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CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF COLOMBIAN IDENTITIES AND HUMANATURE IN NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC MAGAZINE (1903-1952)

Mónica Pérez-Marín

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**CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF COLOMBIAN IDENTITIES AND
HUMANATURE IN *NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC MAGAZINE* (1903-1952)**

By

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B.A., Philosophy, Universidad de Antioquia, 1999
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DISSERTATION

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of

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Communication**

The University of New Mexico
Albuquerque, New Mexico

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DEDICATION

To my mentors, friends and family, who have always inspired me
to find my voice and use it.

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ABSTRACT

The main purpose of this dissertation is to challenge assumptions of neutrality and objectivity in popular science journalism by investigating how representations of Colombian identities and humanature in *National Geographic Magazine* between 1903 and 1952 create social knowledge and power in the context of the U.S.-Colombia relations. The investigation is based on the analysis of nine in-depth articles, including 214 pages of written text, 200 photos, and 6 maps. I applied two methods of analysis: critical discourse analysis and visual rhetoric.

The discussion of discursive practices, textual structures, and social practices was organized chronologically into three significant periods and related to changes in editorial policies over time, as these changing policies emerged as meaningful for the understanding of salient framing patterns of Colombian identities and humanature and their ideological implications in particular historical contexts.

In the period of 1903-26, NGM's editorial policies placed emphasis on strictly scientific and academic language and editors explicitly advocated for the values of accuracy, balance, and fair information. Accordingly, in this period the authors of the reportages were scientists, diplomats, and statesmen. These narrators followed the main precepts of positivism and scientism pointing out objectivity, empirical evidence, direct observation, and documentation. In the period of 1940-1947, technological innovations that revolutionized photography allowed for the entry of new stories and new voices of travelers, adventurers, journalists, and *connoisseurs* of other cultures. A change in the editorial policy of the magazine becomes evident, as the editors introduced a more personal, subjective, and experiential manner of telling stories. In the last period of 1948-1952, NGM's coverage of Colombia introduced a new element: the inclusion of women writers. Their narratives depart from the conventional narratives of NGM in that they included stories of the private life of scientists and personal adventures in Colombia.

This research shows that although the framings of Colombian identities and humanature overlap, change, and at times contradict one another across time, the representations reproduce the ideologies of Manifest Destiny, Positivism, and the policy of Pan-Americanism to support the U.S. hegemonic role in Latin America in the context of the first half of the 20th century.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Media representations can have strong and material effects on the world. They have the power to shape and influence our perceptions of particular ideas, experiences, issues, and groups through the naturalization of meanings. However, texts circulating in media are often perceived as neutral or natural, as portraying “true” events or reflecting one “objective reality,” where as power structures, domination, and oppression are rendered invisible. This tends to be the case particularly in media sources that disseminate information about science, nature, and technology. Among these, *National Geographic Magazine* is a prime example. A publication founded in 1888 as a journal for a scholarly audience, it evolved by the early 20th century into a magazine for a popular audience while retaining a reputation as an objective, science-based source of information. As its first full-time editor Gilbert H. Grosvenor stated in 1899, the magazine sought to become “a vehicle for carrying the living, breathing, human interest *truth* about this great world of *ours*. [Emphasis added]” (Evolution of National Geographic Magazine, n.d.).

The purpose of this dissertation is to challenge the assumption of neutrality and objectivity in media representations by investigating how coverage of Colombian identities and humanature in *National Geographic Magazine* (1903 to 1952) constructed social knowledge and power in the context of United States-Colombia relations in the 20th century. I use the hybrid term “humanature” coined by Goin (1996) instead of “nature” or “natural resources” to prevent the anthropocentric splitting of nature from

human action and interaction with the natural world. My research is informed by a critical and social constructionist perspectives (Burr, 1995; Gergen, 1985; Jørgensen & Phillips, 2004; Kinchloe & McLaren, 2000, 2005; Prasad, 2005; Schwandt, 2007).

Through the critical lens, I examine media representations in their relevant historical and structural contexts of U.S.-Colombia socio-economic relations (Deetz, 1992, 2005; Hardt, 1992; Jansen, 2002; and Schiller, 1996). Moreover, I approach media representations as a “site of contestation” where meaning making is always a struggle “through which ideologies and status are negotiated” (Collier, 2009, p. 281). My approach is informed also by a social constructivist perspective that has defined media representations as a kind of knowledge that is socially and discursively constructed (Jørgensen, & Phillips, 2004). Therefore, I conceptualize media representations as a meaning making process that is historically specific and contingent. In this sense, verbal and visual representations are not reflections of a pre-existing reality but, rather, a series of signs and symbols that pretend to stand for the so-called reality (Gill, 2007).

Media representation thus refers to the complex process of “re-presenting,” a process by which members of a particular culture use systems of signs to produce meaning about self and other cultures (Hall, 1997). Consequently, meaning is never single, univocal or total, but rather is fluid, slippery, ambiguous, and contradictory. Hence this dissertation subscribes to the argument about the “crisis of representation” in Western culture and does not seek to find the objective meaning of the text (Conquergood, 1991; Marcus & Fisher, 1986). Rather, it supports and recognizes the multiplicity of meanings that a text can have according to, not only the historical,

political, and economic context of their production, but also to the context of reception (Hall, 1981).

I selected *National Geographic Magazine* as a particularly relevant site for the investigation of Colombian identities and humanature in the context of the history of United States and Colombia foreign relations for two reasons. First, because NGM was produced by one of the most powerful cultural institutions in the United States, the National Geographic Society, which located in Washington D.C. has, through the decades, cultivated “ties to government officials and corporate interests” that influenced editorial policies while retaining a reputation as an objective source that popularize scientific, cultural, and geographical facts and knowledge (Lutz & Collins, 1993, p. 5). Second, because NGM is among one of the most popular magazines in United States and has a significant international circulation; it “sits near the top of the hierarchy of taste or status” in the United States—and arguably other countries—because its “subscribers are wealthier and better educated than the average American” (Lutz & Collins, 1993, p. 7-8). These characteristics make NGM one of the key “cultural artifacts” by which a particular elite built, released, and institutionalized what Foucault (1972) termed a “regime of truth” about the natural and social worlds around the globe.

Most of the scholarly research conducted on NGM has focused attention on media representation of specific countries such as Puerto Rico (Perivolaris, 2007), Canada (Beaudreau, 2002), Philippines (Hyndman, 2002; Tatel, Jr., 2011; Tuason, 1999), and specific continents such as Africa (Moseley, 2005). The magazine has been used also as a platform to explore media representations related to science (Boguski, 2010), the tropical forest (Nygren, 2006), women’s bodies (Neuhaus, 1997), and environmental advocacy

(Bortree, Ahern, Dou & Smith, 2012). One of the predominant characteristics of this type of research is the study of photographs and texts using an approach that sets a dichotomous framework of the Western World and non-Western World that is very problematic because it leads to the study of media representations as homogeneous, immobile, and rigid essences (Lutz & Collins, 1993; Rothengberg, 2007). Furthermore, from my critical and social constructivist perspective, this kind of binary is problematic since it hides the oppressive structures and the historical context where these specific media representations were created and legitimized. Therefore, in this dissertation media representation is studied as fluid, fragmented, contradictory, and contested constructs since they are always in relation to the material conditions and the historical context.

My research draws on this literature and aims to fill a gap in scholarly research about NGM by focusing on Colombia, a nation that has not received research attention. My inquiry also complements previous work on theoretical grounds, as it follows Said's idea (1998) that we are not living in a clash of civilizations; we are living in a clash of definitions. With this statement, Said pointed out that those with the power to define the world and its rules are always in a better position to maintain control. For him, the processes of defining something or someone always implies "desire, repressions, investments and projections" (Said, 2003, p. 8). All acts of labeling or classification are always an act of power, control, and domination. In this sense, it is not possible to create an objective or neutral discourse because all discourses are fabricated and produced "in situ" with a specific context and background.

Consequently, knowledge, power, and discourse are intertwined. Discourse is more than a linguistic expression that reproduces truth as objective external reality; discourse creates knowledge or regimes of truth by ruling power:

Truth is a thing of this world: it is produced only by virtue of multiple forms of constraint. And it induces regular effects of power. Each society has its regime of truth, its 'general politics' of truth: that is, the types of discourse which it accepts and makes function as true; the mechanisms and instances which enable one to distinguish true and false statements, the means by which each is sanctioned; the techniques and procedures accorded value in the acquisition of truth; the status of those who are charged with saying what counts as true (Foucault, 1980, p. 131).

Following Foucault's idea of discourse (1972) as a systematic discipline, Said (2003) proposed the concept of "Orientalism" to unmask the relation between production of Eurocentric knowledge about Middle Eastern cultures and the colonial power structures and inequities that it sustained. This concept informed the development of studies of postcoloniality that incorporates the study of production of knowledge, power, and inequity addressing different historical contexts and orders of discourse about Western and non-Western societies.

Thus, these concepts set out to establish a conceptual triangle in which media discourse (through representation) is linked to production of knowledge and construction of power relations to form the framework for this dissertation. The specific research questions guiding my investigation are: (1) What are the representations of Colombian identities in NGM from 1903 to 1952? (2) What are the representations of Colombia humanature in NGM from 1903 to 1952? (3) How does the discourse about Colombian

identities and humanature produced by NGM relate to U.S. dominant ideologies in the first half of the 20th century?

One of the main goals of this dissertation is to problematize the homogeneous, reduced, and incomplete view from which Colombia, its people, and humanature that has been constructed in U.S. popular media at key historical moments. The historical period selected for examination, 1903-1952, is particularly relevant for the investigation of the relation between media representation and social construction of knowledge and power. During this time, the ideologies of Manifest Destiny, Positivism, and the policy of Pan-Americanism were institutionalized through U.S. foreign policymaking toward Latin America and through public discourses that supported a regime of truth about natural and social worlds in the region. During this time, I will argue, NMG became a significant site of production of knowledge and public discourse that acted as a “neutral and scientific” source on Latin America for the consumption of an elite audience in both the U.S. and Latin America. Therefore, NGM is an invaluable historiographical resource to study the construction of Colombian identities in the global contact zone “in which peoples geographically and historically separated come into contact with each other and establish ongoing relations, usually involving conditions of coercion, radical inequality, and intractable conflict” (Pratt, 1992, p. 6).

The investigation is based on the analysis of nine in-depth articles that featured coverage of Colombia in NGM between 1903 and 1952. The textual data encompass 214 pages of written text, 200 photos, and 6 maps. I applied two methods of analysis: critical discourse analysis and visual rhetoric. I selected critical discourse analysis, CDA, to analyze the textual part of the reports (Fairclough, 1989, 1992, 1995). This method is

congruent with the epistemological and ontological assumptions of this dissertation because its central purpose is “to produce and convey critical knowledge that enables human beings to emancipate themselves from forms of domination through self-reflection” (Wodak & Meyer, 2001, p. 7). In addition, CDA gives special attention to hidden and latent types of everyday beliefs that most of the time are assimilated and legitimized in a hegemonic culture (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Wodak & Meyer, 2001). The concept of hegemony that informs this research is Gramsci’s (1992) theorization, and it refers to “a situation where a ‘historical bloc’ of ruling class factions exercise social authority and leadership over the subordinate classes through a combination of force and, more importantly, consent” (Hegemony, 2004). To analyze the photos presented in the articles, I selected visual rhetoric as method because it has some elements compatible with CDA (Foss, 2004). For instance, visual rhetoric includes analysis of the function of the image and thus connects with analysis of discourse practice and sociocultural practice as proposed by Fairclough in CDA (1989, 1992, 1995).

The analysis and discussion of the texts selected suggest that while the ideologies of Manifest Destiny and Positivism and the tenets in the policies of Pan-Americanism have distinctive elements at the theoretical level, they tend to be overlapping and intertwined in NGM discourse. For the three historical periods analyzed, I argued that the frames constructed in coverage to attribute particular identities to Colombians became part of the larger discourse that supported most strongly the ideologies the Manifest Destiny and Positivism. In contrast to that, the frames constructed in coverage of Colombian humanature become part of the larger discourse that supported Positivism and the policy of Pan-Americanism

I think that by making visible this relation between power structures, socio-economic context, knowledge, discourse, and history represented in media, the dissertation can mobilize discourse in the service of “praxis,” where it is possible to request or advance change and transformation. Once a critical consciousness has been reached—both individually and collectively—in the public sphere, it is possible to take the first steps to begin repairing and amending the omissions and injustices committed in the production of the official history of Colombia (Freire, 2000). Moreover, I believe that reaching awareness makes it possible to propose new perspectives and interpretations of the official version that has circulated about Colombia. This would allow us to: 1) achieve a state of awareness of the political and economic structures that have generated these particular representations of Colombia, its people, and its humanature, and 2) modify behaviors, practices, or perceptions that allow us to resist the hegemonic structures from which a particular economic and political model is reproduced.

