in the island's salvation and self-governance. Hence these same visitors expected gratitude and acknowledgement. In 1910 Gaspar Whitney referred to 'the tourist expectation that the native should prostrate himself before every

visitor from the U.S.A because Uncle Sam brought him the hope of freedom.' (Whitney p.20, cited in Pérez Jr. 2008, p.168).[58]

The next year, *The Havana Post*, the most important English-language newspaper published during the early 20th century in Cuba for American readers, dedicated an exclusive edition to tourism in Cuba (2011). Throughout the text, stamps, descriptions, and facts about cities, accommodation, services, or social customs were presented, targeting potential tourists and encouraging them to visit the island. As is stated in the editorial, The Havana Post was devoted to 'impressing upon the pleasure seeker the unparalleled advantages that Cuba offers as the playground of America' (*The Havana Post. Tourist Edition,* 1911).

Strikingly, this description is almost an identical depiction to that produced 100 years later by Authentic Cuba. Firstly, the description of the island is expressed in three topics: city life and architecture; people and social costumes, and rural environments and nature, all of them to be enjoyed through adventures and excursions. The exact same expressions such as 'picturesque', 'health resort', 'beautiful waters', 'excellent climate', 'enjoyable experience', and 'attractive scenery' are used. Locations embody the same promise. San Diego de los Baños is referred to as 'a favorite social and health resort. The medicinal qualities of the waters here are remarkable. There are good hotels on San Diego', while the Cuban North Coast is presented as a perfect place for an 'enjoyable experience'. Finally, La Havana is characterized as 'highly entertaining'.

---

[58] For more on this subject, see Araujo, N. 2010, p. 40.
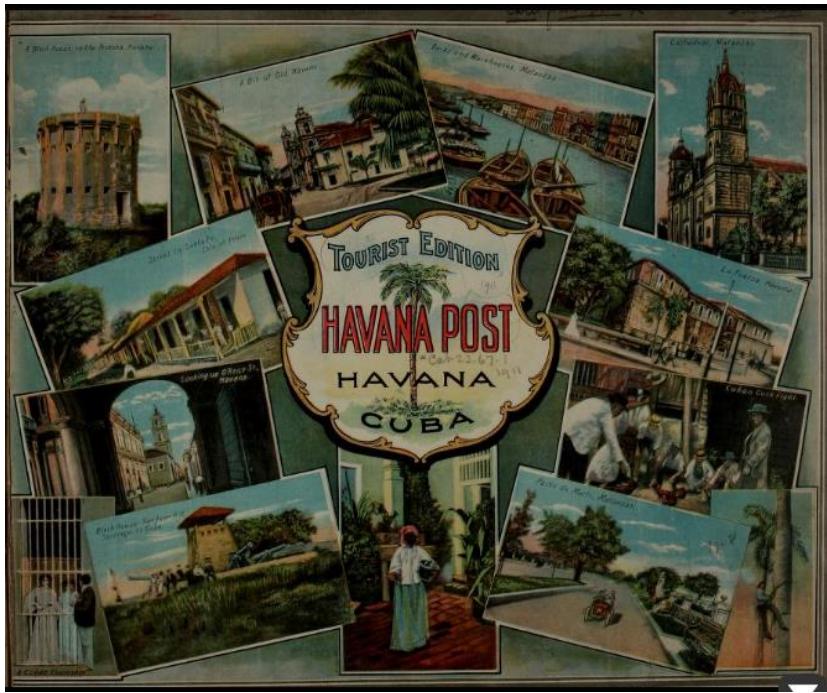
Figure 90. Cover and images (*The Havana Post Tourist Edition,* 1911) Stamps, clockwise, from left to right: 'A block house on the Trotcha, Havana'; 'A bit of old Havana'; 'docks and warehouses, Matanzas'; 'Cathedral, Matanzas'; 'La Fuerza, Havana'; 'Cuban Cock Fight'; 'Man climbing a palm tree'; 'Paseo de Marti, Matanzas'; 'Black women on inside patio'; 'Block House, San Juan Hill, Santiago de Cuba'; a man and two women talking; 'Looking Up O'Reilly Street, Havana', and 'Street in Santa Fe, Isle of Pines.'

Years later, in the context of the American prohibition era (1920 – 1933), these metaphors were intensified while acquiring new nuances. During this period, Cuba emerged as the place of amusement, escape, delight, and excitement without rules. It was still the 'American playground' but now in response to the urgent needs of a society ruled by conservative imperatives and limited in its expectations of social transgressions. In this vein, Gustavo Pérez Firmat illustrates in *The Havana Habit* (2010) that the nomination of Cuba produced by and for Americans continuously reinforced a similar symbolic horizon to that I have described for Authentic Cuba. By analysing popular culture such as television programmes, films, and tourist magazines, the author reiterates the depiction of Cuba as an exotic playground, 'the Garden of Sensual Delights', or a 'post-lapsarian Eden' (p.45) where Americans could relax away from the rigid norms of their society. The island was exhibited in a sensual feminine image, having rumba, nature, and rum as its main potentials, all of which created an atmosphere of delight. Cuba became the favourite playground:

'The dream's eye-view of Havana as licentious paradise, a combination of greenhouse, clubhouse and whorehouse, produced many representations of Havana as a seductive woman. Paradisal imagery, like nature imagery more generally, has been conventionally construed as female, […] In Cuba's case, the feminization underscored the island's reputation for sensuality.'[59] (p. 49).

Similar metaphors proliferated after the end of prohibition. In 1936, Cuba was described by travel writer Sydney Clark as a place where 'conscience takes a holiday' (Clark, 1936, p.98), or as a place granting 'moral licence' in terms of Pérez Jr, seeking to satisfy the desires of American visitors. The metaphor of Cuba as a woman reappeared in this context, now not as a victim to be defended as it did 30 years before, but as a sensual object to be enjoyed. In the travellers' book by Consuelo Hermer and Marjorie May, *Havana Mañana: A Guide to Cuba and the Cubans* (1941, reprinted 2007, 2008, 2010. Figure 92)*,* Cuba is personified as a woman: 'eager to give pleasure, she will be anything you want her to be –exciting or peaceful, gay or quiet, brilliant or tranquil–. What is your fancy? She is only too anxious to anticipate your desires, to charm you with her beauty.' (Hermer & May 1941, p. 3-4 in Pérez Jr. 2008 p.191).

---

[59] For Pérez Jr., similarly, this period meant the foreign narration of Cuba as 'the playhouse of the Caribbean,' 'the playland of the Americas', 'a land of enchantment', a 'paradise of the cocktails,' 'a famed oasis,' 'the U.S. saloon,' and: 'a mahogany island surrounded by a brass rail.' In 1921, visitor Idaless Westly described Havana as 'a veritable city of romance' (Pérez Jr. 2008, p. 233). In the 1928 tourist guide by Basil Woon *When It's Cocktail Time in Cuba*, it was said that Cuban people 'love life, gaiety, laughter. They are quick to anger, easily carried away by faulty eloquence.' (p. 138). (Figure 91).
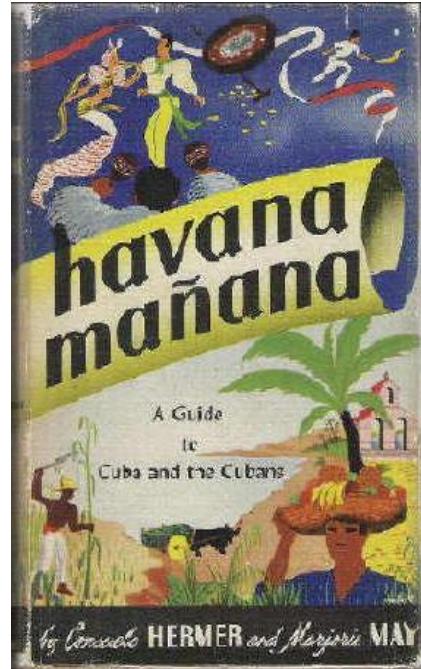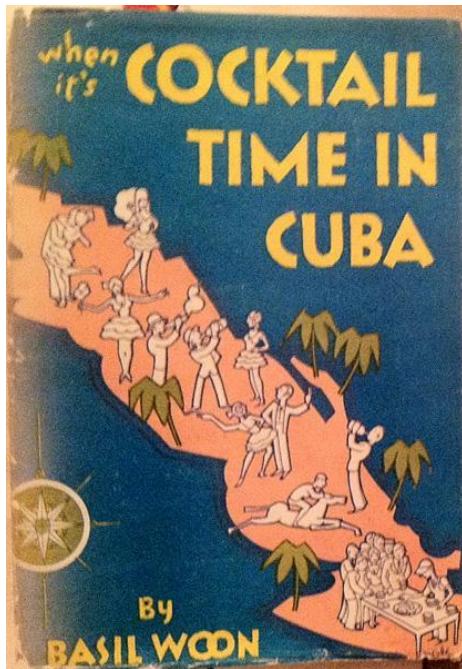
Figure 91. Basil Woon. *When It's Cocktail Time in Cuba. 1928* (*Yesterday's Gallery & Babylon Revisited* 2012-2017).

Figure 92. Consuelo Hermer and Marjorie May. *Havana Mañana:* A Guide to Cuba and the Cubans. 1941. (*Raptis Rare Books*, n.d).

While the images referred to so far were created and produced by an external subject, it is important to underline that there were also analogous metaphors disseminated by the Cuban government itself. It is not rare to find in this period comparable representations produced, predictably, by the Cuban National Tourism Commission (the earlier version of the Ministry of Tourism) (figures 96-98), by companies related to tourism such as Cubana de Aviacion (Cuban Aviation) (figures 99, 100), and by high-circulation local magazines   with high-quality artistic content such as *Carteles*. (figures 93-95). In all of them, even while targeting different audiences, again the image of Cuba was feminized and linked to the Afro-Cuban female dancer-performer.[60]

---

[60] About the role of *Carteles* during the early 20th century in Cuba, see Bermúdez, Jorge (2011).

These images in fact resembles what happens in Authentic Cuba visual display, where as I have mentioned, while the afro Cuban performs, white foreign people enjoy the performances. Even the same Columbus quote mentioned in Authentic Cuba – 'the loveliest land the human eyes have ever seen'– is announced by the Cuban Tourism Commission decades before (Figure 96), together with slogans such as 'the land of romance' (figure 97) and 'the land of fiesta and siesta' (Figure 98). References to 'exotic' and 'exciting' is deployed in Pan-American Airlines and National Geographic Editor Melville Bell Grosvenor's describes the island as 'our sugar bowl' and: 'the world's cigar box'. Exactly as occurs in the current branding campaign, Cuba was associated to wild nightlife, relaxation and passion.[61] (Valdés 2015).

Figures 93-95. Covers of Revista *Carteles*. From left to right: (i) 1932a; (ii) 1932b, and (iii) 1934.

---

[61] For Pérez Jr., during those years 'Providence and proximity seemed again to have combined to shape the destiny of Cuba as a function of North American needs. "It might be said", pronounced one tourist advertisement: "that nature has purposely placed this Holiday Isle of the Tropics at the door of the great American nation for the pleasure, repose and health of its inhabitants."' (2008, p.233).
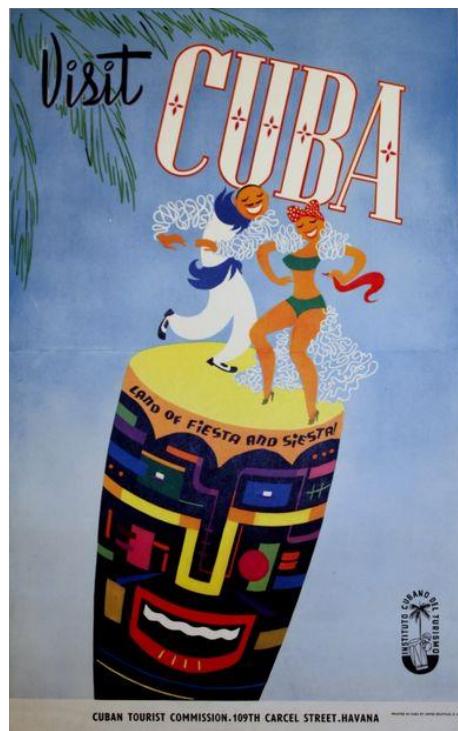
Figures 96-98. Cuban National Tourism Commission advertisements, 1950, 1956, and 1950s.
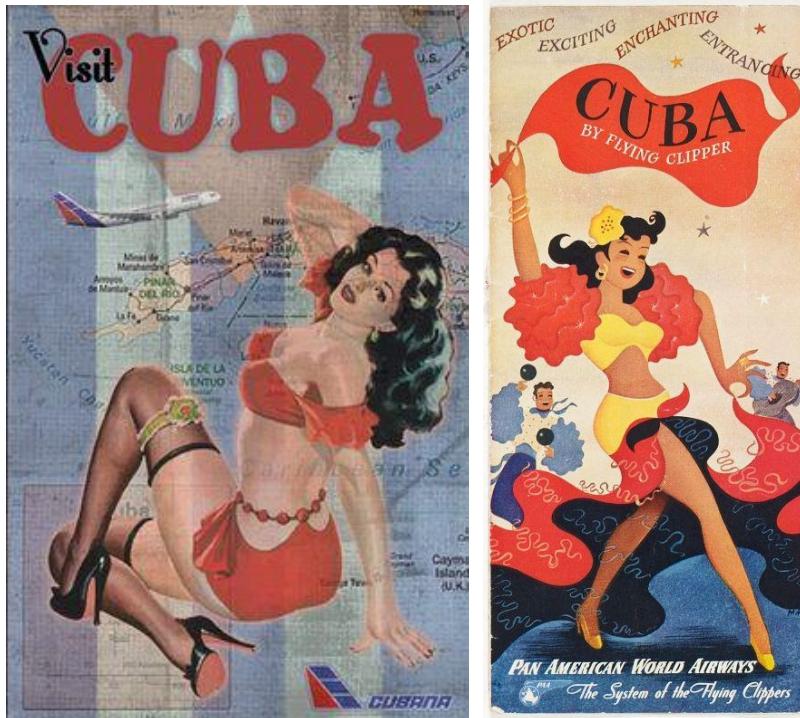
Figure 99. Cubana de Aviacion and Pan-American Airlines, 1950s.

Figure 100. Pan- American Airways, 1950s.

This symbolic construction was disrupted with the 1959 revolt. From this point, Cuba became in the eyes of the world 'revolutionary Cuba', as opposed to the 'garden of sensual delights'. I will return to this in the following chapter. For now, I wish to move forward to the Soviet crisis and the special period of the 1990s when, as Pérez Firmat (2010) affirms, stimulated by the urge to address the economic downfall as a consequence of the Soviet Union collapse Cuba saw a return, mainly through tourist industry devices, to mid-20th century images. That is, to the island of rumba, rum, and exotic beaches, 'the mecca of rumba revelers and cigars aficionados', as touristic brochures promised:

> 'Since the early 1990s, the perception of Cuban exiles as fiery exotics, crazies with a cause, has gone in hand in hand with a renewed interest in mainland Cuba. After the demise of the Soviet Union, with the island's economy on the brink of collapse, the Castro regime resorted to tourism to compensate for the loss of Soviet subsidies. Cuba once again became, in the words of brochures, "the hippest island

in the world," the mecca of rumba revelers and cigars aficionados'. (p. 179).

Indeed, during my own secondary material research, I found similar and even more radical representations of Cuba in the 1990s and early 2000s tourist magazines. For instance, in *Prisma,* in which similar scenarios, protagonists, and activities (white families in the beaches) persist. More radically, objectification of the women, literally serving as an object of adventure, is depicted.

Figures 101 & 102. *Prisma* magazine, 1990s. My own images.
.

If, as Pérez Jr argues, 'Cuba came to the attention of the world […] in the form of metaphors imbued with colonial meanings' (2008, p.24); I can add that by the end of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st, Cuba is still the island of pleasure, rumba, and sensual, usually black, women serving as amusement objects, a paradise where 'you can feel at home' (figures 101,102). With Authentic Cuba, once again, similar metaphors and slogans are used to represent the island (Table 103). Displayed in popular culture artefacts such as newspapers, magazines and, more recently, in plays, songs, and popular films; the mechanisms by which a nation can be imagined, as Anderson, Hobsbawm, and Billig illustrate, these metaphors show how Cuba has been

constantly constructed as an 'atmosphere' detached from reality, as Pérez Firmat affirms:

> 'Once a common place has lodged itself in a culture's psyche – or at least in this culture's psyche– it seems to perpetuate itself with little regard for real events. Since the commonplace trumps the historical place, American images and beliefs about Cuba have remained essentially the same for two hundred years, in spite of the social and political tempests that have battered the island.' (2010, p.9).

Pérez Jr. concludes with a claim cogent for this research. Given that the 'common place' overcomes the 'historical one', all these images impeded the opportunity for Cuban people to narrate their own history, to become a subject on their own terms: 'At a critical point of their national formation, Cubans seemed to have been dislodged as subjects of their own history and displaced as agents of nationhood' (2008, p.172). This critical point, of course, changed significantly with the 1959 revolt and the subsequent revolutionary process.

Text/ Period	1900-1920	1920-1930	1930-1959	1990s-2016
The Havana Post	San Diego de los Baños: 'a favourite social and health resort. The medicinal qualities of the waters here are remarkable.' Cuban North Coast: 'a thoroughly enjoyable experience. […] many of the towns are picturesque.' Havana: 'her location between the picturesque hills and the beautiful waters of the Gulf of Mexico, […] excellent climate, both winter and summer.'			
'When It's Cocktail Time in Cuba' Basil Woon		[Cuban people] 'love life, gaiety, laughter.		
'What I found in Cuba' Idaless Westly		Havana: 'a veritable city of romance'		
'Some Glimpses of Cuba' Nina Hawkings		Cuba: 'the play land of the Americas,'		
'Cuban Tapestry' Sydney Clark			A place where 'conscience takes a holiday'	
'Havana Mañana: A Guide to Cuba and the Cubans' Consuelo Hermer and Marjorie May			'eager to give pleasure'	
Cuban National Tourism Commission			'the land of romance', 'the land of fiesta and siesta'	
National Geographic			'our sugar bowl', 'the world's cigar box'	
Pan American Airlines			'Exciting, exotic, enchantment'	
Prisma				'La isla grande', 'donde usted se siente como en casa'
Auténtica Cuba				'Beyond Cuba's spectacular beaches, there are countless adventures to enjoy', 'Cuba is an island paradise blessed with calm, clear water and spectacular scenery', 'Cuba certainly knows how to party', 'The country was born to the sound of music and the rhythm of dance'.

Table 103. Slogans and phrases about Cuba in tourist documents, 1900-2016. My own elaboration.

This brief historical review helps me to shed light on the novelty of the Authentic Cuba campaign. To begin with, in this case the government itself owns and leads this narration in association with a global 'Transnational Promotional Class'. The Communication Promotional Unit at the Cuban Ministry of Tourism, in collaboration with global branding consultancies and local experts, defined and implemented this narrative as part of a national policy. Thus, it can be said that, while the narrative is the same, it is different too. The novel Cuban branded national narrative mirrors those created decades ago according to a similar narrative. Nevertheless, it is also different and even more complex because neither the United States government nor tourist magazines, nor a Cuban government operating under an American protectorate, produce these narratives, but the current Cuban government under a socialist model. So, while the narrative persists, the actors, techniques, and audiences have changed.

This conclusion allows me to continue addressing my questions. If these were the actors chosen, the locus of enunciation, the process developed, the methods followed and the promises offered both in the Peruvian and Cuban narratives; it was necessary to ask to what extent these two nations, with a colonial mind-set which continues to permeate social relations, could generate such narratives without any form of resistance or contestation. That is, I wonder if it would be possible for these nations to achieve a consistent and coherent narrative without triggering alternative options. Put it in a question: if these actors and experts 'own' Cuban and Peruvian national narratives oriented to the market; do they also control it? The answer is that, simultaneous with their branded promises, these strategies have also stimulated support and reaction, resistance or, mostly, they co-exist with parallel narratives about the collective, activating a discussion about the meaning of these nations.

Chapter 5. Celebration and Contestation: The Battles for the Nation

> "In each of these foundational fictions, the origins of national traditions turn out to be as much acts of affiliation and establishment as they are moments of disavowal, displacement, exclusion and cultural contestation.' (Bhabha 1990, p.5).

As defined, nation branding strategies demands coherence, consistency, and engagement and reject alternative narrations. Nevertheless, this demand, even if transmitted by norms or regulations and taught in workshops and seminars, is not passively assumed but actively contested. In this chapter I will show the different reactions to the Peruvian and Cuban branding campaigns. In the case of Peru, I will present the different points of view that appeared about the campaign and how this produced a discussion about the contemporary meaning of the Peruvian nation. In the case of Cuba, I will illustrate how, in a different way, the campaign's narration has been 'naturally' resisted and how this has also stimulated a discussion about the nation. In short, my point is to disrupt the idea that these strategies are vertical impositions on a passive audience, but devices that have activated a reaction, in some cases celebratory, in some confrontational. From this, my intention is to underline the role of nation branding in the contemporary symbolic battle for the nation.

To do so, for the case of Peru I will include the interviews carried out with PromPerú officers, private advertisers, branding consultants, and anti-campaign artists, analyse online textual interactions on the campaign's official social networks, and examine the visual contestations of artists and graphic designers. For the case of Cuba, I will include conversations with experts related to tourism, images and observational notes taken during fieldwork in La Havana and I will discuss an alternative branding project created in the context of the official campaign. In both cases, I will include literature reviews of texts discussing consumption and design activism (Baudrillard,

Lury, Julier, Klein), memory (Milton, Theidon), postcolonialism (Saïd, Chatterjee, Bhabha), and nation branding references in postcolonial countries (Carah & Louw).

5.1 Renewed National Identity and a Celebratory Peruvian Nation

It was thought-provoking to note how the location and social scenario of my interviews in Lima changed drastically from one to another. When interviewing current or former PromPerú officers, I was received in offices located in San Isidro or Miraflores, two of the most expensive areas in Lima. When received by top advertisers and branding consultants who took part in the campaign, I found myself in modern apartments with views of the sea. When I met independent advertisers, I was invited to trendy houses in Barranco, Lima's hippest area. And when interviewing artists with a critical view of the campaign, we met in middle-class districts such as San Miguel or Los Olivos. Even if only intuitively, such data was not incidental and, on reflection, it seems related to where these individuals stood in relation to nation branding

Unquestionably, the designed narrative of the Peruvian (brand) nation has been a hot topic, intensely defended or contested in the media, on social networks, and in everyday conversation ever since its release. There are three positions around Brand Peru. The first defends it according to the view that it is a game the country needs to play, a device that every country should engage with. Nation branding is a necessary strategy for the contemporary world, which in the Peruvian case has demonstrated positive results. The second position states that Brand Peru, even with mistakes and weaknesses, has come to function as a sort of new 'social glue', as it were, a device activating a 'benign nationalism' that has pushed a collective sense of belonging and renovated a wave of national pride which did not exist before. The third position is much more critical. According to this, Brand Peru is referred to as a superficial made-up 'commercial nationalism' (Volcic & Andrejevic 2016), surrendering to market demands and hiding real local problems. Brand Peru is basically a neoliberal tool created by the privileged few. While the first position is referred to in Chapter Three, here I will focus upon the last two perspectives.

Regarding the second position, the central idea is that this campaign encourages a new way of understanding national identity and in doing so produces a renovated sense of belonging between Peruvian people. This position, mainly represented by the advertisers and branding consultants interviewed, acknowledges unanimously, though not without criticisms, that Brand Peru is a well-produced and highly successful strategy, judged according to its several national and international awards. This success is crucial because, for this position, advertising and branding are powerful fields from where it is possible to strengthen national or individual identities. They play a social role insofar as they make people think about who they are collectively.

In Peru, this potential has proved essential insofar as the branding endeavour provided 'strategic guidelines for our identity' which enabled Peruvians, 'for the first time', to be 'happy with a way to define ourselves'. Again, as this quote synthesizes, if a country is managed as a product, in Peru this has been a foundational event in that, for the first time as a nation, Peruvians have been provided 'with the contents of what (Peruvian people) should say', with the components of a (national) speech:

> 'I believe that a country is managed exactly like a product. To my way of thinking, a country is a product just as you could say that a presidential candidate is a product, Obama for example, is a product. […] Advertising is a way to generate discussion. […] But it is also a way of defining who we are, so I believe that the most important aspect of a campaign about a nation or a city is defining who you are. Usually, common people do not think or analyse what they are as a collective, Peruvian people tend to be quite selfish, they dig in their heels. But we, as a nation, for the first time (with this campaign) we are all happy with a way to define ourselves to the outside world. Whether it be food, music, the environment […], in some form or other, you are given a speech, you are provided with the contents of what you should say when talking about Peru. That is good because it provides us the strategic guidelines for our own identity'. (Personal Communication, marketing and advertising consultant, 22 September, 2014).

From this premise, the potentials of advertising and branding are considered tantamount in regard to Brand Peru, not just because of its powerful and creative content and necessary identity 'guidelines' but also because of the audience it has reached, hence elevating the impact of the 'social glue'. Indeed, through the press, the social media and word of mouth, Brand Peru has reached an enormous audience. More than likely, it is the most seen advertising video in Peruvian history, which is even more noteworthy as it refers to national identity. In this vein, my interviewees highlighted that the 'natural' dissemination of the campaign was an indicator of its achievement. It was not that PromPerú bought space in the media, but that people shared it through their personal social network pages. And owing to this social resonance, television channels screened the videos without being paid and newspapers and magazines published several articles about it[62]:

> '[Brand Peru] was highly successful, it hit a high point of brand awareness. Marca Perú is the second most recalled brand, not sure if that is exact, second or fourth; but it is in the top five of the most remembered Peruvian brands […] When you don't share [on social networks], people don't see it. When you share something, people see it because they know you; but when you don't share things and it is just for publicity, you don't see it, or you see it differently, because it is like searching for publicity, it is different'. (Personal Communication, advertiser, 9 August, 2014).

Brand Peru, then, made the topic of national identity a celebratory everyday conversation. If with the 'hot' consensual topics of gastronomy and music people engaged in the national narrative in a joyful manner–; the extensive reach of visual devices placed branding messages in people's personal newsfeed on social networks, in the daily traffic on the streets, in public and private spaces etc. Thousands of people engaged with Brand Peru by wearing a T-shirt with the logo on it, pasting stickers on their cars, buying related merchandising, or posting and commenting on social

---

[62] This is considered a symptom of the strong and honest connection the brand enabled with ordinary Peruvian people. As I was constantly told, this fact is acknowledged as a proof of success for contemporary branding. It is expected that any piece of advertising that is disseminated willingly by people, and not as part of a commercial transaction, gains more credibility.

networks. In the streets of Lima, the strong appropriation by citizens was evident. Local entrepreneurs and small, medium, and big companies included its logo, formally or informally, and many companies became licencees with the purpose of being associated with the brand (figures 106-114).
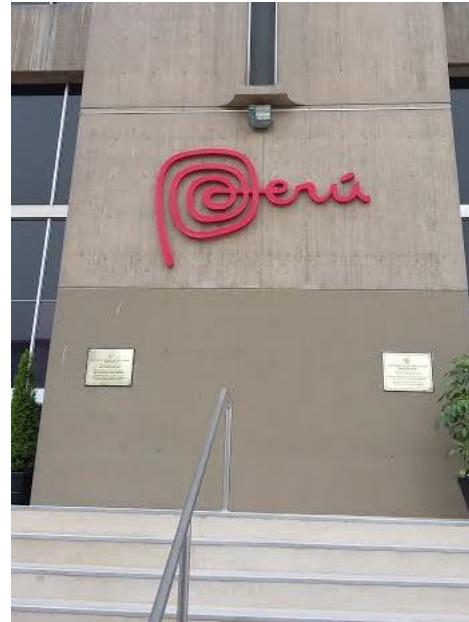
Figures 104-111. Brand Peru logo on coins, in government offices, local businesses, vehicles, and everyday products. My own images.

In terms of the nation, this is an interesting practice in that, following Michael Billig (1995), it is precisely the quotidian, usually unnoticed, everyday life practices which act as the performative supports of national identity. Billig's argument is, as I have explained, that the validation of the nation does not occur exclusively during explicit

moments of historical-national events such as attempts at regional separatism or due to external conflicts, but in everyday quotidian life. Nationhood is constantly recalled through various mechanisms and practices, most of them friendly and apparently superficial, nevertheless because of this they have the power to serve as a constant 'reminder' of the prominent presence of the nation. 'Banal nationalism', as he names it, is not a conscious but a 'forgotten reminding' of nationalism (1995, p.38) that serve 'to cover the ideological habits which enable the established nations of the West to be reproduced' (1995, p.6). Banal nationalism 'is not a flag which is being consciously waved with fervent passion; it is the flag hanging unnoticed on the public building'. (1995, p.8).

