

Modernity and media construction of consumption. An approach to Mall Parque Arauco's strategies*

Modernidad y construcción mediática del consumo. Una aproximación a las estrategias de Mall Parque Arauco

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Abstract

In this article we study the first mall installed in Chile, Parque Arauco, in 1982, as an urban space of communication, which operated discursively in the medial space in a dictatorial context and economic crisis. This shopping center, considered an icon of modernity associated with the free market model installed during dictatorship is analyzed from a media approach analysis, through two dimensions in the context of its inauguration: information coverage and advertising. From a qualitative content analysis of the news and of the advertising pieces of the written press, it is studied how said shopping center contributed to install consumption as an articulating axis of social relations and expression of economic success through the media at that time.

Keywords

Consumption, Modernity, Journalism, Advertising, Dictatorship.

Resumen

En este artículo se estudia al primer *mall* instalado en Chile, Parque Arauco, en 1982, como un espacio urbano de comunicación que operó discursivamente en el espacio medial en un contexto dictatorial y de crisis económica. Este *mall*, en cuanto ícono de modernidad asociado al modelo de libre mercado instalado durante la dictadura es analizado desde sus estrategias mediales, a través de dos dimensiones: la cobertura informativa y la publicidad, en el contexto de su inauguración. A partir de un análisis cualitativo de contenido de las notas de prensa y de las piezas publicitarias en prensa escrita, se estudia cómo dicho centro comercial contribuyó a instalar al consumo como eje articulador de las relaciones sociales y expresión del éxito económico por parte de la prensa de la época.

Palabras clave

Consumo, Modernidad, Periodismo, Publicidad, Dictadura.

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1. Introduction

This article analyzes the medial presence of the first mall built in Chile, Parque Arauco, opened in 1982 and its relation to the installation of a particular discourse in regards to modernity, associated with the consumption experience. According to Escudero (2008), if the malls constitute daily city landmarks and are areas of commerce, leisure and social participation on many levels, "we can also appeal to an indirect appreciation of the city by way of the mass communication media, of the cultural references or of conversation to recognize the importance of malls in current urban use" (p.14).

From this perspective, we consider it important to analyze the medial proposal of Parque Arauco, as a constitutive part of the space of this urban-symbolic apparatus, that opens its doors in the middle of the 1982 economic crisis, in a sector of high income families and in the context of a civic-military dictatorship (De Simone, 2018).¹ According to Massey (2005), space and the city are product of interrelationships, of the confluence of different factors, entities and their associated practices, which takes place in an open dynamic and environment of constant change. Therefore, and more specifically, this article addresses the medial proposal of this mall via the communicational apparatuses in the printed press of that era, both in terms of journalistic pieces and advertising, to explore its connection with the free market model implemented by the military dictatorship starting in 1975. It is important to consider that the media context, starting this year, was marked by the expansion of the advertising and entertainment industries, contrasting the lack of information and censorship, as well as journalist persecution. Tironi and Sunkel (1993) state that "in 1977 all restrictions that existed on the contracting and presentation of advertising were eliminated, which brought about the private sector to have more influence in the development of the medium" (p.223). In the case of entertainment, for Durán (2012), together with the popularity of the color TV in the 80s,

entertainment on TV were priority, causing a decrease in news and educational programming.

In terms of the press's situation during this period, Tironi and Sunkel (1993) distinguish between different approximations presented in the studies. One "focuses on the effects of the political system on the communication field, highlighting its objectives of repression, discipline and ideological framing", which include restrictions of freedom of speech and "the combination of apparatuses used by the political power to control information" (p.216). Another issue is the role of the press of the opposition in the defense of freedom of speech, as well as the citizens movement against the military regime. The authors claim that, considering both the political and ideological control dynamics, and the efforts to defend freedom of speech, it is equally important to consider other variables that affected the media system, such as modernization, as well as operation in the context of a free trade market, particularly from the 80s. This process of promoting consumption –by way of a mall– in a dictatorship was not exclusive to Chile. It also occurred in other countries with authoritarian regimes, in those which the economy –and especially the symbolic elements of consumption– reached a political project status. Such was the case of South Africa during the regime of the *Apartheid* and its later transition, or in regimes like those of Vietnam and Singapur (Horridge & Kurfürst, 2011).