Significance of the Study

Two main contributions of this research are, first, to make visible the historic and human dimensions of the categories “identities” and “humanature” and second, to make visible the Eurocentric, anthropocentric, and colonizing power structures that have given rise to a particular concept of a nature seen as a passive and malleable force in relation to human beings (Cox, 2007; Milstein, 2008; Plumwood, 1993, 1997, 2003; Rogers, 1998; Peterson, Peterson, & Peterson, 2007). More specifically, this project identifies media representations using frame analysis to delineate the discourse on Colombia’s humanature and how it has been “Orientalized” or made the object of a colonizing discourse (Goffman, 1974; Pan & Kosicki, 1993; Said, 2003). Media frames include key

words, catchphrases, and metaphors. As others have noted, this representation has been evident through the recurrent characterization of Colombia as “untouched,” “astonishing” (Grosvenor, 1903, p. 465), and “the land of great possibilities” (Barrett, 1906, p. 701). Secondly, the critical contribution of the research is to de-construct and reveal the political and economic interests that contributed to the legitimization of a “hegemonic” discourse favoring the interests of the privileged group or elite in the United States.

In addition, this research provides new historiographical elements to allow us to re-interpret and re-write what has been the official history of Colombia, its people, and humanature in the context of three hegemonic discourses, Manifest Destiny, Positivism, and Pan-Americanism. Therefore, a study of this nature seeks to unpack the “objectivist” and “scientific” scope from which the official history of Colombian identities has been told (D’Allemand, 2003, 2007; Ramos, 1989; Rojas, 2002; Samper, 1861; Sommer, 1991) and its humanature (Ángel, 2003; Flórez, 2000; Guimares & Barcena, 2002; Palacio, González, Yepes, Carrizosa & Palacio, 2001; Palacio & Ulloa, 2002).

Relevant Contexts

History of *National Geographic Magazine*

National Geographic Magazine was created by the National Geographic Society in 1888. The first issue was published nine months after the Society was founded. Four historical developments at the end of the 19th century contributed to the foundation of the magazine: 1) the emergence of mass journalism, 2) the development of photoengraving technology, 3) the emergence of distinct academic disciplines, and 4) the awakening of Americans’ interest in foreign lands (Pauly, 1979). The main purpose of NGM was to provide “geographical information, broadly construed to include commercial, botanical,

geological and anthropological angles, among others, with emphasis on knowledge about derived from exploration” (Rothengberg, 2007, p. 26).

The National Geographic Society and *National Geographic Magazine* became two powerful institutions that served to create, disclose, and institutionalize the “official” discourse of the new sciences while claiming to provide accurate, impartial, and genteel information (Abramson, 1987; Bryan, 1987; Buckley, 1970; Hellman, 1943; Lutz & Collins, 1993; Ross, 1938). Since its foundation, the Society has been concerned with the official discourse circulating in the public sphere, and it emphasized the need to close gaps between specialized knowledge—sciences—and common knowledge. The main concerns at that time were the professionalization of science and its popularization among a wider audience. The strategy developed started with the cultivation of “ties to government officials and corporate interests” (Lutz & Collins, 1993, p. 5), such as societies for economics, entomology, chemistry, physiology, geology, mathematics, physics, astronomy, and psychology (Rothengberg, 2007).

In 1914, an announcement to solicit advertising in the magazine, and titled “Advertising in the Geographic Magazine in an Exact Science,” provided the characteristics of the audience:

Only advertising of the highest character is solicited or accepted, and this fact is known and appreciated in the 300,000 well-to-do, cultured homes throughout America into which the publication goes each month.... It is interesting to note that 80 per cent of the circulation goes into the homes of the foremost business and professional men of America, and every one of the household reads it—for instance, 18,000 Presidents and Vice-presidents of Banks; 15,000 Civil,

Electrical, and Mining Engineers, 40,000 Lawyers and Physicians; 75,000 Manufacturers and Directors of Corporations; in short, a class of people distinctly in the higher walks of life. (Pauly, 1979, p. 529)

The magazine's main goals in the early 20th century were: 1) advocate for the "new science" –positivism–which rejected the search for ultimate causes as a remnant of religion or metaphysics, embracing instead attempts to discover regularities and "laws;" 2) combine scholarship and entertaining content to attract the general public; 3) create and reproduce accurate, balanced, and fair information through photographer and reports following the values of the new science; and 4) provide photographs as "evidence" and "spectacle" in ways that they undermined a rigid boundary between science and pleasure (Lutz & Collins, 1993, pp. 19-33). NGM consolidated an editorial policy that was announced in March 1915. These policies were framed by editors as seven "principles":

- 1) The first principle is absolute accuracy. Nothing must be printed which is not strictly according to fact.
- 2) Abundance of beautiful, instructive, and artistic illustrations.
- 3) Everything printed in the Magazine must have permanent value.
- 4) All personalities and notes of a trivial character are avoided.
- 5) Nothing of a partisan or controversial character is printed.
- 6) Only what is of kindly nature is printed about any country or people, everything unpleasant or unduly critical being avoided.
- 7) The content of each number is planned with a view of being timely. (Bryan, 1987, p. 90)

Throughout the period under study and until today, the magazine has maintained a trajectory of growth and popularity. The number copies published per monthly issue were: 1,200 copies in 1896; in 1905 more than 10,000 (beginning with the April issue);

more than 285,000 copies in 1914; and in 1925 more than 990,000 copies (Lutz & Collins, 1993). In 1945 the subscriptions were approximately 1,300,000 (Lutz & Collins, 1993, p. 37) and the decade of the 1950 was characterized by an audience growth that went from 2 million subscribers in 1957 to 5.6 million in 1967 in the U.S. (Lutz & Collins, 1993, p. 36).

In order to expand its brand, NGM has launched over the past twenty years a number of foreign languages editions where “the majority of content (especially the features) is translated from the U.S. edition” (Darling-Wolf, & Mendelson, 2008, p. 293). Today, its circulation in the United States is around 5 million issues per month. In 1995, NGM began publishing an edition in Japanese, and in 1997 NGM started two editions in Spanish, one for Spain and the other for Latin America. Its international circulation is estimated at 6.8 million per month in 40 local language editions (National Geographic Magazine Devotes 125th Anniversary to Celebrating Power of Photography; Continues Evolution on Web and Beyond, September 16, 2013).

The first full-time editor was Gilbert H. Grosvenor, he successfully guided the magazine for more than a half a century from February 1903 to May 1954. On the July 2014 issue of NMG, editors announced the promotion of Susan Goldberg, former executive editor for news and features, to the position of editor-in-chief. Goldberg is described as the 10th editor-in-chief in the history of the 126-year-old magazine, and the first woman to hold that position (“Meet our,” 2014, July, p. 4).

The U.S.-Colombia Political Context: Manifest Destiny, Positivism, and Pan-Americanism

The context of the second half of the 19th century in the United States and in Colombia is most relevant for the understanding of the U.S. ideologies and policies toward Latin America that came to be known as Manifest Destiny, Positivism, and Pan-Americanism. In my dissertation, I approach Manifest Destiny and Positivism as hegemonic ideologies that constructed and communicated the beliefs, opinions, and values of a particular group or social class and in a particular period of time; in this study, the values of the elite U.S. sectors that lead economic and political policymaking toward Latin America during the first half of the 20th century (Freeden 2001; Knight, 2006; Parson, 1951). In this research, I also focus on Pan-Americanism as a main policy toward Latin America in this period and one through which practical steps were implemented to accomplish particular economic goals and ideological visions toward Latin America.

The policy, and the ideologies it enacted, corresponded to important changes in the capitalism system of production in the second half of the 19th century. These changes fueled new priorities for the U.S. in domestic and international relations: (1) the anarchic growth of industrial production within a competitive system greatly stimulated in the concentration of capital; (2) the formation of large companies, particularly in industry and banking, became a dominant pattern; (3) monopolies and competition increased; (4) national monopolies began to cross their own frontiers, increasing exports of merchandise and capital; (5) industrial enterprises combined or merged with banks, producing a new financial oligarchy; (6) the drive to expand, obtains markets, and secure cheap primary

materials dominated the economy (Aguilar, 1968, p. 36-37). These economic trends lead to a re-visioning the U.S. interests, mission, and roles in the international scene.

Manifest Destiny: The “Big-Sister” Ideology

In 1845, John O’Sullivan was the first to coin the phrase “manifest destiny” to encapsulate the mission of the U.S. as a nation: “to overspread the continent allotted by Providence for the free development of our yearly multiplying millions” (Stephanson, 1995, p. xi). This continental expansionist project was also supported by the idea of North American superiority, known as the “Big-Sister” policy, an ideology driven by the belief that people from the United States were destined to expand beyond the continent not only due to the superiority of the professed values of its institutions and its people, but also by the call of God to accomplish a holy mission (Stephanson, 1995).

The mandate to intervene in other countries when the interest of “civilization” so demanded reached its peak during the administration of William McKinley (1897-1901), “who tried to conceal the hegemonic objectives of the U.S. in its relations with Latin America behind a front of a generous “big sister” concern” (Aguilar, 1968, p. 43). The main conceptual clusters supporting this ideology were: (1) duty and uplifting, (2) racial superiority, (3) territorial identity and empire, (4) geographic determinism, (5) the disease of isolation, (6) commercial vistas, (7) evangelization, (8) history and civilization (Stephanson, 1995, p. 87-101).

Duty and uplifting were related to the idea that “the purpose determines destiny,” especially in relation to oppressed colonial peoples who were in need of democratic assistance and instruction. Race, territorial identity, empire, and geographic determinism were associated with notion of superiority of inherent traits, particularly with the Anglo-

Saxon group, and also with the identification of this group with the values of peace, love, intellect, and liberty. The disease of isolation and commercial vistas were related to the idea that the United States would take responsibility for world affairs, assuming that commerce would promote peace and decrease friction and conflict. Evangelization was a sort of umbrella promoting the Christianization of the world. Lastly, history and civilization promoted the idea that civilization would conquer barbarism, and the United States would become a powerful model on the world stage (Stephanson, 1995, p. 87-101).

In a second moment, in the early 20th century, this ideology was reaffirmed and legitimized by the theory of Social Darwinism, according to which it was possible to apply Darwin's principles of change and struggle of the fittest to social and national progress. The ideas of Herbert Spencer, the classical liberal political theorist of the Victorian era, were important in this ideological shift. Spencer introduced the idea that "all societies necessarily evolved from barbarism to civilization through three distinct stages: the first, anarchic savagery, evolved into despotic militarism, which in turn became industrial capitalism" (Stephanson, 1995, p. 82). In that context, it was possible to justify military intervention and violence on the basis of arguments about "natural laws," "inexorable law of growth," and the "divine mandate" to "make beautiful and bright other lands" (Aguilar, 1968, p. 42). Manifest Destiny became an ideological conception that functioned at two different levels: the institutional context of policymaking, and the realm of daily life through construction of public perceptions and knowledge.

Positivism: The Ideology of “Truth” and “Unique” Way to Achieve Knowledge

In the late 19th century, positivism—or the “new scientism”—was directly associated with economic modernization, expanding markets, state formation, and nation-building in both countries, the United States and Colombia. August Comte, one of the first exponents of this movement, believed that the only authentic knowledge is that generated through observation, theory, and verification. The main assumption of positivist’s scholars consisted in the idea that it is possible to discover “historical truths through scientific study of the factual past” (Gilson, Levinson & Mendieta, 2013, p. 27).

Thus, positivists believe that “meaning is thought to lie in the object, person, idea or even in the real world, and language functions like a mirror, to reflect the true meaning as it always exists in the world” (Hall, 1997, p. 24). If the meaning is in the world or reality we observe, the challenge of the scientists is to unravel and explain the mysteries of a “seemingly” chaotic reality with the intention of constructing or proposing a theory—or valid representation—that unifies and provides meaning. The steps followed are to investigate using the Scientific Method, which is basically: observation, hypothesis, experiment, theory, and formulation of the law or theory.

One important epistemological assumption of positivist scholarship is the existence of one cognoscente subject (scientist) and the object to study (reality); in this sense, we speak of a "dualist/objectivist" scope in which neutrality and objectivity are central. Given this approach to the nature of knowledge, the main purpose is to “verify hypotheses established as facts or law” (Guba & Lincon, 2008, p. 193).

Historically, positivism has been strongly associated with the idea of a unique science, neutral and cumulative, which has allowed us to transcend and allows higher and

more developed stages of human development. The main academic and historical influences that have legitimized the idea of science associated with progress and development are: 1) the Industrial Revolution accompanied by foreign colonization and internal urbanization during the second half of the 19th century; 2) capital intensive technology, which spread the belief that by introducing technology in less developed countries these would also become relatively more developed; 3) economic growth, as economists played a central role in leading development programs; they defined the problem of underdevelopment primarily in economic terms; 4) quantification, particularly salient in the development policies of the 1950s and 1960s that paid little attention to fairness and stressed the mentality of “growth first and then equity;” a view that was often justified on the theory that, after their own progress, the dominant sectors extend their benefits to disadvantaged sectors (Rogers, 1976, pp. 213-240).