The idea is that national identity and nationalism are certainly promoted by 'hard' artefacts, practices, and institutions such as the school, the census, and museums or during historical episodes calling upon sentiments of national identity. At the same time, they are also reproduced through quotidian routine reminders which have become part of our daily life. The unsaluted flag or logos in public buildings, coins and bank notes, small words in the sports section of newspapers rather than 'grand memorable phrases' are all examples mentioned by Billig. They are not part of 'collective reminders of a commemoration' (1995, p.41) but mindless, forgotten ones, 'occurring as other activities are being consciously engaged in' (1995, p.41). Distancing himself from Anthony Giddens, who reserves the term 'nationalism' 'for the outbreaks of hot national passion, which arise in times of social disruption and which are reflected in extreme social movements' (Billig 1995, p.44), Billig re-orients the discussion towards the 'banal psychology of routines' and 'unfamiliar actions' (1995, p.44).

From an ethno-symbolic perspective, symbols are key to collective identification. As Smith suggests, symbols 'act as signals both to others outside and to members of the group, and so symbolic interaction is always a type of communication, with symbols as the content and communication the means by which they become effective' (Smith 1998, p. 182). This is what happens, with particularities, with massive nation branding consumables merchandising. For this point of view, the uses of Brand Peru symbols and commodities demonstrated active participation and commitment to the created

narrative, pushing this new wave of Peruvian pride and collective glue, contrary to what had been the case over the previous decades. Granted, this sentiment was not understood as an exclusive consequence of the campaign but as an ongoing process that the nation branding strategy effectively helped to boost, it was still a crucial point. The brand, in all the seriousness of its banality, contributed to create nationalist sentiment:

> 'Me, I liked it very much, I liked it because I don't think I have ever seen a commercial spot about Peru that had generated so much pride in so many people, which for me was a complete success. The strategy was brilliant because the key to all of this is that commercials about Peru have always spoken to Peruvians and have been sympathetic towards Peruvians. But what happened? It seems to me that the Peruvian ego was so very damaged that when they speak to you about them being the best you don't believe it. So the strategy is to take the best of Peru to another place for the [foreign] people to applaud it. The fact that foreigners celebrate it makes people say "Shit! That's my country!" (Personal Communication, independent advertiser, 30 July, 2014).

> ***

> 'In the '70's and '80's, to say a product was Peruvian was to condemn it to the scrap pile. But life swings like a pendulum and 20 years later it happens that now it is fashionable to say that it is Peruvian.' (Personal Communication, marketing and advertising consultant, and member of the Brand Peru advisory committee, 22 September, 2014).

Beyond these experts, online discussion on the official YouTube channel have, since 2011, voiced a similar tone, with thousands of optimistic comments about the country:

> 'Peru is the best, carajol!! I am very proud to live in such a beautiful country like Peru [. ..] and let's keep giving a 'like'!!! (Y)' (Marca Perú 2011).

> 'This is a very beautiful video, it gives me a lot of joy to watch it, I feel proud to be Peruvian. Congratulations, Marca

Perú for such magnificent growth and much success.'
(Marca Perú 2011).

'I don't know how to explain this great love I feel for my Peru,
I'm in love with my country, is an emotion so, so big, I will
give my life for my Peru, I don't care what the rest say, I will
never be ashamed of my roots. I love you, Peru. ♥'
stephanie16049, July 2012 (Marca Perú 2011).

Brand Peru 'took the best out of the country', thanks to which the 'damaged ego' was transformed and turned into joy, love, emotion. If during the 1970's and 1980's, 'to say a product was Peruvian was to condemn it to the scrap pile'. Now, with this new generated 'mini concept of identity', Peruvians have felt that they are 'moving forward' and will 'never be ashamed of the (Peruvian) roots'. This is the thing at issue within this perspective. Even considering its limits, what is not in doubt is the fact that branding and advertising play a central role in the shaping of identity and social.

Consequently, it is agreed that Peru is canny to engage with a strategy of this type. Brand Peru is read as an intelligent device that capitalized and simultaneously generated a wave of proud national identity. It has given new content to a fractured post-conflict nation. It has produced, even if for only a short period, a new 'foundational fiction'. It has created symbols aiming to represent collective values and shared experiences, and has linked them to the creation of novel 'myths' or promises: Peru as a multicultural democratic society; Peru as a country of chefs, and Peru as a place where to find ourselves. Even if this content is, ultimately, a simulacrum reproducing stereotypes, it could also be said that in a post-conflict post-crisis context, people needed this kind of horizontal celebratory representation of the nation. As Sommer argues for 19th century national novels in Latin America, there was 'a common need (from the readers) to reconcile and amalgamate national constituencies', 'to cast the previously unreconciled parties, races, classes or regions'. (1990, p.81) This is not, nonetheless, the last form of reading this endeavour.

5.2 The Return of the Political: Contesting the Peruvian Branded Narrative

If, for Noah Harari, (2016), the ability to produce myths 'give[s] Sapiens the unprecedented ability to cooperate', they also offer, it could be added, a platform to differ and contest, as it has happened with the brand Peru narration. In fact, the visual contestation of the campaign began only weeks after the official release of *Peru, Nebraska*. This contestation was motivated by the same premise that encourages my research: nation branding is not a mere and innocent commercial strategy but a way of promoting national identity and a sense of belonging based upon a neoliberal discourse, which is problematic in a country mired in continuous social tensions.

The 'legitimate monopoly of branding' in the construction of a national narrative is thus seen, from this perspective, as a dangerous licence, a form of imposing a speech that will necessarily need to answer the demands of the market. This was understood by Mauricio Delgado, a Peruvian artist and political activist, when he told me that '[Brand-Peru] is a project about the nation and Peru has renounced its status as a country to become a brand. It is very dangerous to leave this task to advertisers.' (Personal Communication, Lima 2014).

This biased locus of enunciation and its privileged elements –the 'presences' and 'absences' of the Peruvian 'promise'– constitutes then the main critique. To examine it in more detail, I will analyse five images created by Peruvian graphic designers Markus Ronjam, Carlin, Jesus Cossio, Alvaro Portales, and Mauricio Delgado about the official campaign, all of which have been widely shared through social networks. To do so, I will follow and answer, when possible, the questions that Gillian Rose invokes as substantial when doing visual analysis: 'When was the picture made?, where was it made?, who made it? Was it made for someone else? (…), how is it being circulated?" (Rose, (2001), In: Mitchell, 2001: 98). This is, I intent to contextualize the images analysed in the purpose of understanding the context these images aim to intervene. To add on this, I will include interviews carried out with some of the artists whose work is presented here.
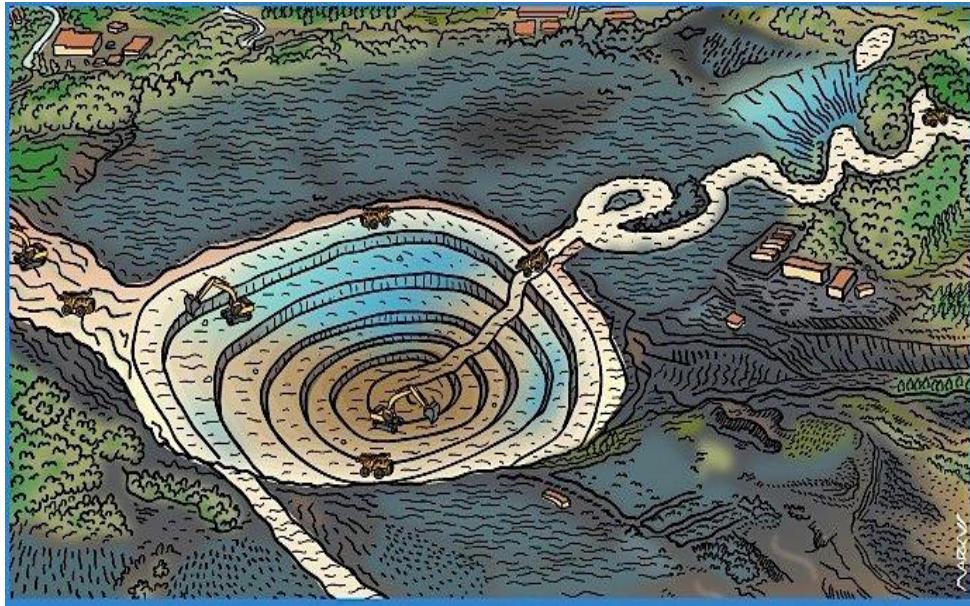
Figure 112. Brand Peru by graphic designer Markus Ronjam. (Ronjam 2017).

One such image, created by graphic designer Markus Ronjam in 2012, transposes the "P" from the logo to a mining excavation. The national signifier is now anchored in a Peruvian town in a rural mining area. In Ronjam's cartoon, the "P" represents the exploitation of national natural resources by global private companies and the reinforcement of inequalities in terms of class and territory. The image depicts that, although mining is the principal economic activity of the country, areas where this industry operates remain within the lowest quality of life and services such as health and education remain poor.[63]

In addition, some of these areas and populations are involved in deep social conflicts surrounding the extractive industries, revealing not only the unfair distribution of mining industry benefits that favour foreign companies, but a larger tension around neoliberal policies. These policies, as mentioned, have led to significant growth in

---

[63] The poorest regions in Peru are those where more mining activities are central, such as Pasco. See Peruvian Poverty Map 2009. (Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática 2010). Moreover, this image can be linked to a longer history of resource exploitation and wealth creation for the metropolis during the colonial period, particularly in the Andean region of Peru during Spanish rule. By evoking such associations, this image aims to historicize long-term, persistent inequalities of the country

macroeconomic terms, but a simultaneous expansion of inequality, and social impacts such as prostitution, violence, environmental damage, and, ultimately, a sense of unequal distribution of prosperity. Therefore, for the vast majority of people and, arguably, mostly among the population living in the areas pictured, the Peruvian 'economic miracle' related to neoliberal policies is not as such, and contestation of this development model has emerged.

So, whereas the Brand Peru strategy disseminates economic growth as part of the good news to be shared with the world, as a proof that the country is a great place to invest, and as a strong motif for a renewed sense of national hope, -the 10% rate of growth obtained in the mid 2000s is visually represented in *Peru, Nebraska*-, on the contrary, the image represented there reveals that things are not as straightforward as it seems and more complex situations operate.

Figure 113. Brand Peru by cartoonist Carlos Tovar, 'Carlín'. 'You have the right to go to the movies but not to the toilets.' (Agapito 2012).

This second image, created by political cartoonist 'Carlin' refers to an incident occurred in November 2011 in Lima. A man dressed in a traditional Peruvian Andean

costume like those in the image, entered a very exclusive shopping mall to go to the cinema. In the middle of the screening, he left the room to go to the toilet facilities and was detained by security guards who, in distrust of this man, did not think he was a customer and asked him to leave the mall. The guards acted upon their prejudice against indigenous attire, symbolically linked to a peasant from the Andes, who does not belong to the social scenery of an exclusive mall in the capital.

It could be said that racism, stereotypes, illegal use of private security force and the negative effects of the privatization of public spaces such as commercial oriented-ones, are all topics here highlighted. Nevertheless, I believe this image principally reveals the extent to which class, racial, and cultural categories are imbricated in complex relations of discrimination among the Peruvian people. People from the Andes, associated with poverty, rurality, and possibly 'tradition' or 'archaism', are not considered citizens entitled to the use of public facilities but, significantly, they are not even imagined as paying clients of cultural practices such as attending a commercial movie theatre in one of the richest areas of the city.

In other words, it was precisely because the man wore an Andean traditional costume that he was not imagined as a customer, but as a subaltern subject out of place, hence expelled from the shopping mall. Therefore, the image, and the incident it illustrates, also reveals the limits of a capitalist democratic nation built upon historical structures of racism and social marginalization such as Peru. Once again, in a country where social relations have developed from a heavily incorporated mentality of racial, cultural, and class exclusion, or furthermore, where, as Drinot argues, 'Racism, as a normalized idea and behavior, is central to the exclusionary character of nation-building' (2006, p.19); the idea of equal citizens riding a bus symbolsing a consolidated nation seems unconvincing.

Figure 114. Brand-Peru by cartoonist Jesus Cossio. (Cossio, n.d)

This image invites two related readings. In the first it could be said that, by covering the streets with Brand Peru banners promoting consented elements such as national dishes (Ceviche) and the 'golden past' (Macchu Picchu), the campaign, cartoonist Jesus Cossio suggests, forcibly attempts to conceal poverty and social segregation. As mentioned, in accordance with the strategy's aim to increase the country's reputation in the global market, it was crucial to diminish and transform the 'bad news' circulating about Peru in the early 21st century, such as poverty, in this case represented by rural migrants from the Andes now homeless in the city.

Moreover, nation branding, as is it criticized in Cossio's cartoon, privileges objects but does not care for subjects who are, paradoxically, the creators of the objects promoted. Nation branding is a device that, in this interpretation, foregrounds consumable products and services in a market scenario, but obscures the human element, the citizens that might disturb the discourse of progress and reputation. Given that they are undesired subjects, they do not enjoy the same participation in official cultural representations of the nation.

The image supports a second reading. These subjects, by lying in the streets, make it physically impossible for Brand Peru to ever be an impeccable representation, for their operators will not be able to perfectly apply the nation brand banner. The abject

woman and child, the excluded both economically and culturally, the ones historically subject of racism and discrimination, will always be there as symptoms disturbing the celebratory branding endeavour. As defined by Peeren (2014), the homeless, the unemployed, the migrants are 'living ghosts' or 'figures of return' produced by liberal-democrat capitalism. They are 'physically present and visible, yet remain unseen' (Peeren 2014, p.33), but paradoxically operate according to their own 'spectral agency' (Peeren 2014, p.16), manifesting, through their invisibility, a problematic situation. In this case, the problematic situation is a profoundly symbolic and economic unequal structure, that interrupt the intention of the branded narrative of constructing a democratic-multicultural nation.

Figure 115. Brand Peru by graphic designer Alvaro Portales. (*Alvaro Portales* 2012).

Created by Alvaro Portales, according to him this image refers to the State repression inflicted on the inhabitants of the region of Bagua in the Peruvian Amazon, who in 2009 protested against the government plans to exploit natural resources in the Amazon basin. Because of this intervention, about 33 citizens died, among them police officers and, mainly, indigenous protesters. The Bagua incident was the most tragic in terms of the number of deaths as the result of the direct confrontation between government and indigeneous population around the extractive industries economic model. Moreover, for many it symbolized a disastrous milestone in the disputes between the implementation of neoliberal policies undertaken by the Peruvian government - in that context under Alan Garcia's second administration - and the demand for collective rights over the control and management of lands.

In a first level of analysis, this image recalls the initial meaning of the term 'brand': 'to burn'. This is a function originally related to the marking of cattle and later of products for the purpose of identification and marking of property. Here, the Brand Peru logo is physically and violently sealed onto this person's body as the result of government repression, the centre of the branding logo becoming the orifice of the bullets, piercing and drawing blood from his back. Operating as a proper seal, the Brand Peru logo is literally burning the indigeneous person's back and, from the artists view, marking him a subject of repression and control.

In relation to this, and at a second level of analysis, this image depicts the distinct relation that the Peruvian government stablishes with citizens protesting against the neoliberal economic policies. Here I agree with Paulo Drinot's (2014) Foucauldian analysis of neoliberalism in Peru, particularly his analysis of the Bagua incident. For Drinot, neoliberal governmentality, which seeks to manage populations through citizens' self-regulation, operates in Peru simultaneous to, or better yet, under the predominance of a rather repressive and disciplinary sovereign form of power, particularly directed at those who dispute the economic-political model. According to Drinot, in Garcia's administration, and more extensively over recent decades, differentiated policies, - whether disciplinary or self-regulated, were implemented according to the sector involved. That is, in terms of how they act upon the economic model and, more

significantly, in terms of *who* they are in the country's historic, racial, and cultural mental horizon. In his own words: 'Peru, today and in the past, is best characterized by the presence of islands of governmentality in a sea of sovereignty'. (2014, p. 176).

This contestation of Brand Peru's image illustrates, precisely, Garcia's 'project of rule characterized by the privilege of sovereignty over governmentality', and in the specific Bagua incident, it illustrates the 'micro-management of sectors of the population' (2014, p. 177). In this case, the Bagua indigeneous citizen, both because of his constitutive racial and class identity, and because the position he has taken against state neoliberal policies, is the subject of sovereign power through disciplinary repressive policies. Paradoxically, in his free act as a liberal citizen disputing the development model, he is deprived of the right to self-regulation but marked as a subject of discipline and control. As Drinot suggests: 'it is their freedom that is perceived to be the problem' (2014, p. 177).

For the author of this piece this is, at the end, the true essence of Brand Peru: a neoliberal strategy that, while portraying a celebration of multiculturalism, freedom, horizontal relations and economic hope; in the end operates under a model that seeks to police and control those celebrated in their videos but defined as being against 'progress': the indigeneous, the natives, the communists. If in Brand Peru they are the symbolic portrayers of the nation, in 'real' Peru they are the expendable political and biopolitical 'internal enemies'. If in the former they are depicted as the distinctive purveyors of Peruvian authenticity and competitive identity, in the latter they represent an obstacle to progress, 'a block to national advancement' (2014, p. 172).

Figure 116. Brand Peru by artist Mauricio Delgado. (Mauricio Delgado Castillo, n.d).

In this last example, artist and activist Mauricio Delgado intervenes in the famous painting 'Los Funerales de Atahualpa' by Peruvian artist Luis Moreno (1865). The painting depicts the funeral of indigenous leader Jose Santos Atahualpa following a late Catholic baptism and was inspired by the book *Historia de la Conquista del Perú* by William H. Prescot. In the event as represented, Catholic priests conduct the ceremony, Spanish soldiers impede the indigenous women who attempt to be buried with their leader and force them to leave the room, while Spanish conqueror Francisco Pizarro watches the ceremony. The painting attempts to convey both the tensions, expected conciliations, and syncretism in a context of the re-founding of the Peruvian nation. The image had in its time a massive success and was reproduced in school textbooks, stamps, and currency, and disseminated as a crucial image in the official visual representation of Peruvian history.

.

In Delgado's image, by contrast, the drama and intensity of the original painting have been homogenized by smiley emoticon faces, while Atahualpa's tomb is covered by the Brand Peru logo. Instead of the historical conflicts, cultural tensions, and potential syncretism between the indigenous people and the Europeans, all part of the foundation of a colonial nation, Delgado depicts a homogeneous jubilant online nation. The intervention suggests that, through the branding strategy, Peruvian colonial social foundations are obscured by the neoliberal branded nation, incontestably presented in a homogeneous celebratory form without any kind of dispute.

In a general sense, in this image the structural conflicts and possibilities of re-imagining the history of the Peruvian nation is overcome by the imperatives of the global present, principally the demand for enjoyment. In short, Brand Peru is criticized insofar it deploys a biased celebratory discourse - economic progress, multicultural democratic society - which, rather than representing diverse backgrounds, suggests a country composed by apparently similar individuals who are invited to be part of the celebration of the nation without questioning it.

In addition to these, I could add at least a hundred more images. Most of them created by artists, graphic designers, and common people, mainly from urban scenarios, during the years the branding campaign was in course, and sprayed in the streets or freely disseminated online for a public viewing (see appendix M).

225

Figures 117-120. Visual contestations of Brand Peru

Together, these images directly criticize the way the Peruvian nation is used or re-invented and, simultaneously, the nation branding's premises, discourses, and methods. This criticism shares a distinct view of Peru, which deserves deeper reflection. To do so, I will start by discussing the social role of brands and consumption. The key aspect here is that, rather than a passive view of consumers, consumption studies have underlined the 'market literacy' (Lury 2011), the co-creation of the brand (Arvidsson 2005), and the 'reflexive consumption' and 'aesthetic reflexivity' (Lash & Urry 1994) of our times. This means that contemporary consumers, socialized through market and marketing techniques, must not be seen as receivers of messages with no capacity to reflect or question, as in Theodor Adorno's (1988) perspective of the post-war consumer of cultural industries.

On the contrary, consumers take, to an extent, a critical and reflexive distance from the object being offered and understand the relationship they have with the brand. For example, examining the political role of companies and brands, Klein's classic *No Logo* (2005), draws special attention to reactions against brand colonization of contemporary culture in the form of anti-advertisement campaigns led by 'culture jammers', who, operating as 'antimarketers activist artists' (p. 294), redefine advertising or original brand meanings by visual intervention.

226

In terms of my case study, if cultural consumption is one of the logics of nation branding, this does not only imply the underlined result of the nation being offered to market exchanges in the form of merchandising -hence its appropriation partly by consumption practices or as media spectators- but also, the possibility to contest it not just as citizens but as consumers. In other words, if it is agreed that being defined as a consumer rather than as a citizen has meant the use of market language to produce national narratives, this has also meant that people can and do act from the basis of their consumers' rights to dispute this narrative, either by avoiding these merchandising or by jamming them publicly. As Kania-Lundholm (2016) argues, 'as citizenship becomes increasingly reformulated in terms of consumer practices, nations become part of the global market through citizens and their role as consumers.' (2016, p.126). In words of Ranciere, 'the spectator also acts, like the pupil or the scholar. She observes, selects, compares, interprets' (Ranciere 2009, p.13).

Precisely, one of the first things that the examples analysed tells us is that, by jamming the official logo, these 'market-literate' Peruvian designers reveal their understanding of the social and political implications of branding. They also want to mess with a system, in this case not one supported only by private advertising companies, as in Klein's argument, but by the national state itself. More significantly, these contestations reintroduce the political dimension of nation branding, one carefully avoided by its designers.

To begin with, this visual activism contests the coherent and consistent brand, fundamental in the field's manuals but hardly possible in a contradictory, heterogeneous, post-conflict, post-colonial society. By recreating the Peruvian nation brand and evidencing public issues such as unfair mining exploitation, inequality, racism, violence, corruption, state repression, and the suppression of history, they introduce a problematic dimension in the 'construction' of the nation (brand). Put differently, they create a visual anchor to reality and by doing so, they play the game of the narration of the nation and fight against the referred legitimized monopoly of branding of the state or the strict top-down strategy undertaken by those responsible.

These images invite the audience to be aware of a dissociation between exhibited Brand Peru and hidden but still present Peru. In Brand Peru, we are all invited on the joyful, folkloric, multicultural journey, but it is an invitation which excludes its failures, its tensions, its hierarchies. The problem with the market-oriented narrative is that official images create a rupture with postcolonial, and post-conflict Peru. The political purpose of these interventions is then to root the nation brand in antagonistic situations, to disturb the celebratory representation of the nation, to highlight the fact that the leaders of the nation branding strategy are the ones reproducing exclusion and violence and making these invisible to the public eye.

With Baudrillard, (1994), it can be argued that the images presented undress the nation brand depictions by underlining that the official campaign has produced a simulacrum: a copy without the original, an image of something that does not exist, or that exists in more complex ways. Or, with Ranciere, it can be said that these images aim a 'distribution of the sensible', relocating symbolic meanings and horizons, in this case about the nation and its promise of success, enjoyment, and multiculturalism, into the existing social tensions.

It is possible to go further with the analysis. In fighting against this representation, these artists introduce new actors to the picture - the rest, the abject. To say it with Alain Badiou (2003) and Giorgio Agamben (1998, 2005), these are the characters 'internally-excluded' by capitalism - the poor rural women living in the city, the indigenous political activist etc, that is, the ones included and presented but not represented. Or, with Zizek, the ones that the system includes in its folkloric or consumable form but excludes in its 'real' form. (2005, p.234). They are those the system excludes from its official classifications and nominations but who, in everyday life, they need in order to operate. They are producers and consumers but their presence is discursively denied. With Harvey, it can be said that:

> 'The general implication is that, through the experience of everything from food, to culinary habits, music, television, entertainment, and cinema, it is now possible to experience the world's geography vicariously, as a simulacrum. […] But

it does so in such a way as to conceal almost perfectly any trace of origin, of the labour processes that produced them, or of the social relations implicated in their production.' (1990, p.301)

It is from the premise of this awareness that the visual artists interviewed decided to 'complete' these official constructions, to evidence the internal rupture, to re-dress what Peru is, in their view, really about. In the words of a graphic designer:

'Marca Perú shows the 'cholo', the Andean guy (Serrano) with his chullo hat, 'oh, our people!' […] What happened when Humala (the current Peruvian President) won (the elections), how did the virtual gossip go?: 'Indios, you fucked it all up, the Marine Navy seals should come and exterminate you all' [...] Then, when they are in the showcase, 'oh yes, how beautiful!', but when it is about a discussion in this other sense, 'No way, shitty Serrano!' (Personal Communication, graphic designer 1, 4 August, 2014).

Willingly or not, nation branding strategies end up often (re)producing stereotypes and basic representations offered to the global market-gaze that, unescapably, nominates and excludes. It is very hard to represent diversity and at the same time achieve consistency. As Aronczyk argues:

'Branding's work is to erase the prominence of those attributes which might compromise the legitimacy of the nation-state in a market democracy. These attributes are called 'hygiene factors' in the business: obstacles such as 'Investment red tape', 'poor infrastructure' and 'corruption'. […] Branding appears as a benign form of national consciousness, because elements that are not benign are not permissible within a nation branding framework.' (2013, p. 79).

Therefore, if the legitimate monopoly of branding in the construction of the nation needs to be contested, that is, complemented with real national issues, the same set of

tools as used in advertising and design was the perfect resource to accomplish these goals:

> 'For me, the best way to generate opinion was to intervene in the logo and not so much to change it. The first thing I thought was, well, I looked at it through the eyes of advertisers themselves. You say this represents us and represent a lot of things, right? Well, then we will start looking for more aspects that you haven't shown as part of the country, in this case, the critic addresses what we have as failures, what we have as mistakes.' (Personal Communication, graphic designer 2, 17 July 2014). [64]

This leads me to the discussion around the nation. I began from the premise of understanding the nation as a historical construction in search of social cohesion and a national narrative. At the same time, I defined the nation, with Smith, as an 'ongoing process […] often jagged and discontinuous, as some features emerge or are created, while others lag'. (Smith 2004, p.183). That is to say that the 'production' of the nation does not follow a straight, linear, consistent trajectory but is a continuous process open to disputes and alternative narrations. For example, in relation to the 'usable' and 'malleable' past, considered as a resource to consolidate social cohesion in the present and orient the future, Smith argues that 'while helpful for ethnic incorporation, may engender successive revisions and contestations, which have an unsettling effect on 'national identity' (Smith 2004, p.213).

The postcolonial approach contributes to read these images from the perspective of the nation as a disputed entity. As mentioned in Chapter One, for Partha Chatterjee, in India, and in other countries with colonial experiences, the nation is developed in a 'heterogeneous time'. This means that the nation is not built in a clear linear process of modern western assimilation, but through ambivalent, possibly contradictory processes in which pre-modern and pre-colonial myths, beliefs, and values co-exist with modern-

---

[64] Alvaro Portales, the designer whose work is analyzed here, created and shared several anti-Brand Peru images and because of this, in June 2014 he received an official letter from PromPerú asking him to stop using the Brand Peru logo because it was not the correct way to use it, a letter that was published on Facebook by the artist himself.

colonial ones. Ancient myths and modern imperatives, traditional beliefs and 'rational' practices are superposed and exercised simultaneously in various areas such as business, science, health, and others.

Moreover, influenced by Foucault, Chatterjee's concept of heterogeneous time stresses that the way national actors relate to the modern nation is not the same and equal for all. The nation and its promises are experienced differently by multiple actors, thus cannot be understood to be composed by homogeneous citizens equally entitled to civil and political rights, the 'civil society', but by differentiated populations treated dissimilarly, dependent upon ad hoc changeable and sometimes paralegal negotiations with the government, -the 'political society'. The 'times' of urban and rural actors are unalike hence they interpret and experience modern progress differently. Even a same public event shared widely by the daily press is not 'read' similarly by different human groups. And the relationship that the government establishes with marginalized populations is unlike those established with formal – 'proper' citizens, as referred by Drinot in the case of Peru. In short, the experience of the nation is heterogeneous, dissimilar, and sometimes contradictory.

In this vein, for Hommi Bhabha, given that the postcolonial experience enables forms of contestation and dispute around the construction of the nation (Bhabha 1990, p.3-4), the (postcolonial) nation is defined as an 'agency of ambivalent narration' (Bhabha 1990, p.3). For this reason, this approach is relevant to my case. The images analysed here invite a discussion about exclusion, ambivalent experiences, and distinct relations between the Peruvian state and various groups and societies in the endeavour of generating a shared narration of the nation or even more difficult symbolic social cohesion.

Certainly, by intervening in the logo, the artists and designers' work illustrates that some fragments of the nation -the 'political society'- do not experience the benefits of the economic model or the discourse of progress the same way as the 'civil society' as can be seen in figures 112 and 113. They argue that access to the free market through consumption practices is not truly equal or necessarily democratic and that the promise of a liberal capitalist society is permeated by a historical mental horizon of class

and cultural racism and discrimination, as in Figure 113. They also claim, as in Figure 144, that the promises of gastronomy and the 'golden past' as novel forms of national cohesion are weak and insubstantial at least, and dehumanizing at most, and are simply a new form to banish subaltern subjects from the visual representation of the nation.

