

Visual dispositif and normalizing the youth in *Margarita* magazine (1934-1939)¹

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ABSTRACT

This article reports shows the modes ways of production of hegemonic images of on female youth in Chile, taking as a subject study the advertising pieces embedded appeared in a Chilean magazine, *Margarita*. The corpus analyzed was of 17 advertising images, all of them from *Margarita*, a Zig-Zag Publishers magazine issued between 1934 and 1939. The image as a visual dispositif allowed understanding both the relationships that enable the construction of an image and the productivity itself that constitutes the visual object. These images, when by promoting actions and specific body care products, join a flow of record, language and biopolitics practice.

Keywords: Visual Dispositif, youth, woman, body, Chile.

RESUMEN

Este artículo da cuenta de los modos de producción de imágenes hegemónicas sobre juventud femenina en Chile a partir del estudio de piezas publicitarias insertas en la revista Margarita. El corpus analizado fue de 17 imágenes publicitarias provenientes de la revista Margarita, del sello editorial Zig-Zag, en el periodo 1934-1939. La imagen, entendida como dispositivo visual, permitió comprender la red de relaciones que la hacen posible y la productividad que constituye lo visual. Estas imágenes, al promover acciones y productos específicos de cuidado corporal, se incorporan a un movimiento de registro, lenguaje y práctica biopolítica.

Palabras clave: Dispositivo visual, juventud, mujer, cuerpo, Chile.

RESUMO

Este artigo relata os modos de produção de imagens hegemônicas de jovens do sexo feminino no Chile, a partir do estudo de peças publicitárias da revista *Margarita*. O corpus analisado foi de 17 imagens publicitárias da revista *Margarita*, da editora Zig-Zag, no período 1934-1939. A imagem, entendida como um dispositivo visual, permitiu compreender a rede de relações que a tornam possível, e produtividade em si que constitui o visual. Estas imagens, através da promoção de ações e produtos específicos de higiene corporal, se incorpora a um movimento de registro, linguagem e prática biopolítica.

Palavras-chave: Dispositivo visual, juventude, mulher, corpo, Chile.

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INTRODUCTION

The analysis of the way in which the media construct inequality from the age difference has neglected two central issues in the constitution of the ways of seeing and making visible youth: on the one hand, the socio-historical matrices that make up certain ways of doing youth, and which therefore require deploying diachronic perspectives on the object of study, and, moreover, the role of the visual image as part of such strategies.

A discussion with a historical perspective on the role that the press would have on the constitution of these youth visibilities becomes a strategic task. There are research studies on this field, at least in Chile, analyzing the constitution of the media system since the beginning of the modern press in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century (Ossandón, 2002, Santa Cruz, 1999). Special mention should be made to the joint work of Ossandón and Santa Cruz (2001), in which they establish a historical framework for understanding the role of the press in the modernization of Chilean society in the twentieth century. Thus, they propose a systematic study not only of what it is said –treating the media and the press only as sources–, but also of how the content is said or stated, and with what communicative purposes, making the discourse of the press an object of study. In this regard, we note that although the media have been constructed as objects of study for the disciplinary field, in the analyses there is a rather descriptive or synchronic and contingent character (Ossa, 1999).

In short, the critical observations of Bernedo (2004) on communication studies developed in Chile seem suggestive. In those, he alludes to the poor conceptualization and scarce depth of the research, which in the case of the relationship between youth and press appears bounded to the sixties through the analysis of the magazine *Ritmo* (García Huidobro & Escobar, 2012). There is an invisibility of the issue in the previous period (Santa Cruz, 2014), even though there was already empirical evidence of its importance in the early decades of the twentieth century (Aguilera, 2014).

Regarding the studies of youth image, the same thing happens. In them, the image has not had a specific treatment and, on the contrary, is mainly

used as a secondary material illustrating what textual discourses express (Aguilera, 2016). Thus, they become an unobjectionable starting point that graphs and represents what textual data points. We recognize a gap between the field of youth studies and other areas of social and human sciences, such as linguistics, where there have been significant advances regarding the multimodal union of text and image (Oteiza, 2009).

From the above, we consider the image as a production and not merely a representation. In that vein, we follow the ideas proposed by Hans Belting (2007) on the productive capacity of the image on the body, and how that image is always changing, unstable, and related to its production time and the environment where it is inserted or materialized. Thus, we approach youth images as containers of operations, interactions and knowledge that produce/affect the production of ideas on youth. This reading introduces a variation on the interpretations –mainly from the critical theory– concerning the status of the image considered as mimesis of a predetermined reality¹.