In this medial context, mall Parque Arauco not only represented a vital point of what Castro (2012) calls "the centrality of consumption and entertainment in current society" (p.165), but also an iconic reference of the free market model. As suggested by Tomic, Trumper and Hidalgo (2006), cleanliness and sanitary spaces are important for the Santiago of the authoritarian regime, as part of the creation and seal of modernity. Among these spaces, the authors distinguish *the shopping mall* as one of its most important expressions in the country, both in terms of the Americanization

and the "Chilean economic miracle". On the other hand, you have to consider the mall as a space of communication that implies a new way of being together, which "allows us to recognize ourselves as part of a specific social and cultural environment" (Cornejo, 2006, p. 93), as well as providing a feeling of safety and security.

2. Modernity, communication media and mass consumption

Para Giddens (1997), modernity should be understood as a post-traditional order, where the dimensions of time and space are profoundly affected and, as a result, social relationships are conducted under a new spatial-temporal dimension (p. 9). Upon altering these two dimensions, modernity is understood as a historic process, via which large transformations take place in social life. The aforementioned causes a break with tradition, which for Durkheim is expressed in a profound change, from life forms of "simple character" to societies of "complex character" (Busquet et al, 2015: 115). One main aspect to consider in these transformations would be for Thompson (1998) the development of the media, which are closely interrelated with transformation that have given rise to the modern world (p. 11). For this author, if you want to understand the characteristics of modernity and its life conditions, communication media are located at the center, which by increasing the circuits of distribution of symbolic goods, they allow individuals to distance themselves from their daily, traditional lives –not literally but symbolically– by having an idea of other ways and life conditions (232).

Despite the revindication that Thompson makes of the media regarding these processes, in Europe the discourses on modernity have traditionally taken as reference the socio-classical thought and the processes of rationalization associated to the expansion of

the school, political democracy and capitalist development. In contrast to what happened in these societies that have experienced modernity as a self-promoted process, in Latin America, in the access to modernity –or supposed access– communication media take on a main role. This linking of modernity and communication media is particularly relevant in the 80s, upon expanding into wide intellectual circles. As an example, we can mention the case of Mexican author Carlos Fuentes (1990), who proposed at the end of the 80s that "we are a continent in desperate search for our modernity" (p.12-13), search that for José Joaquín Brunner (1994), constitutes an "unavoidable encounter" and "contradictorily assumed", which goes hand in hand with globalization, democracy, expansion of cultural and consumption industries, among its main characteristics (p.17). This central role played by communication media in Latin America brings about unique transformations on an economic, political and cultural level (Martín-Barbero, 1994; 1996). This perspective is reinforced by the work of Ortiz (1997); García-Canclini (1990; 1995) and (Brunner, 1992), among other renowned Latin American intellectuals that have addressed the topic.

In the context of this relationship, it's important to note the role the news, entertainment, and advertising industries have played. In the case of the last, it is interesting that there has been little interest in studying it in the national academic realm compared to other cultural industries. Only in the last years has there been a rising interest in the subject. For example, we note the work of Durán (2012); Gómez & Racciatti (2013); Gómez-Lorenzini et. al. (2016); Porath et. al. (2017); Uribe et. al. (2008); Vergara et. al 2012) and Zerán (2012). An overall analysis of the advertising should consider that not only does it have a function in a market economy by incentivizing competition, but it is also a fundamental piece for financing the media industry and, in its cultural dimension, as Rey (2008) suggests, constituting a main apparatus, given its influence in the world views, the horizons of meaning

and in the aesthetic sensitivity. Following this perspective, advertising, more than creating necessities, would be a direct consequence of modernity, upon contributing to the development of the communication media and, in consequence, to the definition of an independent public opinion, fundamental requirement of modern democracy (Vergara & Garrido, 2014). Not in vain, Raymond Williams (1960) called it the key piece to contemporary capitalism, "its official art".