My dissertation explores some of the influences of positivism on NGM coverage and editorial policies, particularly the effects on the particular constructions of identity and humanature. I will explore this in terms of how the discourse may articulate the “subjection of individuals to the productive apparatus, the elevation of the productive apparatus to the status of the source of values and authority, and the collapsing of all distance between thought and technical means” (Aronowitz, 1988, p. 129). In relation to humanature, some of the consequences to explore are the “objectification of the split within society and within human beings themselves” (Aronowitz, 1988, p. 129) and the split within humans and nature from Eurocentric and anthropocentric perspectives, where positivism “established their priority over humans so as to subordinate the human will to the requirements of the productive apparatus” (Aronowitz, 1988, p. 129).

Pan-Americanism: The U.S. Expansionist Policy

In the late 19th century, the U.S. government and businesses started an economic project and doctrine toward Latin America without any precedent, known as Pan-Americanism. With this policy, the U.S. government promised Latin American political elites “to support friendly governments against insurrection” and proposed its “desired expansion of U.S. trade and investment in the region” (Finkelman, 2000). The policy was also created with the purpose of “discussing and recommending for adoption to their respective governments some plan of arbitration for the settlement of disagreements and disputes that may hereafter arise between them” (Scott, 1931, p. 3).

The First Pan American Conference was held in Washington D.C. in a series of meetings from October 2, 1889, to April 19, 1890. The countries attending the conference were Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Peru, Salvador, Uruguay, Venezuela, and United States. Under this initiative, the first organization of U.S. and Latin American government representatives was named the International Union of American Republics, represented in Washington D.C. by a bureau called The Commercial Bureau of the American Republics, whose mission was “the prompt collection and distribution of commercial data and information” (Barrett, 1914, p. 24).

The nineteen recommendations proposed in the First Pan American Conference in Washington were primarily commercial in nature:

- 1) The adoption of the metrical decimal system of weights and measures. 2) The construction of the Intercontinental Railway. 3) The negotiation of partial reciprocity treaties between the governments. 4) The granting of subsidies and

other assistance to steamship lines, so as to improve and facilitate Inter-American communication on the Atlantic side. 5) The same in regard to communication on the Pacific side. 6) The same in regard to communication on the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea. 7) The adoption of a common nomenclature, or list of equivalent names in English, Spanish, Portuguese, and French, should it be in alphabetically arranged, of all articles of merchandise on which import duties are levied in the American countries. 8) The adoption of certain rules tending to secure uniformity of invoices, manifestoes, and other commercial documents, and to facilitate the transaction of business, and make it uniform in the custom-houses of America. 9) The creation of an association, under the title of "The International Union of the American Republics," to be represented in Washington by the International Bureau of the American Republics, for the prompt collection and distribution of commercial information. 10) The consolidation of all port dues into a single one, to be called tonnage due, to be levied and collected according to certain uniform rules, and also for an uniform determination of the consular fees. 11) The adoption of the sanitary regulation established in the sanitary conventions of Rio de Janeiro, of November 25, 1887, and of Lima, of March 12, 1888. 12) The adoption, in regard to patents and trademarks, of the treaties concluded at the South American Congress, held at Montevideo, from August 25, 1888, to February 18, 1889. 13) The adoption, in regard to extradition of criminals, of the treaty on international penal law concluded at the same South American Congress at Montevideo. 14) The appointment of an international

American commission to meet at Washington, and discuss the question of an international American coin. 15) The establishment of an international American bank. 16) The adoption of the treaties on private, civil, and commercial international law, and also on international law of procedure. 17) The adoption of certain principles on the subject of claims and diplomatic intervention. 18) The adoption of the principle that rivers serving as boundary lines between bordering nations should be freely navigated. 19) The submission to arbitration of certain classes of questions and disputes between the American nations and the condemnation in America of the right of conquest and its elimination from the public law of the New World (Barrett, 1914, p. 86-87).

For the period of time selected for this study, 1903-1952, nine conferences were held: the first in Washington (1889-1890); the second in Mexico City (1901-1902); the third in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil (1906); the fourth in Buenos Aires, Argentina (1910); the fifth Conference in Santiago de Chile (1923); the sixth in Havana, Cuba (1928); the seventh in Montevideo, Uruguay (1933); the eight in Lima, Peru (1938); and the ninth Bogotá, Colombia (1948) (See Appendix A for the Pan-American Conferences (1889-1948)). An clear indicator of the success of the policy is found in the way the portfolio of U.S. investments in the region grew from \$304.3 million in 1897 to \$1 billion in 1908, \$1.64 billion in 1914, and \$5.37 billion in 1929 (Aguilar, 1968). The allocation of investments emphasized: mining and smelting, railroads, oil, agriculture, and trade: “in the decade 1908-1919, mining was the main area of operation, but by 1929 it had moved into second place, behind agriculture, followed by oil, public services, and manufactures”

(Aguilar, 1968, p. 63). These economic priorities were developed parallel to the political ideology of Manifest Destiny.

Colombia and the Contradictory Desire of Civilization

The discussion of the outcomes of Pan-Americanism and the influence of Positivism and Manifest Destiny in Latin American nations calls for the analysis of the national contexts within which the U.S. political and economic interests operated. In regards to Colombia, historians have pointed out the “desire for civilization” as one central concern among political elites in the Latin American countries since the independence period to the present (Burns, 1980; Palacios, 1980; Rojas, 2002; Saffords, 1976). This “desire” privileged values such as liberalism in politics and economics, Eurocentric models of political organization and cultural expression, and the racial superiority of the white race. Rojas (2002) has argued that the new and independent republics, which fought and gained independence from Spanish colonialism in the first decades of the 19th century, began to consolidate their political and economic institutions during the second half of the 19th century. At the time, a desire of civilization emerged with

certain economic practices, and in the dream of a *civilización mestiza* in which whiteness would remove the traces of a black and indigenous past. The desire for civilization did not impede violence. Rather, it went hand in hand with civil wars, the use of force in labor relations, and brutal sexual and racist practices. (Rojas, 2002, p. xxvi)

For example, after the mid-19th century, Colombia adopted an economic model of liberalism, introducing the laissez-faire principles with a “broad consensus among the

country's leaders about the desirability of freeing the market from governmental and institutional constraints" (Rojas, 2002, p. xxvi). In that context, the formation of the Colombian state was directly bound with the capitalist model, which was positively embraced by both liberal and conservative elites that were, otherwise, antagonistic forces in political and cultural matters (Hirschman, 1977). In Colombia, members of the Conservative Party "are depicted as believers in Catholicism, order, authority, and a centrist model of state organization," in contrast to the Liberals that "are portrayed as defenders of federalism, as less concerned with the problem of order, and as opposing control by church or the state" (Rojas, 2002, p. xxv).

This economic model operated, however, in a changing political climate. The first half of the 20th century, the period under consideration in this dissertation, can be divided in three significant periods in Colombian political history: the new age of peace and coffee (1904-1930), the liberal republic (1930-1946), and the era of the "violencia" (1946-1957). Among the main economic improvements during the first half of the 20th century were the development of infrastructure, especially in railroad and the modernization of roads for transportation; the beginning of the process of industrialization, particularly the textile sector; the explosion of the coffee production; and the accelerating pace of urbanization (Bushnell, 1993).

In relation to the improvement of the railroad and transportation, there was a development of mule trails with the purpose of connecting with the nascent rail network. There were two main railroads: the Antioquia Railroad and the Pacific Railroad. The first one, started working in 1914, connecting Medellín to Puerto Berrio (ending at the Magdalena river); the second one, started operations in 1915, running from Cali in the

central Cauca Valley to port of Buenaventura in the Pacific coast. In that context, Buenaventura thus became the first Colombian port with a direct rail link to the interior, and it was soon handling the greatest amount of cargo, coffee in particular. It did so not only because of the railroad but also because of the Panama Canal, which had opened one year before, in 1914, greatly reducing the cost and time of transportation from Colombia's Pacific coast to world markets. Colombia, paradoxically, was perhaps the South American country to derive greatest economic benefit from the building of the canal through territory that had just been wrested from it. (Bushnell, 1993, p. 170)

Industrialization as a process started in the administration of Rafael Reyes, president of Colombia from 1904 to 1909. He “provided not only a propitious political climate but tariff protection for industrial development” (Bushnell, 1993, p. 174). The textile factories started in Medellín and its surrounding area with the factories Coltejer and Fabricato. The laborers were mostly young women from rural villages or urban working-class homes. The direct consequence of the industrialization and the expansion of services was the accelerating process of urbanization without precedent. For example, Medellín doubled its population from 32,000 inhabitants in 1890 to 75,000 inhabitants in 1925 (Botero, 2000; Correa, 2003). Similarly Bogotá, “which had barely over a hundred thousand inhabitants at the beginning of the century, had a third of a million by the mid-1930s” (Bushnell, 1993, p. 186).

Consequently, from 1903 to 1930, Colombian exports grew “at a rate of more than 10 percent a year, and the greatest part of the growth was accounted for by coffee” (Bushnell, 1993, p. 169). Coffee became the first national industry that was almost

entirely in native hands, with the characteristic that was labor-intensive on the steep slopes of the Andes' mountains rather than mechanized. Two other different areas of economic growth, petroleum and bananas, became the most important enclaves of foreign capital penetration. The industry of petroleum was controlled by U.S. oil firms—for example the Tropical Oil Company (a subsidiary of Jersey Standard)—and the Colombian government. The Tropical Oil Company was owned by the United Fruit Company located in Boston, Massachusetts.

As this overview of political developments and economic growth suggests, the domestic priorities of Colombian states and the U.S. domestic and foreign interests during the first half of the 20th century created the material conditions for the construction and deployment of public discourses on Pan-Americanism and Manifest Destiny in ways that will be explored in this dissertation.

Personal Background

During the last eight years, I served as an active researcher in Colombia contributing to scholarly dialogue through lectures and peer-reviewed publications. I investigated the expansion of the public sphere through the use of citizen media or alternative media among minority groups, with a focus on youth as key social actors for social change. I examined their use of media to illuminate their aesthetic choices in relation to processes of identity construction. In other research, I elucidated representations of humanature in Colombia in discourses produced by media, bureaucratic actors, and local communities. My goal for this dissertation is to advance a more complex understanding of the diverse forces shaping the production of the official

history of Colombia, calling attention to the historical context and power structures as constructed by U.S. media representations.

Another aspect that is central in this dissertation is the matter of axiology and the relevance of research for social action. I think that academics must work hand in hand to address pressing issues that call for new ways to understand and resist political and economic hegemonic structures that are embedded in our minds. Therefore, it is important to draw attention to some of the frames created and disseminated by NGM more than 50 years ago because they are not in the past; they are not dead. They are still alive in different kinds of discourses on Colombian people. Understanding this history is particularly relevant in the case of Colombia-U.S. relations for the history of close collaboration and exchange in matters of political and economic affairs continues to influence bilateral relations today. For example, frames such as, “no risk to life, limb, or property” (Chapman, 1921, p. 353) created by NGM in 1921 are today circulating as “the only risk is that you want to stay.” This is the slogan of Avianca, the first Colombian airline. In this regard, my dissertation is committed to: 1) generate social awareness to become interpreters who connect worlds and socially realities that apparently have been isolated for many years; 2) produce alternative interpretations of the official history of Colombia and the United States that most of the time have been taken for granted.

In this sense, by contextualizing media discourse and generating critical interpretations, this dissertation helps to set up processes of construction of alternative representations of Colombian identities and humanature. I support the idea proposed by hooks (1992) that written histories most of the time function as “palimpsest” or a “manuscript or piece of written material on which the original writing has been effaced to

make room for later writing but of which traces remain” (Palimpsest, Oxford dictionary, n.d.). The author argues that palimpsests are “representations of terror” or “written histories that erase and deny, that reinvent the past to make the present vision of racial harmony and pluralism more plausible” (hooks, 1992, p. 342). With this metaphor of palimpsests, she points out that it is not enough to acknowledge power structures and inequality when nobody is taking responsibility for these injustices, and also when there is no opportunity to repair or compensate the communities affected. Thus, the intellectual exercise undertaken in this dissertation is not only valuable for raising awareness of the historical context where NGM creates and disseminates specific frames of Colombia in relation to identities and humanature, but also has the potential to become an empowerment resource in two different fronts: 1) to deconstruct the official versions of the Colombian identities and humanature; 2) to raise awareness of the active role of language and discourse creating the social world, by proposing new questions and new theoretical framework in relation to identities and humanature.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW

Theoretical Framework

In this dissertation, several theoretical threads guide my discussion and analysis. In what follows, I present the main concepts, theories, and debates leading my inquiry under the umbrella of the critical tradition (Kinchloe & McLaren, 2000, 2005; Prasad, 2005; Schwandt, 2007), social constructionism theory (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2004), and critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, (1989, 1992, 1995). In the first part of this chapter, I present the general theoretical context of this dissertation taking insights from the critical approach as the main paradigm, the social constructionism as the main theory, and critical discourse analysis as the main methodology. In the second part of the chapter, I present a literature review of the scholarship about *National Geographic Magazine*, followed by an overview of three communication sub-disciplines that have placed the study of communication and culture in the context of power relations and offer insights for my research: critical/intercultural communication, critical/cultural communication, and environmental communication. I begin each sub-section by briefly describing the historical context of these sub-disciplines and then underscore the most important assumptions of each in relation to the term “critical.” The last part of the chapter is devoted to the explication of the key constructs guiding this dissertation in relation to contemporary debates about national identities and humanature.