In this sense, we can recognize in the field of youth studies at least three approaches to the image: First, the visual representations of the youth (Pastoureau, 1996), which do not problematize what youth means, an approach particularly significant in Chile (Rinke, 2002, Vicuña, 2001). Second, the empirical study of youth cultures, which interrogates the subject about its clothes, bodies, media and expression. These are approaches –as well as studies on urban tribes (Costa, Pérez & Troppea, 1996)– consider images as an expression of identity (Castelló, 2008; Feixa, 2004; Hedbigge, 2003). c) Finally, an approach from which the images are considered in their cultural dimension, and not necessarily visual (Urteaga, 2009), resulting in the predominance of anthropological structures in the understanding and use of visual images with which research on youth works and illustrates its results (Feixa, 2004, Urteaga, 2009). In that sense, research on media industry and youth uses visual images as representations equivalent/comparable to the text (Savage, 2009), thus reproducing an epistemological tension on the visual status (Abril, 2012), and subtracting the potential to recognize the specific capacity to build meanings of each form of discourse (textual/visual).

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

To understand the role played by the mass media and advertising in installing ideas and fixating images on youth, it is necessary to consider that there was a variety of communication products for young people and developed by young people during the twentieth century. During the first decades of that century, the youth press –i.e., built and directed by young people– was mostly made up of student, political and even religious newsletters. In 1924, in the municipality of San Bernardo, the newsletter *La Primavera* was constituted as a specialized magazine for young students from private schools, a media where they could find data on spring festivals, student life and other actions of entertainment and leisure.

Traditional political parties and their youth sections developed other magazines aimed at young people, rather political, ranging from pamphlets to monthly publications. Another student/political dimension was occupied by the magazine *Claridad*, developed during the 1920s by the Federation of Students of Chile (FECH), constituted by university students, aimed at other young people. Catholics and/or religious schools also encouraged the production of magazines and student newsletters: in the 1920s, the publication *Triángulo* expressed clear moralizing messages on sexuality and health to the young people of Santiago (Aguilera, 2014).

There is no significant presence of print media generated by the cultural industry in the early decades of the century, thus the magazines and the independent, religious or student bulletins focused and produced discourses directed towards the youth. This situation changed in the thirties, a time when there was a greater number of youth magazines from industry. At the same time, the advertising industry, from the most diverse products, built a strong discourse on young women and men, taken as models and consuming targets, while better summarizing the modern lifestyle (Rinke, 2002).

In that context, the use of images for purposes related to consumption was a *dispositif* capable of conveying certain ideas that the written text could not explain the same way, as well as imaginatively introducing a body model that enjoyed the modern wonders and could be reached by the use of the advertised products.

YOUTH AND HEGEMONY

A brief note on the relationship of youth and communication can be useful to locate our aim: it is necessary to distinguish between communication *on* and *from* the youth. That is, the communication proposed and built from the adult world and that other elaborated by young people, who challenges the adult world (Aguilera, 2008). Whatever the entrance to this field, we must consider that the communicative relationship unfolds in a distinctly adult-centered context and, therefore, unequal and stratified between adults and young people. It is in this communicational framework that ways of naming things are unfolded and assigned, as well as socio-cultural attributes and certain social roles differentiated between young women or men. From this point of view, the question of youth involves the implementation of a cultural policy, as it requires problematizing and denaturalizing attributes and associated meanings that have become the foundation of the legitimacy of inequality by which this social group (young) is located into society. In that sense, the communicational scene becomes a central analyzer of the struggles for the constitution of visibilities, in a double hegemonic and counter-hegemonic dimension.

The concept of hegemony (Gramsci, 2013) has had different interpretations, but in broad terms can be defined as the process that achieves a consensus and acceptance of the ideas of a particular class or group about the world, as well as their relations, members, conduction mode and government. The emphasis, therefore, does not refer so much to a status (the dominant idea), but to the forces and social relations that enable the imposition of a certain representation – of youth, in this case– and its major acceptance in society. This process is then eminently relational: it happens between subjects and in a global concert.