They show too how state-society relations are not necessarily based on homogeneous civil modern rights but upon ad hoc policies, distinct negotiations, or sometimes direct repression of those who oppose the economic model, as in Figure 115. And they unveil, as happens in Figure 116, the masquerade in which history is converted into a superficial image of standardized happiness when, beyond this celebratory discourse, Peru obscures the disputes between different and potentially antagonist actors.

To sum up, these visual contestations have three purposes. First, by adopting some distance and a critical approach to the branding perspective, they revise, contest, and dispute the official interpretation of the nation created and disseminated by the branding strategy. Second, they include the 'fragments' and 'fractures' of the nation that, far from an idyllic homogeneous representation, illustrate past and present divisions and exclusions. In so doing, the images suggest that local actors do not experience the promises of the Peruvian branded nation with the same faith and consistency, but with ambiguity and distrust, or at least from a subaltern position. Third, and finally, they widen the narration of the nation.

Hence, in contrast to what the branding manuals expect, a door is opened to imagine - and materialize - the Peruvian nation brand from different interpretations, and in more inconsistent and disputed forms. The artists claim, as Chatterjee does for his own theoretical project, more 'freedom of imagination' for the nation (and the nation brand). Place branding counter-campaigns, such as occur in Chile, Colombia, or Costa Rica (see Figure 143) play a role in widening the discourses and forms through which people are invited to interpret, imagine, and identify with their national communities beyond those promoted by the nation branding strategies in operation.

Nevertheless, while these contestations are relevant exercises for the reasons previously cited, it is important to admit that they have limits. In the main, this is a form

of symbolic resistance arising from a circumscribed locus of enunciation. It is not about the local masses mobilized against representation by Brand Peru, or an organized social or political movement of nationalist vindication. Either spontaneous citizens or, in the cases analysed, middle class, urban, politically engaged artists are involved. Thus, while this demands further research into their reception, questions could be posed around the extent and impact these interventions have in modifying a nation branding strategy or, even less probable, in transforming the social, economic, and political structure they denounce.

In my case, to raise questions and initially suggest lines of answer on this potential impact, demands a reflection on the notion of 'memory'. If in a Peruvian post-crisis post-conflict context, public opinion was, as described in Chapter Three, embedded in a discussion about memory -that is, in a quest to elaborate a narrative able to interpret the recent and antagonist episodes from where to orient the future-; with the branding project and its contestations, the market re-orients this discussion, acquiring to some extent a role in struggles over what to forget and what to remember. Following the works of Cynthia Milton (2014) and Elizabeth Jelin (2003) on Latin America, the battles around memory are not about having or not having a collective memory, that is, a fight between remembering and forgetting, but about different rival memories: "in truth, what is at stake is an opposition of 'memory against memory'" (Jelin 2003 p. xviii). In other words, about which gains public presence and is finally installed in public opinion and shapes further generations. The issue, then, is not just what to remember, but about the continuous and endless (political) labour about what to forget.

Seeing it from this perspective, interventions in the branding promises discussed here also intervene in how we narrate any nation and how (present) memory is created. If, from the official side, there is an attempt to forget topics which potentially disturb the current Peruvian reputation and potential competitivity in the global market, these alternative narrations become even more significant as they act as cultural artefacts in the political struggle around memory. Given that 'what can change about the past is its meaning, which is subject to reinterpretations, anchored in intentions and expectations toward the future' (Jelin 2003 p.26) then these 'actors and activists use the past,

233

bringing their understandings and interpretations about it into the public sphere of debate' (Jelin 2003 p.26).

This is of significance in the cultural field for, as examined by Vich and Milton for the case of Peru, the cultural arena and, particularly, art practices and manifestations, are a vital field from which not only political conflicts or social tensions are denounced or described, but also where alternative symbolic representations of subjects and collectives are imagined and proposed to the public. If, politically, Peru has not yet been able to generate a consensual discourse about the nation's recent conflict, hence its future, the cultural field assumes this role. For Vich: 'artistic objects must be understood as cultural dispositifs which enable us to transform the existent common senses, because thanks to the representations they disseminate and the impact they cause (…), they open significant spaces of citizen consciousness and political memory' (Vich 2015 p. 14). In short, art and visual representations, such as those analysed in this chapter, operate as 'memory dispositifs and generators of critical perspectives' (Vich 2015, 16).

5.3 The Tensions of Branded Cuba: The External-Private vs. the Internal-Public

What is the situation in the Cuban case? How has it been resisted, if at all? After analysing the visual and textual display of the Cuban branding strategy, I asked myself how these representations of Cuba and Cuban people were possible. In particular, I wondered to what extent, or in what ways, Authentic Cuba, a commercial policy designed by global branding consultancies with the purpose of competing in a neoliberal order, is resisted by, or engages with, a socialist model and a recent history of citizen empowerment.

I will begin this discussion by problematizing the concept of 'cubanía'. Noticeable, the 'cubanía' defined by the branding briefing mentioned in the previous chapter, based upon the 'joy', 'rhythm', and 'happiness' of Cuban people, and an exciting Cuba; adds a new dimension to the notion used to elucidate a continuous

ideology within the Cuban obsession with the search of identity (Kapcia 2000 p.24).[65] As explained by Kapcia, 'cubanía' refers to the belief in Cuban-ness, a self-narrative which, distanced from the Cuba dominated by external protectorates and constructed under their own metaphors, was much more conscious of the need to control their own national discourse, to own their history: cubanía is defined as 'a political expression of a growing collective desire to rescue and define an 'imagined community', with all the contradictions that such a search must entail' (Kapcia 2000, p.24).

The 1959 revolt and the revolutionary process illustrates this pursuit more clearly. In a context of continuous external construction of a 'sensualized Cuba', together with economic and political exclusions, the will to own and produce a self-narration emerged as one of the main elements that the Cuban Revolution reclaimed. Indeed, pre-revolutionary Cuba was 'one of collective involvement and mobilization' in which external hostility –for example, in the form of the continuous external metaphors described in the last chapter, 'created a powerful sense of community' (Kapcia 2000, p.175). For Kapcia, this triggered the need to transform the long-term cubanía project into the specific 'rebel cubanía' (cubanía rebelde) as a necessary 'alternative project' that might challenge the hegemony of the old society and become the basis for a new one (Kapcia 2000, p.176).

Contrary to seeing the 'external' as the solution, 'cubanía rebelde' and the subsequent 'cubanía revolucionaria' (revolutionary cubanía), developed new national myths based upon inner codes such as Marti, Afro-Cuba and, later, the 'guerrilleros' and Che,[66] while affirming that the national problem laid outside and was related to colonial and imperial episodes. (Kapcia 2008, p.91). As a result, the term 'revolución' became a 'world-view and commitment', an expression of a sense of belonging to a social

---

[65] 'When one examines the nature of Cuban history, such an obsession becomes less "obsessive" and more logical, because history […] tended until the twentieth century to define Cuba as a culturally dependant, satellite entity, denying it a history of its own.' (Kapcia 2000, p.24).

[66] In the case of Martí, the revolution: 'looked for its unifying legitimate and popular myth explicitly to the one that had guided the rebellion and crucially identified it with the heroic past, and consciously attempted to identify Martí's relevance to the new revolution.' (Kapcia 2000, p.177).

grouping with which the individual shares an ideology (that of cubanía). (Kapcia 2000, p.245).

In short, cubanía can be understood as a national project, as the desire, materialized in specific myths (discourses) and codes (mechanisms and symbols), to produce a proper narration of the country's past, present, and future: 'Cubanía, like all ideologies, offered a collective, viable, acceptable and variable explanation of Cuba's past context, its present dilemmas and subjugation, and its potential future' (p.171). This is why, in my case, it is remarkable to note that the branding briefing also employs the same term, now oriented by and towards the field and context of my study. Because of this, I wondered then how, and to what extent, the Brand Cuba speaks to revolutionary Cuba and, in general, how this narrative engaged a citizenship aware of capitalism's grey areas. Put in operational terms, I asked what might be the impact of this narration in Cuba and on Cuban citizens.

To answer this question, I will return to my fieldwork notes. I arrived in La Havana on 15^t June 2015. Literally, the first poster I saw in the international arrivals lounge at the José Martí International Airport was an Authentic Cuba one. It was prominent and the room itself had three or four of them. I thought this was a good sign - the branding campaign had significant presence.

Figure 121. Authentic Cuba in José Marti Airport, La Habana. My own image.

On my way home from the airport, I saw one more Authentic Cuba poster, in this case slightly hidden behind some trees. Later, during my first days in La Havana which I spent walking in the streets, attending conferences, taking pictures, and visiting touristic places such as Old Havana plazas, the 'malecón', and the main museums, I noted that the nation branding campaign did not have any presence, its logo and images not displayed. I also participated in city tours and walks, and the campaign was not mentioned once. I asked researchers of different ages and professions whom I had contacted if they knew more about the campaign and told me they remembered the logos vaguely but did not have any specific information about them. I asked my landlady, taxi drivers, vendors in stores, none of whom barely knew about it.

This initial observation intrigued me. It crossed my mind that this was an insignificant campaign that did not deserve deep analysis. How to explain this? Coming from Peru where the branding strategy is invasive, to note that in all my 48 days in La Havana not in one house, car, private local business, and so on was there an Authentic Cuba image or merchandising, was intriguing. Almost every day, I watched at least one hour of television, I read the main newspapers such as *Gramma* or *Juventud Rebelde,* and I listened to the radio and not once was there a single reference to the campaign.

Fieldwork constantly challenges preconceptions and, weeks after my arrival, I realized that I was mistaken. Only around the third week did I become aware that the images and narrations of Authentic Cuba were there, displayed in La Havana. The crucial difference was that they were exhibited in specific locations – in shops in the major hotels such as Hotel Presidente, Hotel Habana Panorama, Gran Hotel Nacional, Hotel Melia Habana, Hotel Habana Libre, and at the 'Palacio de la Artesanía' (an internal patio in a touristic leisure centre in Old Havana), where I saw quite a lot of Authentic Cuba merchandising - guides, ashtrays, t-shirts, hats etc., for sale. (figures 122-129).

Figures 122 & 123. Habana Libre Hotel. Shop exterior and interior. My own images.

Figures 124 & 125. Hotel Presidente. Shop exterior and interior. My own images.

Figures 126 &127. Habana Panorama Hotel. Shop exterior and interior. My own image (right).

Figures 128 &129. Palacio de la Artesanía shop interior. My own images.

I came to realize that Brand Cuba was disseminated mainly in these elected places. What do they represent? What is the social meaning of these spaces in the city? On the one hand, they are part of the main tourist circuit, who do not need, without making a deliberate effort, – to engage with the city's everyday pulse. On the other, and simultaneously, these spaces are still socially and economically inaccessible to many Cuban citizens. Most of these products can easily cost as much as the average national salary. Understandably, they are not usually frequented by Cuban citizens or, moreover, there appears to be a self-exclusion, as one of my daily walks illustrated:[67]

Fieldwork Note 1 (Cuba)

During my first week in La Havana, I was asked by my landlady, Señora Mary, to go to a local market to buy some groceries. On our way, Mary asked me if I wanted to visit the Habana Libre Hotel, one of the most famous in the city. It was not on the way, so I told her that it was fine to go directly to the market. She insisted, so we made a turn and visited the hotel. She told me to enter the lobby where we stayed for some minutes, Mary looking closely at the hotel facilities. Then she asked me to enter one of the hotel restaurants, specializing in American fast food. She wanted to check the menu and the prices, so asked the staff for the menu. She told me she was shocked by the poor menu and the high prices, and that I could eat much better for significantly lower prices. She also asked me if I had noticed how the staff looked at her, with resentment –which I had not. And then, I understood. She told me that she had never entered that hotel, and even though there was no legal prohibition, if she had tried to enter the hotel and the restaurant by herself, they would have looked at her strangely. That was the reason she went with me, having myself a much more tourist- like appearance. A week later, the researcher I was working with suggested to visit together the Hotel Nacional.

---

[67] I bought an Auténtica Cuba T-shirt for CUC20, about US$20, the average salary.

If people do not access these spaces easily, hence their unfamiliarity with the brand was understandable. I assumed then that staff in the hotel shops, directly related to the tourist industry, would certainly know about the branding campaign. In order to evaluate awareness of the campaign, if only in a very intuitive way, I asked the vendors about the meaning of Authentic Cuba. 'It is nothing, it is just a design', 'it is just a logo', 'it means that it is an authentic product', were some of the answers.

Fieldwork Note 2 (Cuba)

In the Habana Panorama Hotel shop, which sells Authentic Cuba merchandising, I pointed out a towel with the logo and the conversation went like this:

- Me: 'What is 'Auténtica Cuba' about?'
- Lady vendor: 'It is just a towel.'
- Me: 'But what does 'Auténtica Cuba' mean? There is a web page there.'
- Lady: (silence)
- Lady´s Cuban friend: 'It means that it is an authentic towel! (Laughs). It is nothing, here in Cuba there is no .com!'

The idea here is then, the following: the display of the branding campaign is more private than public and more external than internal. It is more private than public, visible in shops inside big hotels, not easily accessed by the ordinary Cuban citizen or a visitor (one has to enter the hotel, then the store, and then find the specific merchandising), rather than in public areas of major circulation such as the plazas in Old Habana or the Malecón. And it is more external than internal, considering that these locations predominantly address the high-level foreign tourist who can afford to stay in expensive hotels or who follow a more well-trodden tourist circuit.

This observation has another dimension, in that there is a 'technical' barrier to the dissemination of the strategy's devices such as videos or images. Due to lack of access to personal computers, to the internet –owing to the lack of material connection, high costs of access, or the permissions and regulations involved – viewing, sharing, and discussion around Authentic Cuba videos, web pages, or images – becomes more limited than other cases, at least in these platforms. Clearly, the national narrative created does not rely upon the Web 2.0 platform to engage and 'invade' interested

actors and citizens, or at least not within the island. Unlike Peru, in Cuba the branding of the nation does not have a meaningful or powerful presence for the local population. Authentic Cuba focused upon the external audience, even in Havana itself.

Consequently, I argue that its role as shaper of the collective identity or of encouraging models of subjectivity in its citizens is limited and is not a protagonist one, as is the aim in other nation branding strategies, as the one in Peru. By focusing upon the external audience and without a major presence in the official discourse, Authentic Cuba's role in the formation of national identity and national subjects has not truly engaged the local citizens with its mandates. They do not recognize themselves in the branding visual identifiers, not less in the narrative suggested. They do not buy merchandising nor share the videos and its contents. The branding devices are displayed, but only in the 'touristic city'. Using myself as a case study, I have been confronted to Authentic Cuba panels more often in Lima, Buenos Aires and London than in Cuba streets. In short, it could be said the role of the branding campaign is more instrumental than ideological. As a Cuban researcher in tourism and gender told me:

> Me: And in the 'Authentic Cuba' campaign, were the images displayed in Cuba?
>
> Researcher: Yes, but you need to have internet to see the pictures, and you need to go to hotels to find the brochures.
>
> Me: In the hotels, which I occasionally go to connect, I certainly have seen the pictures but not on the streets, no.
>
> Researcher: No, not on the street. (Personal Communication, researcher in tourism, 7 July, 2015).

It is necessary to add one more layer in the analysis. It is certainly important to observe that there are 'separated audiences' in the Cuban branding endeavour, for all the reasons mentioned here. This give new evidence about the particularities of the Cuban case but more extensively, this contribute to understand the specificities of the nation branding phenomena. As stated previously, nation branding can be read as a global neoliberal device aiming similar procedures and objectives, but it also can be read as a platform serving different purposes in terms of discoursive battles or various

forms of appropriation to its contents and visual devices. In Cuba, in fact, a more complex dynamic operates, for which I will return to the concept of cubanía explained at the beginning of this section. As I will develop now, the focus in the 'external-private' correlates with a more powerful national narrative, producing a situation where the distinctive 'cubanías' and apparently mutually exclusive audiences imbricate, activating the opportunity of a renewed dialogue about the national narrative.

5.4 If Not Contesting, Co-Existing: The Other Discourse and an in-between Nation Brand

There is one more dimension to this which strengthens my reflection about the dialogue between branded Cuba and revolutionary Cuba, and between the two dimensions around 'cubanía'. The promises of Brand Cuba and the role models they depict are not only alien to everyday life in the country, but even in their reduced presence they compete with a more significant discourse, that related to the 1959 revolution. Clearly, Cuba does not lack (visual) representations oriented to building and reinforcing a national identity, such as those based upon the events of 1959. In many streets in La Havana the banners related to the revolution and to Cuban identity and citizenship have a major presence. Values such as solidarity are stimulated, social dimensions such as education, culture, or sport are privileged, historically defining episodes are recalled, local and international leaders are honoured, and condemnations of capitalism or specific policies are denounced, as in the following:

Figure 130. 'Socialismo o Muerte'. My own image.

Figure 131. 'Este es tiempo virtuoso y hay que fundirse en él'. My own image.

Figure 132. 'El mejor amigo de Cuba'. My own image.

Figure 133. 'Viva Cuba Libre'. My own image.

Figure 134. 'Bloqueo. El genocidio más grande de la historia'. My own image.

Figure 135. 'Orgullo de nuestro pueblo'. My own image.

Figure 136. 'Los sueños de emancipación se hicieron realidad'. My own image.

Figure 137. 'Cuba, Campeones del Pueblo'. My own image.

'Socialismo o Muerte' ['Socialism or Death'], 'Este es un tiempo virtuoso y hay que fundirse en él' ['This is a virtuous time and we must merge with it'], 'Campeones del Pueblo' ['The people's champions'], 'Bloqueo. El genocidio más largo de la historia' ['Blockage. The most lasting genocide in history'], 'Los sueños de emancipación se hicieron realidad' ['Emancipatory dreams came true'], 'Hugo Chávez el mejor amigo de Cuba' ['Hugo Chavez, Cuba's best friend'], 'Viva Cuba Libre. Nos sobran razones para vencer' ['Go Free, Cuba. We have plenty of reasons for victory'], and 'Orgullo de nuestro pueblo' ['Pride of our people'], among several others, have a profoundly different meaning than nation branding slogans. This can be noted not just in the messages and content, but in the different locations where they are displayed, in the visual referents, and in the audience targeted.

To begin with, these posters are not circumscribed to inaccessible semi-private locations but displayed publicly in the streets, in the city's most important university murals, on the front walls of private houses, or on the main highways. It is not possible, either for the tourist or for the Cuban citizen, to escape them. They are part of the city's everyday life. In addition, the dimensions of history and politics are dominant. The sense of history is transmitted in the form of a foundational emancipatory event –the 1959 revolution– and a promising future, but most importantly in the role that Cuban citizens need to play in order to assume a historical perspective, to become a subject of history (figures 138 & 140). Politics is reminded as a fundamental dimension of society and this is stated by emphasizing the urgency of a socialist model, by honouring political leaders, and by denouncing international policies such as the United States commercial blockade or the international inequality between the richest 1% and the other 99% generated by capitalism. Sports are relevant to society not as an entertainment form but for the role they play in empowering people and generating collective pride.

In all, these banners, along with other mechanisms such as the construction of mythical figures as Marti or Che, play a 'mundane role' in connecting, through their

visual consumption, the 'system's main ideas to everyday practice, as suggested by Billig. For Kapcia, mechanisms such as these:

> 'have not only played a fundamental role at the systemic level, but have also been equally fundamental in the daily, personal, individual internalization of the Revolution and the process by which the average Cuban […] has maintained a basic level of commitment to, identification with and hope for, the whole economic, bewildering and challenging process of transformation since 1959. […] These mechanisms have, after all, allowed ordinary Cubans to take heart and meaning from the more elevated 'dreams' of the overall ideology of cubanía, by making them mundane without losing their quality as 'dreams.' (Kapcia 2000, p.268).

To say it directly: the ideological foundations that support these messages, referring as they do to the core values of the Cuban revolution, relocate the dimensions of history, politics, and a criticism of the capitalist model, that which supports the ideology of branded discourse. If the banners referred to the revolution, the historical political moment acts as the foundation of a new subject, in branded Cuba the imperatives of enjoyment and adventure need no place or history, or at best, they are included only as assets to the branding goal. Having this ideological support as its basis, it is no surprise that the visual referents have changed. There is no logo, catchy slogan nor strident colours or, more accurately, they have a very different tone. And when the nation is included, it is through association with the national flag or the word [Cuba], that is, with more formal and plain signifiers, not including the nation brand logo (Figure 137).[68]

The protagonists of the banners are also different. An Afro-Cuban scholar portrays education policies, sportsmen and women offer their accomplishments to the people, and political prisoners (the 'Cuban five') become the representatives of popular pride;[69] all are protagonists of history, arising from or responsible for foundational

---

[68] This does not mean that there are no slogans for the revolution, clearly these are also slogans using a different tone.
[69] The Cuban Five were Cuban intelligence officers arrested in 1998 accused of espionage, and convicted in the United States, opening a new episode in Cuban-American political tension. Now liberated, since their arrest, they have been represented as a symbol of Cuban autonomy.

events rather than passively relaxing in enjoyable or picturesque scenarios. In fact, this corresponds to how Afro-Cuban culture was assumed and incorporated from and by the Revolution, as Kumaraswami and Kapcia argue. Contrary to being depicted as the labourers and performers for the enjoyment of others, as in the images analysed, they began to be constructed according to a different model of subjectivity, closer to the realms of solidarity, history, and, ultimately, citizenship:

> 'In 1959 discrimination was prohibited, and a strategy began to re-value Afro-Cuban culture, rescuing hitherto marginalised dance forms and acknowledging the Afro-Cuban contributions to Cuban history. Although this approach often treated black culture in 'folkloric' terms (with those advocating black consciousness being considered politically divisive), Cuba's greater involvement in Africa and the Caribbean in the 1970s had an impact in re-valorising black Cuba and the African heritage, a fundamental to Cuban history and *cubanidad* (Cuban-ness).' (2012, p.19).[70]

Then, noticeably, if in branded Cuba the semantic chain is composed of textual signifiers such as [explore], [discover], [adventure], [paradise], [intriguing], [picturesque], [passion], [sensuality], [magical], [diversity], [party], and [celebrate], in the revolutionary banners the semantic chain is constituted by words such as [Cuba], [pueblo -people], [tiempo-time], [historia-history], [revolución-revolution], [libre-free], or [libertad-freedom]. Once again, if 'cubanía revolucionaria' created novel political-historical beliefs and 'codes' in which 'the most consistent, powerful, and enduring was undoubtedly the code of "activism"', together with 'struggle' (lucha), and 'culturalism'; 'moralism'; 'ruralism', 'youthism' (Kapcia 2008, p.92-93); in branded cubanía these 'codes' are associated with passivism, relaxation, enjoyment or urbanism.

This is then, the distance between Cuba playing in the market arena versus Cuba playing in the political one, between Cuba addressing the external gaze on one side,

---

[70] The presence of Afro-Cubans in the national process did not began with the revolution. As Kapcia (2000) has documented, this was also a central component of the Cuban national myth disseminated in cultural circles by Ortiz and vindicated by artists such as Wilfredo Lam and writers such as Nicolas Guillen and Alejo Carpentier in the 'negrismo' movement. (Kapcia 2000, p.160).

and the internal gaze on the other. These two discourses of branded Cuba and political Cuba reveal a deeper tension around the national project and, consequently, this impacts in the narrative they must generate and the audiences to reach. In any case, this situation invites us to ask how these two discourses can be maintained so fervently or whether there is any overlap between them. In short, to ask how does the branding narrative speak, if at all, to revolutionary Cuba and what tensions arise.

To answer this, I will focus upon the field of tourism, a major topic in Cuba and a central pillar in its nation branding project. As extensively researched by Castillo and Gaspar (2002), Jerome (2007), Wilkinson (2008), Hosek (2012), Padilla, Art and McElroy, among others, tourism played a vital role in Cuban economic recovery during the special period of the 1990s, a decade of profound crisis triggered by lack of support from the depressed USSR, the downfall of the sugar economy, and the United States blockade. For Kapcia, 'the permanent downgrading of Cuba's sugar economy was accepted, to be replaced by other sectors, notably nickel, biotechnology and tourism. […]. Tourism was the only viable short-term solution. Despite fears about the side effects of mass tourism, the decision was taken to focus investment on this sector for the next decade, aiming at two million annual tourist arrivals by 2000.' (2008, p.160). If, by 1990, only 300,000 tourists arrived, and in 1992 tourism contributed only 3.6% to GDP, in 2000 Cuba received 1 million, 773 visitors, tourism acquiring a key role in the economy. (Castillo & Gaspar 2002, p.72)

Indeed, going back to the branding campaign's briefing, it is mentioned as part of the Cuban context that, 'since the 1990s, international tourism becomes a top priority within the strategic development policies of Cuban economy […] as the only viable alternative to solve the deep crisis in which the country was embedded. […] In 1994, the Ministry of Tourism was created. This state unit has focused on leading the process of tourism development in Cuba and has achieved to stablish global competitive levels for the sector.' (La Rotta Pulgarin 2011, 124). Nowadays, this sector continues to play a major role in the national economy. The United Nations World Tourism Organization affirms that in 2014, 2.8 million visitors arrived in Cuba, a historic record, and the government has been dedicated to strengthening this sector. This has had powerful

economic impacts. The Cuban Annual Statistics 2011 (Oficina Nacional de Estadística e Información. República de Cuba 2011), indicates that tourism creates around 650,000 jobs in restaurants, commerce, and hotels, the highest figure after agriculture and services in general. Also, this shows that, in terms of contribution to GDP, tourism is the 3rd most important economic sector only followed by manufactured industry and commerce with a contribution of 4.26% of total GDP.

Nevertheless, together with the undeniable economic benefits, tourism still produces conflicts, particularly when considering its social implications. These are mainly felt in aggravated inequality, the expansion of an informal economy, or the conflicts between a sector in direct contact with dollar-carrying tourists hence with major possibilities to more valuable forms of income, with others, such as workers in the health and education sector, which are still dependent upon state welfare as food rationing. In addition, as Kapcia argues, this has had an impact on race stigmatization in a sort of hidden segregation, insofar as in an economy dependent upon external remittances and tourism, 'black Cubans also had less legal access to tourism', and: 'suspicions flourished that foreign enterprises avoided employing black Cubans in hotels or as tour guides, which, even if, untrue, was a damaging rumour.' (p.161) For sure, tourism in Cuba has been experienced and studied in terms of its ambivalent nature, generating both economic recovery and social divisions, thus, arguably, 'saving' the revolution and boosting a climate of social and political change (Babb 2011).

More than once, I was confronted with this tension during my fieldwork. For instance, when a taxi driver replied to my claim about having plenty of things to do in La Havana with a categorical 'that may be for tourists, we are prisoners in the island'. Or when, after a couple of glasses of rum at an intimate gathering with local researchers, one of them affirmed that 'tourism is the worst thing that has happened to Cuba, and no one will change my mind!'. Or when 'Mecánica', a 2014 play by Abel Gonzalez-Melo became the most attended in years for dealing with the new social and economic gaps produced by tourism, with the representation of a new rich young Cuban couple managing a Germany owned resort in Varadero and living with the benefits that their situation entailed. This play depicts precisely the social fissures entailed by tourism and

a market-oriented model, that is, access to benefits, economic gaps, envy, corruption, political contradictions or disloyalty. Or, finally, when films such as 'Hacerse el Sueco' (Diaz Torres 2001) and 'Un Rey en la Habana' (Valdez 2005) depicts an ambivalent discourse about the tourist and the investor. Simultaneously desired and feared, wanted and suspected, tourists are a potential generator of status and income but at the same time aliens disturbing local collective bonds. As I was told by one of my interviewees:

> 'The only positive impact arising from tourism is economic. If you analyse it, whenever you have to make an investment for tourism in attractive locations it has a natural impact, […] it has a negative impact. There is also the social impact, […] there is the impact of drugs, prostitution, you know. For those reasons, tourism was not a priority for a long time. When the special period arrived in the '90s, it was the debacle, the Cuban economy collapsed, and it was necessary to take control of everything to survive, it was necessary to exploit the tourist industry […] I have spent most of my life dispelling falsehood and myths invented by tourist guides who come up with stories just to gratify the tourist's ear, that's why there is a growth in the condemnation of such falsehoods.' (Personal Communication, expert in communications and tourism, 14 July 2015).

Thus, it can be said that if in Cuba tourism was promoted as a necessary evil in the context of crisis, in Peru it was embraced as a key area to focus upon in a context of economic recovery and growth. If in Cuba, tourism and the tourist itself are looked upon both with approval and suspicion, in Peru they are, in the official discourse, celebrated. Briefly, tourism and the tourist is necessary and resented, desired and problematic. While the state has defended the need for tourism, the same state has produced documents in which the cultural impacts of this field are presented as more problematic, insofar as tourism has ultimately operated as another way of reproducing global notions of the island and its people:

> 'A 1991 report from Centro Juan Marinello summarised the result of an earlier study into culture and tourism (1991-1992). The report was damning of the whole cultural sector:

only around 10 percent of several thousand tourists interviewed had identified Cuban culture (in all forms) as a motivation for visiting Cuba, well below the percentage motivated by Cuba's more predictable tourist assets: beaches, climate, people, curiosity and cheapness. Moreover, if only 10 percent had originally perceived that Cuban culture would interest them the figure fell to 5 after their visit.' (Kumaraswami & Kapcia 2012, p. 138).

