

Argentina



National Identity and Nation Branding in Argentina

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Preface

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Introduction

Nation branding is a relatively new concept. It was introduced by Simon Anholt in 1996. However, before the introduction of this term, for many years nations dealt with the positioning and promotion of their country in the international arena. In the academic field, the concept nation branding is not yet fully recognized as a debate topic. Often, nation branding is seen as pure marketing and advertising of country's goods in order to attract more tourists and investors as well as to promote exports which is beneficial for a country's economy.

The actual aim that Anholt has with the concept nation branding is highly interesting to analyze on an academic level. Additionally, various scholars studied or still study the idea of nation branding. Actually, there are many fields, such as international relations, public diplomacy and marketing, in which this concept can be analyzed. In this thesis, I am not going to deal with all these possible aspects of nation branding. My focus will be directed towards two main aspects of this concept.

In the first place, the image of a country plays a significant role in the nation branding of countries. On the one hand, it is relevant to consider how others and other countries perceive another nation. On the other hand, it is the way citizens see themselves and their own nation. Both these ideas should be considered while analyzing nation branding.

In the second place, the national identity of countries is a crucial topic regarding the formulation of nation branding. The concept national identity itself constitutes a contested field for scholars dealing with crucial issues. It leads to questions such as which factors determine the national identity of a country and in regards to nation branding, should the national identity of a country be considered for the branding of a nation, and if so, which factors should be used?

In this thesis, the concepts national identity, nation branding and the relation between these two terms will be assessed. These topics will be applied to the Argentine context to see which factors determine that country's national identity. Furthermore, it will be illustrated whether or not Argentine national identity is considered for the formulation of nation branding of Argentina, and if so, which factors have been used?

That is why, the structure of the thesis is as follows. In chapter 1, the concepts national identity, nation branding and their relationship will be analyzed. As already mentioned, national identity is a contentious field. In regards to nation branding, a debate between two approaches of national identity is relevant. These will be described in the first section, and one of these approaches will be expanded in the second section with some examples. In the final section, the concept nation branding will be described, in addition the relation to national identity taking into account these two approaches. Finally, the idea of image will be described when defining nation branding and its relationship with

national identity.

In chapter 2, the historical context of Argentina will be described. For the understanding of the Argentine national identity in relation to the concept nation branding, three aspects of Argentine history will be described. In the first section, factors, such as language, territory, religion which construct Argentine national identity will be illustrated. In the second section, the historical period from 1870 until 1930 in Argentina will be explored which certainly constructs the national identity of Argentina. In the final section, I will refer to the economic collapse of 2001. This event has certainly not contributed in positive terms to the construction of the Argentine national identity. However, it is interesting to see whether or not this event encouraged the idea of a national identity in Argentina.

In chapter 3, nation branding of Argentina will be described in relation to Argentine national identity. It is more appropriate to consider the nation branding of Argentina as a nation branding strategy. The nation branding strategy of Argentina has not existed for a long time. Academic literature that analyzes the relationship between Argentine national identity and nation branding of Argentina is almost absent. Still, there are enough sources to consult about the nation branding of Argentina. Even though, these are not academic, they will be analyzed in this chapter. Additionally, information obtained from interviews held during fieldwork in Buenos Aires from November 2014 until February 2015 will be used for this purpose.

The structure of chapter 3 is as follows. In the first section, nation branding worldwide and in the Latin American region will be described in order to see how these countries implement nation branding strategies. In the second and the third sections, the nation branding strategy of Argentina will be analyzed, providing an answer about the who, what, where, why and how of Argentine nation branding strategy. Additionally, the public opinion of the Argentinians towards the nation branding of Argentina will be described. This thesis will be closed with general conclusions at the end.

Chapter 1 National Identity and Nation Branding: A Theoretical Review

In this chapter the concepts nations and national identity will be described. In order to define national identity it is important to consider what nations are and what determines the building of nations which goes along with the concept of nationalism. This will be clarified in short. Many scholars have studied the concept national identity. Some argue that literature work determines the identity of a nation and others illustrate that it is culture creating nation's identity. I cannot deal with all different aspects of national identities. In this chapter, national identity will be described in relation to the concept nation branding which is the main topic of this thesis.

In the first section, national identity and modernity will be explained. Additionally, the debate between reality or fiction in describing the construction of nations and national identity will be the main topic. In the second section, the ideas of Eric Hobsbawm and Benedict Anderson will be expanded by using examples of the Scottish Highland culture and the Argentine football as 'invented traditions'. Furthermore, criticism on the ideas of Anderson will be presented. In the final section of this chapter, the concepts nation brand and nation branding will be explained with the use of the terms image, reputation and stereotypes. Finally, the relation between national identity and nation branding will be clarified.

1.1 National Identity: Reality or Fiction?

The construction of nations and nation-states acquire its relevance after the French Revolution in which the terms "liberty, equality and fraternity" were developed (Grosfoguel, 2000: 348). In the eighteenth century, Europe was divided into nations with independent and sovereign governments ruling over its societies (Smith, 1991). The American continent, which was "discovered" in 1492 by Columbus and followed by other colonists, was ruled by Spain until the beginning of the nineteenth century when wars of independence were started. When the Latin American countries became independent, the construction of these nations began (Quijano, 1993: 141; Larraín, 2000: 9;).

With the construction of nations, it is important to consider what determines a nation and who and/or what belongs to this nation. In other words, what makes 'your' nation, 'your' nation and who and/or what can be part of 'your' nation. The idea of 'your' nation can be expressed as the idea of nationalism in which 'your' nation will be created as superior and the other nations as not 'your'

nation as something less or inferior (Bentham van den Berg, 1993: 3). This nationalistic feeling, in which the sentiment of belonging to a nation is being expressed, is certainly necessary to create, build and construct nations. It is the idea of belonging to 'your' nation and to which one not. Sharing this feeling of compassion for 'your' nation with fellow-members without even knowing them, having met or even having heard about them (Anderson, 1991: 6). "Language, territory, religion, history, sport, culture and the rest of it make up national sentiment. National sentiment makes the nation. It is national consciousness that creates a nation" (Hobsbawm, 1990). Ernest Gellner even argues that it is "nationalism that creates nations and not the other way around" (1983). It is clear that nationalism plays a significant role in the construction of nations.

Certainly, with the construction of nations, there are fixed characteristics that emphasize what a nation is. Nations have frontiers which determine the territory of a nation. Within this territory, there is a shared language, history, culture, historical memories and a common economic system (Smith, 1991: 43). Still, there is great diversity within these nations with different ethnicities with their own languages and religions. That is why the question of a single nation will always be disputable. Therefore the question is, are nations constructed based upon this idea of an 'imagined community' (Anderson, 1991: 6) or by the idea of fixed characteristics? The debate between fiction and reality of the construction of nations and their identities will be further explained in this chapter.

Defining national identity is a complex process. National identity is a field of conflicts. The idea of national identities does not always have the same importance. In periods of crisis in which there is for example decline of economic progress and welfare, the question of national identity is considered to be more relevant (Quijano, 1993: 148). It seems to be a threat to old-established ways of society. Kobena Mercer explains that the difficulties of national identity emerge in times of crisis, "when something assumed to be fixed, coherent and stable is displaced by the experience of doubt and uncertainty" (1990, cited in Larraín, 2000: 8). In contrast, in terms of stability and prosperity, it appears that questions of national identity become less important or even disappear. Still, the issue of national identity exists during periods of stable economy and welfare. Only fewer people are consciously concerned about it (Quijano, 1993: 148; Larraín, 2000: 7-8).

The idea of thinking about national identity is relevant when a nation in crisis coincides with the concept of modernization. This can be illustrated with the construction of the Latin American identity in which it can be shown that processes of modernity emphasize the relevance of the identity's theory. Within the six stages of the modernization process of Latin America, four of them were constructed during periods of crises.

In the first place, during the Hispanic rule of the colonial period, assumptions of national identities were disputable (Quijano, 1993: 141). In the second place, after independence of the Latin American

states, the construction of the nations, national identities and national cultures were discussed (Quijano, 1993: 143-144). In the third place, from 1914 till 1930, when the first World War broke out and there was a great international debt, questions arose about the Latin American identity (Grosfoguel, 2000: 354). Finally, in the 1970s, with the international debt, the rise of the populist regimes and the 'lost decade', questions of identity re-emerged. (Larraín, 2000: 7-8).

It is clear that throughout processes of modernization, societies could change and by this the identities of a nation could transform. It brings us to the debate between scholars that argue that nations and their identities are basically fixed and cannot change; and scholars that illustrate that nations and identities certainly are changeable. In fact, the ideas of national identity illustrate three concepts (Prieto, 2011 16-18).

In the first place, the essentialist approach that view a national identity as something that is already established based upon a set of common experiences and shared fundamental values. It explains nations as realities in which citizens have a shared history, territory, language, culture, historical memories and a common economic system (Smith, 1991: 43). The essentialist view believe in visible realities of a fatherland with national flags, anthems, symbols and rituals (Radcliffe, Westwood, 1996: 58). The essentialist vision emphasizes that a nation and its identity have a fixed character and are not influenced to any change.

In the second place, the constructivist approaches explain the nature of 'invented traditions' in which historical practices are recreated as a continuity with great memory to the past (Hobsbawm, Ranger, 1983: 2); and the idea that nations and their identities are constructed and imagined by the views of the dominant classes or groups in society. (Hobsbawm, 1983; Anderson, 1991; Quijano, 2000). The constructive way of defining national identity can be shown by the Latin American identity which was not a spontaneous or natural process. It was a selective and excluding process in which the state played a significant role. Hence to speak of national identities in Latin America, one needs to speak of power relations in which ruling classes of the state selectively decide what was relevant to keep and what was not (Grosfoguel, 2000: 349; Larraín, 2000: 9). The constructivist conceptions emphasize that a nation can change throughout processes of modernity. Furthermore, it is considered that how diverse a nation or country is culturally seen, there is the idea that a nation is an 'imagined community' in which communities are limited, but "will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them or even hear about them" (Anderson, 1991: 6).

In the third place, there is the assumption which establishes that there is a certain balance between these two positions (Prieto, 2011: 18). On the one hand, it is obvious that identity is being constructed and reconstructed in new historical contexts and situations. The question of national identity will be infinite and will never be resolved, because it will always change throughout processes of modernity

(Larraín, 2000: 38). On the other hand, there are fixed characteristics and common experiences that determine a nation and its identity. Hall explains that national identity is a matter of “becoming as well as of being”(1990, cited in Larraín, 2000: 40). “The construction of nations and national identities belongs to the future as much as to the past”(1990, cited in Larraín, 2000: 40).