Every relationship of 'hegemony' is necessarily an educational relationship and it is verified not only within a nation, among the various forces that compose it, but throughout the international and global field, between national and continental civilizations. (Crehan, 2004, p. 179)

Hegemony, as a practical action, is what ensures that social relations responsible for inequality reproduce

and endure from ideas that allow justifying it, regulating it and explaining it (Crehan, 2004). Hence, we state that the construction of a hegemonic idea of youth is not done by the single action in the abstract realm of ideas, but requires the active participation of the bodies and actors of society in supporting the idea/representation through the active consent of subordinate groups (Hall, 2010).

The reflection about how to understand and convey ideas granted the concern for the representation built by mass media a central place. Understanding the discourse as a social practice is what also enabled the recognition of media as *signifier agents* (Hall, 2010, p. 163). There was thus a transit from a behaviorist paradigm to a critical approach, which focused on and rediscovered the ideological dimension in the study of communication (Hall, 2010). The paradigm on media neutrality was displaced by those conceptions that recognize both the practices of power involved in the meaning of events, as a certain struggle to build certain meanings, where not only a particular social and collective understanding is at stake, but also the effective consent to certain actions. Thus, ideology is not only considered materially true for its ability to be real in its effects, but is instead a place for disputes of forces that must be conquered:

This means that ideology can no longer be seen as a dependent variable, a mere reflection of a reality existing previously in mind. In addition, the results are not predictable by deriving from some simple deterministic logic. They depend on the balance of forces in a particular historical juncture: the "politics of meaning". (Hall, 2010, p. 169)

All this inevitably leads to tension around the issue of representation, while representations are not static structures timelessly foregoing discursivities, but rather possible repertoires activated situationally in a given context, as possibility of a certain discourse on social reality. If we think about youth representation, we would then have to make a theoretical/methodological operation that enables the question for those socio-historical frameworks that allow producing, circulating and sustaining a certain hegemonic idea, and observe the tensions,

acceptances and reappropriations by some of the classes and groups involved in the specific field of (counter)hegemony.

On the other hand, excessive focus on youth representations makes the *dispositif* that produce them invisible. In response, it becomes essential problematizing the ways of (traditional) semiotic analysis of the produced meanings. This refers to representation and significance, which, through language, provide an insight into the production of a subject, of an identity or of an individual, and on the corresponding allocation of roles and functions. Such an operation modulates (or tries to do so) the meanings developed by/from the body, which is not necessarily part of that "rationalizing" level of language and communication, thus opening a pathway critical to the conventional semiotic model. Therefore, the question is bound by that level of meaning production geared directly to the government of the body through "non-signifying semiotics that (...) instead of producing signification, trigger an action, a reaction, a behavior, an attitude, a posture" (Lazaratto, 2006, p. 2). In the press, images and consumption play a crucial role regarding the production of subjectivity –youthful, in this case.

In this regard, Castro Gómez (2009) explores the importance that the imaginary components previous to representation and significance have in people when identifying with certain lifestyles, values and identities that do not always have/rest in some materials conditions or that simply still "not exist", as the case of the idea of youth in the first two decades of the twentieth century.

THE PRODUCTIVE CAPACITY OF THE IMAGE

In the first half of the twentieth century, images were increasingly relevant in magazines and their use occupies important spaces in them. Publications aimed at young people do not escape this process. The image of youth, especially of young women, was formed early, and led to a process of reproduction little studied from a socio-historical perspective. In that sense, the deployment of a media industry and the consolidation of advertising as a funding strategy fail to constitute into an explanatory or interpretive reason to how the body became the advertising

model par excellence for the promotion of the most diverse products, nor allows understanding why certain bodies, ideas and features became hegemonic to represent social groups. The naturalization of attributes that occurs in communication and is expressed in images, specifically in advertising images, is a process which, we believe, can hardly be explained causally, so we will seek to articulate a broad interpretation far from the economical/technological reduction that has explained the incorporation of image in advertising.

Since the nineteenth century, and in the context of the development of print media in Chile, advertising began to be printed and broadcasted in media. It was characterized by the exclusivity of the textual message, and the differences in advertising design were established by the contents rather than by a particular style, color or image. Now, how does a body representation is introduced and in what context could work better than a text message? If we refer only to images, we could say the following: first, with the appearance and distribution of illustrated magazines, the images began to have a place of greater importance, to the extent that they were considered a message easier to understand by and convey to illiterate society. Hence, the preference for transmitting messages by image to an increasingly broad and diverse socio-cultural audience.