A phenomenon closely linked to advertising is consumption, which constitutes a fundamental dimension of contemporary societies (Busquet & Vergara, 2017). In this sense, the theories of Douglas and Isherwood (1996) are particularly enlightening in regards to its role in current society: "The idea of consumption itself must be placed at the foundation of social progress, [...] Consumption must be recognized as an integral part of the social system that explains the desire to work, which forms part of the social need to relate with other people and to have objects of mediation in order to achieve it" (p. 18). In this sense, and following the theories of Sassatelli (2012), consumption is a complex social and cultural practice, interconnected with all the phenomena that have contributed to the configuration of contemporary society, where the role of advertising is key given that it builds, via products, a universe of meanings that make them "consumable". This is significant for the consumer, in that it gives him a place in his "structure of needs" modifying and increasing his desires and demands (p. 18). Similarly, Peña (2017) relates consumption to the expansion of modernization processes, where the purchase of goods is linked to sociability and the access to new social statuses, aspects that, for this author, "becomes part of the personal *ethos*" (p. 14). This role of consumption not only affects the processes of modernization themselves, but rather would have a consequence in the transition of authoritarian to democratic regimes. It would be the case, for example, of the Francoist Spain of the 60s, where the expansion of consumption contributed to the de-

velopment of a mass market and to changes that Spanish society underwent (López Pérez, 2005). For Julià (1994), the keys that explain the transition of that country are found in the process of modernization that took place during the dictatorship, where the middle classes took on a culture "contrary the revolutionary ways" expressed by a strong appreciation of stability and order (p. 102).

This process will have similarities to that which happened in Chile. Starting in 1975, two years after the military overthrow of 1973, the regime introduced a new free market economic model, which led to an unprecedented opening of the Chilean economy. The implementation of this model would have, as one of its most direct consequences, the entrance of goods and brands traditionally considered as status goods, which, together with an explosive investment in advertising, had a heavy impact on expectations, via the promotion of new consumption habits, lifestyles and values belonging to a process of capitalist modernization (Fontaine, 2002). In this context, the advertising spot constitutes a first-class communicational support, that defines the relationship between brands and new imaginaries associated to the economic model. That is, consumption as a mobilizing element of new social role models. To this respect, authors like Moulian (1998), Tironi (1999), Larraín (2001) and Peña (2017) show, from different perspectives, the profound cultural change experienced as a result of the reforms imposed by the dictatorship. Said change puts consumption as the defining aspect of social life and the construction of identities.

In strictly mediatic terms, one of the first consequences of the military overthrow was the silencing of the political press, which enabled the country's two main newspapers of national and commercial coverage, (*El Mercurio y La Tercera*) to operate without competition until the end of the 80s (Sunkel & Geoffrey, 2001). Likewise, these authors indicate: "During the 80s the authoritarian regime would maintain that control, but what is important

is that the private sector would be able to consolidate its predominance over the entire system of the press" (p.31). Said process of depoliticization and commercialization of the press is exemplified by Brunner (1982) via the reference to an editorial published by the newspaper *El Mercurio* in 1978, where it says: "for this purpose (*El Mercurio*) has been dedicating an increasing amount of space in its daily issues to information for consumers" (p.17). Such media logic, together with the very dimensions of the free market model, translate into an explosive increase in advertising investment, reaching 1% of GNP in 1980, with around 300 advertising agencies operating in the Chilean market (Brunner, 1982: 16).