In short, the construction of nation and national identities is quite a contested field. In the first place, the concepts of nationalism and modernity are relevant when describing nations and their identities. In the second place, there is a clear debate between two approaches of describing national identity. On the one hand, nations and national identities are determined by common experiences and shared values in order to understand the construction of nation and its identity. On the other hand, the approaches of imagination, construction and (re)invention play a dominant role in the shaping of nations and national identities.

1.2 Construction of National Identity: Imagined, Invented and Constructed Nations

Benedict Anderson characterizes the nation as: “an imagined political community- and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign” (1991: 6). He explains the idea of an imagined nation with the explanation that it will be impossible in every nation-state to meet, know or even hear about the other fellow-members of society. The concept ‘limited’ can be illustrated with the idea that even the largest nations of the world have limited borders or frontiers; and the concept sovereign emerged during the epoch of the Enlightenment and French Revolution in which independence and sovereignty were implemented. Finally, it illustrates that a nation is an ‘imagined community’ in which the idea of a community can be explained that there is always a certain kinship and comradeship in a nation and amongst fellow-members. It shows fraternity in which members of nations are willing to kill, or even willing to die for their imagined nation (1991: 6-7).

Anderson explains the assumption that nations are imagined, constructed and invented by the intellectual elites of a state. After independence of the Latin American region, the Creole elite created the nations in keeping what was relevant and what was irrelevant from the former colonial era in order to build the nation, create a national culture and a national identity (Quijano, 1993, Grosfoguel, Larraín, 2000: 9). This approach of the invented nation is shared by Eric Hobsbawm who clarifies the assumption of ‘invented traditions’ in which traditions are recreated in reference to the continuity of the past and the constant transformations of the modern world in which change of traditions is a necessary component (Hobsbawm, Ranger, 1983: 2).

In order to understand the assumption of the ‘invented traditions’, two examples will be provided.

First of all, the example of the Highland tradition of Scotland will be clarified. The highland culture of Scotland and its national identity with its kilts and the bagpipes seems to be a tradition of the long past of history of the Scottish Highlands. Actually, the recent culture of this nation is quite a modern process. The Highland culture and its traditions were blown over from Ireland and were reinvented by the Scottish in order to construct their own nation and identity. Literature and history of the Irish culture were transformed into a Scottish context. Certainly, the new history of the Scottish highlands, taken from the Irish, was based upon reality. The national identity and the national culture of Scotland as we know it nowadays is an invention of the Irish tradition. It illustrates the continuity of the past of Irish practices and a constant change of these traditions into a new Highland Scottish culture and identity (1983: 15-19).

Secondly, the example of the Argentine football culture can be illustrative. At the beginning of the twentieth century, British sailors initially played a game that seemed like modern football, as we know it nowadays. These British seafaring communities, migrated from their country to Latin America, especially to Argentina, in order to find prosperity, and developed this game. Argentina introduced developments of the football game into leisure and school (Radcliffe, Westwood, 1996: 94). The Argentine nation reinvented the original British tradition of football with freedom and creativity into a symbolic construction of a new masculine national culture of Latin American countries. It led to national pride, national values and a sense of national identity in which members identify themselves with the "team as nation" (Archetti, 1994, cited in Radcliffe, Westwood, 1996: 95).

Claudio Lomnitz criticizes the idea of Anderson towards the construction of the Latin American identity. He comments on Anderson's work. In the first place, after the independence of the Latin American states, the Creoles created the nations in which three main points were involved, as Lomnitz explains it: "identify themselves with Spain, differentiate themselves from Spain and create a territory seen as a separate nation from the indigenous communities with legal rights and sovereignty" (2000, cited in Miller, 2006: 207). It seemed that there were different nations within one nation-state and within one fatherland. This does not contribute to the idea of a single 'imagined community' or nation.

In the second place, in contrast, Claudio Lomnitz argues there is a clear hierarchical status in Latin American society. There are overruling relations between men and women, property-owners and their labourers and the Creole population and the indigenous communities. It appears that there is great diversity in Latin American countries with different ethnicities and their own languages and religions. That is why, this idea of fraternity is disputable in Latin American nations (2000, cited in Miller, 2006: 207).

In the third place, Lomnitz argues that there is a relationship between religion and nationalism, something that Anderson certainly opposes. In the Latin American region, the Catholic church and

religion played an important role in the construction of Latin American states. Lomnitz even emphasizes that national consciousness was partly stimulated by the religious expansionism in the New World and the idea to be Spanish was the connection with the Catholic Church (2000, cited in Miller, 2006: 208).

In conclusion, the vision of an “imagined political community” in which it is assumed to be limited and sovereign; and the idea of recreation of traditions in order to continue practices of the past and transform practices of the context of today are both important parts of a nation’s identity. Additionally, the role of dominant groups or classes of the state’s society play a significant role in the construction of nations and their identities.

1.3 Nation branding: A Competitive Identity of the Nation

As already mentioned, the concept nation branding is a relatively new concept. In 1996, Anholt introduced the term nation brand (1998: 395) which is a misleading phrase. It seems quite controversial to have these two words in one phrase. Brands and branding belong to products and/or services in which design, logo, look, livery, communication, etc. are important features and not to countries or nations. Giving a brand to a country appears to be considered as to sell a country to the rest of the world which certainly is not the idea of nations.¹ Naïve governments have these misleading interpretations and distort the term in order to use commercial marketing communication for the best-selling of their country (Anholt, 2011: 6). According to Anholt, these are absolutely false assumptions of the idea of nation branding (Anholt, 2011: 7). However, Wally Olins explains that it is not entirely contradictory having these two concepts of nation and branding in one phrase. Producers rebrand their products, giving them new names. This is not the case with countries, because countries cannot change and have fixed characteristics. However, this is not true, because of processes of modernization, nations are being reconstructed, reinvented and rebranded as well. Intellectual elites of nations are constantly (re)branding their traditions and their national identities. As we can see in the past, ruling elites were inventing and reinventing traditions of nations. This holds certain comparisons to the idea of nation branding. It is the sense of belonging that works the same for products as for nations (Olins, 2002: 242, 247 -248).

¹ Spain created, for instance, ‘una marca España’, a strategy to promote its country with a logo that contains the colours red and yellow of the Spanish flag.

The approaches of using propaganda to promote your country is not Anholt's vision of nation branding. From the point of view of Anholt, who actually invented the concept nation branding, nation branding emphasizes the contrast between reality and prejudices. It is reality that should ascertain the nation branding of a country. However, prejudices, images and stereotypes of countries are undeniable while discussing nation branding. To take into account both these terms of reality and prejudices of a nation, Anholt created the idea of 'competitive identity'. It refers to the management of nation branding in finding a proper balance between these two concepts. 'Competitive identity' emphasizes the strengthening of national competitiveness in the global world. It would result in attracting more tourists, exporters, investors and students (Anholt, 2007: 3). Still, it seems promotional. It is the idea of real competition with nation's realities and not the approach of pure marketing, advertising and propaganda which Anholt certainly opposes. Other nation branding experts, such as Wally Olins, Melissa Aronczyk and Nadia Kaneva, certainly agree with Anholt's approach towards nation branding.

Furthermore, Anholt affirms these ideas of globalization and competition. The problems of globalization could be resolved by looking more outwards than only inwards. It is the idea of more telescoping than only microscoping. Nation branding could contribute to the real competition of countries (Anholt, 2014: video). Aronczyk also emphasizes that competition and globalization, both are important concepts in the world we live in today. Both these ideas of microscoping and telescoping are relevant for the countries' economies and the world's economy (Aronczyk, 2013: 2).

Now, the dimensions of (international) images, reputations, stereotypes and prejudices will be explained. When talking about the (international) image of a country or nation, this will be determined by how others or other countries perceive yet another country. It coincides with the term reputation. For countries with a positive reputation, it is easy to compete on the global stage, attracting tourists, investors and exporters. For these countries, there are doors opening, creating trust and respect and raising the expectations of quality, competence and integrity (Anholt, 2010: 4). An example of a country with a relatively good reputation is Germany. Germany is seen as a country with prosperity, growth and an advanced technology. In contrary to countries with a bad reputation, it is hard to compete on a global level. These countries are considered as uncultured, corrupt, poor, dangerous and backward (Anholt, 2010: 4). An example of a country with a bad reputation is Syria. Syria is seen as a corrupt country ridden with poverty and war. But how does this idea arises that countries have a positive or a negative reputation?

The images are constructed by the assumptions that people have of a country which can be referred to as stereotypes, prejudices and bias. Stereotyping of other countries, places, or cities is inevitable. It is impossible to know everything about all countries of the world (Anholt, 2007:1). Anholt illuminates this statement with the example of a book that we judge based upon its cover (Anholt, 2007: 1). The

same applies to countries. Paris is well-known for its style, Japan for its technology, Switzerland for wealth and precision, Rio de Janeiro for carnival, Tuscany for the good life, Argentina for the tango and most African nations are known to suffer from poverty, corruption, war, famine and disease (Anholt, 2007: 1). The outstanding things of a nation form the image we have of a country or place. These images are being revised once we have visited or experienced the nation in another context.

The idea of nation branding not only derives from the assumption of a country's image, or the idea of a 'competitive identity', also national identity plays a key role in nation branding. "It is culture in the widest sense – landscape, language, literature, music, sport, architecture, food and drinks and so on that emphasize the soul of a nation and its identity" (Dinnie, 2008: 111-112). For instance, Mount Fuji symbolizes and represents the nation of Japan and its identity. The red wines of Chile are seen as the national product of Chile which illustrates its national culture and identity. Sport events, such as Olympic Games or World Champions league, strengthen the image of a nation, city or place. The Olympic Games in Barcelona led to a better image of this city (Torres, 2013: video). Aronczyk adds that the relationship between national identity and nation branding is representing and communicating national identity to the global world (Aronczyk, 2008: 42).