Second, the appearance of body image in advertising is also produced by the development of technical conditions that are implemented in the field of imaging and printing. The use of photography and its massive uses are a phenomenon of the late nineteenth century, and—as John Tagg (1998) points—its democratization and massiveness was reached from the first decades of the twentieth century, a time that coincides globally with its use in advertising images inserted into magazines. While advertising images in our country combined drawings and photographs, models of representation sought to imitate and produce a closeness and bonding with photography and painting, media where the body was the central representation.

Third, global influences on the use of images and their representation models are part of the reasons which, as we can infer, are the basis of creating a style

of advertising that, following the European and US proposals, highlighted body image.

In general, the construction of an advertising model that proposed an aesthetic and communicational sense with centrality in the body evidences a vision more or less accepted of the body by the society and culture that produces and observes it. However, it is not a hegemonic representation of the body of that time, but a new bodily production, part of a broader cultural repertoire and coordinated with other ways of producing and visibilizing images of the body, such as art and cinema. In that sense, the artistic influences, film and the creation of an advertising canon are part of the *dispositif* that are deployed for the production of images and representations embedded in the culture and society. Thus, it can be said that knowledge and forms of representation that have been socio-historically validated and transformed cross the production of body images.

The question about the representation of human beings in the representation of the body has been historical, and in images there is not only a reduction, but a new production of how the body is interpreted and known. Belting notes (2007):

The person is as it appears in body. The body is itself an image before being imitated in images. The copy is not what it claims to be, reproduction of the body. Actually, it is the production of a body image that already exists in the self-representation of body. (P. 112)

Belting's claim evidences the existing closeness between the "image of the human being and the image of the body" (p. 109), while the human body represented is a "metaphor to express an idea of humanity" (p. 109), because "[the images] show bodies but represent people" (p. 110). We therefore state that the discourses—in a verbal and visual sense—that have conceived and reproduced representations of subjects, do not reduce the body that is represented, but help producing it. Thus, we should consider images as a *dispositif* that articulates knowledge for regulation and discipline, thus being a mediator of the production of a body, an idea and a discourse, which in this case will affect the image of the youth.

IMAGES AS VISUAL *DISPOSITIF*

We have previously argued that an analysis of advertising, and of images of the juvenile body on it, should consider its role as a *dispositif* that articulates economic knowledge about the body and institutions. In that sense, it is necessary to move from a descriptive analysis to one that seeks to know the construction of ideas that enabled the creation of the image. As noted above, this idea is part of the understanding of the image from a cultural and anthropological perspective in a broad sense, as well as from the idea of power and knowledge that the use and display of images potentially contains. The notion of *dispositif* is presented as a conceptual and methodological tool for understanding and analyzing the images, since it not only allows a theoretical approach, but also enables a specific proposal for working with the material.

The notion of *dispositif* is developed in the work of Michel Foucault (2005, 2009), and refers to the idea of hinge that allows the disciplining of the body and the population. As Giorgio Agamben (2011) states, the *dispositif*:

- 1) Is a heterogeneous group that includes virtually everything, whether discursive or not: discourses, institutions, buildings, laws, police measures, philosophical propositions. The *dispositif*, considered by itself, is the network that extends between these elements.
- 2) The *dispositif* always has a specific strategic role, which is always inscribed in a relationship of power.
- 3) As such, the *dispositif* is the crossing of relations of power and knowledge. (p. 250)

Thus, the use of the notion of *dispositif* allows recognizing different connection mechanisms that are the basis of the relations of power over the body and the population, and as a strategic function on them. When referring to visual *dispositif*, we recognize the articulation of discourses and concrete practices of discipline and regulation presented, produced and circulated in visual images, and, as G. Agamben (2011) would say, have “the ability to capture, orient, identify, intercept, model, control and ensure gestures, behaviors, opinions and discourses of living beings” (p. 257).

Therefore, to use the notion of visual *dispositif* to analyze images allows analyzing its linkage with other discourses and other images, and visibilize their articulation in a network of coherent social discourses, with specific strategies of persuasion that point to specific bodies.

METHODOLOGY

Images as visual *dispositif* seek to shift the analysis from the representation to the operations involved in their production, as well as to the effects that said production of/in image had. In other words, it is about recognizing the role and effects of images from their relation to other images, with the prevailing social discourse of the time, and with the knowledge and standards that impacted the socio-cultural environment in which they occurred. In that sense, the image produces and reproduces at the same time its possibilities. Hence, understanding the image as a visual *dispositif* not only shows the relationships that enable the construction of an image, but also the critical productivity that constitutes what is visual.