The role played by advertising in this period has to do with an interrelation of the following factors: 1) a rising tendency towards self-financing of media causes them to rely significantly on advertising and 2) the re-orientation of the media occurs during heavy censorship of the press, which works in favor of its commercial focus, especially in newspapers and television, being the most popular media and support of advertising investment. It is possible to claim that advertising, during the dictatorship, contributed to spreading an imaginary of modernity, contrasting an asphyxiating censorship of press, where for Brunner (1982), "the market, in an authoritarian context, operates with a substitute expectation of politics" and when "consumption implies, from the beginning, an act of positioning in the order of social stratifications" (p. 40). In this sense, consumption –especially regarding durable goods– "simultaneously represents a production of symbols, a way of acting in an intricate network of social meanings" (p.44). It is no coincidence that between the main aesthetic characteristics that advertising of the era presents, we note a connection with that of the international brands, upon highlighting the objects and their relation with lifestyles and a enriched daily life. All these elements, together, worked to create a visual identity functional with the incipient society of consumption be-

ing developed in Chile (Vergara & Garrido, 2011). In effect, one of the functions of advertising in this authoritarian context aimed at situating objects and brands as part of a desirable imaginary, a new fiction reality that would dynamize the market by way of products qualities.

3. The Mall as symbolic apparatus of modernity and media artefact

These economic and communicational transformations would consolidate politically with the Constitution of 1980. In this environment, the grand opening of *mall* Parque Arauco in 1982, beyond the criticism it met on behalf of some intellectual circles, would be a symbol of modernization and "normalization" that Chile experienced while in a dictatorship and in a space of daily routine (De Simone, 2015: 332; Salcedo & De Simone, 2013).

Symbolically speaking, according to the United Nations Development Program, UNDP (2002), the *mall* responds to a "dream of society", which at the same time, resorts to traditional markets where the familiar and the exotic converge, which, in the case of the *mall*, you would have to add the entertainment, the lights, the luxury and the voluptuousness. In other words, it would conform an artificial paradise that reflects the collective dream of society (p.105). This approximation materially synthesizes a particular idea of domestic modernity, which at the same time is in connection with the aspiration of an idea of international modernity associated to the developed world. In this new dimension, the subject itself experiences additions to his psychological identity the possibility of projecting himself towards society via a symbolic universe of objects of consumption. This operation defines two dimensions of modernity itself: the power of choice and the exhibition of the individual as social subject.

Mediatically speaking, the *mall* constitutes a communicative space that promotes, not only the sale of products and services, but also a combination of experiences that embody the experience of consumption in modern codes. These attributes constitute main dimensions of brand positioning. It is important to note that the promise of modernity that the *mall* embodies is experienced within the *mall* itself, an aspect which in the context of the 80s took on a notable dimension, if you consider the political and economic situation at that time. This structuring of Parque Arauco as a communicating apparatus, responds to a new logic of corporate nature, in which the brand acted as a producer of content beyond the objects of consumption, dimension that would constitute a novelty in the context of the 80s. The previous tendency, which positions the *mall* as a producer of content is that which has been developed in Chile's last 30 years. An example is the case of Mall Plaza Vespucio with its interior spaces and conception of community (Jara Reyes et. al., 2005). Nevertheless, for these authors Mall Plaza Vespucio builds a promise of community that provides a combination of unresolved issues from a consumption standpoint. Applied to Parque Arauco, its construction constitutes a first generation of material and symbolic foundations of a proposal of sociability and community in terms of consumption, in which different social actors of the era gather. However, this operation is not foreign to tensions that arise in contradiction with the hegemonic stories of the 80s.

4. Methodology

The methodological approach for this study is qualitative, which responds to the objective of identifying the main discursive axes on which *mall* Parque Arauco built its medial presence regarding the period of its grand opening in 1982, by way of a socio-semiotic approach that highlights the important role that messages play, both linguistically and visually. Considering the grand opening was

held in April, the analysis considers the several months just before the event and several months following its opening.