Additionally, a true and authentic nation brand should contain all cultural elements to represent the real nation. "Nation-brands are rooted in the reality of the nation's culture, which is perhaps the truest, most authentic differentiator that any brand could wish to have" (Dinnie, 2008: 111). Anholt explains the relationship between national identity and nation branding as follows using the cultural elements of a nation: "a nation's brand image is its most valuable asset: it is national identity made robust, tangible, communicable, and – at its best – made useful" (Anholt, 2010: 90).

These nation branding experts see a nation brand as a 'competitive identity' in which the cultural realities of a nation should be positioned. However, the approaches of seeing the nation as an 'imagined community' and the idea of 'invented traditions' need to be considered while describing the relationship between nation branding and national identity.

These perspectives emphasize that the construction of nations, national identities and the reinvention of traditions is realized by creative intellectuals, dominant groups of society and the state. This manipulative character of the construction of nations will certainly play a significant role in the construction of nation brands and nation branding of a country or place. State's governments, private and public stakeholders will use manipulative nation branding strategies (Dinnie, 2008: 116 -118). As Aronczyk explains it: "it is increasingly adopted by governments as a means to promote national identity while encouraging the economic benefits necessary to compete in a modern globalized world" (Aronczyk, 2008: 43).

Finally, Kaneva refers to the existing contrast between the essentialist orientation and the

constructivist orientation towards nation branding. On one hand, the essentialist approach emphasizes the idea of representing nation's realities in the global world. On the other hand, the constructivist view affirms that nations should imagine and position themselves in a better way than reality (Kaneva, 2011, 129 -131).

In conclusion, in describing the relationship between nation branding and national identity, it is the contrast between reality and prejudices. Cultural realities are necessary components in order to realize a pragmatic nation brand. Images, reputation and stereotypes lead to prejudices which influences these nation's realities. In opposition, the fictive approach of the construction of nations and national identities plays a significant role in nation branding strategies in which dominant groups of the state selectively manipulate a nation brand. The debate between reality or fiction applies to the construction of nation brands or nation branding. It has proven to be a quite contested field.

Chapter 2 Shaping the Argentine National Identity: Diversity, Imagined Nation and the 2001 Crisis

All over the world, the idea of national identity is constructed based upon two approaches. On one hand, the real practices of a nation such as territory, shared history, language, religion and culture play a significant role. On the other hand, there are the assumptions of an imagined, constructed and invented nation. These factors also are necessary to understand the construction of the Argentine nation and its identity. In this chapter, these two pathways will be applied to the Argentine history and historical events in order to construct the Argentine nation and its national identity.

In the first section, the factors for understanding the Argentine national identity will be clarified. Many factors derive from the Latin American identity. These will be described in this section as well. Argentina is an extremely diverse nation. This will be shown as well with these aspects. Can we still speak about a single Argentina or are there multiple? That is the main question of the first section.

In the second section, the immigration movements of Europeans, in the beginning of the late nineteenth century, will be described. This immigration certainly constructed the Argentine nation as we know it nowadays. However, this process was not as natural as it seems to be. It led to whitening practices in the construction of the nation and the identity of Argentina. In this regard, the approaches of the 'imagined community' and (re)invention of tradition play significant roles.

Finally, in the third section, the crisis of 2001 in Argentina will be described. The impacts of the crisis were enormous. It made many Argentinians think about their national identity, and about questions, such as who they are, what makes Argentina and what makes them Argentinians? That is why, it is certainly relevant to describe the crisis of 2001 as a historical event of Argentina. In order to understand the crisis of 2001 in Argentina, the causes and consequences will be described. Then, the possible relationship between national identity and the crisis of 2001 can be clarified.

2.1 Argentine National Identity: Diversity or Unity?

In this first section, the common experiences and shared values for the understanding of the construction of the Argentine nation and its national identity will be described. These factors are shared territory, language, history, culture, historical memories and a common economic system (Smith, 1991: 43), but also national flags, anthems, symbols, heroes and certain heads of nations which determine a nation's identity (Radcliffe, Westwood, 1996: 58).

The characteristics of a nation determined by Anthony D. Smith (1991: 43) as mentioned above will

be described first. Certainly, Argentina has a fixed territory from the wide-ranging pampas to the highest peaks of the mountains of Patagonia and from the coastal areas to a huge metropolitan city of Buenos Aires. The landscapes, cities and climates are extremely diverse in this country that counts over 4,000 kilometers of length from North to South (Brown, 2010: 303-304). Imagine that an immense nation, such as Argentina, has a single identity? Imagine a territory stretching from the Netherlands to Morocco having one single identity. It is almost impossible to think that Argentina has a single identity shared amongst its fellow-members.

However, there are established common experiences that the Argentine citizens share with their fellow-members, “even though never hear, meet or know about them” (Anderson, 1991: 6). These common experiences are shared by the idea that constructs the Latin American identity. It is clear that the national identity of a Latin American nation cannot be explained without considering the Latin American identity in which shared values are practiced (Larraín, 2000: 3). These will now be clarified.

First of all, the Latin American region shares the same history with the discovery of these territories by the end of the late fifteenth century, the dominant Hispanic culture during more than three centuries and the wars of independence from the beginning of the nineteenth century (Larraín, 2000: 1). During the Hispanic rule, colonists and Creoles (who were descendants from Spaniards, but were born in the 'New World'), implemented a process of creolization in which decimation of the indigenous population was one of the main objectives (Hillman, 2011: 31). Furthermore, the Spanish language and the Catholic religion were as fully assimilated in these Latin American nations (Hillman, 2011: 41; Brown, 2010: 1-27; Rock, 1987).

Finally, the Catholic faith is still the most dominant religion in the Latin American region. Even though, it is losing its power of a religion monopoly in Latin America (Hillman, 2011: 376).² These approaches of shared language, shared religion and shared history of the Latin American identity certainly construct the Argentine nation and its identity on which these three aspects also rely. The spoken and written language of Argentina is Spanish, Catholicism is the most dominant religion and it shares the same history as discussed before (Brown, 2010: 303).³

As Larraín explains, the construction of the Latin American identity is being reinforced throughout processes of modernization. As discussed in chapter 1 (section 1.1), there are six projections of modernity in Latin America, four of these are developed during periods of crises in which questions of identity emerged (Larraín, 2000: 7). Applying these six modern projections to the Argentine nation in which there certainly are similitudes.

² The Protestant, Protestant and Evangelic churches make upcoming rises. Afro descendants have religious beliefs being practiced in Latin America. (Hillman, 2011:376-377, 373-375).

³ The percentage of Roman Catholics in Argentina is 92 per cent (CIA, 2015).

The first stage of modernity is the colonial era which is also experienced by the Argentine nation. From independence to 1900, the second stage of Latin American modernity which is the stage of modernity and economic expansion. In this stage, modern Argentina was constructed with the European mass migration that brought progress (Schneider, 1996: 173). The third phase is dominated by world wars and populist regimes. In Argentina, Juan Perón came to power and he invented Peronism. The fourth phase is the period of post war expansion. From 1970 to 1990, characterized as the time of dictatorships, huge international debts and the 'lost decade' with negative growth. The military regime of Jorge Videla dominated Argentina from 1976 till 1983. Finally, there is the stage of neoliberal modernization and economic expansion with Carlos Menem's administration. Certainly, there are similarities between the modernity projections of Latin America and those of Argentina (Larraín, 2000: 7-8; Romero, 2002; Brown, 2010; Rock, 1987).

It is clear that the common experiences of the Argentine nation and its identity derive from the Latin American identity. There are still unique shared values of the Argentine nation. In the first place, Argentina has its own written and spoken language in which the form 'vos', or you, is used. The language is mostly used informally. However, in the streets of Buenos Aires, there are clear examples of banners and commercial posters that show this form of the Argentine language in a formal sense.

In the second place, Argentina is seen by others as well as by themselves as the 'white nation' of the Latin American region. This approach arose in the nineteenth-century with the ideas of whitening practices of the nation. This assimilation project was being reinforced by the mass immigration of Europeans starting from approximately 1870 until 1930. Argentina represented its nation as uniformly white while other Latin American countries represent their nations as homogeneously mixed or '*mestizo*' (Chamosa, 2008: 72). These processes of fluxes of immigration and the myth of the 'white nation' have certainly contributed to the construction of the Argentine nation and its identity (Chamosa, 2008). I come back to this in the second section of this chapter.

As already said, there are factors such as language, history, religion, historical memories and ethnicity that determine Argentine nation. Culture is quite a contested field. It is a very broad concept. In a nation, as enormous as Argentina, it is quite difficult to illustrate a single culture. For example, in the city of Buenos Aires, the tango is danced a lot. However, Argentinians from the North see the tango as a product of Buenos Aires and do not dance it (Archetti, 1997). The same is true for the Argentinians from the South who prefer folklore music, such as cumbia. (Gallego, 2007: 6). In order to get a good image of the Argentine culture, for example, three cultural aspects, such as the tango, polo and football should be analyzed (Archetti, 1997). Still, it is too broad and not the consensus of this thesis which studies the concepts national identity and nation branding in the Argentine context and not in the cultural context of Argentina.

Then, it brings us to the common economic system of Argentina which also contains some difficulties. Argentina is a federal country. The Constitution of Argentina gives many responsibilities in regards to expenditures and tax decisions to the subnational units, the provinces. The only activities that the national authorities are responsible for are those related to defense and foreign affairs (Tommasi, Saiegh, Sanguinetti, 2001: 159). In the areas of economic and social infrastructure, the responsibilities are shared with national government and the provinces. However, in terms of primary education and local organization and services, the provinces have exclusive competences. Currently, the provinces have many obligations in social expenditures and economic infrastructure (Tommasi, Saiegh, Sanguinetti, 2001: 160).⁴⁵ The national government keeps a regulatory and managing role in these areas. It is clear that Argentina is one of the most decentralized countries in Latin America (Tommasi, Saiegh, Sanguinetti, 2001: 160).⁶

Finally, the approaches of Radcliffe and Westwood, as mentioned above, will be applied to Argentina in order to understand Argentine nation and its identity. Argentina has a national flag and anthem. The heads of state symbolize a nation or identity. Nowadays, president Cristina Kirchner is the head of state of Argentina. In the past, Juan Perón and Evita Perón meant a lot for Argentina and the Argentinians. National heroes could be these heads of states, football players such as Messi or Maradona or the gauchos. It coincides with subjectivity and the preference of individuals.