Thus, the concern for images, understood as visual *dispositif*, not only refers to the analysis of content, text, lines, colors and forms that seek to convey an idea, but also incorporates the relationships with media circulation, the temporary nature of their production and their linkage with other visual elements. This involves identifying the different networks with which the image articulates/produces. In our research case, we consider in the analysis the following networks:

- Media network: we first refer to the linkage of images and their media, i.e., the magazine where the advertising circulated and, in a second moment, to the relationship with the global advertising industry and its ways of representing the products to be marketed.
- Network of discourses on the body: we refer to the prevailing socio-historical discourses at the time these images were circulated, mainly related to health, hygiene and aesthetics.
- Network of institutional discourses: we refer to the sociopolitical conditions present through rules/laws, and ranging from the legal to the commercial.

In the images of our corpus we note that the representation of the body has a great use, and is expressed in a use of the body by zones (Saa, 2014). The faces, whiteness, a prototype of woman dressed-up and beautiful, with a cheerful and carefree attitude, characterized the image that was divulged in the advertisements of the magazine *Margarita*, so our analysis focused on those advertising images that show this representation and, in turn, allow interrogating their mode of production. The corpus analyzed was 17 advertising images, all of them from the magazine *Margarita*, from Editorial Zig-Zag, in the period 1934-1939. Complementarily, we used advertising images of the slimming pills *Kissinga*, from the archive of the ABC newspaper of Spain.

We contemplated the following aspects during the corpus analysis: characterization of the body and juvenile attitude in the images; socio-historical contexts of the attributes assigned to youth; identification of the visual techniques used in the production of advertising images; and relationship of these images with other visual elements, and with the socio-historical and socio-political discourses of the time they were created. A narrative that articulates these four interrelated elements, using illustratively six advertising images that account in an integrated manner of these analytical dimensions, is how we present our results.

RESULTS

In the 1930-1950 advertising, and specifically in the one published in the Zig-Zag magazine *Margarita* (1934-1952), there was a consolidation of an image of youth with positive features, but differentiated by gender. In the case of young women, it normalized the possession of a body molded by attributes of beauty, thinness and whiteness (Saa, 2014). Multiple images of young women, from a variety of products with which they were related, show that their body representation was restricted mainly to private actions. The standardization promoted for the young body, as disciplinant strategy was promoted mainly from the market. In the case of men, advertising at that time used a masculine imagery linked mainly to products and/

or actions that validated an androcentric stereotype based on the relationship between male figure and thinking/public body, using products such as cars, which refer to physical labor, and enhancers, which refer to mental work.

In the examined advertising discourse, different fields of knowledge and power are articulated and justified; although they may be independent among them, they unfold and articulate with each other to define an idea about the young body. Commercial images of the magazines of the time have the ability to mobilize, precisely, the desire of youth and to link into networks to deploy a consistent, coercive and naturalizing discursive strategy on its target group, particularly young women.

First, the concern for white young bodies evidences that the construction of the cultural and mass discourse favored this racial treat to build an image of youth. In any case, it is not possible to imagine a youth at this time outside the canons of whiteness, and young women would be the image of this representation option (figures 1 and 2). In the language of advertising young women were referred to as those who want whiteness, so their body should enhance practices and products that promote this racial policy. The representation of whiteness as a normal and hegemonic body in advertising represents, in short, a logic of knowledge that evidences the colonial and global matrix in the construction of a juvenile body.

Whiteness, as an expression of racial discourse, was publicized with furor throughout the 1930s in the magazine *Margarita*. Race and whiteness, operationalized in bodily practices and precise looks, were presented despite the difficult visual techniques and printing existing at the time (figure 1).

By observing Figure 1, how is it possible to say that what a black and white image promotes and exhibits is "blondness" and a white complexion? Does the person only focus it senses on the text? We believe that the local and temporal context allowed the recipient to have a clearly molded vision to interpret this message, where the image was given sense based on the cultural knowledge of the observer. Thus, the advertising image, which functioned primarily to bond with an illiterate population as a whole, had

Figure 1. Advertising of Manzanilla Verum. *Margarita Magazine*, October 3rd., 1935, p. 87.



Source: *Margarita magazine*.

already generated the “blondness” as a generative matrix of its ads, and therefore it was not necessary that the audience read “blond hair” to complete the sense of the image.