The Critical Paradigm

In order to accomplish the goal of this study, I take the critical tradition as the main theoretical frame to advance in my inquiry. The critical paradigm privileges the

study of the interconnection between power, knowledge, and discourse in context of repression, exploitation, unfairness, and asymmetrical power relations (Deetz, 1992, 2005; Hardt, 1992; Jansen, 2002 and, Schiller, 1996). There are two distinctive strands in the critical paradigm that are relevant for this dissertation: the “modernist tradition” that derives from scholarship produced by the Frankfurt School—Max Horkheimer, Theodor Adorno, Herbert Marcuse and Jürgen Habermas—and the “postmodern tradition”—Jean Baudrillard, Jacques Derrida, Michel Foucault, and Jean-Francois Lyotard (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011). The first strand is concerned with “the forms of control and injustice that accompanied the evolution of industrial and corporate capitalism” (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011, p. 54). The second strand is concerned with theorizing on “recent upheavals of tradition (and their aftermath) occurring in dominant institutions and the mundane practices of everyday life” (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011, p. 56).

Some of the main approaches associated with critical tradition are: Marxism and Frankfurt School theory (Agger, 1988, 1992; Aune, 1994; Gramsci, 1992; Habermas, 1984, 1987; Horkheimer & Adorno, 1972; Rasmussen, 1996), feminist and gender theory (Ashcraft & Mumby, 2004; Bobo, 2001; Butler, 1990; Collins, 2000; Donovan, 2000; Dow & Condit, 2005; Kramarae, 1989; Rakow & Wackwitz, 2004; Speer, 2005), critical race theory (Ashcraft & Allen, 2003; Clark & O’Donnell, 1999; Crenshaw, Gotanda, Peller, & Thomas, 1996; Delgado & Stefancic, 2001; Gandy, 1998; Nakayama & Martin, 1999), and postcolonial theory (Ashcroft & Griffiths, & Tiffins, 1995; Bhabha, 1990, 2004; Carrigan, 2011; Cilano & DeLoughrey, 2007; DeLoughrey & Handley, 2011; Fanon, 1961/1963, 1952/1967; Huggan & Tiffin, 2010; Kavoori, 1998; Marzec, 2007;

Mohanty, 2003; Ross & Hunt, 2010; Said, 1998, 2003; Shome, 1998; Spivak, 1988, 1999; Young, 2001).

My work is consonant with the critical paradigm because its main goal is to expose “hidden social mechanism that distorts communication and supports political efforts to resist the power of those mechanisms” (Craig & Muller, 2007, p. 425).

Therefore, the foremost ethical commitment for the scholars working under this approach is to address oppression and build alliances and solidarity with communities or issues traditionally been excluded (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). Some of the main assumptions of scholars working in this tradition are: 1) theory and practice are interconnected; 2) critical research is a normative activity; it means it is a political commitment; 3) the rejection of positivist and postpositivist traditions as the scientific, neutral, coherent, and final understanding of one objective reality; 4) critical theory and practice are empowering actions that transform reality; and 5) the commitment to study concrete needs of actual individuals and communities (Kinchloe & McLaren, 2000, 2005; Lindlof & Taylor, 2011; Prasad, 2005; Schwandt, 2007).

Social Constructionism Theory

Supplementing these assumptions, the social constructionism theory—as part of the “postmodern tradition” in the critical paradigm—places discourse as a central issue to the study of the context of the crisis of representation (Brown, 1977; Clifford & Marcus, 1986; Marcus & Fischer, 1986; Ruby, 1982). It is influenced by French post-structuralism theory and its rejection of totalizing and universalizing theories, such as Marxism and psychoanalysis. Four main premises for social constructionism scholars are: 1) reality is only accessible through language; it means that language as discourse plays a

central role in the construction of the social world (Burr, 1995; Gergen, 1985); 2) knowledge is a cultural and a historical construction (Gergen, 1985), therefore, it is not possible to pretend to have “one universal representation” or an ultimate “truth” (Richardson, 1994); 3) knowledge is possible through social interactions and discursive practices; and 4) knowledge is discursively and socially constructed, therefore, it is always in process of transformation (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2004, p. 5-6).

Some of the most common approaches to discourse analysis that are informed by social constructionism are, for example: discursive psychology (Billig, 1982, 1996; Edwards & Potter, 1992; Potter & Wetherell, 1987; Shotter & Gergen, 1989; Wetherell & Potter, 1992; Widdicombe & Wooffitt, 1995); discourse studies Laclau and Mouffe’s approach (1985), and critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 1989, 1992, 1995; Wodak & Meyer (2001). Among these, critical discourse analysis (CDA) offers the main methodological framework in my research and will be explicated in the next section.

Critical Discourse Analysis

I have chosen critical discourse analysis as the main methodology for this dissertation because of its emphasis on the ideological function of discourse (Fairclough, 1989, 1992, 1995). This method is driven by the idea that discourse plays a central role creating and reproducing social structures that are assimilated and legitimized in a given culture through the process that Gramsci (1992) called “hegemony.” From this perspective, “language use should be empirically analyzed within its social context” in order to grasp how discourse creates and reproduces particular structures in which history, economy, ideology, and power intersect (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2004, p. 62). For Fairclough (1989, 1992, 1995), discourse is constitutive (of the social world) and

constituted (by other social practices); he stressed the “dialectical” relation that language has with other social practices and objective structures—such as the economical and the political system. Following the Marxist tradition, the ontological assumption of CDA promotes the idea that language is only one part of the reality that shapes the social world.

The goal of CDA as a research program is to reveal the hidden or oppressive structures that have been normalized or naturalized in different discourses or what Foucault (1972) had termed “regimes of truth.” Therefore, its central purpose is “to produce and convey critical knowledge that enables human beings to emancipate themselves from forms of domination through self reflection” (Wodak & Meyer, 2001, p. 7). CDA is committed to generate awareness of the oppressive structures in order to generate social change and promote social justice. Some of the types of problems studied under this approach can take place in the micro-sociological level—for example ethnomethodology and conversation analysis—and/or in the macro-sociological level of the social practice (Foucault, 1972). The main issues studied under this approach are: organizational analysis, pedagogy, mass communication and racism, nationalism and identity, mass communication and economy, the spread of market practices, mass communication, democracy, and politics. A common methodology or strategy in CDA is the tridimensional framework proposed by Fairclough (1989, 1992, 1995). The three interrelated levels of analysis proposed in that model are: textual analysis, discourse practice, and sociocultural practice.

By drawing on the critical tradition as the main paradigm, social constructionism as the main theory, and critical discourse analysis as the main methodology, I hope to

understand the complexity of media representations through which NGM built a collective imaginary about Colombia, its humanature, and its people between 1903 and 1952.

Literature Review

In this section, I present a general overview of the scholarship on *National Geographic Magazine* to contextualize the contribution of my research to an understanding of the cultural significance of this medium. Next, because my foci of analysis incorporates the construction of discourses on identity and humanature in the context of U.S.-Colombia relations, I develop an overview of three relevant approaches to critical theorizing from three sub-disciplines within the broader communication discipline: critical/intercultural communication, critical/cultural communication, and environmental communication. My purpose here is to explore how scholars in these fields have incorporated critical perspectives to illuminate issues of communication and power across cultures. I discuss how these traditions explain, define, and apply the term “critical,” and how they inform my approach to identities and humanature in ways that are sensitive to issues of social justice.

From a critical/intercultural communication perspective, I derive my understanding of communication and culture (meaning) as heterogeneous, dynamic, contested, and historically located representations. Drawing on the critical/cultural communication perspective, more specifically from the Frankfurt School, I assume that *National Geographic Magazine* is a cultural artifact that has been commodified with the purpose of consolidating and reproducing the nascent industrial capitalist system in the United States—in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Lastly, the

environmental communication subfield, particularly the eco-cultural perspective, informs my understanding of human nature as a symbolic and material construct in the context of the dynamics of “double representation.” This understanding challenges anthropocentric and Eurocentric assumptions about the separation between nature and society.

Scholarship on *National Geographic Magazine*

Some research conducted on NGM has focused attention on representation of particular places such as Puerto Rico (Perivolaris, 2007), Africa (Moseley, 2005), Canada (Beaudreau, 2002), Afghanistan (Schwartz-Du Pre, 2010), Japan (Darling-Wolf & Mendelson, 2008), Spain (Alvarez, Lozano & Santamaria, 2013), and the Philippines (Hyndman, 2002; Tatel, 2011; Tuason, 1999). Colombia and South America have not received single, focused attention. The magazine has been used also as a platform to explore representations or topics related to science (Boguski, 2010), the tropical forest (Nygren, 2006), women’s bodies (Neuhaus, 1997), the Arab world (Street, 2000), and environmental advocacy (Bortree, Ahern, Dou & Smith, 2012).

In relation to the concept of “identity,” a main concept in this dissertation, Rothenberg (2007) studied the “strategies of innocence” constructed in NGM from 1888 to 1945 to point out the main role of the magazine in shaping U.S. American identity for U.S. Americans. She found that NGM helped to consolidate the U.S. identity as “imagined community.” The main characteristics of the narratives in NGM’s articles were: firstly, they “openly embraced colonial and imperial arrangements, and regularly presumed – and sometimes pronounced – white or Western superiority” (p. 9); secondly, some cues were inspired in European narratives of benevolent colonialism promoting “imperialistic altruism and uplift that negated the violence and arrogance of imperialism”

(p. 24); thirdly, under the pretext of the objective science, “the magazine gave readers familiar tropes of racial distinction, the primitive, the Arab, the sexually available woman, and so on” (p. 24).

Supplementing this study, Lutz & Collins (1993) and Neuhaus (1997) stressed the main place that NGM occupied in the first half of the 20th century since the magazine not only colonized the “coffee table” in U.S. homes but also “provided Americans—middle-class white Americans, in particular—with an ongoing narrative of the world and how to see it” (Neuhaus, 1997, p. 23). The magazine reached a wide spectrum of readers and, as Lutz & Collins (1993) noted, the messages contained in the photographs of NGM were:

highly specific in terms of the world view they encode—that of the white, educated, middle class—they speak to, and draw into their vision, a far larger group, extending from highly educated professionals and managers through white collar clericals and technicians into the working class and lower ranks of the service sector. (Lutz & Collins, 1993, p. 6)

In the coverage, the U.S. identity was associated with the values of the reason (rationality), modernity, friendliness, generosity, and benevolence (Lutz & Collins, 1993); furthermore, American identity “is seen as the universal standard” (Jansson, 2003, p. 365). It is portrayed as having “the civilizing benefits of healthcare, education, and development” by which other cultures are judged (Perivolaris, 2007, p. 210). In contrast, the photographs of the third world describe third world identities as “gracious, sunlit, and smiling” (Lutz & Collins, 1993, p. 46). Hyndman (2002) confirmed that assertion pointing out that:

The *National Geographic* images of difference are denaturalized to override the

temptation to imagine the indigenous Other as basically living in a happy, classless, and noble world in conflict neither with themselves nor us. The disproportionate attention in *National Geographic* to exoticising the T'boli and primitivising the Tasaday is underlain by racist epistemology that says a lot about anthropology's complicity in this production of knowledge. (Hyndman, 2002, p. 48)

In relation to the concept of humanature, the second main construct of this dissertation, Haraway (1984) posited that from 1890 to 1930 the "Nature Movement" was at its peak in the United States and advanced a view of nature as a potent symbol of innocence, "partly because 'she' is imagined to be without technology, to be the object of vision, and so a source of both health and purity. Man is not in nature partly because he is not seen, is not the spectacle" (p. 52).

When exploring the representations of nature in NGM in the first ten years of U.S. control over the Philippines, from 1898 to 1908, Tuason (1999) found that the overall photographs revealed "a shift from bold calls for direct economic exploitation of the natural resources and labor power of the Philippine Islands to more platitudinous justifications for U.S. control, based on moral responsibility and the ostensibly objective imperatives of "scientific" development" (p. 34). Todd (2010) called this "platitudinous justification" the strategy of "Anthropocentric distance" where environmental aesthetic is predicated on consumption of place, especially in relation to Africa. Furthermore, the complexity of Africa's environments is obscured in the magazines' breathless rhetoric, and our perspective remains global and monolithic. The implication is that we don't see Africa's challenges as a harbinger of what happens with

ecosystems are stretched to carrying capacity. (Todd, 2010, p. 221)

In this regard, Tatel (2011) found that NGM's photographs of Non-Western Filipinos, "teach us far more about American colonial, cultural and racial attitudes of the late 19th and early 20th centuries than they do about the Philippines of that era, which remains almost entirely hidden" (p. 77).

With the desire of contributing to a diverse and plural perspective on identities and humanature in NGM, this research presents a contextual, critical, and social constructivist perspective, pointing out the discursive-performative, historical, social, and relational character of "identities" and "humanature." In conclusion, the main purpose of this dissertation is to contribute to the scholarship on NGM, stressing the main role of NGM in the context of knowledge and power production. In this sense, the main contribution of this dissertation is to unmask the innocent and presumably neutral and objective position occupied by NGM in the early 20th century in the context of three hegemonic ideologies that shaped the construction of knowledge about lands and peoples abroad: Manifest Destiny, Positivism, and the policy of Pan-Americanism policy. This kind of endeavor is significant since most studies focus on the content of the magazine and have ignored discursive practices of the magazine like the subject of photography, mass media production and consumption, or cultural context in general (Lutz & Collins, 1993). In like manner NGM has been unnoticed by scholars on the topic of media representations and media frames.