The purpose of this section is not to discuss the overall conflicts that tourism represents for Cuba, a vast topic that has been extensively discussed in works by Alcazar Capos (2013), Araujo (2010), Mazzei (2012), Roland (2013), Scarpaci and Portela (2009), among others. My aim here is to observe this tension in the light of the branding campaign and of the two official national narratives previously described. As a matter of fact, I can transfer this conflictive discourse around tourism to the overall nation branding strategy with a final analysis of the official logo of Authentic Cuba (figure 73, p. 170). I have already described the logo's five signifiers: [Auténtica] + [Cuba] + [Auténticacuba.com], the star and the curved line. From this, I observed that the logo invites to make a direct association with the idea of authenticity. Nevertheless, there are more meanings in the logo that, beyond its official purposes, I believe correspond to the idea of tension I am trying to describe.

In fact, a second association that the logo suggests has to do with the web page [autentiticacuba.com] at the bottom of the image. The audience is suggested with it a link to the globalized-digital world and the idea of Cuba connected to it. A third meaning comes from the star. Depicted in a formal and plain design, the star takes us to two visual referents - the Cuban flag and the famous picture of Che Guevera by Alberto Korda, both crucial signifiers of Cuban socialism and nationalism. With the star, there is a link to the historical-political nation. A fourth meaning can be construed from the curved line at the bottom representing a wave that refers to the beaches, the enjoyment, the relaxation and adventure. Finally, the word 'Cuba' occupies the centre of the image, in bigger letters that the other signifiers. The letter font chosen is a more informal one

than would appear in official documents or in other texts such as the revolutionary banners. Evidently, the purpose in this case is to depict a friendly and welcoming nation.

However, there is a much more remarkable aspect to note regarding the image as a whole, which is helpful to round up my overall argument about how Cuba deals with these two discourses, not simply now in relation to tourism but to the national narrative. This is that, in a clear form, the logo says, precisely, that Cuba lies between two models, that is, the local [Auténtica] and the global [Auténticacuba.com], the historical and the political [the star] and the contemporary [the wave], the formal [plain design] and the informal [relaxed design].

Not surprisingly, the signifier ['CUBA'] is located between the political nation and the branded nation and speaks to both. Moreover, according to this line of argument, the font of the logo's texts, mostly the terms 'Auténtica' and 'Cuba', makes subtle associations with a sort of nostalgic-vintage context, particularly the United States during the 1950s. This is evident with the letter 'C' which is almost identical to the Coca Cola 'C', being based on the Spencerian Script, a popular style used in the United States schools during the second half of the 19th century and the first decades of the 20th, and also used also by the Ford Motor Corporation in its logo. This is a 'C', now referred to as the 'Coca Cola C', which is palpably close, discursively, to the market and capitalism and, historically, to the 1950s. The 'C' is the 'C' of 'Cuba', but also of vintage Coca Cola.

This interpretation can be taken further and it can be argued that these two paradigms, these two aspects of Cuba, are literally the seal of the nation. Branded Cuba surrenders to the production of the exotic to be enjoyed by the foreign capital, but has a social frontier in the heavily rooted political narrative of the nation. In Cuba, the branded nation and the 'real' nation are distinguishable, having distinctly different audiences and targets, but at the same time they are put together.

Contemporary Cuba is narrated for the global gaze between two ideological supports: the revolutionary and the capitalist; the subject in history and the consumer in the present; the collective effort and the individual delight, and the nation to be built and the nation to be enjoyed. The global imperative of enjoyment is answered by Brand

Cuba, but also limited and confronted. That is, in the end, the distance and the tension between Cuba playing in the global market arena against Cuba playing in the political one, between Cuba addressing the external gaze on one side, and the internal one on the other, between 'cubanía revolucionaria' and, it could be added, 'branded cubanía'.

Thus, contrary to what happens in other cases or to what nation branding theory suggests, in Cuba we have a more particular issue at hand. On one side, the Cuban government is embedded in a nation branding strategy, hiring an external branding consultancy which advises several other countries and playing fair with the rules, methods, and techniques of the nation branding field in a global neoliberal frame. the government engages with the field and, by doing so, reproduces colonial images and relations. Nevertheless, and in parallel, Cuba has strong and official models of citizenship, which to a certain extent 'naturally', that is, politically and technically, block the branding model as an internal citizenship and national referent. It could be said, in conclusion, that there is an ongoing and open dialogue between auténtica Cuba in lower case and 'Auténtica Cuba' in quotations and upper case. In these interstices, the national narrative is produced.

5.5 The Return of the Nation?

The final section of this chapter examines the impacts of nation branding on the public sphere. In Peru, Cuba, and in many other countries this neoliberal cultural policy has activated a discussion about the meaning of the nation and of being of a given nationality. In a way, this constructed, ambivalent contingency named 'nation' reappears under the parameters of the field of my interest. By doing so, old stereotypes have re-appeared along with alternative depictions and symbolic referents, as I will illustrate with my last two examples.

In Peru, discussion about the nation has already been analysed using the work of artists and graphic designers intervening in the official logo. However, I can also include a substantial amount of textual discussion on online networks debating the suggested

national narrative. Indeed, in this 'virtual public sphere' as referred to by Papacharissi (2002), social network users are not just receivers or consumers, but active producers or 'prosumers' who re-signify, in this case, the nation's narrative. Indeed, these prosumers cheer, celebrate, defend, criticize, and mock the idea of the nation depicted, their representatives, and the overall strategy as evidenced in thousands of comments and discussions. As Kania-Lundholm (2016) writes when examining online interactions about nation branding in Poland: 'discursive negotiation of nationhood online can also be perceived as a practice of nation re-branding and thus a performative act of citizenship' (2016, p.110). For this author, it is necessary for nation branding studies to examine the bottom-up process of nation 're-branding', in which the online sphere is a privileged realm since the internet, 'allows for civic exchange among citizens separated by, for instance, geography'. (2016, p.114).

In my case, throughout these discursive online negotiations about nationhood, calm and violent debates take place. Beyond the branding field, political, sexual, and racial dimensions appear in a discriminatory form when discussing the idea of Peru. For example, a discussion in March 2015 on *Peru, Nebraska* YouTube page featured the following exchange:

> 'RIGHT-[WINDED] NEOLIBERAL PSICOSOCIALS: 2008 Kina Malpartida 2009 Gaston Acurio 2010 Peru Nebraska 2011 Marca Perú and PromPerú posh people 2012 Guerrero and this are the selected 2013 Cachin and his Asumare 2014 Pisko and his neoliberal ideas what will come this 2015..GASTON ACURIO FOR PRESIDENCY....God save us ;-S' senturion2345,
>
> @senturion2345 'don´t be a dick' Darzer94 M
>
> @senturion2345 'Shut up social resented. Fucking moron. Gastón acurio auto nominates himself as leftist' TheReverantChoir, (Marca Perú 2011).

In this case, the campaign is criticized for being a neoliberal psycho-social strategy that will end with Gaston Acurio becoming the Peruvian President whereas brand ambassadors (Carlos Alcantara, Kina Malpartida) are all declared fake

representatives. This position clearly argues against the celepreneurs as the ideal subjects of the new Peruvian nation. The respondent affirms that the poster is a 'social resentful', a common expression used in Peru for anyone attacking the neoliberal model on the assumption that s/he has 'not made it' therefore resents any case of success. Similarly, years before, in March 2012, the following discussion played out on the same page[71]:

> 'I will never feel proud of being Peruvian, to notice that I live in a shitty country, people without education everywhere, streets full of gangs, national television that promotes stupidity, […] public schools full of incapable teachers, extreme discrimination from the upper classes, we are a shame in sports, not to mention the politicians and other things I don't even want to remember' / xsincero100.
>
> @xsincero100 'then go to Chile, son of a bitch' / leo150u.
>
> @leo150u 'always the typical anti-Chilean stupid. I prefer to be Chilean rather than Peruvian, at least there the people have more culture' / xsincero100.
>
> @xsincero100 'hahaha ok, then go to Chile and you will see what a shitty country it is, I bet you are a poor idiot that does not feel proud to be a 'cholo' and would have preferred to be a foreigner[72]' / leo150u.
>
> @xsincero100 'I would not feel embarrassed for being Peruvian. On the contrary, I feel proud of it. What could make me ashamed is to be you, IDIOT WITHOUT IDENTITY OR SELF-STEEM' /msf1500xtrm, (Marca Perú 2011).

In this second example, the criticism states that nation branding is not an adequate endeavour in a country with so many economic inequalities and with more important areas to focus upon such as education, security, discrimination by the upper classes, corruption etc. How is it possible then, this position suggests, to feel proud of a country with so many unresolved issues and failures? In answer to this critique, again,

---

[71] This textual interaction is briefly analised in Lossio 2012.
[72] 'Cholo' is a contradictory social category. Despite being the most common social-racial category, it is also related to undesirable characteristics such as poverty, illiteracy, or being non-western. Therefore, it is used to depict a backbone of Peruvian racial identity as well as to give a social insult.

personal assumptions about the author are mentioned, stressing that the 'other' is not a valid interlocutor. If they do not like the video, they are just wrong or resentful. In addition, xenophobic arguments appear. The author is declared antipatriotic and not proud to be a 'cholo', reason enough for him to leave Peru and go to Chile, Peru's historical enemy. While Chile 'has more culture', the antipatriotic Peruvian person has no identity or self-esteem. Finally, in the following example, the criticism refers that food has a central presence when other topics are much more relevant for any nation, such as science and technology. The criticism points out the irrelevance of gastro-based nationalism. For saying so, the author is attacked for being homosexual and resentful. After posting a critical comment, 'irlanda3000' receives the following reply:

> 'Hundreds of qualified scientists, nanotechnology, biotechnology etc., etc., are compared with a sad combination of fish and lemon, chili, corn and even beans, come on…' irlanda3000.

> @irlanda3000 'Irlanda, resentful fag, you keep on thinking you are a human? […] I feel sorry for you, fag, everybody hates you […] Fag, who are you trying to fool? This is why I kick you out because you are a resentful old person…. You are full of resentment because you only finished public high school and now you are a security guard jijijiji[73]' 2ELTIBURONMARICA (Marca Perú 2011).

In all, the slight critique of the branding narrative is confronted with categories such as antipatriotic, the poor illiterate, the homosexual, the socially resentful, or the 'cholo'. The tensions around the nation activate Manichean categories and nominations: those who criticize the branding narrative are resentful, pro-Chilean, or just do not love Peru; while those who celebrate it, are chauvinists, rely upon a false sense of pride, or have xenophobic attitudes. Here it is interesting to evoke Freud's reasoning on community bonding, as Bhabha does when analysing the 'otherness' of the colonial nation (1990, 300), when he argues that 'it is always possible to bind together a

---

[73] In Peru, to be a security guard is an unappreciated job owing to its association with illiterate people. Also, to say that somebody studied in a public school may be taken as offensive, due to their poor quality and association with the lower classes.

considerable number of people in love, so long as there are other people left to receive the manifestation of their aggressiveness.' (Freud 1961, p.114). Paradoxically, people who do not feel proud about the branding strategy are located in an abject-marginal position by being attacked with discriminatory colonial stereotypes in terms of race, class, and sexual orientation; precisely by the ones supporting the branding multicultural democratic narrative[74].

Therefore, if in the first perspective analysed in regard to the importance of branding a nation, the opportunity of social cohesion on the basis of renovated national identity was embraced, in this case these interactions illustrate the difficulty of constructing a horizontal space of valid opinion, a public sphere where a Habermasian democratic 'ideal speech' can operate (Habermas 1990). By contrast, these interactions reinforce a public sphere still based on authoritarian monologues rather than dialogical encounters and recognition of the other. In this case, ironically triggered from the basis of the aimed new national aimed horizontal and celebratory collective national identity.

For the case of Cuba, the strategy did not have strong presence for the local audience, hence Cuban citizens were not so exposed to its narrative. Nevertheless, debates did occur in different forms. To begin with, and considering the expensive and limited access to the internet, online debates on the Authentic Cuba YouTube channel (Auténtica Cuba 2010) were triggered, although they were far less frequent than in Peru. However, it is possible to find celebratory and sceptical reactions, emphasizing on the one the 'beauty' of the country and the sentiment resulting from being part of it while questioning, on the other, the meaning of 'authentic' and the exclusive privilege foreigners have to access the promises of this branded nation:

> 'My lord, what a beauty, so proud to be Cuban' [they are] 'the nicest people in the world.□ blessings for my fellow Cubans', de CUBA y que (BOLA ASERE, July 2016).

> 'the authentic Cuba, but not the one of the Cubans, unfortunately.' (MrTanis85, 2011).

> 'hmmmmmmmm, I would like to know what would Cuban people say about this "authentic" video...' (micakxx, 2011).

---

[74] To read more about sexual/racial colonial stereotypes in Peru, see: Oliart, Patricia (1995).

More extensively, the debate was included in academic magazines such as *Temas* which, in March 2014, dedicated a special edition to the field of nation branding, 'of particular interest in todays globalized world', and on the branding Cuba project. (Figure 138). The foreword introduces the topic, claiming its problematic and complex nature, for instance, in its: 'reproduction of a symbolic capital associated to a nation, the preference for some political cultures instead of others; the valorization or de-valorization of a location through films or tourist guides, all of which often reduce the plurality of a society and of a culture to edited landscapes.' (p.3).

'For some, reduced to a logo, a slogan, to international rankings […] to the know-how of corporate public relations extended to diplomacy, this field activates more complex problems: the reproduction of a symbolic capital associated to a nation, the preference for some political cultures instead of others; the valorization or de-valorization of a location through films or tourist guides, all of which often reduce the plurality of a society and of a culture to edited landscapes. […] How and from which strategies an illustrated policy can manage these phenomena is of particular interest in today's globalized world.' (p.3).

Figure 138. *Temas* Magazine (2014). My own image.

After this opening claim, a text by Simon Anholt is presented, followed by case studies in France, China, and reports about the external image of Cuba in Germany or Norway. The case of Cuba is then discussed by different articles. Jose Luis Perello Cabrera writes more descriptively about the notion of 'country image' and the proper way to manage it, making references to the imperatives of coherence, consistency, and competition, and illustrating Cuba's position in FutureBrand country rankings. The author suggests potential logos and slogans for Brand Cuba, concluding that 'the success or failure of the positioning of the Cuban country-image depends upon a

coherent and integrated policy and strategy; well-studied, creatively produced and managed from inside the country'. (p.48).

On a more reflective and sceptical point of view, Roger Ricardo Luis asks about the relevance of these strategies in the national identity, arguing that 'the way we want to be seen outside the archipelago […] equates with a substantial debate because, above all, it is about a journey throughout the always renewed exercise about our identity.' (p.49), concluding that: 'in essence, the image of Cuba has to be understood as a cultural phenomenon, therefore symbolic, whose magnitude and reach includes a heterogeneous field of actors, interests, expectations that in most of the cases are supressed by some governmental entities which are stuck, in some cases, in the narrow reactive campaigns against the action of the powerful political adversary (the United States) and, in some other, in the simple marketing operation of selling a touristic postcard' (p. 50). If nation branding 'reduces' the nation to a logo or slogan, for Ricardo Luis, it is imperative to make visible the country's complexities and heterogeneous actors, interests, and expectations. In all, this *Temas* number evidences that there has been an engagement with the field, triggering not only an appropriation of its techniques, methods, and actors, but reflection upon its consequences for Cuba.

In this same vein, my last example considers a social project that appeared to provoke a debate about the contemporary meaning of Cuba. I refer to the 'Cuba es mi Marca' ('Cuba is my brand') project developed by Cuban researcher and cultural promoter Fernando Jacomino and photographer Sonia Almaguer in 2015. (figures 139 & 140). The main aim of the project is to balance the stereotypical images that have shaped Cuba recent years, mainly those promoted by a global gaze embedded in a market-oriented world order.

According to the project's creators, their objective is to disseminate an image of Cuba that transcends the common extreme poles of Cuba as a touristic paradise on one side (Authentic Cuba), and Cuba as the poor deprived socialist country on the other. With the use of cultural resources such as films, music, photography, and painting –'culture as an antidote' in their words–, the project seeks to disseminate a more truthful and balanced version of the island, neither idealizing nor hiding existing problems. The

purpose is to open a discussion, in a more genuine way, about what Cuba is, to encourage a debate about the island on the basis of cultural products.

Figures 139 & 140. 'Cuba es mi Marca' leaflet. England tour, 2016. My own image.

The most interesting aspect of Jacomino and Almaguer's project is its link to the branding field. This is clearly shown in its name, but also in the creators' discourse. Far from a position which denies the contemporary protagonist role of the market and branding in society, while assuming a sceptical position, the managers of this project claim that, in the exercise of thinking about Cuba, market and branding fields need to be incorporated and problematized. In fact, the project's statements acknowledge a world order dominated by logos and brands which, as the authors reviewed in this thesis argue, play a central role in the production of meanings and contexts, permeating social interactions and subjectivities:

> 'we live in a world of brands. We all navigate, sometimes without realizing, in an artificial reality that gives more value to the outward signs of power […] than to the feelings and relationships between human beings. Even those who, like us, intend to stand on the borders of this global

phenomenon, feel often how our eyes inevitably jump from one logo to another, calling us to choose between the real need and the impulse, which has already become natural, to obey the ubiquitous tips of commercial advertising' (Figure 140).

The project plays then with the notion of brands. It acknowledges the brand as a risky device that may create a superficial and simple image of a thing or a place and encourage a sense of illusion and vacuum even despite the individual will. But at the same time, brands have an invasive presence in contemporary social relations in which logos and commercial advertising play a constitutive part, for which they must be taken into account. This has an immediate resonance with the (contemporary) idea of the nation and with Cuba itself. As Jacomino told me, they are aware of the 'importance of brands in a world where everyone says that the nation won't exist anymore, that the nation will be substituted by brands. Therefore, we play with that […] In this context, I believe that to associate a country with a brand has a logic' (Personal Communication, 12 September, 2016).

Cuba is not outside this invasive trend. Despite the official purpose of a socialist model aiming to operate on the margins of this phenomenon, the branding perspective is a 'vision of the world' 'gaining more followers every day', particularly among young generations which have a 'fascination for the outside world'. Therefore, because of branding's powerful presence and simplifying consequences, the project's designers decided to share a new form to understand Cuba, an exercise from where to re-narrate the idea of the nation. By re-appropriating the signifier 'brand' and 'brand identity', declaring themselves 'followers of this great identity brand called Cuba', they aim, with the help of cultural resources, to disseminate alternative and more balanced narrations.

The promotion of Cuba for the global gaze has undoubtedly activated a discussion about the path the nation should follow and the extent to which the values of the revolution are compromised by the demands of global market. In a broader perspective, this is another episode in a country where the 'search for identity has been a constant, evolving and almost obsessive theme of modern Cuban political life, culture

and historiography' (Kapcia 2005, p.3). However, this episode is more significant in the current context where the so-called 'opening' of Cuba to the global market given new relations with the United States may change Cuba's economic and social dynamics. This is a moment in which, undeniably, the global dynamics and demands of the market will continue to push, maybe even harder, the discussion about what Cuba wants to be in the economic, political, and crucially in my field of interest, cultural dimension.

With this idea, I will conclude this chapter. I have said that nation branding is a public cultural policy based upon a market-oriented perspective –a neoliberal cultural policy– that suggests what the nation is about and how to act as a member of it. But this does not occur in a fluent and passive manner or in a social vacuum. Along with legitimization and celebration, and similar guidelines and methods; reactions, contestations, limits and co-narrations also accompany the official branding discourse. While different in their tones and targets but similar in their discourses, methods and actors, both cases presented in this last section shows what I claim is one of the most interesting aspects of nation branding. It is a field with nuances and disputes, that has activated platforms to discuss the idea of the nation, an excuse from where re-think and re-narrate this term. In a strong sense, nation branding is very much about the latter – that is, about branding– but it is also about bringing back the concept of the nation in the 21st century, in all its urgencies, imperatives, and contradictions.

Using myself as a case study, before the Brand Peru wave, I had never experienced such a collective optimistic feeling about my country. Even in its banality, and with the failures and fissures evidenced here, I felt (certainly from my white, urban middle-class position), that something new, interesting, and more optimistic about Peru was being transmitted. Even if brief and superficial, the possibility of imagining an 'us' was (is) of enormous significance. In Cuba, 'obsessed with the search of identity', this renovated search has meant a discussion, even with its limits, of the language around nation branding. The government underlines the relevance of advertisements, understands the need to compete, to create a competitive identity, and to manage and evaluate the nation brand with the help of global consultants. And from this, civil society discusses and debates its necessity and its limits and risks. Simultaneously, the

branding narrative has a strong correlative in revolutionary Cuba, limiting is reach and presence. In all, it is in that interstice between these two discourses, as its logo illustrates, that discussion about the nation takes place.

This is why nation branding is socially relevant. It is not about evil advertisers and public officers who, only thinking about power, monopolize the national value system for their benefit, against critical artists or civil society which really know the truth of the nation. Nor is it about a real country versus a fake brand. This, obviously exists to some extent and must be made visible, as I have attempted to show. There are interests and goals operating under specific imperatives and from a particular perspective. However, 'real' versus 'unreal' or 'pure' versus 'impure' debates are not the terms needed for academic or public debate. More crucially, it is important to seize the fact that the state devotes enormous resources to creating a narration of the nation and open the terms on which these narrations are produced.

If, as Renan (1990) argues, the nation is validated on a 'daily plebiscite' even if 'unconsciously reminded', then nation branding, serves to 'perpetuate a conversation about what the nation is for in a global context' (Aronczyk 2013, p. 176). And nation branding design activism, 'can produce alternative narratives or, at least, provide some of the tools to write new stories.' (Julier 2011, p. 277). These new stories, given all their disagreements with the official promise, need to be embraced: they also appear in the mirror in which we look as members of a nation. More importantly, it is about understanding these projects as windows of opportunity to encourage a public dialogue about inner tensions and from them, to re-orient the content of cultural policies concerning the nation.

Conclusion. Culture, Neoliberalism, and Latin American (branded) nations

> "[W]rite for the people and not for the institutions" (Alberto Flores Galindo)

> 'When a country doesn't exist, except in incomplete, scattered documents, in vague traditions that must be completed and judged, the narrative method [is] obligatory. Let anyone who denies it cite one general or particular history that did not start this way' (Andrés Bello, Autonomía Cultural de América, 1848, p.48)

I.   Summary

The major aim of this thesis is to research the social significance of constructing Latin American nations as global brands. That is, to understand why, how, and with what consequences national governments in Latin America have undertaken nation branding strategies. To this end, I have problematized the field of nation branding per se, reconstructed, mainly for the Peruvian case, the process of production of the nation brand, analysed the narratives of the Peruvian and Cuban branded nations, and illustrated how they have been validated and contested. From this, I have asked questions about the contemporary significance of the nation in a modern neoliberal context.

I followed a qualitative methodology based on interviews with branding experts and public officers directly related to the campaigns, visual discourse analysis of the campaign' images and videos, and examination of online textual interactions on the branding' social network platforms. I have also undertaken non-participant observation in meetings and workshops and examined relevant literature and secondary information

about both campaigns. All these strategies gave me sufficient empirical material to describe and understand the processes and outcomes of my cases and, from this, to develop the ideas presented here.

The concepts of nation and brands are the two main pillars of this thesis. I employed the concept of the nation in its modernist paradigm, emphasizing its constructive dimension, and including elements of what Anthony Smith gathers under the postcolonial and instrumentalist approaches. This does not mean leaving the ancient origins of nations unacknowledged, but rather enabled me to focus upon the nation's modern origins and a methodological constructive approach, as this best served the analysis of a phenomenon such as nation branding.

In relation to brands, I adopted a critical approach. Here, the social role of brands and branding is highlighted, shedding light on their role in the building of identities and the promotion of affects and a sense of belonging, mainly in a context in which the market and consumption practices occupy a central place in social relations. Together, the concepts of nation and brands enabled me to problematize the field of nation branding and to frame my cases in a wider reflection. As a result, I have been able to reflect upon the merge between nation and brands, and discuss the continuities and differences between nation building and nation branding, as explained in Chapter Two.

Given these questions, methods, and concepts, this thesis aims to address three gaps in the field of nation branding and, by extension, place branding. The first gap involves the approach. The object of study is undertaken here from a critical perspective, aiming to unveil the discourses and power relations in play. While many studies have been developed from this standpoint, the majority remain in more 'practical' areas. The second gap involves a territorial dimension. This thesis focuses upon nation branding in Latin America, a region that has only been researched, in the form of articles and book chapters, for around six years. Most of the studies have examined cases in the northern-western hemisphere, in countries such as the United Kingdom, Spain, or the United States.

Nevertheless, the most significant gap this thesis aims to address concerns the topics privileged. While most of these concentrate on the discourses condensed in the

264

place branding logos, videos, and images, this thesis adds, to a significant extent, an empirical examination of their processes of production. This is achieved first in a general form for the field of nation branding, as described in Chapter Two, and subsequently in detail, for the cases of Peru and Cuba in chapters three and four. One of the main contributions of this research is then to unveil the 'hidden' process of production of a nation brand, which involves specific actors, guidelines, methods, devices, and stages. In so doing, the empirical facts and modes of production are related to the visible outcomes, producing a holistic analysis of the nation brand.

II.   The findings in dialogue with Latin America

I have divided the thesis into four main sections, which I will now expand upon using additional examples from the Latin American region. My intention is twofold. First, to summarize the findings developed throughout the thesis and second, to do so in the light of a regional perspective.

II.1 Nation branding cultural logics and procedural techniques: a modern neoliberal field

In the first section, presented in chapters one and two, I argued that nation branding is a novel field in which national identities and belongings are strategically and thoroughly designed. This occurs in a specific context, that of the mid-nineties, which I framed in terms of the cultural logics (or social imperatives) of nation branding. These are the neoliberal premises of competitiveness, reputation, and measurable (self) management, together with mandates such as the enjoyment of sensorial experiences in an aestheticized world.

In this vein, I emphasized that branding and advertisement, and its operators, are positioned as the legitimate fields and actors who can respond to these imperatives.

This occurs because their expertise in the transformation of goods and services -and people and places- as myths of seduction in the form of experiences (brand building) with strong visibility (brand positioning), and reputation (brand placement), in order to become competitive and attractive (brand value) to the customer/investor (brand target markets). Out of this expertise, the narratives of the nation are built and promoted by the branding field's concepts, languages and methods, as has been seen in the examination of the Peruvian nation brand production process.

In addition, considering the nation, from a modernist perspective, as a social creation built on the needs and demands of specific times and spaces and deployed through formal and informal mechanisms, nowadays operating under a market-oriented global competitive order; the field of nation branding has come into being. If, as Anderson argues, the nation is not outside but inside market forces (Anderson 1983), it can be said that, in a simultaneous process, the market found in the nation an object to capitalize upon; while the nation, imbricated in this system, required the discourse and techniques of a market-oriented field of knowledge such as branding, to gain presence, compete and be validated.

Therefore, it is no surprise that national governments in capitalist and former socialist' countries, from northern world powers to southern peripheral countries, have embarked since the early years of the 21st century on nation branding processes. Nation branding is not an historical anomaly, but a reasonable outcome of the cultural imperatives and methods of contemporary neoliberalism and of the imbrication between the nation and the market. From this, it is possible to say that today, nations are strategically designed in a speculative neoliberal time.

II.2 Latin American nation brands' origins, aims, processes, and actors: an adequate response to the field's imperatives

Moving to my case studies, the second idea, developed in chapters three and four, argues that Peruvian and Cuban branded nations are an adequate response to the

imperatives of neoliberalism and of nation branding field guidelines. Notably, Brand Peru and Brand Cuba were produced following the aims, steps and terms suggested by the nation branding gurus and handbooks. That is, produce a distinctive competitive identity, be consistent, pursue reputation, engage the audience, manage through rankings. This is similar to what happens in other countries in the region and evidence what Varga (2013) defines as the *transferring* dimension of governmental power to branding agencies, as explained in Chapter Two. These projects are requested to and directed by public stakeholders related to tourism, commerce and investment and, in Latin America, government offices such as PromPerú, ProColombia, ProChile, the Cuban Promotional Communication Direction, ProEcuador, etc., all under the ministries of commerce and/or tourism, conduct these strategies.

Under their lead, the nation brand is designed and developed and they all invite a similar group of experts to accompany the process such as international consultants, local experts, and branding gurus. In Chile and Peru, Simon Anholt was consulted and his models are referred to. In Cuba, branding expert Norberto Chaves was hired as an external advisor. In Peru, Ecuador and Costa Rica, FutureBrand leads different steps in the process, and in Bolivia and Peru consultancy Branding LatinAmerica has been advising their strategies since 2016. In all of these countries, local committees composed of advertising experts are formed. Clearly, it is their techniques, strategies, and voices that are the most listened to and become what I define, paraphrasing Weber, as the 'legitimate monopoly of branding'.