The production of whiteness linked to the body was one of the control dispositif of the population enrolled in a colonial matrix that Latin America continued to promote. In that sense, the translation of the racial category into specific operations of body care incorporated the naturalization of racial discourse in the social discourse not only as an explicit rule from some institutions, but from a stimulating exercise of buying and desire promoted by advertising. This is how the body aesthetic practices were the art forms necessary in shaping a racialized and colonial female youth.

At the same time, in those years there was a discourse –with scientific pretensions– that would validate and circulate this truth of whiteness as a superiority trade, expressed mainly in the speeches of eugenics and race in Chile². Unlike other Latin American countries, indigenous and black people were more linked to an imaginary, to a potential danger, than to the physical and actual coexistence with the difference of centralist Chile. On the one hand, the “darkness” coming to the cities was associated with those physical bodies, marked by heat and a high-plateau geography, that migrated to the capital since the 1920s because of the crisis of the saltpeter industry, or the southern population leaving the field to find better living conditions in the city. Moreover, the very poor sanitary conditions in the thirties in Chile, which worsened after the start of the decade, allow understanding the reductionist speech of cleaning and race proposed for the disciplining of the body from policies of sanitary regulation of this sick Chile.

In this scenario, racial and eugenic speeches had an aesthetic correlative and found in advertising a mechanism for using these new practices associated with corporeality as ways of control and delimitation of the body and the population. As noted by Castro Gómez and Restrepo (2008):

The question about the figurations of difference or historiographical concepts that foreshadow historical and political identities is also an important question for the configuration of whiteness as cultural imaginary from which to build political hegemonies. (pp. 12-13)

These white hegemonies on youth body are consistent with the mechanisms of regulation of health pests and

phenotypic differentiation that shaped the new *mestizo* appearance of modern cities in the center of the country. In advertising, we can see the transformation of rational and medical discourse in a quotidian one that will also be accompanied by images that generate positive senses on this subject (figure 2).

If we assume that the configuration of an image of youth had at its center the attribute of whiteness, we must complement this with the question of the role of the production of youth in general, in order to show its own conditions of possibility as an hegemonic idea.

Figure 2. Advertising of Coco Palmera, *Margarita* Magazine, January 5, 1939, w/p.



Source: *Margarita* magazine.

Young women and their roles were mainly linked to the domestic space, defined in the rules and discourses of the time. If young men will lead the country, young women would be the mothers of those leaders. In other words, young women were encouraged to be the future mothers of Chile, those that could reproduce the race. Thus, the female youth was the recipient of these messages and the representatives of the whiteness that they advocated. The production of white female youth guarantees producing white and pure races, validating and reproducing the colonial matrix of the Latin American thought.

Another element that became a naturalizing attribute of the juvenile body was its linkage with the ideal of beauty. Young people, and mainly young women, show a natural beauty, a brand that differentiated them and made them hegemonic over other bodies, so that a body that did not represent this canon could not enter the category of normal youth. The beauty promoted in advertising images identifies and relates, from linguistic signs, the relationship *youth/beautiful body*. But on a second level, it is possible to identify this relationship from gestures, poses and spaces that allude to motives historically used in the field of images to represent the beautiful, usually linked with images of a young body.

On a third level, images from magazines produced a mobilization of senses, to the extent that many actions that were promoted and observed in advertising encouraged the idea of smelling, touching and feeling something in an idealized way, which involved an exercise of imagination and of less rational and more bodily actions. The use of the senses and attitudes is another tactic for mobilizing desires that can be recognized in the images (figure 3). The desire to smell good, feel the skin, to be better, to change and be beautiful, as appreciated in different advertising images of the magazine *Margarita*, is also accompanied by an attitude that was promoted repeatedly: being happy and smiling as an expression of youth. Thus, in articles and advertisements bodily senses were linked to a positive attitude, reinforced in text and images, connecting these actions and states: "Smile to be happy, be happy to be loved" or "Smile to show youth". We believe that these non-signifying operations are part of the strategies found in advertising to target, from feelings and senses, a certain idea of juvenile beauty.

Figure 3. Advertising of Cristal Sonoro Yungay. Margarita Magazine, April 6, 1939, p. 85.



Source: Margarita magazine.

In short, we maintain that beauty as a juvenile attribute found consistent body and visual models, coherent with the times, to be represented in advertising. The use of the senses as an advertising strategy enables better understanding that in advertising not only a rational and objective discourse is at stake, but also other of more subtle nature, insofar as it promotes a more sensory comprehension, activating the body and its impulses.