Considered as units of analysis for field work, press releases and the advertising and print media with national coverage and high advertising investment (*El Mercurio* y *La Tercera*). A corpus of 24 press releases and 193 advertising spots (both individual brands and co-advertising with other brands). Firstly, the units of analysis were explored with the objective of identifying transversal categories that allow for the description and comparison of the content in the releases and advertisements. Secondly, a framework of categories was created for each one of the units of analysis, that allows for identifying the medial presence and proposal. For purposes of this article five analysis referring to the media proposal of Parque Arauco as examples. They enable an in-depth analysis and interpretation of the material selected.

5. Results Analysis

You could say that the journalistic coverage did not constitute a relevant news event. However, it mainly appeared in the newspaper *El Mercurio* and was oriented towards an appreciation of the *mall* in a context of a process of economic modernization, which was positioned as an example of progress itself, as well as symbolizing the fruits of the free market system. For example, we can site the case of the interview with the mayor of the city of Las Condes, who described the grand opening as "a testament of faith in a period of recession"². Another interesting reference to highlight is the attention to details made by the development and commercial operation that precede the construction of the *mall*, showcasing its international aspect, potential for new business and development of the local market. On the other hand, this type of coverage goes together with paid inserts (first advertorials of the era³) that show the arrival of the new type of commercial

center that breaks with the traditional form of understanding consumption in Chile.

In the particular case of covering the grand opening, the newspaper *El Mercurio* published the news using the headline "Grand Opening of "Parque Arauco"⁴. At the beginning of the article itself the presence of authorities was noted: "With the attendance of the members of the government junta, Admiral José Toribio Merino and the General Director of Carabineros Police Force César Mendoza and the Mayor of the Metropolitan Region Carol Urzúase the modern commercial complex Parque Arauco held its grand opening". There are no ads by any of the authorities. The article is short, and proceeds to describe the location (Avenue Kennedy, city of Las Condes), the size (60,000 meters squared) and its cost (55 million USD), as well as its financing bank, Banco de Brasil. It later refers to the two floors it has, the number of stores (130) and the variety: "clothing, food, gifts, toy, books, home decoration, electronics, jewelers, etc.". In addition, there is reference to the different services found at the location: "banks, financial services, travel agencies, restaurants and entertainment centers". The texts uses some adjectives such as "modern" to refer to the mall, "large" in reference to the department stores located at each end of the mall (Gala-Sears and Muricy), "where you can buy anything from a pin to a fur coat, as well as things for the home". Likewise, it is described as "a giant building".

The information also indicates that the executive director of Parque Arauco, Alfredo Leontic claims that the mall will produce 1,500 jobs. The article shows aspects of decoration and architecture. For example, "a large central carillon with 31 bells, that plays different melodies". There is reference to the fact that this object was built in Holland, "by expert artisans, with Chilean copper". On the other hand, we note the rules and regulations that each store must follow, of an average of 80 meters squared each, which for the authorization must have operated for

at least 3 years in the country, follow strict administration guidelines emplaced by the center and maintain a uniform decoration, which will be continuously checked. The news article ends with a quote from the Mayor of Las Condes Jorge Martínez's speech, who mentions the current economic and financial crisis.

In the case of the advertorial, it was published on Saturday, April 3rd. The frontpage headline is "Parque Arauco Shopping Center" and each one of the following pages carries the logo of Parque Arauco. It is interesting to note in news terms the 5 denominated (epigraphs) of the cover: 1) 100 million dollars invested; 2) Two stores per department; a supermarket and 130 businesses have everything for everybody; 3) 1500 people work at Parque Arauco; 4) An incredible building that is 3 blocks long, with 3 interior plazas; 5) There is everything you need to fill a home, as well as build it. All this information can be interpreted as a direct appeal to financial resources, product availability, source of jobs and large scale in terms of infrastructure and spaces. In other words, an exaltation of some of the keys to the free market discourse is made as synonymous with the era's prevailing modernity.