In conclusion, it is difficult to define the national identity of Argentina. Argentina does not have a single national identity, but the Argentine nation has multiple identities. However, there are common aspects, some of them are shared with the Latin American identity, such as language, religion, history and these projections of modernity. The aspect which distinguishes Argentina from Latin America is that Argentina is considered as a 'white nation'. Is it the myth of the 'white nation' which unifies the Argentine citizens or is it the idea of the 'imagined community' of Argentina? It proves to be a disputable field.

2.2 Construction of Argentine National Identity: The Myth of the 'White Nation'

In this section, the mass migration movements from Europe to Argentina from approximately 1870 until 1930 will be described as well as its impacts in the construction of the national identity of Argentina. These processes of mass migration were part of the whitening practices of Argentina. Intellectual elites of the state implemented these policies. These approaches, that ruling elites determine the construction of a nation, are emphasized, inter alia, by the scholars Anderson and

⁴ Examples are basic education, health services, poverty programs, social security, and housing (Tommasi, Saiegh, Sanguinetti, 2001:160).

⁵ Examples are roads, ports, the environment, and natural resources (Tommasi, Saiegh, Sanguinetti, 2001:160).

⁶ Subnational governments are responsible for almost 50 percent of total consolidated public sector expenditures and more than two-thirds of public sector expenditures (Tommasi, Saiegh, Sanguinetti, 2001:160).

Larraín. These scholars illustrate that after wars of independence in Latin America Creole pioneers created the Latin American nations (1991, 2001). The whitening project of Argentina will be clarified. This whitening process led to the construction of the Argentine nation. Argentina is considered as a ‘white nation’ amongst the other Latin American countries which certainly could form its nation and identity.

Between 1870 and 1930, there was an enormous mass migration from Europe to Argentina. In this period of time around six million Europeans arrived in Argentina from which approximately three million of them migrated to Buenos Aires (Solberg, 1969: 215). The figures 1 and 2, on the next page, show these results of the amounts of European immigrants that came to Argentina.

Figure 1. Destination of European migrants, ca. 1820 -1932.

Country	Year data begins	Arrivals	Percent of total
United States	1820	32,564,000	58
Argentina	1840	6,501,000	12
Canada	1821	5,073,000	9
Brazil	1821	4,361,000	8
Australia	1840	3,443,000	6
Cuba	1880	1,394,000	2.5

Figure 2. Percent Foreign residents in three regions of Argentina, 1869-1947.

Years	Region		
	Buenos Aires	Buenos Aires (province), Entre Rios, Mendoza, Santa Fe, La Pampa	Rest of the country
1869	48	42	10
1895	39	52	9
1914	41	49	10
1947	44	42	14

Source: Cook-Martín, Novick, Mera, 2014: 92, 95.

The first Argentine census, dated from 1869, announced that the population only consisted of 1.8 million inhabitants which is not a lot taking into account this enormous area of land of about one million square miles. Sarmiento even characterized Argentina as a “desert” in 1945. By 1914, the population of Argentina had increased four-fold. This rapid growth was realized by the immigrants from Europe. Even, in 1914, one third of the population was foreign-born (Solberg, 1969: 215). Compared to other countries, Argentina received more immigrants than its own Creole and Indian population. It was the second country in receiving these large amounts of immigrants, only the United States received more (Schneider, 1996: 175).

Argentina experienced a period of economic growth. That is the why, these European immigrants came to Argentina seeking financial gain and jobs. With this they brought progress and welfare for Argentina and its economy.

The majority of these immigrants came from Italy and Spain. The Italians settled in the rural areas working as tenant farmers and rural workers in Buenos Aires. They built the wine industry in Mendoza and they helped to develop the Argentine railways. Most of the Spaniards, the majority originating coming from Galicia worked in unskilled labour occupations (Archetti, 1997: 1-2; Devoto, 2000; Fernandez, 1999; Vidauret, 1982) . Other immigrants came from Russia, primarily Jews that escaped the Russian empire in which they were prosecuted. Others were Syrians and Lebanese that

fled the oppressive Ottoman empire, and also immigrants from France, Germany, Denmark and Austria-Hungary came to Argentina (Archetti, 1997: 1-2). A small minority of these immigrants were British, yet they had an influential role in Argentina's society. The British, especially the English, introduced modern finance systems, transformed transport and commerce and brought new sporting practices such as football and polo to Argentina (Archetti, 1997: 1-2; Rock, 2010: 7).

To put it more generally, the immigrants provided labour force for the expansion of Argentina's economy. There were immigrants working in rural areas to help in the production of wheat and beef exports that certainly became important in Argentina's economy. There also were urban workers who settled in Buenos Aires, who helped develop railroads; while others helped with transportation of agricultural products. Furthermore, well-educated Europeans came to Argentina and brought technical skills and entrepreneurial abilities (Solberg, 1969: 216).

The impact of European mass migration was enormous. During these years, Argentina became one of the world's leading agricultural exporters (Solberg, 1969: 215). Exports from Argentina quintupled from 100 million to 500 million gold pesos between 1890 and 1912 (Solberg, 1970: preface). Buenos Aires changed into a metropolitan city with commercial houses, banks and, import-export firms but also bistro's, restaurants, luxury hotels (Solberg, 1970: preface). Buenos Aires was compared to Paris in elegance and sophistication, but also with technical innovations. Buenos Aires consisted of a mishmash of Spanish, Italians, Western and Eastern Europeans (Archetti, 1997: 3-4). Eduardo Archetti explains that there was the possibility "to imagine Buenos Aires as kind of cultural Babel, wherein English was the language of commerce and industry, French was the language of culture and the tongues of daily life were a mixture of Spanish, Italian, Western and Eastern languages"(Archetti, 1997: 2). This can be explained as melting pot or '*crisol de las razas*' in which different mixed cultures and ethnicities live together in one nation (Prieto, 2006: 14).

Even though, European immigrants brought Argentina prosperity, it also caused problems. In the first place, it led to urban problems with violence, poverty and illness in the neighbourhoods outside of the city centre of Buenos Aires (Solberg, 1970: 219). In the second place, both Socialists and Anarchists came to Argentina and asked for social justice and integration which led to organizational problems for the state's government of Argentina. In the second week of January in 1919, the tragic week, or '*semana trágica*', there were demonstrations by these people asking for better labour conditions which caused several fatalities (Mirelman, 1975: 61; Rock, 1972 : 165).

The flux of immigration led to the project of modern Argentina. These European immigrants brought economic and political progress. The intellectuals of Argentina saw immigration as the crucial agent of the modernization process of the country. It is in this period of the time when mass migration movements of more than six million immigrants were realized, ranging from approximately 1870 till

1930, that we can speak of Argentine modernization. Argentina could be rightly compared to other 'new countries' such as Canada and Australia. It is the project that emphasizes the construction of migration as a metaphor for the modernity in Argentina in the twentieth-century (Schneider, 1996: 172; Prieto, 2006).

The flux of European immigrants to Argentina was not as natural and spontaneous as it seemed. Argentine intellectuals invented the idea of creating a 'white nation', Argentina. Throughout the nineteenth century, these plans of the whitening project with campaigns arose and came to realize an uniformly white Argentina (Chamosa, 2008: 72; Ko, 2014: 2531). While other Latin American nations represented their nations as homogeneously mixed. The desire of these intellectuals of a homogeneous 'white nation' would be a step to modernity in Argentina (Ko, 2014: 2531). The reason for the whitening project is explained as followed by one of the founding fathers of Argentina, Domingo Sarmiento: "the mixture of black and white, of white and Indian, of Indian and black' are dangerous because they regress to their inferior 'original types' and cannot be whitened. He highlights that as a consequence, 'Peru, Bolivia, Ecuador and Mexico remain in the worst state of backwardness' in contrast to Argentina, which is governed by a European, Christian, civilized race"(Sarmiento 1883, cited in Ko, 2014: 2531).

The whitening project was realized through three important developments. In the first place, the promotion of attracting European immigrants to Argentina as industrial or rural workers (Chamosa, 2008: 72; Ko, 2014: 2532). This was realized with mass migration movements from Europe to Argentina by the end of the nineteenth-century.

In the second place, the indigenous population and the practices of slavery were virtually non-existent in official Argentine history (Ko, 2014: 2531) . Furthermore, the decimation of the indigenous population through wars and diseases led to the decline and the almost elimination of these groups of people (Archetti, 1997: 29; Chamosa, 2008: 72).

In the third place, emphasis was placed upon European ancestry of the Creole population born in Latin America, but certainly having white blood, because of their European origins, mainly from Spain (Chamos, 2008: 79).

These were the ideas of the intellectual elites of Argentina to invent and imagine Argentina as a 'white nation'. That is why, it is the myth of white Argentina. The whitening project of the nonimmigrant Argentine population was realized primarily on the desktops of government officials, in academic journals and other printed media. However, in villages and rural districts of Argentina, where non-European Argentines mostly lived, people had no idea of this whitening project. Yet, these practices of the whitening project were being forced in some communities such as the Calchaquí valley (Chamosa, 2008: 80).

Even though, the invented idea of a 'white nation'. Argentina alludes to the myth of the 'white nation', still the sentence used to describe the nation building of Argentina is "we are descendants from the ships" or, "*descendemos de los barcos*", which is introduced by Octavio Paz. It is the invented idea that Argentina is not Europe, but that Argentina descended from Europe. There is certain identification with Europe that is being realized throughout these processes of migration and modernity. Argentina is a nation imagined as European, civilized and white (Visacovsky, Garguin, 2007: 86).

This idea of an imagined white, European and civilized nation coincides with nationalism. The intellectual elite, such as Sarmiento and Alberdi, founding fathers of Argentina, gave preference to Argentina's race, perfectly white and European. That white skin colour was seen as superior and the other types of skin colour as inferior (Adamovsky, 2012: 343). The ruling elites even preferred North European over South European, Middle and Far Eastern immigrants. This kind of nationalism is also seen in the campaigns to promote European immigration and ignore the existence of the indigenous population in Argentina (Chamosa, 2008: 72).