Finally, advertising images functioned as an ideological engine that incorporated ideas of a medical nature to promote a certain normal image of the juvenile body. A type of recurring advertising was the one of the slimming pills *Kissinga*, in which we will stop and delve as it shows global/local strategies of the construction of thinness as a normal body, articulated to the attributes of whiteness and beauty that we have previously described. This brand deployed

Figure 4. Advertising of Tabletts *Kissinga*. Library of the newspaper ABC, 1932. www.todocoleccion.net

Source: Archive of the newspaper ABC.

commercial strategies internationally, so it is possible to find advertisements of *Kissinga* in different parts of Europe and even Asia. Tracing its origin from databases on the Internet, it was possible to find some advertising images in the archive of the newspaper ABC of Seville and Madrid, where it had been publicized in the 1930s (figure 4). The finding of this advertising allowed recognizing the obvious difference of the iconographic representation used by *Kissinga* in that media, in connection with the advertising model that *Kissinga* maintained in Chile during the studied period, and which referred mainly to be a product of use for young or to own a young body.

The images that refer to geographically and culturally distant places of the West are a miniature (figure 4), and function as advertising, to the extent that they demonstrate the marketability and overall performance of the product. For the analysis, it is not

relevant if the sale took place in Greece or China, or just in Spain, but we must wonder about the differences in the visual representation of this product. Why was that image imagined and produced, while in Chile others were imagined and produced? Why slimming pills were advertised in Chile to young people only, and not to a general population, as shown by the images of other countries?

A first approach to the advertising of *Kissinga* slimming pills leads us to understand this product as part of the strategies of the Western medicalization process that took place during the period considered in the study. This process allows to locate and recognize the emergence of a number of practices, standards and *dispositif* deployed from different fields, aimed at the population for a regulation exercised supported by the slogan of a medical truth. In that sense, it is important to stress that the process of medicalization allows us to understand more broadly the relationship

Figure 5. Advertising of *Tabletas Kissinga*. *Margarita* magazine. March 24, 1938, w/p



Source: *Margarita* magazine.

health/population, medicine and society, as well as the recognition that it not only refers to a practice of individual care and healing, but to a social practice.

In that sense, Michell Foucault (1974) draws attention to how medicine is externalized from the field for which its development had been thought and invades other areas of social life, where, on behalf of the body, it deploys its knowledge. Thus, among other things, population statistics are generated from medical assumptions:

We live in a regime that sees the care of the body, corporal health, the relation between illness and health, etc. as appropriate areas of State intervention. It is precisely the birth of this somatocracy, in crisis since its origins, that I am proposing to analyze. (Foucault, 1974, p. 155)

The process of medicalization in Europe has different times and strategies, ranging from vaccinations, the implement of antibiotics and the 1942 Beveridge Plan. Meanwhile, in Chile, as Nicolás Fuster (2013) points out, medicalization is linked with the processes lived throughout the West, but also has unique characteristics derived from the cultural and colonial context that existed in Latin America in its process of transformation into independent republics. The process of medicalization that came with the new configuration of cities, and the development of medicine, allowed that, by 1925, it became a “legal framework” (Fuster, 2013, p. 13), validating processes of medicalization by the State. Thus, the medicalization will appear in daily practices and its propaganda will even refer to anything related to a regulation of the population from acts of individual and corporal discipline.

In this scenario, this type of advertising is presented as part of the strategies of naturalization of global medicalization. We argue that the proposed medical effectiveness in advertising is only possible because their foundation is based on medicine. We can understand the development of *Kissinga*'s advertising as a result of those practices linked to a new requirement of the population, which now not only must discipline its body in the sense of physical well-being. This mandate is extended under the needs that the twentieth century will begin to define in terms of a new merchandise: the looks, fashion and body care. That is why *Kissinga*,

Figure 6. Advertising of *Tabletas Kissinga*. *Margarita* magazine . December 5, 1935, p. 67.



Source: *Margarita* magazine.

as slimming medicine for population, falls within this framework of knowledge and disciplinary strategies.

Advertising images of *Kissinga* are developed under the idea that consuming the product produces positive impacts, as noted in the variety of images of the brand promoted in *Margarita* (figures 5 and 6). If the iconographic European and East representation links the process of medicalization to a set of bodies represented by the drawings, which show or produce an extended medicalization to its population, why in Chile it is anchored in and directed towards to the juvenile female population? We believe that after the new health code of 1925, bodily health and hygiene practices related to sexuality/birth/veneral diseases continued to maintain worrying levels in the demographic configuration of Chile. That is why the iconographic representation of young women responds to that time, and it configures this social actor as the one who must be disciplined and regulated, as it is a body that can destabilize the nation.