Addressing the "Critical" in Relevant Sub-Disciplines in Communication Studies

Critical/Intercultural Communication

In its broader configuration, intercultural communication is considered today an

interdisciplinary field in communication that investigates interactions among people from diverse cultures; “more specifically, Karlfried Knapp defined it as the interpersonal interaction between members of groups that differ from each other in respect to the knowledge shared by their members and their linguistic forms of symbolic behavior” (Giri, 2009, p. 532). Its origin is situated in the post-World War II era, “when the United States increasingly came to dominate the world stage” (Martin & Nakayama, 2010, p. 45). With the purpose of finding practical and “specific guidelines for getting along in the countries,” the Foreign Service Institute hired Edward T. Hall, Ray Birdwhistle, and George Trager “to develop ‘predeparture’ courses for overseas workers” (Martin & Nakayama, 2010, p. 45-46).

The chronological history of intercultural communication can be divided in three main periods according to the nature of the inquiry, which has oscillated between practical and theoretical orientation (Martin & Nakayama, 2010, 2013). The first period, the pragmatic approach (1946 to 1980), focused on generating practical information and concrete guidelines for interactions with members of other cultures. The second period, the descriptive understanding (1980s to the mid-1990s), focused on the possibility of creating new theories. The third period, the critical approach (1995 to today), is the most relevant for my research. It fluctuated between an emphasis on theoretical possibilities and practical commitments to generate change.

The first period from 1946 to 1980 emphasized the needs to produce practical information about “how to interact with persons in the specific culture to which they were being sent” (Leeds-Hurwitz, 1990, p. 268). With *Silent Language*, Hall (1959) proposed two main ideas to address the field: 1) “the analysis of culture was dependent upon a

priori linguistic model” (Leeds-Hurwitz, 1990, p. 267), and 2) “Linguistic meaning comes not from words alone but from a combination of the linguistic and what was then termed the “metalinguistic” levels” (Leeds-Hurwitz, 1990, p. 267). Also Hall (1959) brought attention to face-to-face interaction between members of different cultural groups and also introduced the importance of nonverbal forms of communication. He studied context specific interactions and brought attention to the role of nonverbal cues, such as proxemics (use of space), kinesics (body language), and paralanguage (tone of voice and cues), etc. In this period of time, theorists defined culture in terms of nationality and studied communication by applying “linguistic frameworks to investigate nonverbal aspects of communication,” such as, “voice, gestures, time and spatial relationships” (Martin & Nakayama, 2010, p. 46; Leeds-Hurwitz, 1990, p. 268).

In the second period, from the 1980s to the mid-1990s, the interpretative approach emphasized new theories that explain interpersonal communication “emphasizing individual and group-centered attitudes and communication skills” (Halualani & Nakayama, 2010, p. 3). Some of the main theories subscribed to under this approach are drawn from the work of anthropologists and sociolinguists. They are ethnography of communication (Hymes, 1972, 1974), the theory of cultural communication (Philipsen, 1987, 1989, 2002), the theory of communication codes or speech codes theory (Philipsen, 1997; Philipsen, Coutu & Covarrubias, 2005; Philipsen, 2010) and cultural discourse analysis (CuDA) (Carbaugh, 2007).

The main purpose of the inquiry under this interpretative approach is to discover, understand, and describe human behavior. Two of the main ontological assumptions are that “reality is external to humans but also that humans construct reality,” and that

“human experience, including communication, is subjective and human behavior is neither predetermined nor easily predicted” (Martin & Nakayama, 2010, p. 59).

According to this view, the inquiry of the researcher is guided by two main epistemological assumptions related to objectivity and prediction: 1) “culture, particularly as manifested in talk, is open to investigation by anyone because it is formed through shared and observable interaction (Braithwaite, 1997, p. 429), and 2) there are some themes, “terms, meanings, rules, and premises with which people plan, enact, interpret, and evaluate communicative conduct” (Philipsen, 2010, p. 164).

In that context, the main goal of the interpretative approach is to provide a practical guideline “to understand a local culture (or cultures) by looking and listening [to] ‘patterns of communication’ and/or ‘meta-communicative vocabulary’” (Philipsen, 2010, p. 164). Culture also can be defined in relation to the concept of nation, following post positivist approaches that emphasize cultural measurement (González & Peterson, 1993; Martín & Nakayama, 1999; Moon, 1996) and communication can be described as the meaning or the “symbolic process whereby reality is produced, maintained, repaired and transformed” (Carey, 1989, p. 23).

The third period, the “fifth moment,” from the mid-1990s to today, is known as critical/intercultural communication. This is the most relevant for this dissertation because of its orientation toward the study of power, context, socio-economic relations and historical/structural forces as constituting and shaping cultures and identities (Collier et al., 2001; Delgado, 2002; Halualani & Nakayama, 2010; Martin & Nakayama, 1999; Mendoza, Halualani & Dzewiecka, 2003; Moon, 2010; Putman & Pacanowsky, 1983; Starosta & Chen, 2001, 2003). These elements are relevant for this dissertation because

they contribute to the study of identities and human nature. Some of the main concerns in critical/intercultural communication are: 1) the role of language in the perpetuation of power imbalances, 2) the role of mass media in dulling sensitivity to repression, and 3) blind reliance on the scientific method and uncritical acceptance of empirical findings (Griffin, 2011, p. 44). Because situations that oppressed people historically produced enduring subordinating hierarchies, many critical/intercultural scholars stress that social injustice demands critique “from the position of its victims” (Young, 2001, p. 58). Therefore, critical/intercultural communication has as its purpose a kind of academic interrogation that considers actions of emancipation and practical interventionism.

One important assumption among critical/intercultural communication scholars is that communication is in a dialectical relationship with culture. They posit that communication helps to reproduce and shape meaning that are constituted by social, political, and historical structures. Therefore, culture not only influences communication but also is enacted through, and influenced by, communication (Martin & Nakayama, 1999, 2010). In this regard, the main task of critical/intercultural communication scholar is to study power, context, socio-economic relations and historical/structural forces. For critical scholarship, culture is understood as a “site of contestation” where meaning is always a process of struggle; it is also understood as a “resource, exploited for economic development and activated for empowerment” that “allows us to address the symbolic and material realities of inequality, difference, and marginalization” (Sorrells, 2010, p. 183). Under this perspective, communication is conceptualized as a system “through which ideologies and status are negotiated” and ideologies adhere in “fundamental assumptions about reality that are both institutionally and socially patterned and function

to position groups with higher and lower status” (Collier, 2009, p. 281). In sum, the critical perspective studies power in its context emphasizing the particular historical situation with the purpose of achieving “a more equitable society” (Halualani & Nakayama, 2010, p. 2). In this dissertation, I embrace the definition of communication and culture from a critical/cultural communication perspective, and regard meaning as always heterogeneous, dynamic, contested, and historical located.

Critical/Cultural Communication

Critical/cultural communication studies (CC/CS) is a broad, interdisciplinary, and trans-disciplinary project in communication (Ono, 2009). It is interdisciplinary because it cuts through different fields and subfields such as performance studies, critical literacy, intercultural communication, critical organization, and so on. It is also a trans-disciplinary project because CC/CS creates its own program based on ideas that emerge from different disciplines. Consequently, the most important task under the CC/CS is to pose new questions challenging the traditional disciplines.

Some of the main concepts studied by CC/CS are identities —as fixed structures or as fragmented— (Ang, 2001; Bahabha, 1990, 2004; Lugo-lugo & Bloodsworth-Lugo, 2010; Martin-Barbero, 1993, 2002), race and whiteness (Gilroy, 2000; hooks, 1992), youth culture and resistance, the cultural and urban space, gender and queer theory (MacRobbie, 1991), new technologies and cyberspace, television and audiences (Morley, 1992), and reception studies pointing out the creative character of the consumption process (Hall, 1981, 1985).

As an institutional project in the United States, CC/CS started in the 1980s with James Carey at the University of Illinois and Hanno Hardt at Iowa University. The first

institutional conference was held at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign in 1983 and was entitled “Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture.” The idea to bond the “critical” and the “cultural” was an attempt to work across both areas, to call attention to their similarities versus their differences (Ono, 2009). According to Miller (2001), in the United States it was difficult to locate or institutionalize Cultural Studies because this approach didn’t fit well in the journals and academic group interests that had been created inside the dominant academic system to advance the reproduction and legitimization of dominant paradigms. In its development, CC/CS was intersected by three different and sometimes conflicting intellectual projects that offered divergent meanings to the “critical” dimension in critical studies: media studies, cultural studies, and critical studies (Hay, 2013).

Media studies. Media studies contested the origins and institutionalization of mass communication as a discipline in the United States in the context of the Second World War, when scholars such as Hovland, Lazarsfeld and Laswell institutionalized media studies with the main goal assessing the impact of media on individual values and behaviors from a positivist position that served the hegemonic interests of government agencies, media industries, and advertisers.

Cultural studies. This approach emerged in the United Kingdom in 1964 with scholars like Hoggart (1957), Williams (1958, 1977, 1981) and E. P. Thompson (1964). They drew on the Marxist tradition as a main theory to re-define the concept of culture, not only in the terms of dominant conceptualizations of culture as high culture and low culture, but also with the intention to re-locate the place of culture as part of the popular in social practices.

Critical studies. The third project, critical studies, is the most complex project because it draws on at least to three different traditions where the meaning of “critical” is always a slippery and contested concept. These traditions are: literature and literacy criticism, the Marxist tradition, and the Frankfurt School.

The literature and literary criticism has its roots in the humanist tradition and the rejection of one “objective” and “neutral” reality, in this regard it is considered “critical” due the fact that it questions the rationalist/positivist paradigm (Bruner, 1991; Burke, 1969; Fisher, 1984, 1985a, 1985b, 1987, 1988, 1989; Stroud, 2002). This tradition focused on narratives as forms that represent reality and constitute reality, since “the central concern is not how narrative as text is constructed, but rather, how it operates as an instrument of mind in the construction of reality” (Bruner, 1991, p. 6). Unlike the structures or patterns generated by scientific procedures that can falsify hypotheses, scholars in this tradition posit that narrative constructions can only achieve verisimilitude (Bruner, 1991). Moreover, this tradition points out the value of the humans as moral and symbolic human beings (Dewey, 1930; Mead, 1961).

A second source of influence on critical theorizing comes from Marxist theories of political economy. This tradition was institutionalized in U.S. academic departments of communication as political economy of media communication. It applied the Marxist principles of economics to analyze the interconnections between capitalisms, communication, media, and culture (Grossberg, 1995). Political economy gives primacy to the “material” (understood as the productive forces, processes, and relations of a given social formation), and sees the “symbolic,” the “cultural,” or the “mental” as determined and dependent on the material conditions of ownership and control. Consequently,

culture is the result of the dialectical process in which the “base”—labor, ownership, modes of production and class structure—determine the superstructure or cultural field. One of the most important scholars to set the tone for this school was Harold Innis (1950). He proposed, for instance, the concept of “knowledge monopolies” to point out “the enormous expansion of the printing industry and an emphasis on freedom of the press, which favored the growth of monopolies” (Innis, 1950, p. 212). His study of media communication focused on how different types of values are produced, distributed, exchanged, and consumed; and how the media industry is influenced by capitalism (Agger, 1992).

The third tradition producing an alternative meaning of “critical” is the Frankfurt School. This school refers to a group of German scholars at the Institute for Social Research in Frankfurt, originally established in 1923. The main concern of this school was to explain how capitalism produces and reproduces forms of consciousness and relations of domination. According to Agger, this approach attempted to “to produce a generic critical theory that addressed the epochal subject/object dichotomy as the axial problematic of Western civilization” (1992, p. 58). According to Horkheimer and Adorno (1972), the process of European Enlightenment—with its emphasis on rationality, liberty, and progress—brought about concomitant processes of domination and exploitation. For instance, industrial capitalism and its characteristic logics of calculation, effectiveness, control, and sophisticated techniques of production and distribution, became a form of both economic exploitation and ideological manipulation and control. In this context, the commodification of culture and the emergence of a culture industry—operating through

different kinds of media—“perpetually cheats its consumers of what it perpetually promises” (Horkheimer & Adorno, 1972, p. 139).

In this dissertation, I approach NGM as a cultural and commodified artifact, an approach that is influenced by the Frankfurt School argument about the culture-industry. This argument is built upon five distinctive empirical theses. First, there is a general mass culture in late twentieth century. Second, in this cultural formation, culture is commodified, that is, cultural artifacts are produced, first and foremost, to be exchanged for money. Third, certain false (or manipulated) needs are propagated by the cultural industry to both reproduce capital and deflect people from recognizing their own objective interest in total social transformation (Marcuse, 1964). Fourth, false needs are generated by the one-sided relationship between cultural producers and consumers, a relationship that is endemic to all capitalist exchange relationships. Fifth, the culture-industry argument assumes that culture has certain narcotic or diversionary properties that somehow promote false needs per se (Agger, 1992, pp. 62-68).