It is the idea of the invented and imagined 'white nation' Argentina which emphasizes the construction of the nation, its national culture and its national identity. Does the awareness that the myth of white Argentina determines the nation and its identity still exist? Certainly, the image of Argentina as 'white nation' still plays a highly important role today. Figures of the CIA show that 97 per cent of the Argentine population is white (mostly Spanish and Italian). The other 3 per cent of the Argentine population is mixed, or 'mestizo' (mixed white, Amerindian ancestry), Amerindian, or other non-white groups (CIA, 2015). Even though, immigrants from the Latin American region, such as Bolivia, Peru and Paraguay are coming to Argentina as well as immigrants from other continents, especially from Asian countries, such China, Japan and Korea (Ko, 2014: 2533; Bastia, Vom Hau, 2014: 487). Still, the absolute majority of the Argentine population is the white population as a consequence of the European mass migration in the late nineteenth century.

In conclusion, Argentina is an almost white and homogeneous nation. This idea of an invented and imagined 'white nation' came from ruling elites in the nineteenth century. The most relevant objective of this whitening project was to attract European immigrants which resulted in mass migration movement from Europe by the end of the nineteenth-century that brought and led to the projection of modernity of Argentina. Certainly, the European mass immigration constructs the nation, national culture and national identity as a white Argentine nation. However, the Argentine nation is diverse in terms of territories and cultures. The question then arises, if the national identity can be determined as an invented and imagined 'white nation' or not? It proves to be a disputable question.

2.3 The Crisis of 2001 and Argentine National Identity

In the previous sections, we have paid attention to the factors in Argentine history that construct the Argentine nation and its identity. Now we can see to what extent traditional identity was linked to the crisis of 2001 in Argentina. In this section, the historical event of 2001 will be described. In this year, the Argentine nation experienced an enormous economic as well as a political crisis.

In the first section, the causes of the crisis will be explained and it is also necessary to describe the historical and political background of Argentina. After this, the consequences of the crisis will be described; especially the responses of the citizens play a significant role. Finally, the possible relationship between the crisis of 2001 and national identity will be clarified. As Larraín explains national identity does not always have the same relevance. In periods of crisis, the question of national identity arises (2000: 7). Is this the case for Argentina? Or are there other approaches towards the relationship between national identity and the crisis of 2001? These questions will be answered in this section. Argentina experienced periods of economic and political instability since the 1920s with populist, military regimes and dictatorships (Gardini, Lambert, 2011: 89; Corrales, 2002: 29). It should be explained as an “Argentine paradox” in which the country seems to be an advanced capitalist nation. In reality, its economy and society increasingly resemble those of a typical underdeveloped country (Waisman, 1990:91). It seems quite harsh to say this. However, in some periods of time in Argentine history, this phrase was certainly true, as it was for the crisis in 2001.

It is relevant to describe some historical facts about Argentina in the areas of politics and economics in order to understand the crisis of 2001. After the military regime that was in power from 1976 till 1983, Alfonsín became president. During the military regime, standards of living declined, both unemployment and underemployment grew, the size of the working class dropped and the amount of people living in poverty increased (Waisman, 1990: 94). The main issues of Alfonsín's agenda were consolidations of democracy and human rights. These concerns were more important than the economic ones (Waisman, 1990: 93). With the Falkland Island War and the Mexican debt crisis in 1982 that affected Argentina, Argentina asked financial assistance from the IMF to cover its debts (Allen, M., de Beaufort Wijnholds, 2003: 103).

After a decade of instability and hyperinflation which caused the economic crisis of 1989, president Menem was elected. He started privatization programs of state-owned companies, such as the telephone system, the oil industry and the railroads (Waisman, 1990: 97) in order to reach competitiveness and by this restore Argentine economy.

Not even ten years later, the first signs of the crisis, in 1998, were noticeable. There are three main

causes for the crisis of 2001. Firstly, the overvalued exchange rate of Argentina which led to more imports than exports. Secondly, the external debts that Argentina had with financial institutions, banks and other countries and in the third place, the interest rates over these external debts that became enormous (Feldstein, 2002, 8-9).⁷⁸ It was known as the “road to catastrophe” (Mussa, 2002). It led to budget cuts especially in salaries and labour which led to unemployment. The problems got worse and worse. Argentina was lending more and more, the interest rates over these debts became larger and larger and the unemployment rate of people grew and grew.⁹¹⁰

The crisis also led to political and social consequences. As would be expected, more unemployment meant more poverty. In 2002, poverty reached levels never previously reported in modern Argentina (Epstein, 2006: 7).¹¹ Even the middle-class was hit by the crisis of 2001 when the government froze their bank accounts (Goddard, 2006: 268).

It led to mass mobilization and social protests of the civil society of Argentina in Buenos Aires, other cities, villages and other regions. The Argentinians blamed politics and the politicians for the problems that they now had. There was distrust in politics and politicians. The attitude towards the government was characterized by cynicism, pessimism and alienation (Epstein, 2006: 3; Armony, 2005: 36). Argentinians used the following sentences to express their feelings: “¡que se vayan todos!”, or “let's get rid of them all” and “¡Que no quede ninguno!”, or “don't let a single one stay”! (Epstein, 2006: 3; Armony, 2005: 35; Levitsky, Murillo, 2003: 155).

Then, on 19th and 20th of December, the most remarkable social protest and mass mobilization of Argentinians took place throughout the country. In the streets of Buenos Aires and around the *Plaza Mayor*, people were making noise with pots and pans (Levitsky, Murillo, 2003: 155). “This is history” as Goddard (2006) explains it. Sharing a historical event or memory amongst fellow-members without even meeting, knowing or hearing about them (Anderson, 1991: 6). In this view, the experience of crisis and this particular event of the demonstrations of December 19th and 20th have a certain relation to the national identity of a country. It was a moment of recognition. Even though, some Argentinians were not banging pots and pans (Levitsky, Murillo, 2003: 155) or were protesting in the streets, these people were also made part of it. That moment had made these individuals part of a national and ‘imagined community’ (Goddard, 2006: 279).

⁷ The country's foreign debt, most of which was owed by the central and provincial governments, eventually reached 50 per cent of GDP by late 2001 (Feldstein, 2002: 9).

⁸ Argentina's central and provincial debt was 155 billions of dollars in December 2001 which was the largest sovereign debt default ever (Feldstein, 2009:12).

⁹ IMF \$14 billion (around 500 percent of Argentina's quota in the IMF, for which the general rule is that it can surpass 300 percent only under exceptional circumstances), the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank contributed \$5 billion, the Spanish government provided \$1 billion and the private sector 20 billion of dollars (Allen, M., de Beaufort Wijnholds, 2003:111).

¹⁰ The urban employment decreased to almost 20 per cent in 2002 (Epstein, 2006: 8, Source: *Estadística y Censos* (INDEC).

¹¹ Urban poverty unemployment rate was the 57.5 per cent registered in October 2002 government survey (Epstein, 206: 7).

There is another approach that emphasizes a certain relationship between national identity of Argentina and the crisis of 2001. It starts with the idea of the myth of “Great Argentina” which functions to be the framework for national identity in Argentina (Armony, 2005: 47). The approach of the “Great Argentina” and the “Argentine Dream” started already in the nineteenth-century with the ideas of Sarmiento to realize a prosperous, rich and modern country. He made the comparison to become similar to the United States of America. Other leaders followed this vision such as Juan Perón and Carlos Menem. The destiny of Argentina is to become one of the most powerful nations of the world (Armony, 2005: 44). These approaches are invented by the ruling elite of Argentina that imagine the Argentine nation as great, modern and powerful.

However, the realization of this myth is limited. The objective has been realized with the flux of European immigration that brought economic and political progress which led to modern Argentina (Schneider, 1996: 173). Argentina has experienced times of political and economic instability with populist and military regimes, dictatorships and the crises of 1989 and 2001 which certainly do not contribute to the idea of the “Great Argentina”.

During periods of crises, such as the crisis in 2001, the gap between the ruling elite with their ideas of a great, white and modern Argentina and civil society became larger. Mostly, the middle class supported the ruling elite. However, they did not support the ruling classes during the crisis of 2001 when this group of civil society also was struck by the consequences. The intellectual elites were concerned about the impacts for the financial and political environment. Additionally, research was realized to see what the causes could be for the rise of the crisis. There was less attention paid to the citizens of the nation and the impacts of a crisis for these groups. Thus, the gap between the ruling classes and the citizens became larger which makes it difficult to have a sense of national belonging and national identity.

In conclusion, a historical event such as the crisis of 2001 in Argentina had an enormous impact on civil society and the ruling elite of Argentina. It is a shared history with fellow-members which constructs the idea of a national identity. During the crisis of 2001, the gap between ruling classes and civil society became larger. It is difficult to have the awareness of a sense of national belonging and national identity. On the one hand, there is a certain relationship between the crisis of 2001 and national identity of Argentina based upon the past. On the other hand, the larger gap between ruling elite and the citizens make it difficult to have the sentiment of belonging and having a national identity.

Chapter 3 Branding Argentina: Diversity As Promotion of Argentina

The concept of nation branding is widely accepted by the world, world's governments and world's companies. Almost every country in the world creates nation branding strategies or finds ways in order to position its country and compete in the global world. As discussed in chapter 1 (section 1.3), image, reputation and prejudices, and the way countries perceive other countries, play significant roles in the construction of country's nation branding. For countries with a good image, such as Switzerland, Sweden and Germany, it is easy to attract tourists, investors and exporters (Anholt, 2014: video). As for countries with a weak image, it is difficult to obtain these results (Anholt, 2014: video). However, it should be possible for every nation to have a nation brand or a nation branding strategy to compete in the global world and create a competitive identity.

The first section describes examples of nation branding ideas and nation branding strategies will be described. Some strategies led to success and others failed. In the Latin American context, countries also have been busy with the creation of nation branding strategies. Examples of nation branding campaigns from Peru and Colombia with some clear examples will be illustrated.

In the second section, the nation branding strategy in Argentina will be described. When did the nation branding strategy in Argentina start, and why? Who are and were involved in this project? What is the public response of nation branding in Argentina? Is there a certain relationship between the Argentine national identity and the nation branding strategy in Argentina? These questions will be answered in this section.

In the third section, the whole process of nation branding strategy of Argentina will be described. From the actual ideas up to the realization of the nation branding strategy, to research up to achievement of a logo of the nation branding campaign of Argentina. These different steps are necessary to realize an Argentine nation brand and a nation branding strategy and will be described in this section.