Kissinga worked for Chile in terms of naturalizing the process of medicalization and general body care and population, using youth as an exemplary campaign

case. In that scenario, the campaigns by hygienist movements or the State no longer sufficed in terms of construction of a cultural hegemony. As a political strategy, it was necessary to extend, in commercial terms and with spectacular resources, such as advertising, the processes of disciplining the body as acts necessary for the operation and standardization required by society.

Finally, the fixation on the body of young women produces that thinness becomes part of the imaginary on health which, from a logic of the medicalization process, makes sense, considering what the body will mean to the mass and industry culture that will be consolidate in the twentieth century. This link is based on the new imagery on the body starting to circulate globally and locally; i.e., in lifestyles and models of the American world, which will be the new standard of living to be achieved. In that sense, the discipline, particularly, of the juvenile feminine body is not only practical in terms of naturalizing the technical procedures of medications use, but also because it programs in the long-term the returns that a young and slim body will have for the cultural industry.

CONCLUSION

During the 1930s, the youth magazine *Margarita* developed a series of ads that produce an image of youth that does not match the characteristics of the population of the decade. In the magazine, young women are represented from a beautiful, healthy, ideal body. When faced with such content and studying such images, we should be careful: they are not to be consider a mimetic representation of the Chilean youth of the time. Such representations rather show the communicational hegemony exercised during the study period, that produces an image naturalized as normal, at the same time that images of other youths are not represented and made invisible in the media.

In the advertising images we can observe the production of a specific female body for Chile, one that does not reproduce the image of the Chilean youth of the 1930s. Rather, it proposes a body that responds to other body models, mainly linked to the United States and Europe, no longer restricted to the elite, but in the

context of a process of emergence of a middle class. These models, and the narratives associated with them, affect the construction of the juvenile image, but do not create it unilaterally: the presentation of this body image responds and is also linked to social, cultural and political practices of the time. By promoting specific actions and body care products, advertising is incorporated into a movement of record, language and biopolitics practice. In that sense, the global discourse of science and the images that were articulated and harnessed to legitimize the practices taught in the images, aimed at shaping the body of the young, built their own pedagogy of the body.

The advertising image produced –not acting in isolation but constantly networking with other *dispositif*–, links with medical, pharmaceutical and psychological knowledge, as well as with the institutional world, public policies and legislation. Undoubtedly, it also articulates with aesthetic trends and other speeches and media, as other newsletters and even images of cinema. Hence, we argue that visual

images function as a *dispositif* that articulates discipline, regulation and even disputes in/by the representation of the young body (Saa, 2014). In that sense, the images of *Margarita* produced an image of female youth that condensed national and international knowledge, and translated (in text and image) what was expected of young women, as well as what was needed from their bodies.

Accessing this production way of hegemonic ideas on youth allows not only glimpsing the key attributes in the configuration of an idea and image of female youth. At the same time, it allows observing residual, and even emerging attributes (Williams, 1994), which circulate until today around the juvenile, although they have failed to destabilize the hegemonic representation presented here. The intersection between both representations –hegemonic and emerging– helps explaining, relationally, not only linearly, the complex communication strategies of the construction of difference and legitimating of inequality as part of the same process.

FOOTNOTES

1. In the study of images in the media, there is a critical tradition that has placed greater emphasis, from a representational code, on the effects that these images have on subjectivity. These readings are inspired by the tradition of the Frankfurt School, whose representatives inaugurated in the early twentieth century a curriculum focused on understanding the possibilities of social and political change, and had the industry of culture as a specific area of interrogation both at a psychoanalytical and sociological level. Drifts of this tradition will emphasize on industrial production (serial and schematic) of cultural content, as well as the alienating effects that such content would have on individuals. These readings, in our view, do not consider the cultural specificities of the local level where such content (images) circulate, are consumed and appropriated. A classic text reflecting this "Frankfurtian" look is "*Compropolitán. El orden transnacional y su modelo femenino. Un estudio de las revistas femeninas en América Latina*" (Compropolitán. The transnational order and its feminine model. A study of women's magazines in Latin America) (Santa Cruz & Erazo, 1980).
2. In that sense, it is worth remembering the development of the 1904 text *Raza chilena* (Chilean race) by Nicolas Palacios, that was widely publicized and recognized in the development of eugenics in Chile.

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