The need to brand the nation can also be explained by how it is defended by its creators and former directors. For the case of Peru, in Chapter Three I argue that the appearance of the nation brand occurred in a context involving three processes: ongoing neoliberal policies and the promotion of the celebrity-entrepreneur as the ideal citizen model; post-conflict disputes around the memory which evidenced disputes on the national narrative, and the explosion of national cultural referents in the fields of gastronomy and other arts. Bearing this in mind, one of the official objectives of Brand Peru was to strengthen national self-esteem and to overcome the bad news circulating around the country, and to do so it was essential to undertake a branding process. This

would help gain visibility and improve the country's reputation. In the absence of a cohesive national policy, or simply a narrative around the nation, nation branding appeared to fill this vacuum both ideologically and methodologically.

Interestingly, this is also how the appearance of 'The Answer is Colombia' strategy was explained to me. As in the case of Peru, the nation branding strategy in Colombia was developed during a post-conflict, post-crisis period (the first years of the 21st century), hence the challenge to overcome a global stereotype related to violence, drug trafficking, and crime -or, even worse, the invisibility of the country- was defined as urgent. As the former brand Colombia director mentioned to me:

> "All the countries, willingly or not, had they worked on it or not, have a brand. […] Then the question is not why should countries have a brand, because they already have it! The question is why to manage this brand. And, if one observes the character of the news circulating around the world, it is noticeable that bad news circulates more and much faster than good news. Therefore, someone must take charge of the good aspects, of balancing this. […] In a study made by FutureBrand in 2014, more than half of the people surveyed didn't know nothing about Colombia. Nothing. On the whole planet. Clearly, there is a massive opportunity to improve this knowledge'. (Personal communication with former Brand Colombia director, 5 February 2016).

This quote, along with those from the former representatives of Brand Peru (p. 95 in this thesis) and Brand Cuba (p. 165 in this thesis) summarize most of the premises, actors, mechanisms, and outcomes involved in the analysed projects. To begin with, these quotes underline the need for competition, positioning and reputation, which act as the premises activating these endeavours. The Brand Peru, as my interviewee mentioned (p.95), 'did not ring a bell' in the 'nation branding world' and this was a challenge to overcome, even more crucially when other countries were doing so.

In Colombia, ignorance about the country was read as an opportunity to seize, and in Cuba, the campaign was exhibited in 'different markets, making a good impression and gaining recognition' in order 'to attract more visitors'. Second, these quotes suggest that there is an absence, or something yet undone, that need to be

addressed. Peru is defined in terms of something to be constructed as, surely, it is a country; 'but the challenge is to become a brand'. Colombia 'is already a brand, as any other country is'; but it must be managed by transforming the bad news into good news. These and other Latin American countries have a similar starting point. The need to brand the country is explained either to make the country well-known globally, to overcome a bad reputation, or to become competitive among their peers. To do so, the objectives, methods, and experts related to this novel field are incorporated under the lead of a governmental office related to commerce and tourism. However, as it has been explained, the branding of the nation should also be read as a platform serving different purposes. While in Peru, it has had a more ideological function in terms of operating as a legitimate discourse about the nation and their citizens, in Cuba this is not much the case. I will come back to this at the end of this section.

II.3 Latin American nation brand narratives: the (re)production of identity stereotypes and relations of power

I argued for the case of Peru and to some extent Cuba that the contents of the branded national narratives illustrate what Varga defines as the *transformative* dimension of nation branding, through which the new language about the nation suppresses the historical-political, forwarding other aspects as the backbones of national identities.

I discuss several examples that support this idea. I examined in Chapter Four that Brand Peru depicts a celebratory narrative of the nation structured by sensorial elements (food, music) and personified by representatives of different cultural and ethnic groups, as can be noted in the 'Peruvian rights'. These fields were chosen as the identity pillars because they were considered the most relevant for contemporary Peruvian society during those years, with potentially higher impact locally and globally. Through these fields, people could 'celebrate' the nation (brand) and strengthen the collective self-esteem in a 'benign' form, distanced from historical and political tensions.

In Cuba, the narrative also emphasizes sensorial elements in a multicultural society. Music, architecture, and wild and diverse nature are the backbones of Cuban identity in the campaign. This can also be noted in the way in which history is depicted in the Authentic Cuba web pages, becoming functional to the imperative of enjoyment.

Other countries work in the same direction. In Chile, as developed by Cesar Jimenez-Martinez (2013), internal events which should have illustrated the dark sides of capitalism and extractive industries; where transformed into the language of competitiveness, efficiency and efficacy. This is what happened with the 33 miners trapped for 70 days in 2010, an event that; 'originally framed as a disaster, yet ultimately proved useful to portray the country in a more positive light' (Jimenez Martinez, 2013). Given that all the workers were rescued without major incident, rather than openly discussing the questionable labour conditions in the mining industry, the event was framed, under government direction in the realm of public diplomacy, as proof of Chilean efficiency, retaining the global image of a stable and reliable country.

This also happens, it could be said, in the cases of Costa Rica, Ecuador, Mexico, Bolivia, Uruguay, or Colombia. While a proper study of each narrative is compulsory, some clues can be suggested by merely examining their logos and slogans. The privileged elements defining the Latin American branded national narratives -hence, their attempt at difference and uniqueness in a competitive scenario-, commonly considers three dimensions: monumental 'history', vivid emotions, and diverse nature; all to be enjoyed as an exciting experience (Figure 141, Appendix D).

In this same vein, the new portrayers of the nation are the so-called 'brand ambassadors', a strategy employed in various countries as explained in Chapter Three. They are a group of successful local celebrities and entrepreneurs, related to the unproblematic topics that the new nation portrays (gastronomy, music, fashion, sports) and who relate to people in a friendlier and apolitical manner. Rather than politicians or military figures, these new 'heroes' carry the national flags in a joyful form, epitomizing the ideal subject of the novel national narrative. Chef Gaston Acurio in Peru, singer Shakira in Colombia or fashion designer Carlos Campos in Honduras are some of the

Latin American nation brand ambassadors, the ones entitled to disseminate the national identity at selected global events.

Figure 141. Latin American nation brand logos, 2016. FutureBrand 2016

The third main idea developed in this thesis emphasizes that the promises of the branded narratives reproduce to some extent, internally, relations of power and racial stereotypes and, externally, a self-exoticized identity. In the multicultural Peruvian society, there are social stereotypes represented and, in Cuba, the depiction of the island in the Authentic Cuba campaign has also meant the reproduction of racial stereotypes and the assigning of social roles, not unlike the external image constructed about Cuba throughout the 20th century. In both cases, there is an attempt to present the country to the global gaze as a paradisiacal environment, simultaneously highlighting fields such as gastronomy, music, and nature.

271

As an additional example supporting these last two ideas, I will draw a comparison between the national flags and shields of the 19th century Latin American republics and the nation brand logos of the 21st century. As can be noted in Figure 142, in the recently independent republics, most of the visual identifiers include geographical or historical foundational symbols as in the shields in Peru, Mexico and Bolivia, all of them located at the centre of the respective flag. These have either been eliminated (Peru), transformed (Mexico), or kept but with a more varied design (the stars in Chile, the sun in Uruguay).

In addition, the colours employed, while still based on the national flag, have changed. In Argentina and Uruguay, the colours keep the traditional light blue and white and Peru keeps the red and white. In most of the cases, nevertheless, the branding logos now have varied palettes in the aim of depicting social and natural diversity, as in the cases of Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Ecuador, and Mexico. In Costa Rica the flag's blue, red, and white has turned into the greens of the branding logo, so as to be associated with nature. Also, there are no textual reference to the country, while in the logos, in the need of global positioning and brand awareness, the countries' names have a central presence along with their slogans. While in Bolivia, Chile, Costa Rica, Ecuador and Uruguay the logo includes a slogan, in Brazil, the republican 'order and progress' no longer appears in the brand. Finally, while in the flags the design is vertical and horizontal, the brand logos are curved and round.

In short, while the national flags have more formal and rigid visual identifiers, all of them looking inside the nation, the nation brand logos aim to appear much more informal, flexible and looking to the global.

Bolivia

Brazil

Chile

Chile
Sorprende, siempre
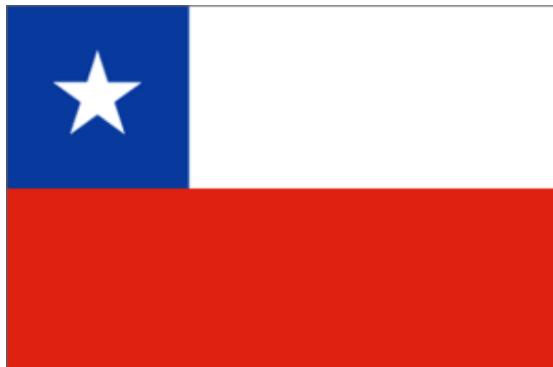
Colombia

CO
COLOMBIA

Costa Rica

esencial
COSTA
RICA

Ecuador

México

Perú

Figure 142. From national flags to brand logos. My own elaboration.

These examples can be related to the 'conservative dimension' explained by Varga, which refers to the legitimization of the neoliberal nation-state by merging neoliberal vocabulary together with the nationalist discourse. Indeed, in these projects, the signifiers 'Peru', 'Colombia', 'Bolivia' 'Chile', or whichever, is always presented by adding the suffix 'brand'. Even in Cuba, as detailed in Chapter Four, where the socialist political model certainly adds another level of complexity, the official document initiating this process is entitled as 'Proposal for the Creation of a Touristic Destiny Brand Cuba'. In brand Peru, the spots state that 'Peru has a problem: their inhabitants are Peruvian, but they do not know what that means' and, after the learning of the Peruvian rights, it is claimed that 'Peru is a great brand and everyone is invited to become its brand-ambassador' while Peruvian representatives distribute branding merchandising. The citizens are no longer just that, but are considered consumers required to act as proper 'brand ambassadors' by 'living the brand'.

II.4 Nation branding as an open platform where the national narrative is validated, disputed, and contested.

The transferable, transformative and conservative dimensions explained by Varga enable to understand these strategies in a clearer way, shedding light on their

implications and consequences in its political dimension. Nevertheless, I believe that there is one more dimension to be added. This relates to my last idea, explained in Chapter Five which is that nation branding, even if suggesting a clear procedure and specific guidelines, can also be understood as a platform serving different purposes, opening spaces for disputes and contestations.

In Peru, the branding of the nation served as a governmental discourse about the nation and the ideal citizens. In a post conflict neoliberal context lacking a national narrative, the brand Peru narration of the nation served this purpose and activated a quotidian and widespread discussion about the meaning of Peru. As referred, many Peruvian people defend both the narrative created and the need to embrace a nation branding campaign and felt related to its contents and models. In Peru, the nation branding experience can be said that served an ideological purpose of defining the contents of the neoliberal national identity.

At the same time, many others assumed a more critical approach, arguing that this is an attempt to conceal more relevant social issues. To do so, as illustrated with the artists analysed, alternative narrations to the one proposed by the official campaign were created and disseminated. As examined in Chapter 5, interventions to the visual identifiers and to the branding discourse, appeared almost simultaneously, widening the ways in which the nation and citizens were presented. In fact, considering other cases, examples of logo jamming can also be noted in Colombia and Costa Rica (Figure 143) and in video parodies in Chile (El Ciudadano Chileno, 2010). As in the case of Peru, the elements of joy and pride are transformed into violence, corruption, or unnecessary spending, while the bright palette is changed in a dark one.

Colombia
Es un culebrón

http://uribestiario.wordpress.com/

Jóse

COLOMBIA

Marca país

LA
RESPUESTA
ES

CO
CORRUPCIÓN

Leo
2012

leosatira.blogspot.com
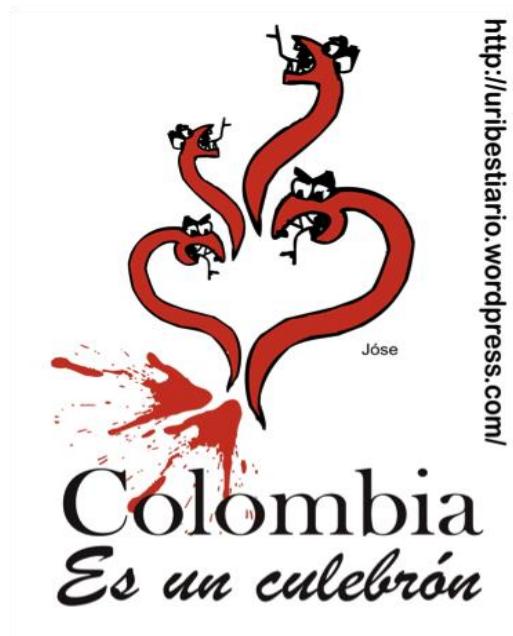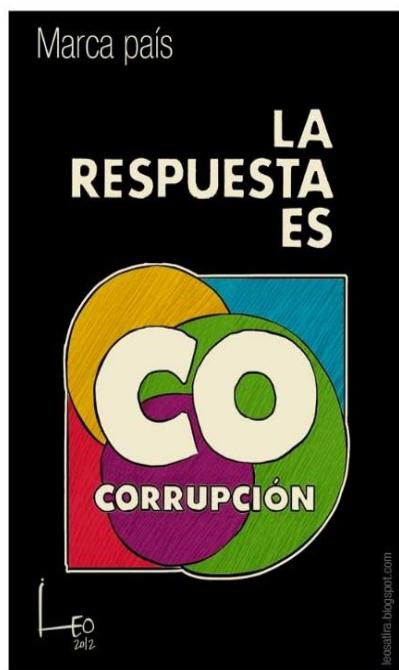
Figures 143. Counter campaign images in Colombia and Costa Rica

In Cuba the strategy has a particularity in that the national narrative suggested by the campaign has no major impact inside the country or among Cuban people. Authentic Cuba focuses upon the external-private audience and has little presence for the internal-public. I have argued that this may have to do, together with a technical barrier, mostly, with a much more political barrier: the protagonist discourse about the nation and the citizens (re)produced since the 1959 revolution. For this, it can be said that the branding endeavour in this country has a more instrumental use rather than, as in the case of Peru, an ideological discursive one.

However, at the same time, while the media or online public debates are not as widespread as in Peru, in Cuba some debates about the meanings and social relevance of (branding the) nation have appeared, such as the examples discussed in Chapter Five. In all, contrary to what Varga suggests, it is possible to affirm that, in a sense, nation branding not only depoliticizes but also enables the opportunity to re-politicize discussion about the nation or at least to familiarize the nation in everyday contexts. And, reflecting upon the proper field of nation branding, these cases show the multiple functions and the alternative, non-intended scenarios that the strategies produce, even if they are executed following the regulated and global guidelines of the field. In all, my

case studies reveal that even if nation branding can be understood, mostly, as a homogeneous neoliberal global strategy with local impact, it can also operate as a platform serving different purposes and activating internal disputes and nuances.

II.5 Further research paths from a regional perspective

Most of Latin American branded nations were developed in a similar global context, that of the prominence of neoliberalism. Almost all of them have been developed by the same government offices and follows homogeneous procedures. In some, the local context of their appearance was even quite similar (Peru, Colombia). In most of them, a similar image of the country is depicted, that of the empire of the senses, the diversity of culture and nature, and the possibility of enjoyment and living an authentic experience. In some cases, they have activated a massive discussion about the nation (Peru) in some others these were more focalized (Cuba) and in others, discussions and reactions occurred, not to the same extent as Peru but still disseminated regularly (Colombia). In all, the role of the Latin American region for the branding field has been to follow the field textbooks, but it needs to develop a more original and self-conscious way of presenting the region to the global gaze.

I am convinced that this is a topic deserving further research and is also the reason for the title of this thesis. In this section I have aimed to point out connections among the Latin American cases and to mirror alike processes in several countries, and I expect that the conceptual frame, the methodology, and the main ideas developed in this thesis will serve as a good starting point for a regional in-depth study of nation branding. At the same time, to think about 'Latin America as a brand' has also the intention of thinking the region as a key actor in geopolitical terms, now under the imperatives developed here. That is to say that the aim of the title is also to incite thought about the connections between the cultural processes of these countries, confronted in this case with a novel challenge, that of nation branding.

In fact, there is a very interesting platform that could serve as a starting point regarding this issue. It is the 'Annual Forum of Latin American Nation Brands', which gathers the nation brand directors in this region, along with representatives of the ministries of commerce, tourism and investment. Initiated in 2013 with the support of the World Tourism Organization, there have been three meetings so far: Montevideo (2013), Santiago de Chile (2014) and Lima (2016). Whilst I do not have enough information to analyse these events; the aim of these forums is to present and discuss each of the Latin American nation branding cases, sharing ideas, methods, difficulties and potentialities. In addition, global branding consultants are invited to give keynote speeches in the areas of advertisement, branding evaluation and ranking, promotional tools, among others. This is then a crucial space to expand analysis of the region's role in the field.

Finally, this epilogue enables me to suggest topics and questions for further research. In what contexts have nation branding strategies in Latin America appeared? To what internal processes have they responded? Who is in charge of these strategies and what is their professional background? What are the official goals of each campaign? How were the processes of developing the nation branded narratives undertaken, and which steps were followed? Where were these devices were deployed, nationally and internationally? How have people in each country reacted to the campaign, in civil society, in academia and in the branding/advertising field? What can be said about the interchanges between Latin American national brands in terms of peers, contents or methods? What are the main characteristics of the Annual Forum of Latin American Nation Brands? What is discussed, and how are the cases presented? How have the campaigns changed over the last ten years? I expect to continue to answer these questions in further research.

III. A last reflection: re-orienting nation branding as a public policy.

One of the overall aims of this thesis is to reflect on the type of 'nation' that current governments seek to produce through the processes of nation branding. To answer this, I have pursued a critical approach to my case studies, considering their visible outcomes and their invisible production processes.

While I have analysed these strategies from a critical perspective, pointing out their flaws and inconsistencies in the light of broader processes, I have also said that, considering their enormous success in terms of mass dissemination and positioning, they have activated, even with strong contradictions, the possibility of imagining an 'us', in discursive (speech) and material (objects, logos, images) terms. I believe this is of considerable relevance in the Peru in which I have lived. Nation branding strategies, understanding them as neoliberal cultural policies, surely need to be re-examined and re-directed; but they are still of social relevance. In this sense, my last comments will reflect on the public policy dimension of this field.

To begin with, I believe that nation branding strategies must assume their political role. That is, that institutions and people directing them should understand that, effectively, they are conducting and implementing public policies: these strategies have political implications imbricated with neoliberalism as a discourse hence are not 'neutral'; they are developed from public institutions and have a public impact; and they are directly involved to the cultural field, both in terms of the resources employed, mainly related to the cultural industries, and the defined purposes -the formation of subjectivities and senses of belonging. As part of the state apparatus, they play a crucial role in the production of a narrative about the nation, maybe to a greater extent than any other institution in the nation state does today.

Put differently, if in the early 20th century, Sommer considered Latin American national novels as 'foundational fictions' and that 'in the epistemological gaps that the non-science of history leaves open, narrators could project an ideal future [and] the

writers were encouraged both by the need to fill in a history that would increase the legitimacy of the emerging nation and by the opportunity to direct that history towards an ideal future' (Sommer, 1990, 76), it should be understood that 'nation branders' had assumed a similar role by the end of the century. They also 'fill in a history' about the nation and its 'ideal future'. Therefore, they need to assume the role and responsibilities they play in this endeavour.

In this regard, nation branding not necessarily has to (or will, for that matter) stop. What is needed is at re-evaluation of the whole process. There are five considerations to bear in mind. First, they should rethink the language employed. For a start, these strategies should forget the suffix 'brand'. It contributes nothing substantial to the aims pursued. It offers, on the contrary, a good motive to criticize this endeavour. The term brand is commonly associated, arguably from a biased point of view, with private-profit interests and not with the pursuit of public wellbeing. This is the same for the term 'brand ambassadors'. Rather than a term encouraging a citizen to represent the country, the term seems to encourage this 'ideal citizen' to serve the brand. Other terms such as 'competitive identity', 'stakeholders' or 'target markets' are, I understand, necessary to organize the process, but they are not much relevant in terms of public engagement. My first point is that an evaluation of the language is compulsory.

Second, nation brands must be nurtured with more honest and substantial content. It is reasonable and necessary that nation branding strategies focus on the good/ big/ impacting news that can attract interest from the external gaze. However, if the aim is also to strengthen national self-esteem, or to promote a 'real view' of the country, these novel national narratives should include personal and collective stories in all their tensions and complexities. It should ask what are the stories of the nation, which are the obsessions, desires, needs and tensions that define it.

I do not mean that a nation brand should depict exclusively the bad and the problematic. However, to present Latin American countries as paradises, while evident and ongoing social fractures exist, is at some point unsustainable. How much is there really to celebrate? At the same time, to reinforce the same topics (gastronomy in Peru, beaches in Cuba, popular music in Colombia) becomes repetitive and shows a lack of

imagination. Nation branding operators should at least ask about the conflicts that, as cartoonist Jesus Cossio illustrates (Figure 114) will impede the brand and what it represents to be perfectly deployed in the public space.

Third, the speculations of the investor and the tourist are highly relevant, but should not be the main gaze from which to articulate the branding strategy. I understand these are, to a major extent, touristic and commercial campaigns thus those are surely key actors to consider. Furthermore, it is evidently important to expand global commercial links and for those to Latin America generally: it is crucial to have a robust tourism industry. Nevertheless, as I have mentioned, these strategies have as their aims the renovation of national self-esteem and the presentation of the country's identity as well. Put differently, tourism is not just about the promotion for vacations, but a cultural industry that constantly produces narratives about the people and places, this being done in direct relation to the expectation of profit and investment. In this vein, I agree with Victor Vich when he argues that:

> 'tourism should stop being conceptualized as a strict commercial matter and start being treated within a wider and more ambitious cultural strategy. Indeed, beyond the economic benefits, tourism is also -or mainly- an enormous discursive machinery that produces representations about the nation (about social identities, about history, about the present) with very specific political consequences.' (2015 p. 66)

Bearing this in mind, different actors, stakeholders and target markets should be considered in the design, implementation and analysis of the strategy, while tourism itself -or any commercial promotional mechanisms for that matter- should assume their real impacts beyond the sector they represent. To be more specific: it is not that I am against the market and commercial needs. Tourism, investment and commerce are substantial to Latin American economies and hopefully they will grow. My point is that these sectors should assume the role they play in the creation of narratives that affect the way people and places are seen from the outside, as well as the links they create within their own place. And given this role, they have to dialogue and collaborate with other sectors both in the public and social realms.

Fourth, the methods and evaluating tools suggested by the field are important and necessary, but they are just a thermometer. Country brand rankings and quantitative impact in terms of brand positioning should not be the ultimate criteria from which to redirect design of the national narrative or from which to choose the topics to be disseminated. Furthermore, when these rankings are developed by the same consultancies hired to lead the branding process or, even if agreeing to follow a ranking oriented imperative, why not build an own country ranking which considers more complex elements? In the same sense, the pursuit of 'global reputation' should be put into question. Why is that important? For whom? In what terms? In any case, reputation will not be achieved by specific campaigns. It is a long-term process that involves, precisely, long term work and broader substantial policies.

Finally, given that these strategies are similar to what I understand as a cultural policy, I am convinced that the next steps of nation branding rely upon stronger dialogue and cooperation with the cultural realm. That is, that nation branding public offices and operators should promote much more collaborative work with their peers in departments of culture. Not only could these departments provide more substantial content regarding the campaign, but in fact, there are already common areas in their scope; music, arts, gastronomy or architecture are sectors also developed from a different perspective by these departments. Nation branding should reorient their conceptual basis considering tourism, commerce, and investment in dialogue with the abundant current discussion about cultural policies.

If nation branding is a neoliberal cultural policy, or even if it is not accepted in those terms, it is agreed at least that they are public policies impacting the cultural national real. Hence, they should include in their process the discussion on cultural policy. In this vein, the subject of my interest should consider that, as extensively discussed by Victor Vich, cultural policy is about 'the promotion of new images concerning social identities, and the contexts in which these are imbricated. Cultural policies must disseminate images about the antagonisms of the society we are living in' (2015: p. 64). Thus,

'cultural policies should introduce new discourses in society, with the aim of representing diverse social problems. They should concentrate in deconstructing the idea of the nation, showing their internal contradictions' […] A cultural policy that do not problematize the subject of the nation, is evading something fundamental.' (2015: p. 75)

This thesis shows with concrete evidence that the market, culture and the nation are all intertwined. It is not possible to think one without the other(s). This is even less possible in public policies which have these three dimensions as part of their remit. The links between the nation and the market can be problematic, as has been illustrated, but at the same time, they have enormous potential. The dialogue between culture and the nation can be fruitful, but needs to bear in mind that they operate in a market-oriented order so actors representing the market need to be considered. Finally, the market sometimes overlooks that their privileged actors, mechanisms, tools, and beliefs are based on cultural discourses subject to change and transformation; and that the nation is not just a commodity to capitalize on.

To conclude, I believe that the ultimate challenge this thesis asks is to reflect and promote, both in the academic endeavour and in the design of public policies, concepts and mechanisms in which these dimensions (the nation, culture and the market) dialogue in a more profound sense, and not from a neutral perspective. It is necessary to turn the diversity depicted in these campaigns into political projects with institutional and collective support, and to use the resources and possibilities of marketing, branding, information and communication technologies of the Web 2.0 to strengthen social connections and bonds in a more substantial form. To reorient the terms and goals of these strategies into a broader aim concerned with inescapable national fractures. To understand the contemporary role of what we still call the 'nation' and to reorient the policies aiming at 'producing' them. This is of major importance given that, as stated on the first page of this thesis, this process involves the production of a mythical collective glue, a representation of an 'us', a fictional excuse to collaborate, within and beyond the imperatives of our times.

References

Adams, N. and Golte, J. (1990). *Los caballos de Troya de los invasores*. Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.

Adorno, T. & Horkheimer, Max (1988). *Dialéctica del iluminismo*. Buenos Aires: Sudamericana.

Agamben, G. (1998). *Homo sacer. I, El poder soberano y la nuda vida.* Valencia: Pre-Textos.

Agamben, G. (2005). *Estado de Excepción*. Buenos Aires: Adriana Hidalgo.

Agapito, A. (2012). 'Carlincaturas de un genio', *Poder Político. Portal Informativo.* 11 February. Available at: http://poderpolitico.info/category/amenidades/page/2/ (Accessed: 27 May 2014).

Alcázar, A. (2013). 'Relaciones en Disputa: Nación, Genero, Raza y Turismo en Cuba', *Revista Maguare*. 27 (1. Jan-Jun), pp. 29-50.

Althusser, L. (1970). *Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses*. London: New Left Books.

Alvaro Portales (2012). Available at: http://www.alvaroportales.pe (Accessed: 10 February 2012).

Anderson, B. (1983). *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism.* London: Verso.

Andina (2012). 'Campaña internacional de Marca País llega este mes a Alemania y Francia' 9 July. Available at: http://www.andina.com.pe/ingles/noticia-campana-

internacional-marca-pais-llega-este-mes-a-alemania-y-francia-427434.aspx (Accessed: 26 April 2014).

Anholt, S. (2004) 'Editor's foreword to the first issue', *Journal of Place Branding and Public Diplomacy.* 1.

Anholt, S. (2005). How the World Views its Cities: The Anholt City Brand Index December 2005 Report. Seattle: Global Market Insite.

Anholt, S. (2007). *Competitive Identity. The New Brand Management for Nations, Cities and Regions.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Anholt, S. (2009). The Anholt-GFK Roper Nation Brands Index Methodology and Quality Control for the 2009 NBI Study. GFK Roper Public Affairs & Media.

Anholt, S. (2010). *Places. Identity, Image and Reputation.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Araujo, N. (2010). 'La Isla de Cuba: Viaje, imagen y deseo', *Cuban Studies,* 40, pp. 1-17.

Arellano, R. (2010). *Al Medio Hay Sitio: El Crecimiento Social Según los Estilos de Vida.* Lima: Editorial Planeta.

Arellano, R. (2016) 'El Rombo Sigue su Rumbo. Por Rolando Arellano', *El Comercio*, 4 July. Available at: http://elcomercio.pe/opinion/rincon-del-autor/rombo-sigue-su-rumbo-rolando-arellano-noticia-1914158 (Accessed: 1 August 2016).

Aronczyk, M. (2007). 'Benign Nationalism: Nation Branding as Discourse and Practice' *Annual meeting of the American Sociological Association*, TBA. New York, Aug 11. Place of publication: publisher, Page references for the paper.

Aronczyk M. (2013). *Branding the Nation: The Global Business of National Identity.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Arvidsson, A. (2005). 'Brands: a critical perspective', *Journal of Consumer Culture,* 5 (2), pp. 235 - 258.

Arvidsson, A. (2006). *Brands. Meaning and Value in Media Culture.* New York: Routledge.

Arvidsson, A. (2011). 'Creativity, brands, finance and beyond: Notes towards a theoretical perspective on city branding', in Pike, A. (ed.) *Brands and Branding Geographies.* Cheltenham: Edward Edgar Publishing, pp. 305-323.

Auténtica Cuba. (1995-2017). Available at: http://www.Auténticacuba.com (Accessed: 15 May 2014).