Finally, it is important to consider that nation brands, nation branding and nation branding strategies are relatively new concepts and are not yet fully recognized in the academic field. That is why, in order to write this chapter, not all sources are taken from academic literature. For the writing of this chapter, literature, articles, videos, interviews, online and public documents have been used. These documents are from nation branding strategies of countries, nation branding experts and nation branding companies, such as Simon Anholt, Wally Olins, Future Brand and Bloom Consulting. The

interviews used were held during field work in Buenos Aires from November 2014 until February 2015 with people who were involved in the nation branding strategy of Argentina working for the ministry of tourism and the company Future Brand.

3.1 Nation Branding Worldwide and in Latin America

In 1996, Anholt, brought the actual idea of the concept nation branding into the world. However, before the invention of this term, nations were already positioning their countries. In the past, nation branding had quite a different meaning. Nations and nation-states were branding their nations in order to protect their nations from outsiders or enemies. The idea was to determine territory with its frontiers by keeping people not belonging to the nation outside of the country (Torres, 2013: video). The opposite is true regarding the current ideas of nation branding which are positioning and promoting a country to attract tourists, investors and exporters. These ideas changed with the concept of globalization in which frontiers faded away. Collaboration with other countries and competition are main components nowadays (Anholt, 2014: video). Nations need to create competitive identities in order to position their countries.

As mentioned above, image, reputation and prejudice play a significant role in nation branding. Olins (2012) explains it this way: “strong brands win the competition”. He refers to nations with positive images and good reputation. For these countries, it is easy to attract tourists, exporters and investors. It is more difficult for countries with a weaker image to realize a strong nation brand. Anholt adds that individual countries can also suffer not only from their own poorly defined images, but from the negative image of the region from which the country is part of (Anholt, 2007). This is the case for the African continent. Other countries have generalised perceptions of this region, such as poverty and disaster which determine the individual images of these African nations.

However, almost every nation in the world, has the creation of a nation branding strategy on its wish list (Anholt, 2007). Two nation branding experts gave their recommendations on how to realize a strong nation brand and nation brand strategy. The first nation branding expert is Filipe Torres. He clarifies that there are certain aspects necessary to create a strong nation brand strategy. First of all, nation branding strategy should lead to an economic value asset in means of economic growth for the country. A country could have a strong nation branding strategy, but if it is still corrupt and its citizens are living in poverty, it does not make any sense. Secondly, a nation branding strategy actually needs three strategies for tourism, trade and talent. Thirdly, these strategies should be on a short term basis which means five years. A nation branding strategy with mission, vision and goals over thirty years away will not be realistic (Torres, 2013: video).

The second nation branding expert is Anholt. He gives some considerations in order to create a

strong nation brand. In contrast to Torres, Anholt (2007, 2014) argues that nation branding should not only have positive outcomes for the country itself, but also for the globalized world. It uses the term microscope which means economic growth inwards, but also the term telescope should be used to realize development and growth outwards as well. As mentioned in chapter 1 (section 1.3), Anholt opposes the idea that government should create a nation branding strategy for its country. According to Anholt, the realization of competitive identity can be reached with a Competitive Identity (CI) team which exists of experts in the area of nation branding from the government, civil society and business (2007: 73).

The CI team needs to strive for four qualities in order to achieve a competitive identity. In the first place, wisdom which means the ability to regulate choices between short-term promotion and long-term image management. Secondly, patience is another quality that is required. The changing of a country's image or reputation can take some years. Thirdly, the quality of imagination is necessary for creativity and innovation in order to enhance a nation's perceptions. Fourthly, care is an important quality, because people forming the CI team should have the best interests of their country at hand in order to make decisions and changes (Anholt, 2007: 74).

All over the world, countries started with the realization of their wish-lists, the creation of a nation branding strategy containing mission, vision, goals, a logo and a tagline. However, only ten per cent of these strategies led to success regarding tourism, direct investment and export. Possible reasons for this remaining ninety per cent of failed nation branding strategies can be the manipulative techniques of governments, the use of only logos and taglines which are very abstract and will not lead to more results in tourism, direct investment and export, and again the ideas of image, perception and reputation (Torres, 2013: video; Chaves, 2012: video).

Other factors, such as outstanding landscapes or well-known architecture of a city or place, brands of companies, (sport) events and international press could also determine a country's nation brand. Examples are Coco Chanel and Luis Vuitton that branded the French nation. The Olympics of 1992 branded Barcelona, up until that time an unknown city for many, in a very positive way. A small village in Spain, Borja, became famous, because of a woman who painted over a fresco of Jesus. It became world news. It certainly branded the place Borja. It led to many tourists who came to see the fresco in the church (Torres, 2013: video).

Countries in Europe with weaker images are the post-communist and Balkan countries. These countries create nation branding strategies in order to attract tourists, to stimulate direct investments and export, and also to get rid of the communist image that these countries have. According to Anholt (2007), Slovenia certainly has had success with its nation branding strategy. It has shaken off the negative perceptions of being a Balkan country, promoted its exports of Lasko Pivo beer, Elan skis and

Gorenje applications and attracted more tourists with well-funded campaigns. Two other countries, Romania and Bulgaria created nation branding strategies to get rid of their communist image have had less success. Even though, these countries invested in campaigns, there are less improvements in reputation and the growth of tourists, investors and exporters remain slow (Anholt, 2007; Kaneva, 2011). Still, it is difficult for countries with a weaker image to realize a strong nation brand.

The construction of nation brands, nation branding and nation branding strategies is in the introductory phase in Latin America. Latin American countries are implementing campaigns in order to integrate a positive image in the international world which would lead to an increase of tourism, export and direct investment. Many Latin American countries created these strategies in order to realize this and improve their reputations. Yet, these efforts are in the introductory stage, it is not possible to indicate clear results of the development of their nation brands. What is possible to illustrate however, is that the nation branding of Latin America is linked to touristic promotion of their country, and yet this is not enough to ameliorate its image in the international world (Echeverri, 2012: 288).

Now, the nation branding strategies of two Latin American countries, Peru and Colombia, will be illustrated. In order to describe these nation branding strategies, it is relevant to consider the image of these countries. As explained several times, images of a country play a significant role in the nation branding of a country.

Peru is perceived as the country of the Inca culture. It is what determines its image. The Peruvian authorities who created the nation branding strategy used this in order to promote Peru. It is the image that Peru has, perceived by others, and thus this image is used for the nation branding of the country. Peru has a positive outcome from its nation branding strategies, because of its reference as a country of the Incas, the existence of the cultural richness of Cuzco and the ancient empires of the past (Echeverri, 2014: 152). Another reason for the relatively successful nation branding strategy of Peru is the integration of the nation brand into society. The Central Government, the regional governments, the private sector and the citizens are all in charge in order to 'sell' their country to the rest of the world (Echeverri, 2014: 153). For example, the logo of the nation branding strategy of Peru is visible in emblems of all Peruvian clothes for tourists.¹²

Now the image and the nation branding of Colombia will be described. The image of Colombia is relatively negative. Colombia perceived as a country associated with violence, crime and corruption, because of drugs-related activities (Ramos, Noya, 2006: 15). The image of Colombia is determined by

¹² Interview with Laura Alfano. Brand Strategy & Verbal, Branding, Director Spanish Latin America. Future Brand. Buenos Aires, January, 16th, 2015.

these projections of crime and violation. As mentioned earlier by Anholt (section 3.1), it is difficult to turn this relatively negative image into positive outcomes for the country's image. The key element is patience, as Anholt explained it. In the 1990s, Colombia started with a project in order to measure the Colombian image perceived by others (Ramos, Noya, 2006: 16). The results were not surprisingly. Colombia was perceived as a country of drug trafficking, violence and guerrilla. However, there were also positive outcomes, such as coffee, flowers, the emeralds and international singers such as Shakira and Juanes (Ramos, Noya, 2006: 16). Colombia needed to use creativity in order to use these positive aspects to overrule the negative image.

In 2004, Colombia started with the nation branding strategy with the help of a private company, called ProExport. For the research and the realization of the project, ProExport expended three millions of dollars (Ramos, Noya, 2006: 17). The campaigns used, in order to make the Colombians and the international world aware of the Colombian nation brand, were relatively largely presented on a national level as well as on the international level.¹³¹⁴ Colombia also has integrated its nation branding strategy into society. Colombian citizens are certainly aware of their nation brand (Ramos, Noya:2006: 17).

In conclusion, image, reputation and prejudices of nations will always play a significant role in the nation branding and the nation branding strategies. It is certainly possible that countries with a weaker image can still have a strong nation brand due to a powerful campaign. In general, the Latin American region does not have a firm positive image. Some Latin-American certainly have strong nation branding campaigns which proves that is possible creating a strong nation brand without having a weaker image. Other outstanding factors could also determine the nation brand of a country.

3.2 Nation Branding in Argentina: More Economic Promotion

In the following sections, the nation branding of Argentina will be described. First of all, it is relevant to consider the image of Argentina perceived by others. Then, the following questions will be answered. When did Argentina start with a nation branding strategy and why? Who was involved in the initiative plans of the nation branding strategy of Argentina? And who is still involved in the realization of the project? What are the public opinions of the nation branding strategy of Argentina? Is there a relationship between national identity and the nation branding of Argentina. In the final

¹³ One of the publication stunts of the nation branding strategy to make their own people aware of the existence of nation brand of Colombia was the following. In five of the largest football stadiums of Colombia, there was a minute of silence referred to the minute of passion, five days after the launch of the nation branding strategy of Colombia (Ramos, Noya, 2006: 17).

¹⁴ There are 2,000 young Colombian people being spokesmen in order to say something positive about their country (Ramos, Noya, 2006: 18).

section, the process of the nation branding strategy of Argentina will be described, from its starts until the end. It is important to consider that the nation branding strategy of Argentina is a state policy. That is why, many documents with regard to the nation branding strategy are not accessible to public. For the writing of these two sections, documents, articles, papers and other theses that write about nation branding of Argentina will be consulted, even though these documents are not entirely academic.

The image of Argentina has two sides. On the one hand, Argentina is perceived as a country of instability and insecurity, because of its past with economic recessions. On the other hand, the country is seen as a country that 'has it all'. It refers to the landscapes of Argentina, from Patagonia, to the Perito Moreno and Ushuaia and to the Argentine culture with the tango, wine and meat. Stereotypes of Argentina also determine its image. These are the image and stereotypes of Argentina, perceived by others, summarized in one single phrase: "a couple dancing the tango, the meat of the barbeque and the clothes of the 'gaucho look", Ramos, Noya, 2006: 5). Football and the famous football player Maradona are also associated with Argentina (Ramos, Noya, 2006: 5). The image of Argentina is quite limited. Could a nation branding strategy, extend this limited image of Argentina?