Frankfurt School theorists also recognized that “theory itself is a cultural and political activity” (Agger, 1992, p. 58). Consequently, one of the main commitments of the theoretical reflection must be the transformation of the oppressed political and technological structures that create unjust realities. In this dissertation, I embrace the meaning of critical following the Frankfurt School to approach NGM as a set of cultural artifacts that is commodified and has as its purpose the consolidation and reproduction of the nascent capitalism system through the ideologies of Manifest Destiny, Positivism and Pan-Americanism policy.

Environmental Communication

I chose environmental communication as a third sub-discipline informing this dissertation because it foregrounds “nature” as an important topic or construct to study. Environmental communication is a young discipline that emerged in the United States as a distinct field in the early 1980s from the tradition of “rhetorical criticism to study conflicts over wilderness, forests, farmlands, and endangered species as well as the rhetoric of environmental groups” (Cox, 2013, p. 13). Christine Oravec’s 1981 study of the “sublime” in John Muir’s work is considered by many theorists to be the beginning of scholarship in what would become the field of environmental communication (Cox, 2013). After that pioneer publication, some communication scholars started periodical publications in different journals addressing similar topics (Cox, 1982; Lange, 1990, 1993; Moore, 1993; Oravec, 1981, 1984; Peterson, 1986; Short, 1991). They began publishing scholarship on topics related to “environmental news media, methods of public participation in environmental decisions, environmental rhetoric, risk communication, environmental conflict resolution, advocacy campaigns, ‘green’ marketing, and images of nature in popular culture” (Cox, 2013, p. 12).

According to Milstein (2011), environmental communication “is a field within the communication discipline, as well as a meta-field that cuts across disciplines” (p. 344). Scholarship in this area of knowledge stresses the ways people represent and communicate about the natural world “because they believe that such communication has far-reaching effects at a time of largely human-caused environmental crises” (p. 344). Four main principles within this field are: that the concept of “environment” embodies material and social/symbolic processes; that social/symbolic representations of the

environment embody “interested” orientations toward their object(s); that the social, economic and ideological contexts both enable and inhibit the production of representations of the environment; and that dominant systems of representation of the environment influence societal deliberation about and/or response to environmental signals, including signs of deterioration of human health, climate, or ecological systems (Cox, 2007, p. 12-14).

In this sub-discipline, different scholars, such as Cox (2007), Milstein (2008), Milstein and Kroløkke (2012); Peterson, Peterson, and Peterson, (2007); and Rogers, (1998), challenged contemporary theories of communication that promote the idea of “reality” as socially constituted only by discourse. As Rogers noted, “emphasizing the influence of culture and discourse, constitutive theories often position the natural world as something that is passive and malleable in relation to the human beings” (Rogers, 1998, p. 244). In addition, Rogers (1998) posited that the idea of nature, as socially constituted only by discourse, would contribute to obscure “the implications of radically materialist and dialogic theory of communication” (p. 247), ideas that are central in the Marxism theories.

The first myth that promotes the idea of a separation or rupture between nature and society is Platos’s allegory of the cave (Escobar, 2012; Haraway, 1997; Peterson, Peterson, & Peterson, 2007; Serje, 2005). This myth was a rational and theoretical approach that addresses the juxtaposition between the “human subjects” who reason and the “nonhuman objects” that do not reason. Positivism and post-positivism theories emerged from the idea of science or objective knowledge “its proponents frame the debate over rules of science and validity in terms of the human-versus-nature dualism.

Rigorous rules and methodologies are constructed to ensure that scientist can travel between society and nature with foundational truths in tow” (Peterson, Peterson, & Peterson, 2007, p. 75).

In that context, the main concern of environmental scholars is to question the assumption that two different domains constitute reality: the “human subjects” and the “nonhuman objects” (Cox, 2007; Milstein, 2008; Milstein & Kroløkke, 2012; Milstein & Dickinson, 2012; Peterson, Peterson, & Peterson, 2007; Rogers, 1998). Some scholars argue that in such perspective, nature and natural resources are always defined from Eurocentric and anthropocentric standpoints, whereas nature is often conceptualized “as something passive and malleable” (Rogers, 1998). The consequence of the juxtaposition between “human subjects” and “nonhuman objects” is the perception of the world as disconnected, the erasure of animals from the “motherland” (Packwood, Freeman, Bekoff & Bexell, 2011; Stibbe, 2012), and the lack of “place” from our horizon of perception (Armstrong, 1995; Cajete, 1999).

With the goal of providing some kind of awareness and to combat the dichotomous perspectives, the perception of the world as disconnected, and the lack of place, this dissertation advocates for “a human society as well as the natural world beyond the human,” accentuating the double representation as both symbolic and material (Milstein, 2011, p. 346). At this level, I agree that media representations should create more inclusive discourses regarding humanature (see my discussion of this concept in the section below). Therefore, contemporary media images must contest binary representations, in which nature often is depicted as an external object disconnected from human beings. According to Cox, our task as academics should “include identification

and analysis of the failures, distortions, and/or corruption in human communication about environmental concerns;” but should also include willingness of scholars to recommend alternatives to “enable policy decision makers, communities, businesses, educators, and citizen groups to respond to signals of environmental stress in ways that are appropriate to human and biological well-being” (Cox, 2007, p. 18). In this dissertation, I embrace the eco-cultural discussion of the double representation of “nature” as a symbolic and material construct that can challenge the anthropocentric and Eurocentric assumption of the separation between nature and society.

Key Constructs Guiding this Research

Media Representations

Representations are images, descriptions, explanations, and frames for understanding what the world is, and why and how it works in particular ways (Hall, 1997). In the current study, media representations refer to texts (including print, sound, and visual images) that circulate in media spaces and carry symbolic content, where power is always embedded, “for example, news photographs and articles, advertisements, radio programs, Facebook, Youtube videos, blogs, etc.” (Orgad, 2012). Moreover, media representations refer to the process of re-presenting, the process by which members of a culture use systems of signs to produce meaning (Hall, 1997). From the critical and social constructivism perspectives, representations are not constructions of pre-existing reality; they are “a series of signs and symbols that pretend to stand for so-called reality. Meaning is never single, univocal or total, but rather is fluid, ambiguous and contradictory” (Gill, 2007, p. 13).

For example, rhetorical features through which media representations have been deployed are intersected by ideology and power to construct some kind of knowledge that is socially and discursively fabricated (Jørgensen, & Phillips, 2004). In this regard, this dissertation is committed to identify and analyze themes, catchphrases (Pan & Kosicki, 1993), keywords (Entman, 1993), and metaphors (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989; Wodak & Meyer, 2001) regarding identities and humanature in their relevant contexts of power and socio-economic relations and historical/structural forces (Deetz, 1992, 2005; Hardt, 1992; Jansen, 2002; and Schiller, 1996). In conclusion, I will approach media representations as a “site of contestation” where meaning making is always heterogeneous, dynamic, contested, and historical located.

Identities

In the current study, I understand identities as the social discursive-performative practices of representation (or narration) of the “sameness and differences, about the personal and the social, about what you have in common with some people and what differentiates you from others” (Weeks, 1990, p. 89). From the critical and social constructionist cultural perspective, identities are “grounded in an anti-representationalist account of language, whereby discourse defines, constructs, and produces objects of knowledge” (Barker, 2004, p. 94). In this regard, this dissertation is committed to investigate the media frames by which knowledge about Colombian identities is produced in NGM accounting for the levels of the discursive practices and the social practices (Fairclough, 1989, 1992, 1995) at the beginning of the 20th century.

Humanature

In this dissertation, I use the hybrid term *humanature* coined by Goin (1996) with the purpose of pointing out how humans and nature are intricately linked instead of being separate, as they are commonly perceived from anthropocentric perspectives. Following Haraway (2007), I agree with the idea that “nature and culture are bound up in knots” (p. 5). This term undermines the dominant dualistic notion of nature as a radical Other or something outside of, and separate from, the human realm of perceptions and action, is an invention that was consolidated with the history of natural science and colonial exploration (Pratt, 2002). In conclusion, to study *humanature* from this perspective is to study the ways in which meaning is constructed in NGM and the impact of its discursive practices and the social practices (Fairclough, 1989, 1992, 1995) at the beginning of the 20th century.

Ideology and Hegemony

I understand the concept of ideology as the symbolic context where people make sense of the world (Curran et al, 1982; Gramsci, 1992). That context includes representations, ideas, values, perceptions, and practices. The problem with these ideas, values, and perceptions is that they look “natural” and become “common sense” (Gramsci, 1992). Therefore, this dissertation has two main purposes: first, to understand how ideology creates the social world fixing some particular ideas, values, and perceptions at the beginning of the 20th century. Second, to understand the process of concealing the power forces that adhere in the productions of NGM.

Ideology, according to Gramsci, “is grasped as ideas, meanings and practices which, while they support to be universal truths, are maps of meaning that support the power of particular social classes” (Ideology, 2004). Thus, the study of ideology “is

concerned with the ways in which symbolic forms intersect with relations of power” (Thompson, 1990, p. 56). On the other hand, hegemony, according to Gramsci (1992), “implies a situation where a ‘historical bloc’ of ruling class factions exercises social authority and leadership over the subordinate classes through a combination of force and, more importantly, consent” (Hegemony, 2004).

Drawing on Spurr’s (1993) work on twelve rhetorical modes through which ideology can operate, this dissertation is committed to explore the rhetorical modes of surveillance, appropriation, aestheticization, classification, debasement, negation, affirmation, idealization, insubstantialization, naturalization, eroticization, and resistance (Spurr, 1993). In Spurr’s work, the focus is on how these rhetorical strategies reproduced colonization to become a “repertoire for colonial discourse, a range of tropes, conceptual categories, and logical operations available for purposes of representation” (Spurr, 1993, p. 3). In conclusion, to study ideology from this perspective is to study the ways in which meaning serves to establish and sustain relations of domination that sometimes are consented or established by force for the ruling class.

Informed by the conceptual, ontological, and epistemological commitments presented in this chapter, in the following chapter I explain the methodological procedures that guide the analysis of NGM articles selected.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGICAL FOUNDATIONS AND RESEARCH METHOD

This research on representations of Colombian identities and humanature in *National Geographic Magazine* is driven by my interest in elucidating the discourses that circulated in the United States and other countries in relation to Colombia at a particularly relevant historical moment in the relations between Colombia and the United States in the early 20th century. The research questions guiding this investigation are:

(RQ1) What are the media representations of Colombian identities in NGM from 1903 to 1952?

(RQ2) What are the media representations of Colombia's humanature in NGM from 1903 to 1952?

(RQ3) How does the discourse about Colombian identities and humanature produced by NGM relate to U.S. dominant ideologies in the first half of the 20th century?

In this chapter, I explicate, first, the methodological framework of critical discourse analysis and visual rhetoric applied in this dissertation. Then, I provide a description of the techniques for data collection and analysis, followed by the description of the procedures to ensure trustworthiness of the analysis under the critical and social constructionist perspective.

Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical discourse analysis is a methodology congruent with the epistemological and ontological assumptions of this dissertation because its central purpose is “to produce and convey critical knowledge that enables human beings to emancipate themselves from forms of domination through self reflection” (Wodak & Meyer, 2001, p. 7). In this

regard, this dissertation is committed to create counter-version to the discourse that claimed neutrality and objectivity in the representation of Colombian identities and humanature by pointing out the leading role of Manifest Destiny, Positivism, and Pan-Americanism in shaping the particular meanings constructed in the magazine.

One of the key assumptions of CDA is that language conveys meaning and constructs the social world (Fairclough, 1992). Grounded in Foucaultian understandings (Foucault, 1972), some scholars argue that the purpose of CDA is to study language in order to uncover relationships between discourse, culture, and power (Fairclough, 1989, 1992; Fowler, Hodge, Kress & Trew 1979; Hodge & Kress, 1993; van Dijk, 1997). Discourse is defined as a “constitutive and constituted” element pointing out the dialectical relations between language and other social practices or objective structures, for example, between language and the economical and the political systems at a particular historical moment.

Because most of the time the dominant ideologies are assimilated and legitimized in a given culture through what Gramsci (1992) called hegemony, CDA gives special attention to the hidden and latent type of everyday beliefs. These often appear disguised in media frames as keywords (Entman, 1993), catchphrases (Pan & Kosicki, 1993), and metaphors (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989; Wodak & Meyer, 2001).