Auténtica Cuba (2010). *Auténtica Cuba.* Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=99IBtics0wQ (Accessed: 19 May 2014).

Babb, F. (2011). 'Che, Chevys, and Hemingway's Daiquiris: Cuban Tourism in a Time of Globalization' in *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, 30 (1), pp. 50–63.

Badiou, A. (2007). *El ser y el acontecimiento.* Buenos Aires: Manantial.

Barbero, M. (1987). *De los medios a las mediaciones.* México: Gustavo Gili

Baudrillard, J. (1994). *Simulacra and Simulation.* Michigan: The University of Michigan Press.

Baudrillard, J. (1998). *The Consumer Society.* London: Verso.

Baudrillard, J. (2005). *The system of objects.* New York: Verso.

Baudrillard, J. (2010). *America.* London: Verso.

Bauman, Z. (2007). *Consuming Life.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Bhabha, H. (1990). *Nation and Narration.* London: Routledge.

Bhabha, H. (1994). *The Location of Culture.* New York: Routledge.

Berger, P. and Luckman, T. (1966). *The Social Construction of Reality. A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge.* London: Random House.

Billig, M. (1995). *Banal nationalism.* London: SAGE Publications.

Blain, C., Levy, S.E., and Ritchie, J. R. B. (2005). 'Destination Branding: Insights and Practices from Destination Management Organizations', *Journal of Travel Research*, 43(4), pp. 328-338.

Bloom Consulting. Countries, Regions and Cities (No year) Available at: http://www.bloom-consulting.com/#home (Accessed: 13 May 2015).

Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction. A Social Critique to the Judgment of Taste,* translated by R. Nee. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1993). 'The Market of Symbolic Goods.' In: *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature*. New York: Columbia University Press, pp.112-141.

'Brand' (2017). *Wikipedia.* Available at: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Brand#cite_note-5 (Accessed: 10 January 2016).

Brand Finance (2015). *Nation Brands 2015. The annual report on the world's most valuable nation brands.* Available at: http://brandfinance.com/images/upload/nation_brands_2015_for_print.pdf (Accessed: 23 March 2016).

Branding Institute CMR (2017). Available at: http://www.branding-institute.com/ (Accessed: 10 May 2014).

Brand South Africa. 2016. 'Without a nation there is nothing to brand' https://www.brandsouthafrica.com/south-africa-fast-facts/news-facts/south-african-competitiveness-forum-2016 (Accessed: 10 November 2016).

Bruce, J. (2007). *Nos habíamos choleado tanto. Psicoanálisis y racismo*. Lima: Universidad San Martin de Porres.

Butler, A. (2016) "New museum exhibit shows off vintage travel ads enticing Americans to visit Cuba" *Lonely Planet,* 29 March. Available at: http://www.lonelyplanet.com/news/2016/03/29/museum-travel-americans-cuba/ (Accessed: 25 April 2016).

Cánepa, G. (2013). ´Nation Branding. The Re-foundation of Community, Citizenship and the State in the Context of Neoliberalism in Peru. *Medien Journal*. 37 (3) pp, 7-18.

Carah, N. and Louw, E. (2016). 'The Apologetic Brand: Building Australia's Brand on a Postcolonial Apology' in Volciv, Z. and Andrejevic, M. *Commercial Nationalism. Selling the Nation and Nationalizing the Sell*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Carteles. (1932a). *Revista Carteles.* Vol. XVIII (17) (April). La Habana.

Carteles. (1932b). *Revista Carteles.* Vol. XVIII (15) (April). La Habana.

Carteles. (1934). *Revista Carteles.* Vol. XXI (2) (January). La Habana.

Castillo, O. and Gaspar, N. (2002). 'Una Década del Desarrollo de Turismo en Cuba (1990-2000)', *Economía y Desarrollo*: *Publicación de la Facultad de Economía de la Universidad de la Habana,* 32 (2 Jul-Dec), pp. 71-93.

Catalá-Carrasco, J. (2015). *Vanguardia y Humorismo Grafico. La Guerra Civil Española y la Revolución Cubana*. Woodbrige: Támesis Books.

Chasteen, J. and Castro-Klarén, S. (eds.) (2003). *Beyond Imagined Communities. Reading and Writing the Nation in Nineteenth-Century Latin America.* Baltimore: Woodrow Wilson Center Press.

Chatterjee, P. (1993). *The Nation and its Fragments: Colonial and postcolonial histories.* Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press.

Chatterjee, P. (1996) 'Whose Imagined Community?' In Mapping the Nation Balakirishnan, G. (ed). London: Verso. Pp. 214-225

Chatterjee, P. (1997) 'Our Modernity'. Lecture presented by Partha Chaterjee in Africa in 1996 and printed by Sephis Codesria: Rotterdam. Pp 3-20.

Chatterjee, P. (2004) *The Politics of the Governed: Reflections on popular politics in most of the world.* New York: Columbia University Press.

Chaves, Norberto (2011). *La Marca País en América Latina.* Buenos Aires: la crujía ediciones.

Clark, S. (1936). *Cuban Tapestry.* New York: Robert McBride & Co.

Colectivo de autores. (2003). *Propuesta de creación de marca para el destino turístico Cuba.* Trabajo de Diploma. Alta Dirección de Empresas Turísticas.

Colombia (2017). Available at: www.colombia.travel (Accessed: 20 April 2015).

Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación (2003). Informe Final. Lima: Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación.

Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación (2004). *Hatun Willakuy: Versión abreviada del Informe Final de la Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación.* Lima: Gráfica Delvi S.R.L.

Cooke, M. (2014). *Tribal Modern. Branding New Nations in the Arab Gulf.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Córdova, D. (2010). *Los Nuevos Héroes Peruanos: Lecciones de vida de emprendedores que derrotaron la pobreza.* Lima: Planeta.

Cossio, J. (No year). 'Brand Peru' [Cartoon]. *Entre la marca y la pared.* Available at: http://www.coherencia.pe/entre-la-marca-y-la-pared/ (Accessed: 30 April 2015).

Cuevas (2014). Marca Perú / Farsa Perú: ¿un país en construcción? In *Do sensível ao inteligível. Duas décadas de construção do sentido* (pp. 95-112). São Paulo: Estação das Letras e Cores.

Dardot, P. and Laval, C. (2014). *The New Way of the World. On Neoliberal Society*. London: Verso.

De la Cruz, E. (2011). 'Informe de las marcas 2011 (Perú)', *Idearted*. 24 May. Available at: http://idearted.blogspot.pe/2011/05/ (Accessed: 12 June 2014).

Degregori, C.I., Blondet, C. and Lynch, N. (1986). *Conquistadores de un Nuevo Mundo: De invasores a ciudadanos en San Martín de Porres*. Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.

Delgado, Mauricio (No year). *Brand Peru*, [Facebook]. Available at: https://www.facebook.com/mauricio.delgadocastillo?lst=100002432036893%3A1 441295747%3A1487165188 (Accessed: 23 September 2015).

Degregori, C.I. (2010). *El Surgimiento de Sendero Luminoso: Ayacucho 1969-1979*. Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.

Dinnie, K. (ed.) (2008). *Nation Branding: Concepts, Issues, Practice*. Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann.

Dinnie, K. (2010). *City Branding. Theory and Cases*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Drinot, P (2006). 'Nation-building, Racism and Inequality: Institutional Development in Peru in Historical Perspective.' in Crabtree, J. editor(s). Making Institutions Work in Peru: Democracy, Development, and Inequality Since 1980. Institute for the Study of the Americas. pp. 5-23.

Drinot P. (2014) 'Foucault in the Land of the Incas: Sovereignty and Governmentality in Neoliberal Peru'. In Drinot P. (eds) Peru in Theory. Studies of the Americas. Palgrave Macmillan, New York.

Drinot, P. (2015). 'Construcción de nación, racismo y desigualdad: una perspectiva histórica del desarrollo institucional en el Perú' in *Desigualdad en el Peru desde 1980*. Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Universidad del Pacifico, Instituto de Estudios Peruanos. pp 11-31.

El Cielo. Juan Manuel Barrientos. (2017). Available at: http://www.elcielorestaurant.com/es/ (Accessed: 19 July 2014).

El Ciudadano Chileno (2010) *Difamadores 2010 - Los Village Gente -Do it the Chilean Way!* Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1gv8Nnwe7fs. (Accessed 7 October 2015).

El Comercio (2009). 'La nueva era de cómprale al Perú, la campaña para el consumo de lo nacional', 27 July. Available at: http://elcomercio.pe/economia/negocios/nueva-era-comprale-al-peru-campana-consumo-lo-nacional-noticia-319535 (Accessed: 13 September 2015).

El Comercio (2012) 'Esta es la nueva imagen de S/. 1 con la imagen de la marca Perú', 5 August. Available at: http://elcomercio.pe/economia/1451656/noticia-esta-nueva-moneda-1-imagen-marca-peru (Accessed: 15 March 2015).

El Comercio (2015). 'El PBI mes a mes'. Available at: https://public.tableau.com/profile/el.comercio#!/vizhome/shared/P65C2JY78 (Accessed: 10 January 2016).

El Peruano (2010). 'Modifican el Reglamento de Organización y Funciones de la Comisión de Promoción del Perú para la Exportación y el Turismo – PromPerú. Decreto Supremo N°014 – 2010 – MINCETUR' September. Available at: http://www.munizlaw.com/normas/2010/Setiembre/02-09-10/D.S.%20N%C2%BA%20014-2010-MINCETUR.pdf (Accessed 3 May 2015).

EcuRed (2017a). *Revista Carteles.* Available: https://www.ecured.cu/Revista_Carteles (Accessed: 25 April 2014).

EcuRed (2017b). *Ministerio de Turismo de Cuba.* Available at:
https://www.ecured.cu/Ministerio_de_Turismo_(Cuba) (Accessed: 27 April 2014).

Ermann, U. (2011). 'Consumer capitalism and Brand fetishism: The case of fashion brands in Bulgaria' in Pike, A. (ed.) *Brands and Branding Geographies*. Cheltenham: Edward Edgar Publishing, pp. 107-124.

Ewen, S. and Ewen, E. (1982). *Channels of Desire: Mass Images and the Shaping of American Consciousness.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Exposición de motivos (2007). Nº009–2007 MINCETUR. Available at:
http://spij.minjus.gob.pe/graficos/Peru/2007/setiembre/30/D%20S%20%20N%20 009-2007-MINCETUR%20_30-09-07_.pdf (Accessed 10 July 2012).

Faubion, J.D. (ed) (1994). *Essential Works of Foucault 1954 - 1984. V. III Power*, translated by R. Hurley. London: Alien Lane/The Penguin Press.

Featherstone, M. (2000). 'Lifestyle and Consumer Culture' in Lee, M. (ed.) *The Consumer Society Reader*, pp. 92-105. Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Featherstone, M. (2007). *Consumer Culture and Postmodernism.* London: Sage.

Feher, M. (2013). *On the Age of Appreciation: Lectures on the Neoliberal Condition* [Conference]. Goldsmith's University of London. 20 November.

Fehimovic, D and Ogden, B. (eds) (2018, forthcoming). *Branding Latin America. Strategies, Aims, Resistance.* London: Lexington.

Fischman, D. (2005). *El Líder Interior.* Lima: UPC Fondo Editorial.

Fischman, D. (2005a). *El Líder Transformador I.* Lima: UPC Fondo Editorial.

Fischman, D. (2005b). *El Líder Transformador II.* Lima: UPC Fondo Editorial.

Fischman, D. (2009). *El Espejo del Líder.* Lima: UPC Fondo Editorial.

Fiske, J. (2000). 'The Commodities of Culture'. In Lee, M. *The Consumer Society Reader.* Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers.

Foucault, M. (1972). *The Archaeology of Knowledge.* London: Tavistock Publications.

Foucault, M. (1975). 'Interview on the prison: the book and its method', in *Dits et ecrits,* 1, pp.752, in Faubion J.D. (ed.) (1994). *Essential Works of Foucault 1954-1984. Volume III, Power,* translated by R. Hurley. London: Alien Lane/The Penguin Press.

Foucault, M. (2008). *The Birth of Biopolitics: Lectures at the Collège de France 1978–1979,* translated by G. Burchell. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Franco, C. (1991). *Imágenes de la Sociedad Peruana. La Otra Modernidad.* Lima: Cedep.

Freud, S. (1961). *Civilization and Its Discontents.* London: Hogarth.

FutureBrand (no year). *Country Brand Index 2014-15.* Available at: http://www.futurebrand.com/uploads/CBI-14_15-LR.pdf (Accessed: 20 November 2015).

FutureBrand (no year-b). *Country Brand Report América Latina 2015/16* Available at: http://starterdaily.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/11/starterdaily_futurebrand_latambrandindex.pdf (Accessed: 28 June 2016).

FutureBrand (no year-c). *Country Brand Index Latin America 2013-20145.* Available at: http://www.futurebrand.com/uploads/CBI-14_15-LR.pdf (Accessed: 20 November 2015).

FutureBrand (2012). *Country Brand Index.* Available at: www.futurebrand.com (Accessed: 3 July 2014).

FutureBrand (2013). 'Country Brand Index 2012-2013' Available at: www.futurebrand.com (Accessed: 28 May 2015).

FutureBrand (2017a). *FutureBrand launches the Country Brand Index 2014-2015.* Available at: http://www.futurebrand.com/news/2014/futurebrand-launches-the-country-brand-index-2014-15 (Accessed: 17 October 2015).

FutureBrand (2017b). *FutureBrand.* Available at: http://www.futurebrand.com/ (Accessed: 7 September 2015).

Galasinska, A. (2010). 'Leavers and stayers discuss returning home: Internet discourses on migration in the context of the post-communist transformation' in *Social Identities*, 16 (3), pp. 309-324.

Galbraith, J. (1958). *The Affluent Society.* New York: Houghton Mifflin.

Gamarra, L.F (2009). 'La gastronomía peruana: Una economía a gran escala', *El Comercio,* 21 September. Available at: http://elcomercio.pe/economia/negocios/gastronomia-peruana-economia-gran-escala-noticia-344968 (Accessed: 17 May 2011).

Gandhi, L. (1998). *Postcolonial Theory: A Critical Introduction.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

García Canclini, N. (1997). 'El malestar en los estudios culturales', Fractal n° 6, julio-septiembre, año 2, volumen II, pp. 45-60.

Gellner, E. (1983). *Nation and Nationalism.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Gestión (2016). 'Mincetur: 3.5 millones de turistas internacionales visitaron el Perú en el 2015', 15 February. Available at: http://gestion.pe/economia/2015-35-millones-

turistas-internacionales-visitaron-peru-senala-mincetur-2154616 (Accessed: 14 April 2016).

GFK Roper Public Affairs & Media (2008). *The Anholt-GFK Roper Nation Brand index 2008 Global Report for Media Reference.* Available at: https://es.scribd.com/document/110156611/Anholt-GfK-Roper-2008-Nation-Brands-Index-General-Report (Accessed: 10 June 2014).

GfK Roper Public Affairs & Media (2015). *The Anholt-GfK Roper Nation Brands Index 2015.* New York.

GFK (2015). *USA regains position as top nation brand from Germany.* [Press Release]. 17 November. Available at: http://www.gfk.com/insights/press-release/usa-regains-position-as-top-nation brand-from-germany-1/ (Accessed: 17 February 2016).

Gillian, R. (2001). Visual Methodologies: An Introduction to the Interpretation of Visual Materials. London: Sage.

Gilmore, J. and Pine, J. (1999). *The Experience Economy.* Boston: Harvard Business School Press.

Globalia Multimedia (2013) *Auténtica Cuba.* Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RowmQ536Nu4 (Accessed 19 May 2014).

Gonzales, M.I (2011). 'El nacimiento de una marca', *La República.* 25 December. Available at: http://larepublica.pe/25-12-2011/el-nacimiento-de-una-marca (Accessed: 13 May 2015).

Gonzalez-Melo, A. (2014). 'Mecanica'. (Play)

González Velarde, F. (2013)*. Building a 'paradise' on fragile soils: place-making and unsustainable tourism in Northern Peru.* PhD Thesis. School of Modern

Languages, New Castle University. Available at:
https://theses.ncl.ac.uk/dspace/handle/10443/2234 (Accessed: 9 May 2014).

The Good Country (No year). Available at: http://www.simonanholt.com (Accessed: 15/6/2014).

Govers, R. and Go, F. (2009). *Place Branding. Glocal, Virtual and Physical Identities, Constructed, Imagined   and Experienced.* Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.

Guerra-garcía, H. (2006). *Los secretos del carajo: para ser un empresario de éxito.* Lima: Norma.

Guía de Gamarra (2017) Available at: http://guiadegamarra.com/

Habermas, J. (1990). *Moral consciousness and communicative action.* Cambridge: MA: MIT Press.

Hacerse el Sueco (2011). Directed by Daniel Diaz Torres [Film]. España, Alemania, Cuba: Suso Zinea S.L.

Hall, S. (1997). *Representation. Cultural Representation and Signifying Practices.* London: Sage.

Hamman, M. et al. (eds.) (2003). *Batallas por la Memoria: Antagonismos de la Promesa Peruana.* Lima: Red para el Desarrollo de las Ciencias Sociales en el Perú.

Harari, Y. (2016). *Sapiens. A Brief History of Humankind.* London: Vintage Publishing.

Harris, A. (2011). Branding Hoxton. Cultural landscapes of post-industrial London. In Pike, A. (ed.) (2011). *Brands and Branding Geographies.* Cheltenham: Edward Edgar Publishing. (pp 187-199).

Harvey, D. (1990). *The Condition of Postmodernity.* Cambridge: Blackwell Publishers.

Harvey, D. (2005). *A Brief History of Neoliberalism.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

The Havana Post. Tourist Edition (1911). Available at:
    https://archive.org/details/havanapost00unse (Accessed 8 June 2016).

Hermer, C. and May, M. (1941). *Havana Mañana: A Guide to Cuba and the Cubans.*
    City: Ed.

Hobsbawm, E. (1990). *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality.*
Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Hobsbawm, E. and Ranger, T. (eds.) (1983). *The invention of Tradition.* Cambridge:
    Cambridge University Press.

The Holiday Place (2005- 2017). Available at: http://holidayplace.co.uk/ (Accessed: 12
    April 2016).

Hong, K. (2014). 'Nation Branding of Korea', in Lee, H. and Lim, L. (eds.) *Cultural
    Policies in East Asia. Dynamics between the State, Arts and Creative Industries.*
    London: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 69-84.

Hosek, J. (2012). *Sun, Sex and Socialism: Cuba in the German Imaginary*. Toronto:
    University of Toronto Press.

Huber, E. and Solt, F. (2004). 'Successes and Failures of Neoliberalism' *Latin American
    Research Review* 39(3), pp. 150-164.

Hurtado, J. (2012) '825 Empresas Peruanas ya cuentan con licencia para el uso de la
    Marca Perú', *Actualidad del Perú,* 11 January. Available at:
    http://actualidaddelperu.blogspot.co.uk/2012/01/825-empresas-peruanas-ya-
    cuentan-con.html

Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática (no year). Available at: www.inei.gob.pe
    (Accessed: 7 October 2015).

Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática (2010). 'Mapa de Pobreza Provincial y
    Distrital 2009' Available at:
    https://www.mef.gob.pe/contenidos/pol_econ/documentos/mapa_pobreza_2009.
    pdf (Accessed: 7 October 2009).

The International Place Branding Association (no date). Available at:
    http://placebranding.org/   (Accessed: 7 March 2014).

Jameson, F. (1991). *Postmodernism, or the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism*. Londres:
    Verso.

Jelin, E. and Godoy-Anativia, M. (2003). *History and Social Memory.* Minneapolis:
    University of Minnesota Press.

Jimenez Martinez, C. (2013). 'Chile's quest to improve its image abroad', *Journal of
    Place branding and Public Diplomacy.* 9(4), pp. 279-290.

Johnson, J. (1980). Latin America in Caricature. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Jones, R. (2016). 'How brands make money' [PowerPoint presentation]. *The Secret
    Power of Brands.* Available at: https://www.futurelearn.com/courses/the-secret-
    power-of-brands (Accessed: 10 January 2015).

Julier, G. (2011). 'Design Activism meets place branding: Reconfiguring urban
representation and everyday practice'. In Pike, A. (2011).

Kaneva, N. (2011). 'Nation Branding: Towards an Agenda for Critical Research',
    International Journal of Communication. 5, pp. 117-141.

Kaneva, N. (2012). *Branding Post-Communist Nations. Marketizing National Identities in
the New Europe.* New York: Routledge.

Kapcia, A. (2000). Cuba. Island of Dreams. Oxford: Berg.

Kapcia, A. (2005). *Havana: The Making of Cuban Culture*. Oxford: Berg Publishers.

Kapcia, A. (2008). *Cuba in Revolution. A History since the Fifties*. London: Reaktion Books.

Karatani, K. (2014). The Structure of World History. From modes of Production to Modes of Exchange. New York: Duke University Press Books.

Kania-Lundholm, M (2016). 'Nation for Sale? Citizen Online Debates and the 'New Patriotism' in Post-Socialist Poland', in Volcic, Z. and Andrejevic, M. (eds.) *Commercial Nationalism. Selling the Nation and Nationalizing the Sell.* New York: Palgrave McMillan, pp. 106-130.

Kaputa, C. (2012). *You are a Brand! How Smart People Brand Themselves for Business   Success.* Boston: Nicholas Brealy Publishing.

Klein, N. (2005). *No Logo.* London: Harper Perennial.

Koller, V. (2008). "'The world in one city': Semiotic and cognitive aspects of city branding". In: B. Mitsikopoulou (ed.): Branding Political Entities in a Globalised World. Special issue of the Journal of Language and Politics,7(3): 431-50.

Kumaraswami, P. and Kapcia, A. (2012) *Literary Culture in Cuba. Revolution, Nation-building and the Book*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

La Escalera (2014). 'Cuba Campaña 2015-2020. Destino Turístico' [PowerPoint presentation].

La Rotta Pulgarin, J. (2011). *Una imagen vale más que mil palabras: correspondencia entre el briefing y los manifiestos promocionales de la campaña de destino Autentica Cuba*. Tesis de Grado. Universidad de la Habana.

Lash, S. & Urry, J. (1994). *Economies of Signs & Space.* London: SAGE Publications.

Lemke, T. (2002). 'Foucault, Governmentality, and Critique', *Rethinking Marxism*, 14 (3),   pp. 49-64.

Lewis, N. (2011). 'Packaging political projects in geographical imaginaries: The rise of nation branding'. In Pike, Andy (2011).

Lipovetsky, G. & Serroy, J. (2009). *La Pantalla Global. Cultura Mediática y Cine en la Era Hipermoderna.* Madrid: Anagrama.

Lipovetsky, G. & Serroy, J. (2013). *La estetización del mundo. Vivir en la época del capitalismo artístico.* Barcelona: Anagrama.

Lossio, F. (2012). 'The Making of the Nation as a Postcolonial Simulacrum. The Case of the Brand-Peru Campaign'. Dissertation to obtain the degree of Master in Science in Culture and Society, at the Department of Sociology. The London School of Economics, London.

_____ (2014). 'La Necesaria Fantasía de la Marca Perú' in Portocarrero, G. (ed) *Perspectivas sobre el Nacionalismo en el Perú.* Lima: Red para el Desarrollo de las Ciencias Sociales en el Perú, pp. 23-38.

Lumley Castle. Murder Mystery. (2017) Available at: http://www.lumleycastle.com/events/murder-mystery-motive-for-murder/ (Accessed 20 July 2014).

Luna, N. (2016). 'El milagro económico que no frenó la desigualdad en el Perú', *Ojo Público* , 4 July. Available at: http://ojo-publico.com/252/el-milagro-que-no-freno-la-desigualdad   (Accessed 1 August 2016).

Lury, C. (2004). *Brands: The Logos of the Global Economy.* London: Routledge.

Lury, C. (2011). 'Brands: Boundary method objects and media space', in Pike, A. (ed.)
Brands and Branding Geographies. Cheltenham: Edward Edgar Publishing, pp.
44-58.

Marca Perú (No year), [Facebook]. Available at:
https://www.facebook.com/marcaPERU?fref=ts (Accessed: 10 June 2014).

Marca Perú (2011). *Documental Marca Perú 2011 (Versión Oficial con Subtítulos en*
Inglés). Available at: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RL9gsVy9gfU
(Accessed: 7 June 2013).

Marca Perú (2012). *Reglamento para el uso de la Marca País.* Available at:
http://marcaperu.peru.info/Public/reg_EN.pdf (Accessed: 20 January 2016).

Marca Perú (2012a). *Loreto, Italia: Campaña Nacional de la Marca Perú 2012 (English*
/Italian captions available). Available at:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zYcGSiHf6JE (Accessed: 10 July 2013).

Marca Perú (2012b). *Peru Country Brand: International Campaign Launch 2012.*
Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sTUi3JTuRys (Accessed 10
October 2012).

Marca Perú (2017). Available at: http://peru.info/ (Accessed 7 June 2012).

Marwick, A. (2013). *Status Update. Celebrity, Publicity, & Branding in the Social Media*
Age. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Matta, R. (2012). 'Cocinando una Nación de Consumidores: el Perú como Marca
Global' In: *Consensus* 17 (1), pp.49-60. Lima: Centro de Investigación de la Universidad
Femenina del Sagrado Corazón.

Mazzei, J. (2012). 'Negotiating domestic socialism with global capitalism: So-called tourist apartheid in Cuba', *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, 45 (1-2), pp. 91–103. doi: 10.1016/j.postcomstud.2012.02.003.

Melissa (no year). Available at: https://www.melissa.com.br/ (Accessed: 11 February 2015).

Mendez, C. (2000). *Incas sí, Indios no: Apuntes para el Estudio del Nacionalismo Criollo en el Perú.* 2nd edn.
Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.

Mendoza, W.& García, J. (2006). *Perú, 2001-2005: Crecimiento Económico y Pobreza. Documento de   Trabajo 250. Departamento de Economía*. Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú.

Mercado Negro.pe Advertising news (No year). Available at: www.filmsperu.pe (Accessed: 25 June 2011).

Millman, D. (2011). Brand Thinking and Other Noble Pursuits. New York: Allworth Press.

Millman, D. (2016a). *Recording for the online course 'The Secret Power of Brands'*. Available at: https://www.futurelearn.com/courses/the-secret-power-of-brands (Accessed: 15 January 2015).

Millman, D. (2016b). 'Brands Definition' [PowerPoint presentation]. *The Secret Power of   Brands.* Available at: https://www.futurelearn.com/courses/the-secret-power-of-brands (Accessed: 15 January 2015).

Milton, C. (2007). 'Public spaces for the discussion of Peru's past.' *Antípoda: Anthropology and Archeology Journal*, 5 (5), pp. 143-168.

Milton, C. (2014). *Art from a Fractured Past Memory and Truth Telling in Post-Shining Path Peru*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Ministerio de Comercio Exterior y Turismo (No date). Pentur. Plan Estratégico Nacional de Turismo 2012-2021. Resumen Ejecutivo. Available at: http://www.mincetur.gob.pe/newweb/Portals/0/eventos/peru-thai/Prof_Putjorn/PENTUR_2021.pdf (Accessed: 15 August 2015).

Ministerio de Comercio Exterior y Turismo (2015). *Perú: Llegada Mensual de Turistas Internacionales, Enero 2002- Diciembre 2014.* Available at: www.mincetur.gob.pe/newweb/.../PERU_Lleg_Mens_Tur_Internac_2002_2014.xls (Accessed: 4 August 2016).

Ministerio de Turismo de Cuba (2011). 'Auténtica Cuba. Destinations' [Advertisement]. La Habana.

Mintur Cuba (2014). *Auténtica Cuba.* Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=efB77INbB5c (Accessed 19 May 2014).

Mistura. La Feria Gastronómica más Importante de Latinoamérica (2017). Available at: http://mistura.pe/ (Accessed: 25 April 2014).

Mistura. The Power of Food (2011). Directed by Julia Patricia Perez [Short Film] Lima: Chiwake Films.

Monsiváis, C. and Bonfils, C. *A través del espejo. El Cine Mexicano y su Público.* México D.F: Instituto Mexicano de Cinematografía.

Montalvan, H. (2014). 'Marca País Perú. Herramientas de Promoción' [PowerPoint presentation] *PromPerú*. Available at: http://export.PromPerú.gob.pe/Miercoles/Portal/MME/descargar.aspx?archivo=064009 08-AEEB-440B-8CB6-431132C6C3C5.PDF (Accessed: 12 November 2014).

Montero-Diaz, F. (2016). **'**Singing the war: reconfiguring white upper-class identity through fusion music in post-war Lima**'**, *Ethnomusicology Forum,* 25 (2), pp. 191-209.

Montoya, P. and Vandehey, T. (2008). *The Brand Called You: The Ultimate Personal Branding Handbook to Transform Anyone into an Indispensable Brand.* Boston: McGraw Hill.

Moor, L. (2007). *The Rise of Brands.* Oxford: Berg Publishers.

Moor, L. (2011). 'The Making of the Place: Consumers and Place-affiliated Brands', in Pike, A. (ed.) *Brands and Branding Geographies.* Cheltenham: Edward Edgar Publishing, pp. 75-90.