Another important aspect to consider while implementing a nation branding strategy is the integration into society and make the citizens of the country aware of the existence of the nation branding strategy. As we have seen (section 3.1) with the nation branding strategies of Peru and Colombia, their citizens are aware of the existence of nation branding strategy which makes it easier to reach successes with their nation brand. In contrast to these countries, only a few Argentinians are aware of the nation branding strategy of their government. The majority of the Argentine citizens never heard about it or never knew the existence of a nation branding strategy of its country (Echeverri, Estay-Nicular, 2013, 2014). It is difficult to position, promote and 'sell' the Argentine country to the outside world without having support from its own citizens.

However, the nation branding strategy of Argentina actually does a good job (Echeverri, 2013: 190). In 2013, Argentina reached the top 2 of the Latin American countries in the nation branding ranking of the company Future Brand (Future Brand, 2013: 16). Is it the nation branding strategy? Is it the country itself considered as the country 'that has it all'? Or is the idea that Argentina is seen as one of the most civilized countries of the Latin American region that realized this result?

Now, the questions in regards to the nation branding strategy will be answered. In 2004, former president Nestór Kirchner came up with the idea of creating an Argentine nation brand. Leaving behind, one of the worst crises in Argentina's history, it was time to look forward. As discussed in chapter 2 (section 2.3), the impacts of the crisis of 2001 in Argentina were enormous in political, economical and social terms. It resulted in a relatively weaker image of Argentina. That is why, the former president, decided to implement a nation branding strategy of Argentina. Additionally, almost

every society in the world started with nation branding of their countries. That is why, Argentina could not lag behind. The construction of a nation brand of Argentina would lead to opportunities to show Argentine's talents, identity, artists and the expressions of commerce, sports, culture and science ('Estrategia marca país', 2006: 5). It should lead to attraction of tourists, investors and exporters.

The nation branding strategy is not only created for the outward image of the country with realizing economic benefits, but also for the self-image of the nation. Argentinians should identify themselves with the nation branding of their country and should be proud to part of Argentina and be Argentinian (Devoto, 2008: 19). That is why, it is important to measure how Argentinians perceive themselves, their nation and their national identity. This will be expanded in the final section of this chapter with the executed field work realized by the technical team of the Argentine nation branding strategy.

The nation branding strategy of Argentina is a state policy which means that it is managed by the government and public institutions. The national government is the main impulse for the nation branding strategy of Argentina in means of the construction and the implementation (Echeverri, 2011: 8). The government is collaborating with private organizations in order to realize a proper Argentine nation brand ('Estrategia marca país', 2006: 24).

The nation branding strategy of Argentina started with the formation of a technical team existing of experts from the secretary of media, the secretary of tourism and the export foundation. These are the experts of the technical team for the realization of a nation branding strategy of Argentina: Eduardo García Caffi, Roberto Occhipinti, Gustavo Russo, Rafael Bustamante, Benjamín von der Becke, Lucas Perez Breglia, Emiliano Cisneros y Mariano Mussa (Devoto, 2008: 13). These experts are responsible for the implementation and realization of the nation branding strategy. I come back to this in the final section of this chapter.

Another part of the nation branding strategy of Argentina is the visual identity, or in other words the logo of the Argentine nation brand. The design of the logo is created by Guillermo Brea, Carolina Mikalef and Alejandro Luna (Escudero, 2008: 42). The design company of Occhipinti, Gliocchi, was also involved in the creation of the logo of the nation branding strategy of Argentina.¹⁵

These actors are involved in the realization of the nation branding strategy of Argentina: ministries of tourism, communication and foreign affairs, a technical team for the implementation process and graphic designers company for the realization of the logo. The nation branding strategy of Argentina is certainly a government's state policy with a small institutional organization.

Even though, few Argentinians are aware of the nation branding strategy of Argentina, it is still

¹⁵ Interview with Roberto Occhipinti. Responsible consultant of design of 'Estrategia marca país'. President and CEO of Gliocchi Marketing and Multimedia. Buenos Aires, December, 4th, 2014.

possible to have an opinion of these ideas of nation branding of Argentina. The public opinion of the Argentine citizens is divided. On the one hand, there are citizens that argue that it is a certain opportunity for Argentina to create a stronger foreign policy. Professor Camou argues that it is a possibility for Argentina for international introduction of competitiveness. Argentina does not have an aggressive economy, such as Chile which is exporting their wines to Germany, the Netherlands and other countries in Europe in vast amounts. The economic policy of Argentina is not really focused on international competition. But it could definitely change in order to compete on a global level with its original products, such as wine and meat. Camou believes that the nation branding strategy could be a part of this change of Argentine economic policy.¹⁶

However, there are also Argentine citizens that are certainly not in favour of this idea of nation branding of Argentina. An Argentine sociologist says the following: "It is who we are and what we have, such as our landscapes, our wine(s) and our tango, but in an exaggerated way. It is pure promotion to attract more tourists, investors and exporters".¹⁷ Another sociologist argues that: "nation branding is an economic aspect. It is selling country to the outside world. It is putting a brand on your country in order to attract more tourists, investors and exporters. It is certainly a capitalist thing".¹⁸ The sociologist is not in favour of world's capitalism and globalization.

It is clear that there is a certain division between Argentinians in regards to the nation branding strategy of Argentina. On the one hand, there are Argentine citizens that are in favour of globalization and competitiveness who see possibilities for Argentina with a nation branding strategy. On the other hand, there are Argentinians that discourage capitalism and globalization and who are not in favour of a nation branding strategy of Argentina and see it as pure promotion.

Even though, there is a division between the opinions of the Argentine citizens about nation branding, there is no clear overwhelming acceptance of the idea of the nation branding strategy by the Argentinians. The majority of Argentine citizens does not even know of the existence of their nation branding strategy. A possible reason for this, could be that they are more concerned about themselves, about their own country, their own issues and concerns and not so much about the outside world. Does this attitude of the Argentinians construct their national identity? It is the idea of scepticism of the Argentinians towards the outside world and competing within the global market.

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the nation branding strategy of Argentina is dominated by the government. According to an Argentine economist, "this is not a very positive aspect. Governments

¹⁶ Interview with Antonio Camou. Professor Sociology, National University of La Plata, Professor Public Policy, National University of Lanús, Professor Master Degree Public and Administration Policy, University of San Andrés. Buenos Aires, December, 12th, 2014.

¹⁷ Interview with Juan Laxagueborde. Sociologist, Professor Sociology, National University of La Plata. Buenos Aires, December, 16th, 2014.

¹⁸ Interview with Fernando Alfón. Sociologist, Professor Sociology, National University of La Plata. La Plata, December, 11th, 2014.

vary from populist governments, social democrats, to dictatorships. It means that with every political decade with another government, the nation branding of Argentina changes. The governments should support the nation branding strategy, but not dominate it. Nation branding contains marketing aspects and should thus be a policy of companies and organizations".¹⁹ He definitely discourages the idea that nation branding of Argentina is a state policy.

There is no clear relationship between national identity and the nation branding of Argentina. As already mentioned earlier in this chapter, the nation branding of Argentina is a state policy which means that government is using manipulative techniques in order to promote Argentina in the external world and position the country the best possible way. The Argentine government is certainly using propaganda in the realization of the nation branding strategy of Argentina. It is concealing the weaknesses and the threats of the country and presenting the strength and the opportunities to realize better positioning of Argentina in the world ('Estrategia marca país', 2006: 18, 21; Occhipinti, 2003: 40). It certainly opposes the approach of Anholt which emphasizes the idea of finding a proper balance between reality and the image of a country to realize the best possible brand management of a country (Anholt, 2007: 3).

There is a certain division between people who agree with what is mentioned above and others that disagree. An Argentine sociologist definitely agrees with what is stated above. He adds the following: "wine and meat are products of Argentina in order to promote these in the international world". "It has nothing do with the Argentine national identity".²⁰

Another Argentine sociologist partly agrees with the statement. "You could say that there is a certain relationship between national identity and nation branding. However, the government only uses the popular aspects of national identity. It is economic logic. For example, in Argentina, folklore music is very popular and considered as being part of Argentine national identity. The state's government will not implement folklore music in the nation branding strategy of Argentina, because there is no international recognition that folklore music is Argentine. In contrast to the tango that will be applied to the nation branding strategy of Argentina, it has international recognition".²¹

In this regard, there is no clear relationship between national identity and nation branding. It is using the degree to which people know of Argentina which promotes Argentina. In this meaning, prejudices, image and stereotypes also play a significant role in the construction of nation branding. The image of Argentina is, for example, "Argentiniens dance the tango"(Gallego, 2007: 15). "It is

¹⁹ Interview with Enrique Hofman. Economist. Professor Executive total quality management, University San Andrés. Buenos Aires, January, 7th, 2015.

²⁰ Interview with Juan Laxagueborde. Sociologist, Professor Sociology, National University of La Plata. Buenos Aires, December, 16th, 2014.

²¹ Interview with Fernando Alfón. Sociologist, Professor Sociology, National University of La Plata. La Plata, December, 11th, 2014.

certainly not the reality of the Argentine national identity”.²² As mentioned in chapter two (section 2.1), the tango is a product of Buenos Aires. In Southern and Northern Argentina, they have other music preferences music (Gallego, 2007: 6).

There are other Argentinians that argue that national identity should play a significant role in the construction of nation branding of Argentina. In the first place, an Argentine sociologist says the following: “in order to realize nation branding of Argentina, we need elements which identify Argentina, elements of the Argentine national identity, and the image of Argentina as they are perceived by others such as the landscapes of Patagonia, the wines of Mendoza and the personalities, such as Messi and Maradona”.²³

In the second place, there is a nation branding expert of Argentina that certainly argues that it is important to consider national identity while constructing the nation branding of Argentina. Laura Alfano says the following: “it is true that Argentina has an extensively large land with different cultures and is a diverse nation. However, all Latin American nations are diverse with regard to cultures, landscapes, climates and ethnicities. Argentina should distinguish itself by determining its own values of its national identity”.²⁴ The company Future Brand did extensive research in finding these distinctive features of Argentina and its national identity. There were three outstanding aspects of Argentine national identity: passion, intensity and openness.