The inside pages of the insert are dedicated to information about the supermarket (Almac), and each one of the department stores (Gala-Sears and Muricy) and a mattress and bedroom furniture store (Rosen). The main informative sources are, in these cases, the store managers. In addition, there is information on the international stores opening in or coming soon to Parque Arauco, such as the Parisian store "Casa Phillipe Salvet", presented as an exclusive store, and whose opening would feature a fashion show or the case of the high-end chocolates store from Brazil. Other information featured have to do with Parque Arauco's corporate aspects, where it talks about the millions of dollars invested and its contribution to the development of public and recreational space. Finally, 130 stores are classified under the title "Shop-

ping in Parque Arauco" and the following text:

The 130 establishments in which you can find anything imaginable in goods have been categorized by specialty. Management took the measures necessary to provide a reasonable variety of stores in each important category. The following is a list of leasers organized by activity at Parque Arauco Shopping Center.

This specific reference to the stores and their accompanying explanation takes on a pedagogy associated to the new consumption space, both in its material dimension (the stores themselves) and how to inhabit this new space and optimize the experience via new public spaces designed especially for this effect.

In the case of the analysis of advertising pieces of Parque Arauco, it is possible to distinguish in formal terms the coexistence of two typologies of adverts: on one hand, those that are structured based on text only, plus the presence of a logotype and, the other, pieces that incorporate visual elements such as photographs as well as illustrations. In the case of the text-only adverts, these fulfill, in communication terms, the ability to satisfy multiple needs of individual nature. As an implied promise, they present the enrichment of the purchase via the offer of additional activities offered by Parque Arauco, as part of a larger experience linked to consumption. In strictly graphic terms, this type of advertisement in its entirety presents the same layout for all its pieces, which are structured in the following terms: in the first place, a main text that appeals to an informative logic in terms of delivering news associated to an event in particular. For example, "Today, enjoy a different kind of morning: performance by the Royal Ballet of Tahiti at Parque Arauco". This main calling is followed by a section of smaller print that specifies the access conditions to the event. All of this type of pieces have the Parque Arauco logotype in the right bottom corner, in proportion with a noticeable visual presence in the whole of the piece.

This type of advert fulfills two complementary communication dimensions that signify the act of consumption as a value in itself. On one hand, it aims at establishing a subjective relationship between the consumer and Parque Arauco (that proposes the ability to satisfy the individual needs, however different they are). On the other, a particular validation of the act of purchasing is being offered: "Parque Arauco Shopping Center, Where shopping is an outing". Shopping is associated to a recreational and social activity. We note that both dimensions aim at generating in the consumer a conceptualization of shopping as an enriching activity in regards to the daily routine, characterized by the presence of an event that breaks up the routine by offering a novel and entertaining activity-experience.

Figure 1: Newspaper *El Mercurio*, mayo de 1982.



Another type of advertising piece identified performs an iconic-textual synthesis. In this context, there is a relationship between the text (that refers to the promise of Parque Arauco) and the image (presented as reference material of the potential consumption experience). We suggest that this type of piece builds a discourse on the consumption experience, upon referring explicitly to the change that Parque Arauco means, in terms of re-assigning a meaning of consumption as such, from the keys of the li-

beral model. In this new logic, the subject, his necessities, the values associated to a better wellbeing in a controlled material environment, the new promise and the possibility of being active subject via consumption is carried out in the context of the *mall*. Additionally, communicationally speaking, it is interesting to note the appeal to the concept and presence of department stores (Muricy and Gala Sears), presented as testament to the internationalization and access to the modern world that Parque Arauco brings, in connection with the promises of the government of that era associated to the model implemented.

In graphic terms, the cleanliness of the pieces is noteworthy as well as the antagonistic visual presence of the "old" way of consumption (focused only on its functional dimension) in regards to the option that Parque Arauco offers (opening the act of consumption to other dimensions, like entertainment and comfort). Another aspect worth highlighting, together with the order and layout of its design, is the visual role of the logo-type (that responds to a simpler design in terms of its shapes and higher legibility and attraction) in the right corner of the advert, which connotes the ability of the brand to interpret and present this new consumption experience. Here, advertising incorporates a new way of presenting the brands inside the spatial design of the adverts, reserving them a space within its structure, repeatable on different supports.