Moreno, L. (1865-1867) *Los Funerales de Atahualpa* [Oil on Canvas]. Museo de Arte, Lima.

Morley, D. & Robins, K. (1995). *Spaces of Identity. Global media, electronic landscapes and cultural boundaries.* London: Routledge.

Naranjo Publicidad (2016). Available at: http://www.naranjopublicidad.com/ (Accessed: 10 September 2015).

Net Joven (2012-2013). Available at: http://www.netjoven.pe/ (Accessed: 20 July 2012).

Niesing, Eva. *Latin America's Potential in Nation Branding: A Closer Look at Brazil's, Chile's and Colombia's Practices.* Hamburg: Anchor Academic Publishing.

Nye, J. (2004). *Soft Power. The Means to Success in World Politics.* New York: Public Affairs.

Observatorio Turístico del Perú (2016). Available at: http://www.observatorioturisticodelperu.com (Accessed: 10 August 2016).

Oficina Nacional de Estadística e Información. República de Cuba (2011). *Anuario Estadístico de Cuba 2011.* La Habana: Editorial.

Oliart, P. (1995). 'Poniendo a cada quien en su lugar: estereotipos raciales y sexuales en la Lima del siglo XIX'. In: *Mundos Interiores. Lima: 1850-1950.* Lima: Universidad del Pacifico.

Olins, W. (2002). 'Branding the Nation - The Historical Context', *The Journal of Brand Management*, 9(4), pp. 241-248.

Olins, W. (2003). *On Brand.* London: Thames & Hudson.

Olins, W. (2014). *Brand New. The Shape of Brands to Come.* London: Thames & Hudson.

Ordoñez Castillo, S., Pedraza, C. and Zambrano, J. (2011). *Estudio de percepción de los extranjeros sobre la imagen y la Marca País de Colombia.* Especialización en Mercadeo Estratégico. Colegio de Estudios Superiores de Administración CESA. Available at: http://repository.cesa.edu.co/bitstream/10726/333/6/TEM00209.pdf (Accessed: 13 March 2017).

Oxford English Dictionary (2017). Available at: http://www.oed.com/ (Accessed: 25 April 2015).

Padilla, A. and McElroy, J. (2007). 'Cuba and Caribbean Tourism After Castro', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 34(3), pp. 649–672. doi: 10.1016/j.annals.2007.02.004.

Papacharissi, Z. (2002). 'The Virtual Sphere: The Internet as a Public Sphere' in New Media Society 4 (1), pp. 9-27. London: SAGE Publications.

Papadopoulos, N. and Heslop, L.J. (2002). 'Country equity and country branding: Problems and prospects', *Journal of Brand Management.* 9(4-5), pp. 294-314. doi: 10.1057/palgrave.bm.2540079.

Patiño, P. (2014). 'Clase alta limeña y consumo de lo popular' in Portocarrero, G. (ed.) *Perspectivas sobre el nacionalismo en el Perú.* Lima: Red Para el Desarrollo de las Ciencias Sociales en el Perú, pp. 57-98.

Perez, Jr. L. (2008). *Cuba in the American Imagination. Metaphor and the American Ethos.* Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press.

Perez Firmat, G. (2010). *The Havana Habit.* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Peeren, E. (2014). *The Spectral Metaphor. Living Ghosts and the Agency of Invisibility*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Peters, T. (1999). *The Brand You 50, or fifty ways to transform yourself from an 'employee' into a brand that shouts distinction, commitment, and Passion!* New York: Knopf.

Phonix. The International Place Branding Panel (2014). Available at: http://phonixpanel.com/ (Accessed: 7 March 2014).

Pike, A. (ed.) (2011). *Brands and Branding Geographies*. Cheltenham: Edward Edgar Publishing.

Pike, A. (2015). *Originations. The geographies of brands and branding.* Oxford: Wiley Blackwell. 2015.

The Place Brand Observer (2017). Available at: http://placebrandobserver.com (Accesed: 7 March 2014).

Polo, S. (2016). "Demandas de Reconocimiento, paradojas de participación y nuevos mecanismos de gestión de la subjetividad. Un estudio de la campaña "Representaciones de lo nuestro" de Marca Perú". Tesis de licenciatura para el grado de magister en antropología visual. Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú. Lima, Perú.

Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Instituto de Opinión Pública (2009). *Encuesta sobre percepciones sobre   cultura.* Available at: http://repositorio.pucp.edu.pe/index/bitstream/handle/123456789/15834/IOP_110 9_01_R_3.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y (Accessed: 17 November 2015).

Poole, D. and Rojas, I. (2011). 'Fotografía y memoria en el Perú de la Posguerra' in Cánepa, G. (ed.) *Imaginación Visual y Cultura en el Perú*. Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, pp. -- -

Porter, M. (1990). The Competitive Advantage of Nations. New York: Free Press.

Portocarrero, G. (1991). *Sacaojos: crisis social y fantasmas coloniales.* Lima: Tarea. Asociación de Publicaciones Educativas.

Portocarrero, G. (2012). *Profetas del Odio: Raíces Culturales y Líderes de Sendero Luminoso.* Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú.

Portocarrero, G. (2015). *La Urgencia por Decir Nosotros.* Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del   Perú.

PromPerú (2008). *Resolución de Presidencia de Consejo Directivo* N° 007-   2008– PROMPERÚ/PCD. Available at: http://media.peru.info/catalogo/Attach/ResPCD_007-2008.pdf (Accessed 5 March 2014).

PromPerú (2013). 'Peru Country Brand Strategy. Background' [PowerPoint presentation].

PromPerú (2014). 'Hay un Perú para cada quien. Marca País Perú'. [PowerPoint presentation]. Available at: http://es.slideshare.net/IPAE_INNOVA/hay-un-per-para-cada-quien-marca-pas-promper (Accessed: 17 November 2015).

PromPerú (2017a). *PromPerú.* Available at: www.PromPerú.gob.pe (Accessed: 17 January 2015).

PromPerú (2017b). *PromPerú Oficial* [Facebook] 28 July. Available at: https://business.facebook.com/notes/promper%C3%BA-oficial/per%C3%BA-lidera-el-ranking-de-reputaci%C3%B3n-en-sudam%C3%A9rica/1153431854702436 (Accessed: 8 January 2014).

Puig, T. *Creatividad Común* (No year). Available at: http://www.tonipuig.com/editorial.html#   (Accessed: 25 June 2015).

Puig, T. (no year). *Marca Ciudad. Cómo rediseñarla creativamente para afrontar diferencia y vida emergente. Barcelona como estilo.* Available at: http://www.tonipuig.com/assets/1-(1)-marca-ciudad-o-como-redise%C3%B1arla.pdf (Accessed: 5 February 2016).

Quiroz, A. (2005). 'Costos históricos de la corrupción en el Perú Republicano' in Portocarrero, F. *El pacto infame. Estudios sobre la corrupción en el Perú.* Lima: Red para el Desarrollo de las Ciencias Sociales en el Perú, pp. 75-92.

Radio Camaguey (2017). 'Tendrá Cuba marca país para promover identidad nacional' *Radio Camagüey Wordpress*, 25 May. Available at: https://radiocamaguey.wordpress.com/2016/05/25/tendra-cuba-marca-pais-para-promover-identidad-nacional/ (Accessed: 22 September 2016).

Ramos, M. (2017). 'International Tourism Fair FITCuba 2016' *Cuba Plus Magazine,* no date.   Available at: http://www.cubaplusmagazine.com/en/events/future-events-cuba/international-tourism-fair-fitcuba.html (Accessed: 5 March 2016).

Ranciere, J. (2009). *The Emancipated Spectator*. London: Verso.

Raptis Rare Books (No year). Available at: https://www.raptisrarebooks.com/
(Accessed: 18 March 2015).

Read, J. (2009). 'A Genealogy of Homo-Economicus: Neoliberalism and the Production
of Subjectivity', Foucault Studies, (6), pp. 25-36.

Renan, E. (1990). 'What is a nation?' in Bhabha, H. (ed.) *Nation and Narration.* London:
Routledge, pp. 8-22.

Reputation Institute (2017). Available at: https://www.reputationinstitute.com/about
(Accessed: 14 August 2015).

Roberts, K. (2004). *Lovemarks: The Future Beyond Brands*. New York, NY:
PowerHouse Books.

Rod (2009-2017). 'Auténtica Cuba brand identity campaign', *CreativeRoots,* 12 October.
Available at: http://creativeroots.org/2011/10/aute%CC%81ntica-cuba-brand-
identity-campaign/   (Accessed: 20 August 2012).

Rodriguez, A. (2006). *Parentesis en el Proceso de Gestion de la Marca Cuba*. Diploma
de Comunicación Social. Universidad de la Habana.

Roland, K. (2013). 'Tracing Belonging through Cuban Tourism'. In Cultural Anthropology,
Vol. 28, Issue 3, pp. 396–419.

Ronjam, M. (2017). [Facebook] Available at: www.facebook.com/#!/markus.ronjam
(Accessed: 5 July 2012).

Rose, G. (2001). *Visual Methodologies. An Introduction to the Interpretation of Visual
Materials*. London: SAGE.

Saatchi, C. (2010). *Me llamo Charles Saatchi y soy un artehólico.* Madrid: Editorial
Phaidon.

Saffron Brand Consultants (no year). *The Saffron European City Brand Barometer.
Revealing which cities get the brands they deserve.* (no place) Available at:

http://www.directe.cat/documents/noticies/saff_citybrandbarom.pdf (Accessed: 29 August 2016).

Salazar, C. and Segovia, D. (2009). 'Análisis Crítico de la Marca Colombia es Pasión. Su Estrategia, Componentes y Efectividad'. Proyecto de grado para optar al título de comunicadora social. Pontificia Universidad Javeriana. Facultad de Comunicación y Lenguaje. Bogotá, Colombia.

Sanin, J.D (2010). Made in Colombia. La Construcción de la Colombianidad a través del mercado. Revista Colombiana de Antropología [en linea] 2010, 46 (Enero-Junio): Available at:<http://www.redalyc.org/articulo.oa?id=105015237002> ISSN 0486-6525. (Accesed 7 de mayo de 2015.)

Sarlo, B. (1994). *Escenas de la Vida Posmoderna*. Buenos Aires: Siglo XXI editores.

Scarpaci, J. and Portela, A. (2009). *Cuban Landscapes. Heritage, Memory and Place.* New York: The Guildford Press.

Schawbel, D. (2009). *Me 2.0: build a powerful brand to achieve career success.* New York, NY: Kaplan Publishing.

Secret Cinema (No year). Available at: https://www.secretcinema.org/ (Accessed: 11 February 2015).

Sibilia, P. (2008). *La Intimidad como Espectáculo*. Buenos Aires: Fondo de Cultura Económica.

Slater, D. (1997). *Consumer Culture and Modernity*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Smith, A. (1998). *Nationalism and Modernism.* Oxon: Routledge.

Smith, A. (2000). *The Nation in History, Historiographical Debates about Ethnicity and Nationalism*. Hanover: University Press of New England.

Smith, A. (2004) *The Antiquity of Nations*. Cambridge: Polity Press

Sommer, D (1990). 'Irresistible Romance: the foundational fictions of Latin America'. In Bhabha, H. (1990).

Sommer, D (1991). *Foundational Fictions: The National Romances of Latin America.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Srivastava, N. (2013). 'Postcolonialism'. *Humanities and Social Sciences Postgraduate Programme.* New Castle University. 6 [th] December.

Surowiec, P. (2016). *Nation Branding, Public Relations and Soft Power. Corporatising Poland.* New York: Routledge.

Taupier, O. (2016). 'Entre la marca y la pared', *Coherencia*, 6 July. Available at: http://www.coherencia.pe/entre-la-marca-y-la-pared/ (Accessed: 30 April 2015).

Temple, I. (2010). *Usted S.A. Marketing personal.* Lima: Editorial Norma.

Theidon, K. (2004). *Entre prójimos. El conflicto armado interno y la política de reconciliación en el Perú.* Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.

Tonkiss, (2004). *Analysing discourse.* In: Seale, Clive, (ed.) Researching Society and Culture. Sage, London, UK, pp. 245-260.

Tovar, C. (No year). 'You have the right to go to the movies but not to the toilettes!' [Cartoon]. Available at: www.larepublica.pe (Accessed: 15 May 2014).

Travel Press. (2017). Available at: http://www.travelpress.com/ (Accessed: 5 June 2012).

Travel with a Mate (2016). Available at: http://www.travelwithamate.com/ (Accessed: 5 June 2012).

Un Rey en la Habana (2005). Directed by Alexis Valdes [Film]. España, Cuba: Productora, Continental Producciones, Iroko Films S.L., Cubaname.

United Nations (2017). *United Nations Security Council - Members.* Available at: http://www.un.org/en/sc/members/ (Accessed: 14 May 2016).

Universidad del Desarrollo (No year). *Publicidad (Santiago) Facultad de Comunicaciones.* Available at: http://comunicaciones.udd.cl/publicidad/noticias/2015/06/09/flavio-   pantigoso-revelo-los-detalles-de-su-famosa-campana-marca-peru/ (Accessed: 20 August 2015).

Valderrama, M. (2010). 'El boom de la cocina peruana' *Sociedad Peruana de Gastronomía.* 16th June. Available at: http://www.apega.pe/noticias/prensa-y-difusion/el-boom-de-la-cocina-peruana.html (Accessed: 28 June 2013).

Valdés, J.J (2015). 'Nuestra crónica de la evolución de Cuba' in *National Geographic en español.* Available at: http://www.ngenespanol.com/el-mundo/hoy/15/08/13/cronica-cuba-eu-paises-social (Accessed: 14 September 2015).

Van Ham, P. (2001). 'The Rise of the Brand State: The Postmodern Politics of Image and Reputation' in *Foreign Affairs* 8 (5), pp. 2-6.

Varga, S. (2013). 'The politics of nation branding. Collective identity and public sphere in   a neoliberal state', *Journal of Philosophy and Social Criticism,* 39(8), pp. 825-845.

Vaynerchuk, Gary (2009). *Crush it!* New York: Harper Colins.

Veblen, T. (1912). *The Theory of the Leisure Class.* Now York: Macmillan Company.

Vich, V. (2015). *Poéticas del duelo. Ensayos sobre arte, memoria y violencia política en el Perú.* Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.

Vich, V. (2015). *Desculturizar la Cultura. La gestión cultural como forma de acción política.* Buenos Aires: Siglo Veintiuno Editores.

Villaescusa, I. (no year). *Revista Carteles. De lo trivial a lo profundo.* Available   at:
    http://librinsula.bnjm.cu/secciones/292/nombrar/292_nombrar_3.html (Accessed:
    29 April 2015).

Visit Peru (2012a). *Peru Empire of Hidden Treasures - The Beginning.* Available at:
    https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XzMFpRp5pYo (Accessed: 16 August 2014).

Visit Peru (2012b). *Peru Empire of Hidden Treasures - The Legacy.* Available at:
    https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7yKBwsN5ZlQ&feature=youtu.be (Accessed:
    14 August 2014).

Volcic, Z. and Andrejevic, M. (2016). *Commercial Nationalism. Selling the Nation and
    Nationalizing the Sell.* London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Weber, M. (1946). *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology,* translated by H. Gerth and
C. Wright. New York: Oxford University Press.

Wilkinson, S. (2008). 'Cuba's Tourism 'Boom': a curse or a blessing?' *Third World
    Quarterly*, 29(5), pp. 979-993.

Williamson, J. (2004). *The Washington Consensus as Policy Prescription for
    Development.* Available at:
    http://www.iie.com/publications/papers/williamson0204.pdf (Accessed: 18 June
    2015).

Wood, D. (2005). *De Sabor Nacional. El impacto de la cultura popular en el Perú*. Lima:
    Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.

Woon, B. (1928). *When It's Cocktail Time in Cuba.* New York: Horace Liveright.

The World Bank (2016). *Perú Panorama General*. Available at:
    http://www.bancomundial.org/es/country/peru/overview (Accessed: 1 August
    2016).

The World Bank (2017). *Gross domestic product ranking table.* Available at:
http://data.worldbank.org/data-catalog/GDP-ranking-table (Accessed: 15 May
2016).

World Tourism Organization (2015). *UNWTO Annual Report 2014.* Madrid: UNWTO.

Yesterday's Gallery & Babylon Revisited (2012-2017). Available at:
https://www.yesterdaysgallery.com/ (Accessed: 12 May 2015).

Yúdice, G. (2003). *The Expediency of Culture.* Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Zizek, S. (2005). *El espinoso sujeto. El centro ausente de la ontología política.* Buenos
Aires: Paidós.

Appendices

Appendix A. Questionnaire guides

Questionnaire guide / Government representative [Ministry of Culture]

Personal Data

Name: Position:

Age: Gender:

1. Introductory Questions

   - Can you tell me about your role at the Ministry of Culture?
   - How long have you held this position?
   - What are the main objectives of your department?

2. About the relevance of place branding

   - Do you think is important to develop a nation brand campaign? Why?
   - Is this relevant in contemporary Peru/Cuba? Why?
   - Have you seen/ followed any other similar campaigns? If yes: which one? What were your thoughts about it?

3. About the campaign

   - Have you followed the Peruvian/Cuban campaign? Which are your thoughts about it?
   - Which do you consider are the merits of the campaign? And its flaws?
   - Was the Ministry of Culture involved in the campaign? How?
   - Which is for you the image of the nation being promoted? To what extent does it help to reinforce national identity?
   - Which should be the role of the government in branding the nation?
   - What would you change for further strategies?

4. About the audience

   - Do you think local people been engaged in the campaign? How, to what extent?
   - How do you think people have reacted to the campaign?

5. About the national situation

   - Which are for you the main opportunities of Peru/Cuba currently? And the main problems and challenges?
   - How do you see Peru/ Cuba in the (mediate) future?
   - Should government continue with this campaign in the future?

Questionnaire guide / Government representative [PromPerú/ Ministry of Tourism Peru/Cuba]

Personal Data

Name: Position:

Age: Gender:

1. Introductory Questions

- Can you tell me about your role at PromPerú/ Ministry of Tourism?
- How long have you held this position?
- What are the main objectives of your department?

2. About the relevance of branding places

- How important is to develop a nation brand campaign?
- Is this of particular relevance in contemporary Peru/Cuba? Why?
- Have you seen/ followed any other similar campaigns? If yes: which one? What were your thoughts about it?

3. About the campaign

- Could you tell how this campaign was conceived?
- Were there other public sectors involved?
- Which is the main objective? Do you think it has been accomplished?
- Which is the image of the nation being promoted? To what extent it helps to reinforce national identity?
- Which is the relationship between tourism and national identity?
- Which are the merits of the campaign? And the flaws?
- Were there critics to the campaigns? Do you think they were fair?
- What would you add/ remove for further strategies? Should the government continue with this campaign in the future?
- Do you think that advertisement and marketing devices have a social function? Which one(s)? What would you criticize to this field?

4. About the audience

- Have local people been engaged in the campaign? In which ways?
- How do you think people have reacted to the campaign?

5. About the national situation

- Which are for you the main opportunities of Peru/Cuba currently? And the main problems and challenges?
- How do you see Peru/ Cuba in the (mediate) future?

Questionnaire guide / Young n Rubicam Peru/ Publicitur Cuba

<u>Personal Data</u>

Name: Position:

Age: Gender:

1. <u>Introductory Questions</u>

-   How did you get into the advertising field?
-   What do you think about the advertising field –actors, achievements, opportunities- in Peru nowadays?

2. <u>About the relevance of branding places</u>

-   Why is it important to promote a place branding campaign?
-   To what extent is this relevant in contemporary Peru/Cuba? Why?
-   Have you seen/ followed any other similar campaigns? If yes: which one? What were your thoughts about it?

3. <u>About the campaign</u>

-   Could you tell me how this campaign was conceived?
-   How was the work with PromPerú/Cuba and the government? Were there any specific directions given? Any different views at some point?
-   Which is the main objective of the campaign? Do you think it has been accomplished?
-   Which is the image of the nation being promoted? To what extent it helps to reinforce national identity?
-   Which are the merits and accomplishments of the campaign? And the flaws?
-   Were there critics to the campaigns? Do you think they were fair?
-   What would you add/ remove for further strategies? Should government continue with this campaign in the future?
-   Do you think that advertisement have a social function? What would you criticize to this field?

4. <u>About the audience</u>

-   Have local people been engaged in the campaign? In which ways?
-   How do you think people have reacted to the campaign?

5. <u>About the national situation</u>

-   Which are the main opportunities of Peru/Cuba currently? And the main problems and challenges?
-   How do you see the Peru/ Cuba in the (mediate) future?

Questionnaire guide / Private representatives/ Advertising and Branding consultants

<u>Personal Data</u>

Name: Position:

Age: Gender:

1. <u>Introductory Questions</u>

   - How did you get into the advertising field?
   - What do you think about the advertising field –actors, achievements, opportunities- in Peru/Cuba nowadays?
   - Which are your main activities at your current work?

2. <u>About the relevance of branding places</u>

   - How important is to promote a place branding campaign?
   - Is this relevant in contemporary Peru/Cuba? Why?
   - Have you seen/ followed any other similar campaigns? If yes: which one? What were your thoughts about it?

3. <u>About the campaign and the role of advertisement</u>

   - Which is for you the main objective of the Peruvian/ Cuban nation brand campaign? Do you think it has been accomplished?
   - Which is for you the image of the nation being promoted? To what extent it helps to reinforce national identity?
   - Which are for you the merits of the campaign? And the flaws?
   - Have any unexpected side-effects of the campaigns appeared?
   - What would you add/ remove for further strategies?
   - Do you think that advertisement and marketing devices have a social function? What would you criticize to this field?

4. <u>About the audience</u>

   - Have local people been engaged in the campaign? In which ways?
   - How do you think local people have reacted to the campaign?

5. <u>About the national situation</u>

   - Which are for you the main opportunities of Peru/Cuba currently? And the main problems and challenges?
   - How do you see the Peru/ Cuba in the (mediate) future?

Questionnaire guide / Civil society / Artists and social media representatives

Personal Data

Name: Position:

Age: Gender:

1. Introductory Questions

- Can you tell me about your current professional activities?

2. About the relevance of branding places

- Do you think is important to promote a place branding campaign? Why?
- Is this relevant in contemporary Peru/Cuba? Why?

3. About the campaign

- Have you followed the entire campaign? What are your thoughts about it?
- Which are for you the merits of the campaign? And its flaws?
- Which is for you the image of the nation being promoted? To what extent it helps to reinforce/ distort national identity?
- Which should be the role of government in branding the nation, if any?
- What would you add/ remove for further strategies?

4. About the audience and the anti-nation branding campaign

- Have local people been engaged in the campaign? To what extent?
- How do you think people have reacted to the campaign?
- Why do you think is important to be critical about the campaign?
- How have you worked to do so?
- What are your main objectives?
- What do you think about people's reaction to these anti-branding devices?

5. About the national situation

- Which are for you the main opportunities of Peru/ Cuba currently? And the main challenges?
- How do you see Peru/ Cuba in the (mediate) future?

Appendix B. From Brand to Lovemark, by Kevin Roberts (2004)
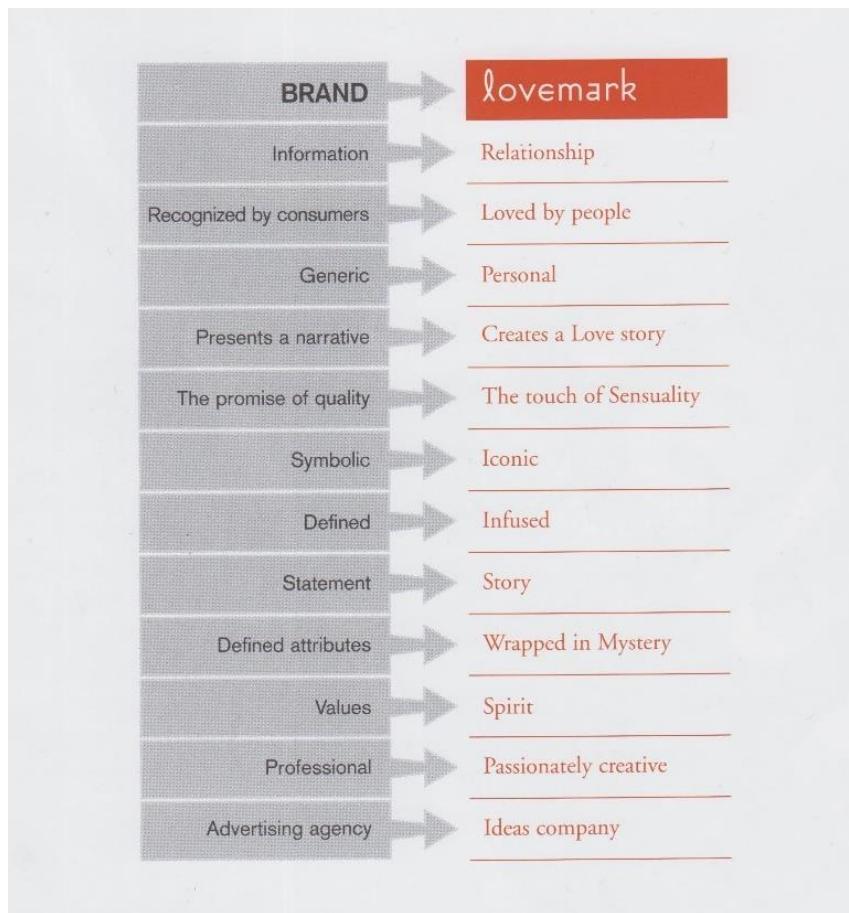
Source: Roberts, K. (2004, p. 36). My own picture.

Appendix C. The Progression of Economic Value, by Joseph Pine II and James Gilmore (1999)
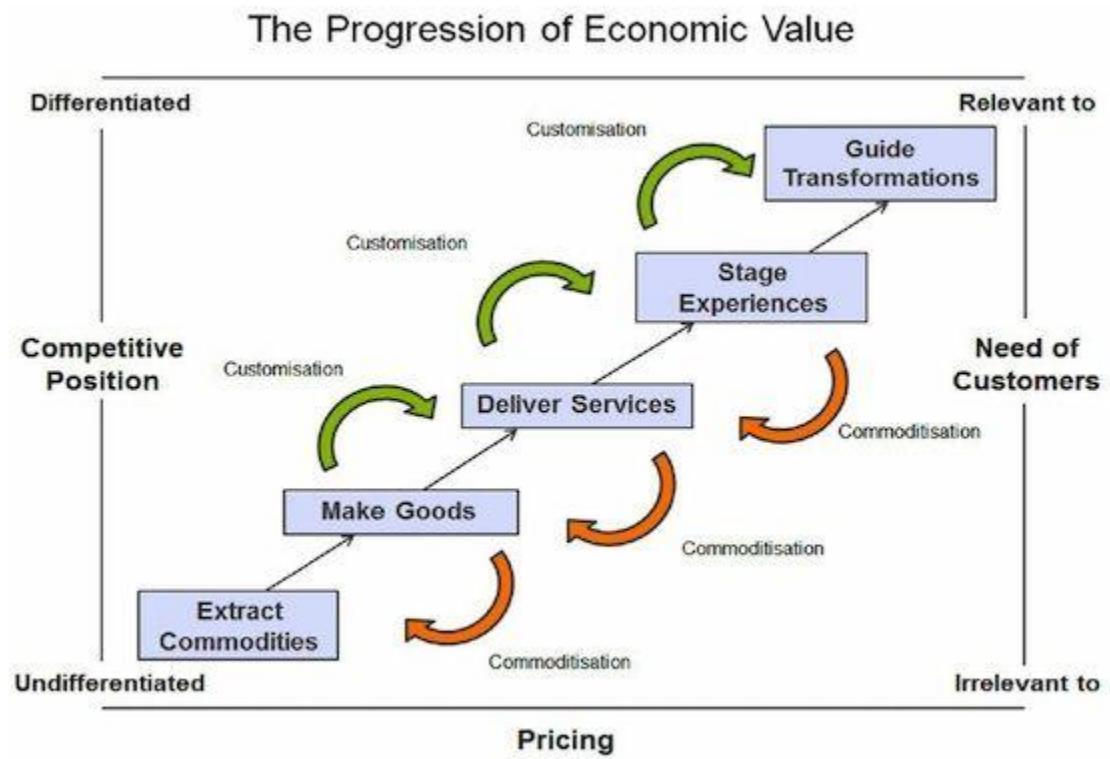
Source: Pine, J. and Gilmore, J. (1999, p.253).