In NGM, for instance, some catchphrases regarding the exuberance and quality of natural resources are: “Colombia: A land of great possibilities” (Barrett, 1906, p. 701), “Products of Colombia soil” (Barrett, 1906, p. 706), “Mines and Minerals” (Barrett, 1906, p. 707), “Exports and Imports” (Barrett, 1906, p. 707), “Birds restricted to clearly defined zones” (Chapman, 1921, p. 361), “Fauna of the Magdalena’s shores” (Chapman,

1921, p. 373), “Strange Andean vegetables are encountered” (Popenoe, 1926, p. 131), “One of the most complete markets of Tropical America” (Popenoe, 1926, p. 132), “A quest for the giant blackberry” (Popenoe, 1926, p. 136), “The giant berry is found” (Popenoe, 1926, p. 144). In relation to culture and customs some catchphrases are: “Bogotá a city of strong contrasts” (Chapman, 1921, p. 371), “Fashion stalks the streets of Colombia’s capital” (Popenoe, 1926, p. 128p. 131), “The ruana is a garment of grace and service” (Popenoe, 1926, p. 133), “The ancient chibcha Indians were an industrious people” (Popenoe, 1926, p. 148), “Departure by train is a civic ceremony” (Popenoe, 1926, p. 150), “Travelers and their horses proceed on the same train” (Popenoe, 1926, p. 152), “Travel with a burro” (Popenoe, 1926, p. 155), “Foot travelers are social outcasts” (Popenoe, 1926, p. 157).

Influenced by the Marxist tradition, the ontological assumption of CDA promotes the idea that language is only one part of the reality that shapes the social world. In relation to the epistemological assumption—relationships between discourse, knowledge and power—CDA stresses the idea that discourse creates and reproduces the oppressive structures. Consequently, the concepts of ideology and hegemony play a central role in this approach. Lastly, the axiological commitment of CDA, as a research program, is to reveal the hidden or oppressive structures that have been “normalized” or “naturalized” in order to generate one first level of awareness of the oppressive structures and to generate social change.

Fairclough’s Three-Level Method

The three-dimensional model proposed by Fairclough, (1989, 1992, 1995) was selected as the main analytical strategy for this study. It proposes three levels of analysis:

the textual level, the level of discursive practices, and the level of social practices (See Appendix B and C for Fairclough's three-step method).

The first level of analysis, textual analysis, refers to media representations and encompasses the forms and organizational structures of text, considering vocabulary, grammar, cohesion, and structure: "vocabulary deals mainly with individual words; grammar deals with words combined into clauses and sentences; cohesion deals with how clauses and sentences are linked together; and text structure deals with large scale organizational properties of text" (Fairclough, 1992, p. 77). The central purpose of this analysis is to transform the linguistic and descriptive level into a social theory in which it is possible to account for "wordings and their political and ideological significance" (Fairclough, 1992, p. 77).

Because this research analyzes journalistic products, I focus on frame analysis—a primary meaning making activity of print media—in this first level. Frames are macro-propositions in a text articulated through linguistic devices such as keywords, catchphrases, and metaphors. Through framing, media select "some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation" (Entman, 1993, p. 52). Moreover, "media frames are persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation, and presentation, of selection, emphasis, and exclusion, by which symbol-handlers routinely organize discourse, whether verbal or visual" (Gitlin, 1980, p. 7). At this level of analysis, I coded the texts for salient frames (supported by keywords, catchphrases, and metaphors) constructed in relation to

Colombian identities and humanature, with attention to the main characteristics of the conversational agenda proposed by NGM.

Several reasons led me to select frame analysis for this research. First, frames are “a cognitive device used in information encoding, interpreting, and retrieving; it is communicable; and it is related to journalistic professional routines and conventions” (Pan & Kosicki, 1993, p. 57). Second, frames function “as both internal structures of the mind and devices embedded in political discourses” (Kinder & Sanders, 1990, p. 74). 2). Finally, frames retake a multi-semiotic approach “in the case of the press and television, including analysis of photographic images, layout and overall visual organization of pages, and analysis of film and of sound effect” (Fairclough, 1995, p. 58).

The second level of analysis, discourse practice, “involves various aspects of the processes of text production and text consumption” (Fairclough, 1995, p. 58). At this level, I studied only the context of production of mediated discourses, including the evolution of NGM, the setting of editorial policies to produce discourse, and general demographics of the targeted audiences for the magazine. The questions explored at this level were: How did context of production and organizational practices influence the production of the text? How did editorial policies shape discourse? How and why were the structures and practices of the magazine transformed over time? Who were the writers? Who was the audience? How was the text consumed?

The third level of analysis, the social practice, foregrounds “relationships, interactions, and complicities between social institutions/domains, and their orders of discourses (macro-analysis), and the sensitive to similarities in social organization, and discursive practices (micro-analysis) between different institutions” (Fairclough, 1992, p.

85). The analysis addresses the “domain of cultural power and hegemony” (Fairclough, 1992, p. 86). In this regard, I explored the relation between publishers, writers, and political and economic institutions (in government and business) in particular historical moments.

This level of analysis incorporates attention to interdiscursivity and intertextuality, giving particular attention to “the borderline between text and discourse practice in the analytical framework” (Fairclough, 1995, p. 61). Interdiscursivity occurs when different orders of discourse and genres—in this dissertation, scientific discourse, media discourse, and political discourse, for example, are articulated together in a communicative event. Intertextuality refers to the idea that the same text can be consumed in a range of different versions and must be coded to analyze how texts genealogically influence other texts (Kristeva, 1980). In this sense, I analyzed the co-occurrences of orders of discourse (e.g. political, foreign policy, scientific, journalistic) and their articulation of the broader ideological formations of Manifest Destiny, Positivism, Pan-Americanism, and popularization of science journalism from 1903 to 1952, pointing out regularities and discontinuities.

The central task at this level is to analyze discursive reproduction through an analysis of the relations between different discourses within an order of discourse and between different orders of discourse (Fairclough, 1995). Order of discourse is defined as a specific “configuration of discourse and genres within the same social field of institutions. It can denote different discourses that partly cover the same terrain, a terrain which each discourse competes to fill with meaning in its own way” (Phillips & Jorgensen, 2002, p. 141). Therefore, the questions answered at this level were: How do

textual and discursive practices reproduce orders of discourse associated with Manifest Destiny, Positivism, Pan-Americanism, popularization of science journalism? How do textual elements reproduce or challenge ideology and hegemony? How does coverage of Colombian identities and human nature contribute to the maintenance of the status quo in U.S.-Colombia relations? How do transformations in the articulation of discourse contribute social change? What are the ideological, political, and social consequences of the discursive practice?

Visual Rhetoric

In order to analyze the photos in NGM, I will apply the method of visual rhetoric (VR) as a complementary strategy because it offers elements compatible with CDA. For example, it calls for the analysis of the function of the image, which allows for connecting text analysis to the levels of discourse practice and social practice proposed by Fairclough (1989, 1992, 1995). VR can be applied to the domains of representation of visual objects—or artifacts—or visual data (Foss, 2004, p. 304). In this dissertation, VR focuses on visual data, and analyzes “the symbolic process by which visual artifacts perform communication” (Foss, 2004, p. 304). The three dimensions to be studied are: nature, function, and evaluation (Foss, 2004) (See Appendix D and E for Visual Rhetoric Method).

The first dimension, nature, encourages rhetorical scholars to explore “elements such as metaphor, argument, enthymeme, ethos, evidence, narrative, and stasis” (Foss, 2004, p. 308). In relation to the visual constructs, it is important to explore how “color, space, texture, and vectoriality” influence meaning (Foss, 2004, p. 308). The question answered at this level was: How do the nature of visual images contribute to the framing

of identities and humanature? The second dimension, the function, addresses the action that the photo or the visual object is communicating. Some functions of visual artifacts “might range from memorializing individuals to creating feelings of warmth and coziness to encouraging viewers to explore self- imposed limitations” (Foss, 2004, p. 308).

Consequently, the emotion an image aims to evoke, most of the time is its function. The question answered at this level was: How does the visual image relate to the text and to the dominant macro propositions constructed in the text? The third dimension, the evaluation or assessment, focuses the attention on evaluating “an artifact using the criterion of whether it accomplishes its apparent function” (Foss, 2004, p. 309). The question answered at this level is: Does visual coverage accomplish its function?

Data Collection

The investigation is based on the analysis of nine in-depth articles that featured coverage of Colombia in NGM between 1903 and 1952. The data set encompasses 214 pages of written text, 200 photos, and 6 maps (See Appendix F for list of articles analyzed). The articles were collected through the NGM’s online database accessed via the University of New Mexico’s Zimmerman Library. The units of analysis were the entire articles, including all graphic or visual representations such as photos, maps, and illustrations.

The period selected for study, 1903-1952, is significant for several reasons. Firstly, it allows for the examination of the particular ways in which NGM emerged in 1888 and positioned itself as a “neutral and scientific” publication while performing hegemonic roles. Secondly, it allows me to trace the evolution of discourses on Colombia since the inception of the magazine in order to identify patterns of continuity and

discontinuity in the symbolic construction of U.S.-Colombia relations. Thirdly, because it offers me opportunity to explore how media representations in NGM were part of the orders of discourse that supported two dominant ideologies driving U.S. policymaking in Latin America, Manifest Destiny and Pan-Americanism, at three historical moments in U.S. policy making history (Monroe Doctrine, Good Neighbor Policy, and the Cold War) when U.S. hegemonic role in the region was rearticulated through discourses about the natural and social worlds.

I selected NGM as the main resource for this dissertation because at the beginning of the twentieth century it was the most powerful, important, and pioneering media industry in charge of creating, disclosing, and institutionalizing the discourse of the new sciences or positivism, with a particular emphasis on nature and cultures around the world. The strategy developed by NGM started with the cultivation of “ties to government officials and corporate interests” (Lutz & Collins, 1993, p. 5). It also cultivated institutional links with “societies for economics, entomology, chemistry, physiology, geology, and biology” that were founded in 1880; and in the next decade, “the fields of mathematics, physics, astronomy, and psychology all established parallel associations” (Rothengberg, 2007, p. 25). The main goal of NGM was to provide “geographical information, broadly construed to include commercial, botanical, geological, and anthropological angles, among others”; it emphasized production of knowledge derived from “exploration” and direct observation (Rothengberg, 2007, p. 26).

At the personal level, my interest in studying media representations on NGM arises from previous critical research conducted in my country, Colombia, on issues related to public sphere and environmental conflicts. By complementing my research in

the national context with an analysis of media frames in this prominent medium in the United States, I can identify and challenge the complex political and economic structures—domestic and foreign—from which Colombian identities and humanature were constructed.

Data Analysis

After the selection and retrieval of texts, I followed the following procedures in my analysis of data. The first stage involved the reading of texts with attention to the three dimensions in CDA and the three dimensions of VR. Then, I started the analysis of texts article by article, separating the text and the photos in different electronics folders in chronological order (See Appendix F for list of articles analyzed). I then coded the texts selected for emergent themes in relation to “identities” and “humanature” and salient framings within themes. Simultaneously, I coded the information of the photos, applying VR method: nature (arguments and metaphors), function (the action that is communicated), and evaluation (whether it accomplished its function). I proceeded to the coding of textual data, giving particular attention to the three-dimensional model to establish relations between textual level (frames), the level of discursive practices (process of text production) and the level of socio-cultural practices (including interdiscursivity, intertextual chains and links to ideology and hegemony). After this initial coding of information, I listed emerging frames and arguments supported by the information collected, and also contrasted them with my ontological and epistemological assumptions regarding identities and humanature using the critical and social constructionism perspective.

Triangulation and Crystallization

In order to demonstrate that my methods and interpretations are trustworthy and accurate, I used triangulation and crystallization. Triangulation includes “the comparison of two or more forms of evidence with respect to an object of research interest” (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011, p. 274). In this dissertation, I use multiple source validation to ensure that the data that support my analysis and arguments are confirmed using at least two different methods and two different forms of evidence. Regarding the first aspect, I confirm and support my arguments using two different methods: the Three Dimensional Method (Fairclough, 1989, 1992) and visual rhetoric (Foss, 2004). In relation to the second aspect, I confirm my arguments with information existing in at least two different NGM’s articles. In this process, I defined my goal as a researcher as seeking to understand “the relationship to findings encoded in close cultural and temporal proximity (narrative consistency), (and) its relationship to findings encoded in other textual conventions/traditions (contrasting genres)” (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011, p. 278). Instead of considering an objective reality, crystallization uses different methods and multiple genres simultaneously with the purpose of enhancing the results and accounting for the limitations of knowledge (Ellingson, 2009).

CHAPTER 4

FRAMING IDENTITIES AND HUMANATURE (1903-1926)

In order to present a close analysis of the nine in-depth articles devoted to coverage of Colombia in *National Geographic Magazine* between 1903 and 1952, I have organized the presentation and discussion of textual data in three parts that relate to three distinct moments in the construction of discourses that represent particular inflections within the ideologies of Manifest Destiny, Positivism, and the policy of Pan-Americanism. Each moment also corresponds with changing editorial policies of NGM that led to distinctive features in coverage.

The three moments identified and discussed in Chapters 4, 5, and 6, respectively, are: 1) a period between 1903 and 1926 where the editorial emphasis was on reporting the accurate, balanced, and fair information following the principles of the “new science” through the voices of scientists, diplomats, and the Statesman (Grosvenor, 1903; Barrett, 1906; Chapman, 1921; Popenoe, 1926); 2) a period between 1940 and 1947 when these voices were replaced with the voices of travelers, adventurers, and *connoisseur* of other cultures—the anthropologist—producing inflections in the discourse in terms of shifting emphasis to a more subjective and personal gaze mediated by technical advances in photography (Walde-Waldeg, 1940; Marden, 1940; Burg, 1947); and 3) a period between 1948-1952 in which editors incorporated the voices of non-scientific and non-academic women who wrote for the magazine and produced narratives that were more intimate and personal (Bates, 1948; Goetz, 1952).