Finally, we note that a significant part of the advertising from the period analyzed responds to a co-advertising logic, where the brand Parque Arauco establishes the anchoring of the different brands and stores present in the *mall*, regarding a common promise: the purchase as subjective experience. In other words, Parque Arauco establishes a context of meaning making the other brands participate in its own symbolic universe.

Figure 2: Newspaper *El Mercurio*, 2 de abril de 1982.

6. Conclusions

We can conclude that via the development of new communicational apparatuses associated to consumption experiences –like in the case of mall Parque Arauco– new types of social relationships were proposed based on consumption, as an idea of what is modern and of a new social status associated to this practice. Baudrillard (1988) would allude to the construction of a new “system of objects”, understood as objects-signs, capable of building intersubjectivities and identities based on a symbolic and social integration via consumption. Another interesting dimension to highlight, is built by a public experience based on a private dimension that is defined base on consumption, in

terms of social practice associated to new meanings and temporalities. From this perspective, the visit to the mall builds a promise that is reminiscent of old urban outings to parks and plazas. Parque Arauco proposes, on a mediatic level, inheriting the dimension of public space of sociability and interaction of the outing, adding a purchase factor as well as a non-functional time in strictly commercial terms.

The grand opening of Parque Arauco on both an informative and advertising level fulfills a foundational condition. The press expresses an idea of progress and the advertising, a new experience of consumption that connects with a neoliberal perception of modernity. This foundational condition materializes via the connection of the consumer experience with examples validated internationally, that connect with the image of a more complex consumer who is open to the world and able to choose products and services over others based on the construction of his own identity, mediated via the objects and their symbolic potential. In this sense, the mediatic artifacts developed by Parque Arauco indirectly refer to questions about the projection of the subject via consumption: what I have seen, what I choose, how I behave and what material spaces I visit in connection with what I seek to project about myself and for others. It is interesting to note that the experience of modernity that Parque Arauco mediatically proposes, connects with that proposed by Giddens (1997), in regards to the very questions of a post-traditional order, how should I live?, how to behave, what to wear, what to eat—and many others—that refer to the creation of a dynamic identity of oneself that is projected over time and that, by opposition to a style of traditional consumption seeks to expressly differentiate one's self on the basis of exalting one's individual autonomy.

As Ibáñez (1994) suggests, consuming a brand in a consumption-based society is like buying a ticket to inhabit the world to which its advertising is referring. It is "buying the ri-

ght to step into the advert" (p.180). The mediatic proposal of Parque Arauco constitutes an eloquent example of an invitation to inhabit the project of modernity implemented in Chile during the dictatorship, expressed metaphorically via its advertising. Such invitation finally materializes in the physical space of the mall and is proven via consumption.

Notes

1. The economic crisis that the Chilean economy experienced during the 80s had an important impact: "For the first time in a decade, the Chilean economy was affected by a recessive crisis of considerable size, the worst in Latin America: in 1982 the GDP fell 14%, followed by a full-sector banking crisis and mass unemployment in 1983. The crisis brought on massive bankruptcy in the production sectors, including agriculture, industry, and construction. There was widespread political unrest and protests against the dictatorship that had been fierce, including among those who had supported the reforms" French-Davis (2008: 36-37). Unemployment reached 20%, which led to a period of heavy political-social protests which took place between 1983 and 1987.

2. *El Mercurio* (C4) (2-4-1982)

3. "Text tries to hide its commercial intention using apparently objective mold; (...) it typographically and linguistically imitates an informative nature, (...) that convinces the reader to buy a certain product" (Izquierdo,2010:129-135). Disguised advertising or pseudojournalism (Castaños, 2007).

4. *El Mercurio* (C4) (2-4-1982)

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