For the outcome of these results, Future Brand collected certain data. There were four ways in realizing this. Firstly, there were interviews and opinion polls in the areas of export, culture, tourism, with entrepreneurs, personalities of culture, journalists, musicians and actors to create a position by taking into account all of these opinions and different interpretations of Argentine national identity. Secondly, they studied books, articles and texts that discuss Argentine national identity. Thirdly, there were online questionnaires for Argentinians as well as for people outside of Argentina, such as travellers or frequent visitors of Argentina to measure their opinion of Argentine national identity. Finally, it did comparative analysis of other nation branding strategies in order to improve the Argentine strategy taking into account national identity.²⁵

In conclusion, the nation branding strategy of Argentina is a state policy. That is why, it is questionable if the nation branding strategy of Argentina does have a relationship with the national identity of the country. Certainly, the Argentine government is using manipulative techniques in order to promote Argentine the best possible way in the global market. However, the government should

²² Interview with Fernando Alfón. Sociologist, Professor Sociology, National University of La Plata. La Plata, December, 11th, 2014.

²³ Interview with Guillermo David. Writer of book: *Philosophy of Argentina*. Buenos Aires, December, 15th, 2014.

²⁴ Interview with Laura Alfano. Brand Strategy & Verbal, Branding, Director Spanish Latin America. Future Brand. Buenos Aires, January, 16th, 2015.

²⁵ Interview with Laura Alfano. Brand Strategy & Verbal, Branding, Director Spanish Latin America. Future Brand. Buenos Aires, January, 16th, 2015.

also take into account the reality of the national identity of Argentina in order to realize a more pragmatic nation brand of Argentina. The public opinion of the Argentinians towards the nation branding strategy is divided. It is not widely accepted by the Argentinians, because they do not care that much about the outside world and competing within the global market. Is it, maybe, this sceptical attitude of the Argentinians that construct their national identity? It seems to be a disputable question.

3.3 Marketing of Argentina: 'Estrategia marca país'

Now, the process of Argentine nation branding will be described. In 2004, president Nestór Kirchner presented the foundational document of the nation branding strategy, containing its background, scope and principles, of Argentina. The actual realization of the nation branding strategy of Argentina was introduced by Carlos Meyer in 2006. He showed the winning nation branding strategy of the so-called competition. From then on the nation branding strategy of Argentina was put into practice.

After these two introductory presented phases of the nation branding strategy, the cooperation with the public institutions is important in order to realize a nation branding strategy. After this, it was possible to set up programs, strategic plans with objectives and actions in order to realize the nation branding strategy of Argentina. Finally, it is important to continue the nation branding strategy and see whether it is necessary to revise the nation branding strategy of the country (Ramos, Noya, 2006: 6-7; *Estrategia marca país*, 2006: 14-15).

According to Roberto Occhipinti, there are eleven phases in order to realize a nation branding strategy. These phases are a clear objective of the nation branding project; clear description of the contextual situation of the country and the nation branding; field work with questionnaires containing questions about the image of Argentina provided to Argentinians as well as to people outside the country; analysis of proposals; combining the results of the field work with these analysis; creation of design of nation branding strategy of Argentina; awareness of having an Argentine nation brand for the Argentinians as well as for people outside the country; implementation of nation branding strategy; analysis of results of nation branding strategy in areas of tourism, direct investment and export; eventually necessary adaptations; maintenance of nation branding strategy; reframing of nation branding strategy of Argentina, for example with a new government in charge of Argentine politics (Occhipinti, 2003: 42-48).

Joseph Valls explains these eleven stages of Occhipinti in the creation of a nation branding strategy in four stages, namely: positioning phase, initiative phase, phase of maintenance and the optimization phase (Devoto, 2008: 18).

The executed field work and the results of the field work will be described in more detail now. The

questionnaires were distributed in twenty-six countries all over the world to measure how people perceive Argentina and what the image of Argentina is. There were three clear groups: the opinions of Argentina, of Latin American countries and the rest of the world with countries of Europe, Asia, Canada and the United States. There was a certain top three after analysing the results. The tango and Maradona are perceived as the most Argentine expressions, followed by football and meat, and finally other factors. Other factors mentioned by Argentinians were *dulce de leche* and *mate*. However, people outside of Argentina do not recognize it as being exclusively Argentina. Latin American citizens see national rock music as a factor of Argentina and in the rest of the world, Evita Perón plays a significant role of being part of Argentina. Then, there are some personalities, such as Che Guevara, Borges and Cortazar that determine the Argentine nation and its identity (Occhipinti, 2003: 65-67).

However, the Argentine government decided not to use any of these aspects associated with Argentina for the nation branding strategy of Argentina. It decided to use the diversity of the country as the main component of the Argentine nation branding strategy. It refers to the diversity of territory, culture, people and finally to its diversity of production by means of cultural products, tourism, science, technology and industry. The first motto of the nation branding strategy was “diversity that creates value”, or “*diversidad que crea valor*” (‘Estrategia marca país’, 2006: 26-27).

The idea of diversity can be illustrated with the logo of the Argentine which exist of three waves in the colours blue, light blue and grey, now changed into yellow. The blue colours refer to the Argentine flag. The colour grey refers to modernity, innovation, and technology. It changed into the colour yellow which has the same significance, but it gives the logo a warmer sense. Figure 3 shows the logo of the nation branding strategy of Argentina.

Figure 3. Logo, ‘Estrategia marca país Argentina



Source: ‘Estrategia marca país, 2006: 36

These waves could have multiple interpretations ranging from the waves of telecommunication to the socio-historical fluctuation and the sensual dynamics of the tango. These ideas lead to certain aspects energy, strength, happiness, passion, vitality which lead to three domains of reason, passion and nature and these in turn lead to three contexts commerce, tourism and knowledge. Other interpretations of the waves could be variety of the geography of Argentina and the flux of the immigrants who came to Argentina (Brea, 2009: 63–64; Devoto, 2008: 43).

It is clear that the logo with these three waves could have many interpretations in which these aspects refer to diversity of Argentina. Finally, the logo could illustrate some contrasts from tourist to commercial, from global to local, from soberness to joy, from modern to conservative, and from Latin American roots to origins from Europe (Brea, 2009: 63-64).

The abstractness and the minimalist idea of the logo refers to youthfulness of the Argentine country and to the concept of modernity.

There is a certain division between Argentinians and nation branding experts about the design of the visual identity, or logo, of the nation branding strategy of Argentina. On the one hand, it is clear that with the logo, the Argentine government would like to indicate the diversity of Argentina. On the other hand, as Occhipinti clarifies, with nation branding, countries should differentiate themselves from other countries by using distinctive features. However, as already mentioned earlier, by Laura Alfano, almost every country in Latin America is diverse. That is why, the question is whether the visual identity of Argentina distinguishes itself from other Latin American countries. Another consideration to take into account, is the abstractness of the logo. It is important that Argentinians can identify themselves with the logo. The question is whether this is possible with a logo that contains three waves and is very abstract (Chaves, 2012: video).²⁶

In conclusion, the nation branding strategy of Argentina is a state policy. However, the government implemented and executed stages in order to get a representative idea of the image of Argentina perceived by the Argentinians themselves and by other countries. With these results, the nation branding strategy is partly constructed on Argentine realities and its image. However, the government of Argentina is certainly using manipulative techniques in order to position Argentina in a better way than it is in reality.

²⁶ Interview with Laura Alfano. Brand Strategy & Verbal, Branding, Director Spanish Latin America. Future Brand. Buenos Aires, January, 16th, 2015.

Conclusion

In this thesis, the concepts national identity, nation branding and the relationship between these terms have been analyzed. These ideas are applied to the Argentine context, to the Argentine nation and its national identity, and to the nation branding of Argentina. With the academic literature and sources found regarding these topics, the following points can be concluded.

To begin with, the relationship between national identity and nation branding depends on two approaches. On the one hand, it is the essentialist view that explains the relationship between nation branding and national identity. Nations should represent factors of their national identity, such as landscape, literature, music, sport, architecture and so on and communicate these to the international world. On the other hand, it is the constructivist approach that clarifies the relationship between national identity and nation branding which emphasize the ideas of an imagined, invented and constructed nation. It is the idea of imagining the nation in a better way than is realistic. Furthermore, governments use manipulative techniques to position and promote the nation in a more positive way than is realistic in order to attract tourists, investors and exporters.

On the other hand, the image of a nation plays a significant role in the nation branding of a country. Countries with positive images and reputation do not have problems attracting tourists, exporters and investors. These countries certainly have strong nation brands. In contrast, countries with negative images do have these problems and therefore they have relatively weak nation brands. For countries with strong images it is difficult to create a weaker image as it is difficult for countries with weak images to create stronger ones. The image of a nation determines the first success or failure of a country's nation brand.

Moreover, the Argentine national identity is difficult to determine. It has some common aspects, such as language, territory, religion and history. However, the Argentine nation is culturally and territorially diverse. The question is whether Argentina does not have multiple identities instead of a single national identity.

Furthermore, there is one possible theory that could construct the Argentine national identity this is the mass migration of Europeans to Argentina. It has resulted in a modern and white Argentine nation. Still, other Latin American countries and the Argentinians themselves view the Argentine nation as a 'white nation' or as an European country of the Latin American region. Still, the question remains, does this approach construct the national identity of Argentina? It seems to be a disputable field.

Taking into account the Argentine national identity for the creation of a nation brand of Argentina is rather difficult. Argentina is a highly diverse nation. The government decided to use the diversity of

the country for the nation branding of Argentina. However, almost every country in Latin America is diverse. With nation branding, countries should differentiate themselves from the rest of the world with distinctive aspects of the nation and its identity. This is certainly questionable with the nation branding strategy of Argentina.

To continue, there is no clear relationship between Argentine national identity and nation branding. The state's government is using manipulative techniques in order to position and promote Argentina in a better way than is realistic. However, the Argentine government did some research in order to get a representative idea of the image of Argentina perceived by the Argentinians themselves and by other countries. Thus, the nation branding contains some nation's truths, because nation branding cannot only be imagined. That is why, the nation branding of Argentina contains some reality as well as creativity.

Finally, the nation branding strategy is not widely accepted by Argentinians, because of their relatively negative attitude towards globalization and competition within the global market. The Argentine citizens are more concerned about their country and their own issues. Is it this sceptical attitude of the Argentinians that constructs their national identity? It seems to be a continuing question.

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