Appendix D. Latin American Nation Brand Logos and Slogans

Country	Logo	Colors	Figures	Slogan
Argentina		Light-Blue, Blue, White	Geometrical lines – wind/ waves (?)	"Argentina, more than one reason"
Bolivia		Red, Yellow, Orange, Blue, Green, Purple	Pre-Inca cross / parrot / coca leaf	"Waits for you"
Brazil		Yellow, Blue, Light-Blue, Green, Red	None, rounded shapes background	"Sensational"

Chile		Purple, Orange, Light-Brown	Stars	"Surprises, always"
Colombia		Yellow, Blue, Green, Purple, Red	CO/ Colombia/ rounded shapes background	"The Answer is Colombia"
Costa Rica		Green, Light-Green	None	"Essential Costa Rica"
Ecuador		Yellow, Orange, Red, Green, Blue, Purple, etc.	Geometrical figure	"Love life"

México		Red, Purple, Yellow, Light-Blue, Green	Moon and waves	"Unique, diverse and beyond hospitality"
Perú		Red, White	Pre-inca symbols / @ / fingerprint	"There is a Peru for everyone"
Uruguay		Light-Blue, White, Yellow	Sun / Sea	"Natural"

Source: My own elaboration.

Appendix E. Country/Nation Brands Global Rankings

Future Brand 2014-2015 Top 20 Countries and Overall Ranking

Source: FutureBrand (2017a).

Source: FutureBrand (2017a).

Brand Finance Nation Brands Ranking 2014

Source: Brand Finance (2015). *Nation Brands 2015. The annual report on the world's most valuable nation brands.*

Country Reputation Track, 2016

Only 14 Countries have a Strong Reputation, and 50 Countries have a Weak or Poor Reputation

Rank	Country	2016 RepTrak® Pulse
1	Sweden	78.34
2	Canada	77.82
3	Switzerland	77.00
4	Australia	76.84
5	Norway	76.18
6	Finland	75.16
7	New Zealand	74.68
8	Denmark	74.25
9	Ireland	74.11
10	Netherlands	73.90
11	Austria	72.44
12	Italy	71.68
13	United Kingdom	71.08
14	Japan	70.97
15	France	69.32
16	Belgium	67.95
17	Spain	67.73
18	Germany	67.55
19	Portugal	66.53
20	Singapore	60.12
21	Czech Republic	58.73
22	Costa Rica	58.60
23	Peru	58.56
24	Brazil	57.75
25	Taiwan	57.69

Rank	Country	2016 RepTrak® Pulse
26	Thailand	57.00
27	Poland	56.71
28	United States of America	56.32
29	Argentina	55.66
30	Dominican Republic	55.33
31	Malaysia	55.17
32	Philippines	55.04
33	Puerto Rico	54.55
34	Chile	54.55
35	Panama	53.87
36	Paraguay	53.59
37	Indonesia	53.43
38	Cuba	52.11
39	Morocco	51.99
40	Greece	51.51
41	Venezuela	50.64
42	Ecuador	50.63
43	Mexico	50.33
44	India	50.29
45	South Korea	50.28
46	United Arab Emirates	50.27
47	Bolivia	49.86
48	Uruguay	49.57
49	South Africa	49.21
50	Guatemala	48.66

All RepTrak® Pulse scores that differ by more than +/- 1.4 are significantly different at the 95% confidence level

Normative Scale

Excellent/ Top Tier	80+
Strong/ Robust	70-79
Avg./ Moderate	60-69
Weak/ Vulnerable	40-59
Poor/ Lowest Tier	<40

Source: *Reputation Institute* (2017).

Appendix F. Country Brand Rankings by dimension 2014-2015 (Future Brand)
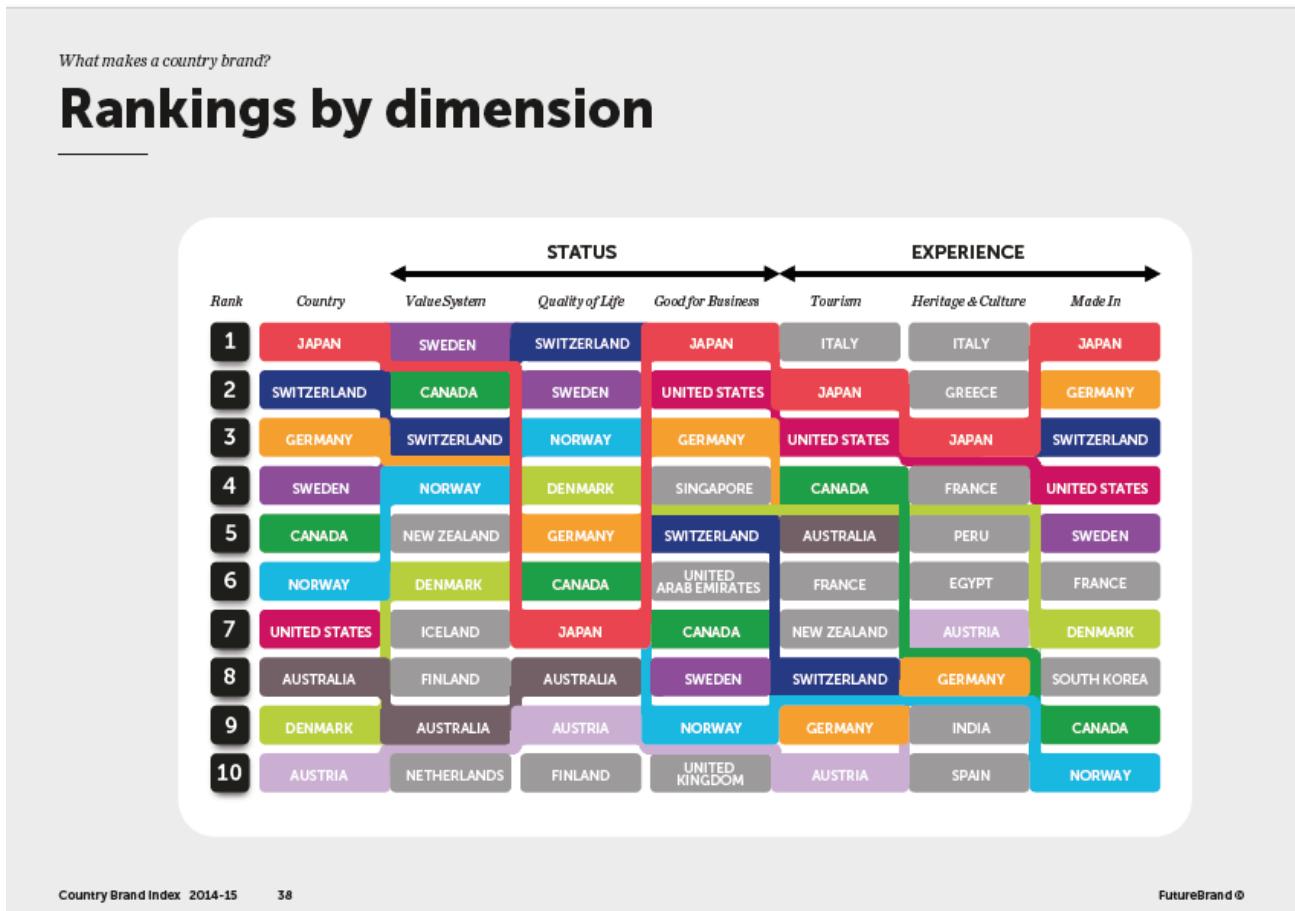
Source: FutureBrand (no year). *Country Brand Index 2014-15.*

Appendix G. Latin American Rankings by Future Brand (2013-2015)

Country Brand Latin American Ranking by Future Brand, 2015-2016

Source: FutureBrand (no year-b). *Country Brand Report América Latina 2015/16*
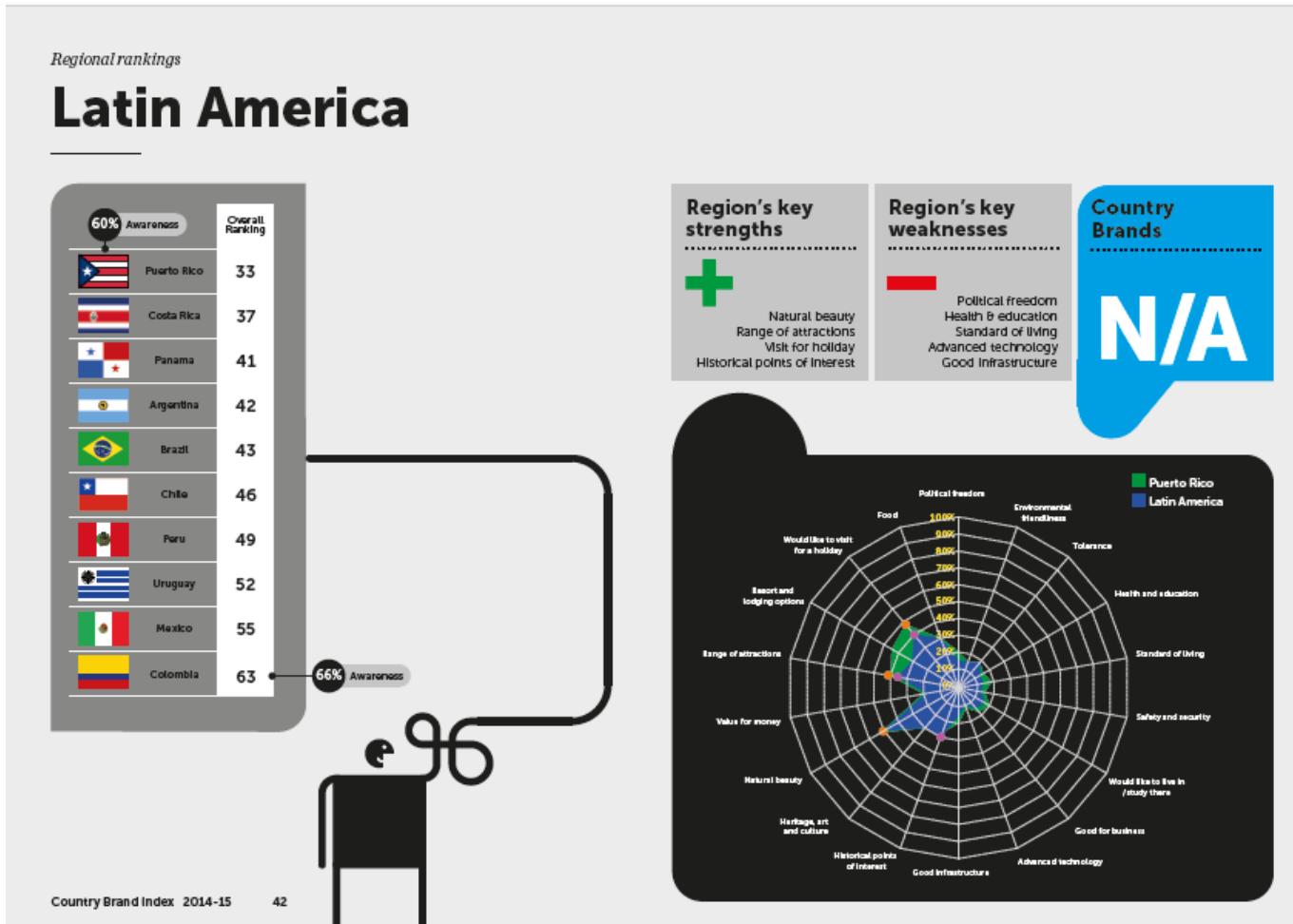
Source: FutureBrand (no year). *Country Brand Index 2014-15.*

Country Brand Latin American Ranking by Future Brand, 2013-2014

Source: FutureBrand (no year-c). *Country Brand Index Latin America 2013-2014.*

Brasil, Argentina, Mexico and Chile Country Brand per dimension, 2016
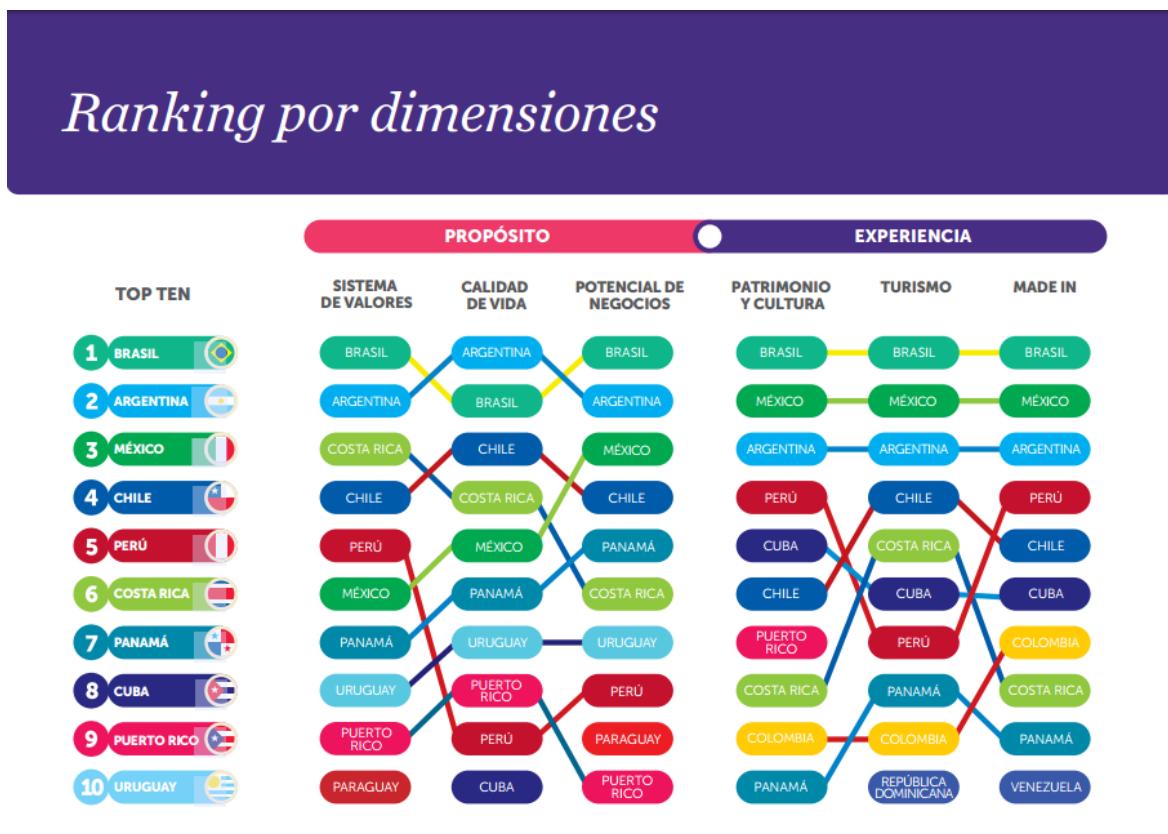
Source: FutureBrand (no year-b). *Country Brand Report América Latina 2015/16*

Source: FutureBrand (no year-b). *Country Brand Report América Latina 2015/16*

Source: FutureBrand (no year-b). *Country Brand Report América Latina 2015/16*
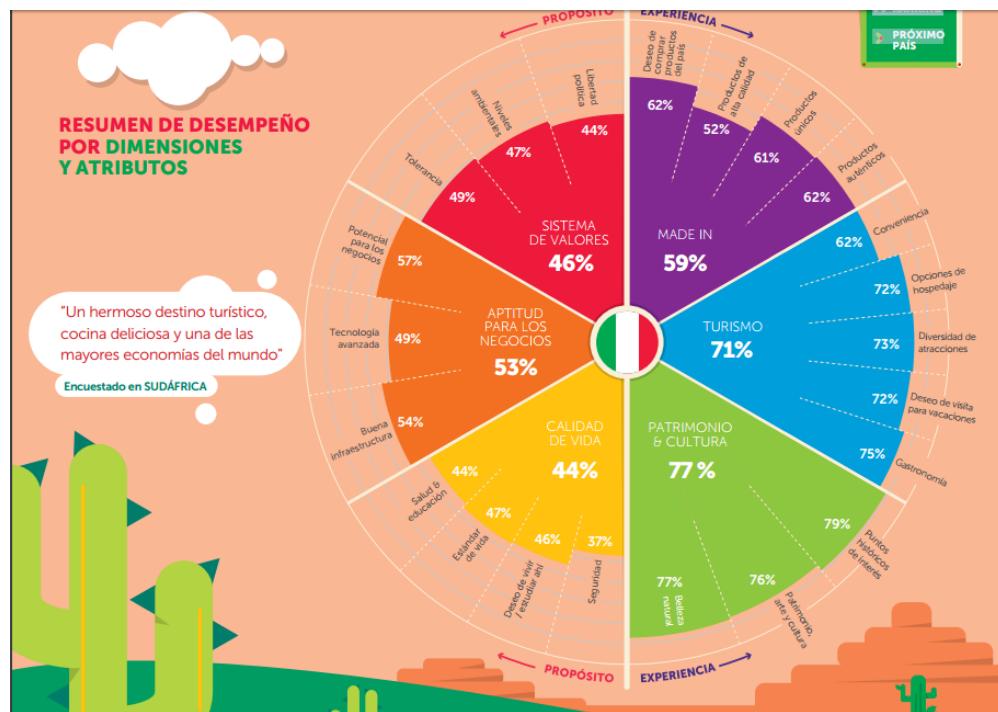
Source: FutureBrand (no year-b). *Country Brand Report América Latina 2015/16*
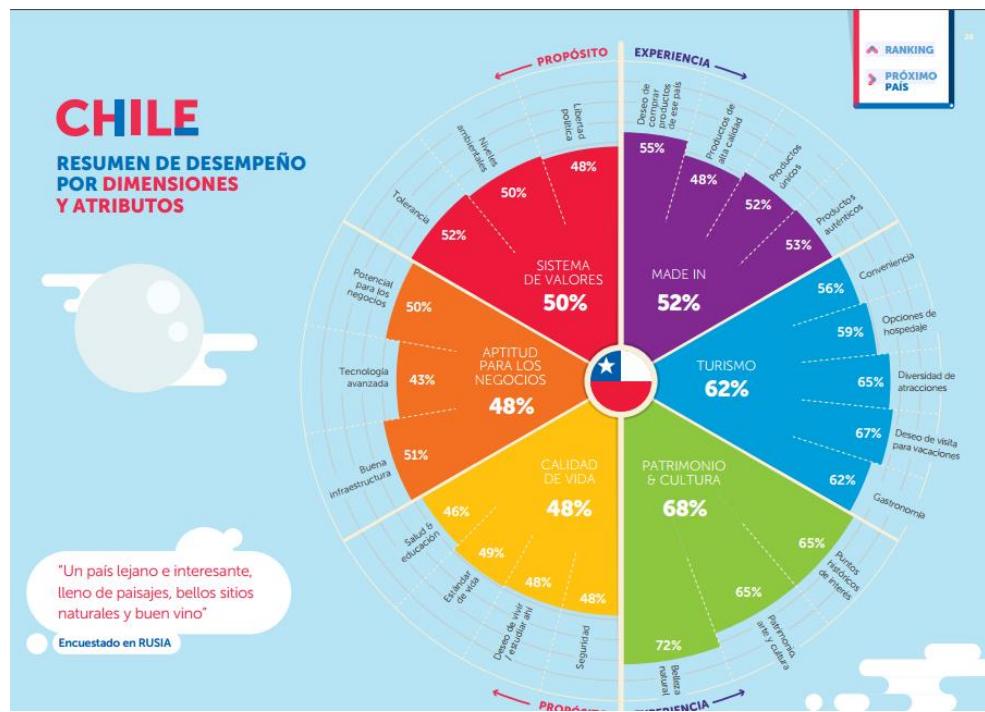
Source: FutureBrand (no year-b). *Country Brand Report América Latina 2015/16*

Appendix H. Brand Peru Merchandising and International Events

Source: (*El Comercio* 2012)

Source: http://www.tuteve.tv/noticia/deportes/

Source: (*Guía de Gamarra* 2017)

Source: (Hurtado 2012)

International Tourism Exhibition, Barcelona (left) and London Stock Exchange, London (right)

Berlinale Film Festival, Berlin (left) and Taste of Peru, Dubai (right)
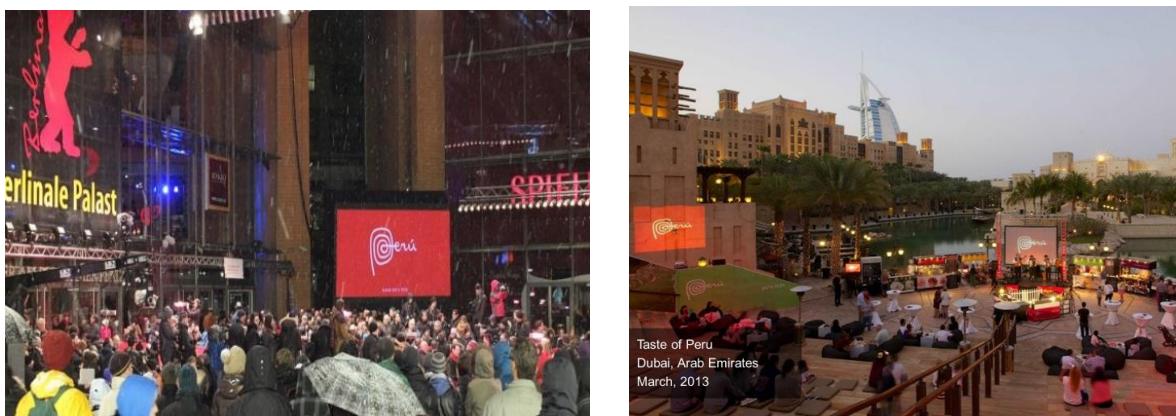
San Marcos Square, Venice


Source: PromPerú 2013.

Appendix I. Companies Nation Brand ambassadors in Peru

Source: *Marca Perú* (2017).

Appendix J. 'User Manual for Licencees' ('Manual de Uso para Licenciatarios')
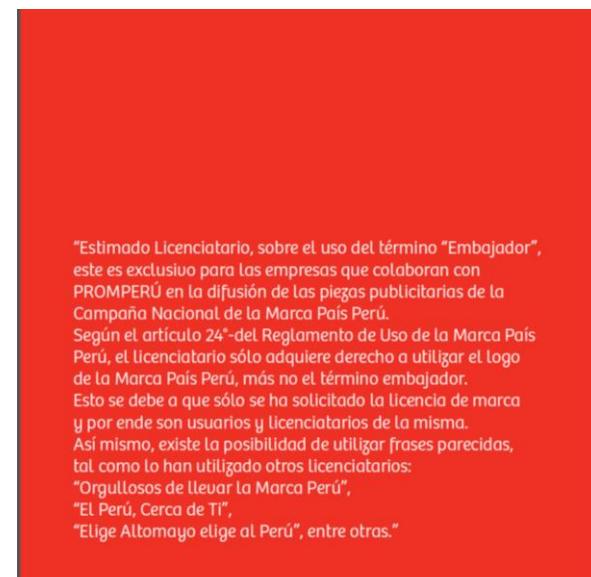
Source: Marca Perú (2012). *Reglamento para el uso de la Marca País.*

Appendix K. 'Norm for the Use of the Nation Brand' ('Reglamento para el Uso de la Marca País')

CAPÍTULO II

DE LA MARCA PAÍS

Artículo 4º.- De la Marca País Perú

4.1 La Marca País es una herramienta de promoción del Perú que tiene como objetivo impulsar los sectores turismo, exportaciones, inversiones y la imagen del país principalmente en los ámbitos de gastronomía, arte y cultura, deporte, educación y desarrollo de valores y autoestima nacional, a nivel nacional e internacional.

4.2 El uso de la Marca País Perú implica un compromiso con el Perú y busca:
   a. La promoción del Perú y lo peruano.
   b. La competitividad de las exportaciones peruanas.
   c. El crecimiento del flujo de turistas hacia el Perú.
   d. La atracción de inversiones hacia el Perú.
   e. La mejora de la imagen del país en general.

4.3 La Marca País Perú está constituida por la denominación PERÚ escrito de acuerdo al siguiente diseño característico:

4.4 El logotipo anteriormente descrito es la forma gráfica del nombre, diferenciado por estilo tipográfico y color, y ha sido especialmente dibujado en un solo trazo.

4.5 El logotipo no deberá utilizarse como texto ni debe crearse una tipografía a partir del mismo.

Artículo 5º.- De la titularidad de la Marca País

5.1 PROMPERÚ es titular exclusivo de los derechos de la Marca País, de conformidad con la normativa sobre propiedad industrial aplicable, encontrándose inscrita en el Registro de Signos Distintivos del Instituto de Defensa de la Competencia y de la Protección de la Propiedad Intelectual, INDECOPI.

5.2 PROMPERU puede autorizar el uso de la Marca País a través el otorgamiento de Licencias de Uso o la designación de Embajadores.

Artículo 6º.- De los usos prohibidos
Se prohíbe el uso de la Marca País para fines o actividades siguientes:

   a. Políticos, entre los que se encuentran los fines y actividades perseguidos o realizados por personajes y organizaciones políticas, tales como partidos y movimientos políticos, agrupaciones políticas no partidarias, y sus miembros, así como las actividades organizadas con fin político.

REGLAMENTO PARA EL USO DE LA MARCA PAÍS

CAPÍTULO I

DISPOSICIONES GENERALES

Artículo 1º.- Del objeto
El presente Reglamento tiene por objeto establecer las disposiciones que rigen el uso de la Marca País Perú, de la cual es titular la Comisión de Promoción del Perú para la Exportación y el Turismo - PROMPERÚ.

Artículo 2º.- Del ámbito de aplicación
El presente Reglamento es de cumplimiento obligatorio para todas las unidades orgánicas de PROMPERÚ y las personas naturales y jurídicas, de derecho público o privado, nacionales o extranjeras, que solicitan y obtienen una licencia de uso de la Marca País Perú.

Artículo 3º.- De las definiciones
A efectos de la aplicación del presente Reglamento se establecen las siguientes definiciones:

a. Persona natural con negocio: Persona domiciliada en el Perú que cuenta con Registro Único de Contribuyente (RUC) y realiza actividades económicas.
b. Persona jurídica nacional: Entidad constituida bajo la normativa nacional, domiciliada en el Perú, que cuenta con RUC y realiza actividades económicas con o sin fines de lucro, no siendo relevante la procedencia del capital de constitución y/o inversión. Pueden ser de derecho público o de derecho privado.
c. Persona jurídica extranjera: Entidad constituida bajo normativa extranjera, domiciliada en el país de su constitución, que realiza actividades económicas con o sin fines de lucro, contando con la documentación emitida por las autoridades competentes que acredita su existencia y su actividad económica.
d. Marca País: Marca País Perú.
e. Licenciante: PROMPERÚ, titular de la Marca País.
f. Licencia de Uso: Autorización de uso de la Marca País otorgado por PROMPERÚ.
g. Certificado de Licencia de Uso: documento en el que consta la Licencia de Uso de la Marca País.
h. Licenciatario: Persona que ha obtenido el Certificado de Licencia de Uso de la Marca País otorgado por PROMPERÚ.
i. Portafolio de productos: Conjunto de productos comercializados por una misma persona, bajo una misma marca registrada de la cual es titular o sobre la cual cuenta con licencia de uso.
j. Producto peruano: Producto del Licenciatario en el que por lo menos el 50% de su costo de venta es de procedencia peruana.
k. Costo de Venta: Es el valor en que se incurre para producir o comprar un bien que se vende.
l. Órgano competente: La Dirección de Promoción de Imagen País (DPIP) de PROMPERÚ.

Source: Marca Perú (2012). *Reglamento para el uso de la Marca País.*

Appendix L. The Peruvian Rights in *Peru, Nebraska*

Peruvian "rights" (identity)	Stated by (authority voice)	Products	Consumed by	Location/ musical background
"Eat delicious food"	Adult male white/ nikkei chefs (Christian Bravo, Ivan Kisic, Daniel Wong)	Papa a la huancaína, ocopa, chicha, inca kola, ceviche	Men, women and children	Open space, streets /country music
"Listen to huayno music"	Female Andean singer (Dina Páucar)	Huayno local song	Young men and women	Pub – bar / same huayno song
"Surf good waves/ longest left wave in the world"	Young male and female surfers (Gabriel Villarán, Sofía Mulanovich)	Hand-made wave while surfing on a skate.	Young men and women and some adults.	Open space, street. / Afro Peruvian music
*Dance afro Peruvian music	"Peru Negro" dance group (not individuals)	Afro Peruvian songs/ choreographies	Young-adult couples/ children	Country music pub – street/ same Afro Peruvian song
Poetry: Cesar Vallejo book	Adult male white journalist: Rafo León (no voices)	Cesar Vallejo poetry book	No people involved	Library shell/ no music
Traditional festivity: "tombola-cuy"	Rafo León	"the cuy" traditional game	Families, young, adults	Public spaces/ gardens
Random dishes	Gabriel Villarán/ Sofía Mulanovich/ Christian Bravo	Marcianos de lúcuma/ Anticuchos/ Pisco	Families, young, adults	Different places/ no song
Local religious traditions: payment to Pachamama while cooking a pachamanca	Adult male white actor (Gonzalo Torres)	Pachamanca/ Pisco	Families	Private house garden
Vals song in opera format	Adult male white singer (Juan Diego Flores)	"Del puente a la alameda" composed by Chabuca Granda	All the town	Radio broadcasting/ same vals song
Peruvian various products – commodities: t-shirts, hats (chullos), blankets, artcrafts, etc.	All the team	commodities	All the town	Different places/ english local song

Source: My own elaboration.

Appendix M. Counter campaign images in Peru