In this chapter, I present evidence from the coverage from 1903 to 1926 to argue that NGM’s publications reproduced the American expansionist project in Latin America

through a particular set of editorial policies and patterns of framing in coverage. In relation to the concept of identities—in both texts and photos¹— I argue that three salient frames constructed in coverage and labeled here “Colombia is a nascent democratic country in need of assistance,” “Colombia as a bifurcated society,” and “Colombia as a racially mixed society” become part of the larger discourse that supported the ideologies of Manifest Destiny and Positivism in the early 20th century. Through rhetorical strategies of appropriation and aestheticization, the framing supported two distinctive values associated with Manifest Destiny: the virtue of the U.S. institutions and the mission of transforming the world according to the values professed by the United States. These frames also enacted Positivism since NGM viewed Colombian people through the filter of the scientific theory of Darwinism that privileged socio-cultural developmentalism and racial hierarchy.

In relation to representation of humanature, I argue that three most salient frames constructed in coverage—labeled here “Colombia as a sublime spectacle,” “Colombia a land of great economic possibilities,” and “Colombia as a desirable field for scientific “data” collection”—reproduce the ideology of Positivism and the policy of Pan-Americanism. Through rhetorical strategies of surveillance and classification, the frames enact Positivism by conceiving humanature primarily as data or information that must be identified and classified. Humanature is also linked with Pan-Americanism because the reports promote economic and commercial exchange between the two countries.

¹ Because of the high cost set by NGM for acquiring the photos of the nine reportages studied, this dissertation does not include or show the photos accompanying the articles. The interested reader can find the full version of the nine stories with their photos on *National Geographic Magazine*'s official website.

The analysis presented in this chapter is divided into four sections: 1) the presentation of discursive practices, in which the context of textual production is addressed; 2) the presentation of textual analysis, which includes a descriptive overview of the two articles published between 1903 and 1926, followed by the frame analysis with a focus on the construction of Colombian identities and humanature; 3) the discussion of how the features of production and coverage relate to broader sociocultural practices; and, 4) the conclusion.

Discursive Practices: The Context of Production and Audience of NGM

In this section, I present the main aspects of the context of production of the media frames in this period of time. I will be focus in three main aspects: editorial features, the audience, and the description of the writers. By analyzing these dimensions, the study gains perspective since it will be positioned in one specific historical context. This level of analysis focuses mostly on how the text is produced and the audiences targeted at the time.

Editorial Policies of NGM (1903-1926)

Gardiner Greene Hubbard, considered a prominent lawyer from Boston, created the National Geographic Society in 1888. He brought together 33 well-known geographers whose concern was “to define an independent subject matter for geography and to professionalize the field” (Lutz & Collins, 1993, p. 20). The original goal of the Society was the diffusion and sponsorship of geographic research (Abramson, 1987, p. 33). Regarding the “diffusion interest,” the magazine was created nine months after the Society was founded. The main goal of the National Geographic Magazine, stated on the first issue, was “to increase and diffuse geographic knowledge” (Hubbard, 1888, p. 3).

Under the leadership of Alexander Graham Bell—who was president of the National Geographic Society in 1899 and had married Hubbard’s daughter in 1877—a supplementary objective was to promote “geographic subjects” to broader audiences in a familiar language. Bell helped to shape the mission of NGM with the slogan “the world and all that is in it is our theme” (Pauly, 1979, p. 523). A second tenet of the editorial policy, announced in 1896 by the new appointed editor John Hyde, was “patriotic and nationalist in sentiment” (Schumann, 2015, p. 14). In his introductory address, Hyde (1896) stated that: “It will accordingly be the aim of the National Geographic Magazine to be American rather than cosmopolitan, and in an especial degree to be National” (pp. 6-8).

Some of the editorial lines pursued by NGM in the early 20th century were: to advocate for the “new science” (positivism); the attempt to combine scholarship and entertainment; the reporting of accurate, balanced, and fair information; the use of photography and reportage in ways that conveyed the values of the new science; and the use photographs as “evidence” and “spectacle” (Lutz & Collins, 1993, pp. 19- 33). By March 1915, the official editorial policy of the magazine comprised seven principles:

- 1) The first principle is absolute accuracy. Nothing must be printed which is not strictly according to fact.
- 2) Abundance of beautiful, instructive, and artistic illustrations.
- 3) Everything printed in the Magazine must have permanent value.
- 4) All personalities and notes of a trivial character are avoided.
- 5) Nothing of a partisan or controversial character is printed.
- 6) Only what is of kindly nature is printed about any country or people, everything

unpleasant or unduly critical being avoided. 7) The content of each number is planned with a view of being timely. (Bryan, 1987, p. 90)

The first full-time editor was Gilbert H. Grosvenor, who married Bell's daughter Elsie in 1900. He successfully guided the magazine for more than a half a century from February 1903 to May 1954. He promoted the idea that the key element to building the Society's membership was to "transform the Society's Magazine from one of cold geographic fact...into a vehicle for carrying the living, breathing, human-interest truth about this great world of ours" (Evolution of National Geographic Magazine, n.d.). Some of Grosvenor's earliest legacies were "the use of first-person narrative and straightforward, simple writing, the use of black-and-white and color-tinted photographs, as well as lifelike paintings by staff artists" (Evolution of National Geographic Magazine, n.d.). In the 1920s and 1930s, NGM started a series pioneering explorations in color photography once "the Leica camera and Kodachrome film gave the magazine a means of bringing faraway places into readers' homes" (Evolution of National Geographic Magazine, n.d.). Both the content of the written discourse and the color of the photographs tended to construct a romantic and vivid representation of Colombia from Grosvenor's authorial and editorial viewpoint.

The Audience

In 1870, 80% of adults in the United States were estimated to be literate and over 95% in 1940 (Unesco, 2006, p. 191). The audiences of NGM were people that shared a professional status or that had aspirations of professional standing. Among the latter, most would have been characterized as middle class business owners, clerks, trades people, and farmers. In 1914, the NGM issue number 25 described its audience as

follows: “80 per cent of the circulation goes into the homes of the foremost business and professional men of America, and everyone of the household reads it –for instance, 18,000 Presidents and Vice-presidents of Banks; 15,000 Civil, Electrical, and Mining Engineers, 40,000 Lawyers and Physicians; 75,000 Manufacturers and Directors of Corporations” (Pauly, 1979, p. 529). NGM’s audience was also a growing audience over time. The number of copies published per each issue –each month– were: 1896, 1,200 copies; 1905 more than 10,000 (beginning with the April issue); 1914 more than 285,000 copies; 1925 more than 990,000 copies (Lutz & Collins, 1993).

Although the extent of NGM’s circulation in Colombia at this time is unknown, it is possible to affirm that 42.4 % of adults were estimated to be literate in 1918 and over 55.8% in 1938 (Unesco, 1953, p. 75). In relation to cultural trends, Colombian elites:

looked to Europe –particularly to France—sometimes to Spain or Germany, and often to European classic antiquity—for artistic inspiration;” the literacy production of the beginning of the 20th century “was erudite, frequently anti-Catholic, and elitist (...) most part their readership was miniscule, and most writers made their living in other ways, often as diplomats or *cronistas*. (Irwin, 2008, p. 424)

However, in relation to economic and technical developments, the Colombian elite tried to introduce various forms of technical education. For this, they looked to the United States and other industrialized countries in Europe with the idea “to pursue the ‘ideal of the practical’ or the ideal of technological progress” (Rojas, 2002, p. 3). It was believed that “technical education would divert upper-sector youths from legal, literacy, and political careers and toward more productive economic enterprise” (Safford, 1976).

Part of the positivist credo in Latin America was the association of the United States with pragmatism and technological progress, while upholding European culture as the model of erudition, and artistic and philosophical traditions.

The Writers

The selection of articles analyzed in this chapter was written by influential figures of the time—scientists, diplomats, and statesman—who wrote the accounts of their experiences in Colombia. The writers were Gilbert H. Grosvenor, John Barrett, Frank M. Chapman, and Wilson Popenoe. In this section, I present biographical information about these authors in order to highlight their cultural membership marked by their race, class, educational backgrounds, and privileged status in elite social circles of the U.S. society.

The author of the first article on Colombia published in NGM was Gilbert H. Grosvenor, the editor-in-chief of the magazine. He was born on October 28, 1875, in Istanbul, Turkey, and died on February 4, 1966, in Nova Scotia, Canada. He was known as president of the National Geographic Society, outstanding world traveler, geographer, writer, and long-time editor of NGM. He graduated from Amherst College with a B.A. degree in 1897. Under his guidance, scientific expeditions and research projects were supported “as far as the North Pole with Commodore Robert Peary in 1909, and as deep as the ocean when William Beebe made his record-setting undersea descent in 1934” (The Library of Congress, n.d.). In addition, Grosvenor was an environmental pioneer advocating for the creation and preservation of the National Parks in the United States. He collaborated with Stephen Mather, Horace Albright, and others, to develop the substance of the National Park Service Organic Act. Furthermore, Grosvenor “provided \$20,000 of National Geographic Society funds to supplement a \$50,000 congressional

appropriation to buy Giant Forest and add it to Sequoia National Park” (Bielenberg, n.d.). Grosvenor’s credentials and financial means contributed to his scientific viewpoint and attitudes about preservation of Colombia’s natural resources.

The author of the second article, John Barrett, was born in Grafton, Vermont, on November 28, 1866. He died in Bellows Falls, Vermont, on October 17, 1938. He was one of the most influential early directors of the Pan American Union (See Appendix A for Pan-American Conferences from 1889 to 1948). He graduated from Worcester Academy in 1883 and from Dartmouth College with a Bachelor of Arts in 1889. He worked as a journalist on the West Coast and as a war correspondent during the Spanish-American War. He also worked as a diplomatic adviser to Admiral George Dewey. In 1907, he was appointed the first Director General of the Bureau of American Republics, an international organization that was renamed as the Pan American Union in 1910 (and subsequently reorganized in 1948 as the Organization of American States). He was U.S. ambassador in Siam, Argentina, Panama, and Colombia. When he wrote this article about Colombia, he was serving as ambassador. Barrett was “a commercial publicist and diplomat in the Progressive era” at the beginning of the 20th century professing “the gospel of the American business community” (Prisco, 1973, p. x and p. 105). Barrett’s political experience and economic motives helped to formulate his viewpoint about science and his interest in the U.S taking part in the extraction of Colombia resources.

The third author is the ornithologist Frank M. Chapman. He was born on June 12, 1864, in West Englewood, New Jersey; his father was a senior member of a New York law firm and counsel for a large bank. He died on November 15, 1945, in New York City. From 1888 to 1908, he was part of the staff of the American Museum of Natural

History. He was first an assistant to Joel Asaph Allen, the first head of that museum's Department of Ornithology. In 1901, he was promoted to the position of curator of mammals and birds and continued working as curator of birds in the same museum until 1942. He wrote many ornithological books such as *Bird life* (1897), *Birds of Eastern North America* (1895), *Birds Studies With a Camera* (1900), and *Life In The Air Castle* (1938). For his book *Distribution of Bird-life in Colombia* (1917), he was awarded the Daniel Giraud Elliot Medal from the National Academy of Sciences. His main contribution as a scientist was his extensive and detailed studies of the life geographic distribution and systematic relationship of North and South American birds.

Frederick Wilson Popenoe is the last author of this first period examined. He was born on March 9, 1892, in Topeka, Kansas, his father was a prosperous businessmen. He died on June 20, 1975, in Antigua, Guatemala. In 1913 he worked for the U.S. Department of Agriculture and became the chief agronomist of the United Fruit Company in 1925. The power of this organization in Latin American history as a corporation deeply implicated in U.S. foreign policy making in the region has been extensively documented, particularly its role in military offensives backed by the U.S. government to undermine liberal and leftist political movements that threatened the interests of the United Fruit Company (Schlesinger & Kinzer, 2005).

Popenoe is also considered the figure responsible for popularizing the use of avocados in American kitchens at the end of the 19th century. In collaboration with Samuel Zemurray and the United Fruit Company, he founded in 1941 the *Escuela Agrícola Panamericana at Zamorano*, Honduras, which Popenoe directed until his retirement in 1957. Popenoe's credentials contributed to his scientific viewpoint about the

study, use, and exploitation of fruits and horticultural possibilities in Colombia for scientific and business purposes.

Text Analysis

Overview of the Articles

This section offers a summary description of the four articles analyzed in this chapter to highlight the content of articles, editorial emphases, sources of information, and structure, design, and style in the reporting. The first four reportages on Colombia appearing in NGM are written by influential figures who traveled and told the experience of five days of “easy steaming” (Barrett, 1906, p. 701), equivalent to 1,900 miles from New York to Barranquilla, Colombia. The narrative component of the four reports, equivalent to 78 pages, emphasizes the easiness of travel and accessibility of Colombia, the description of the population, the number of inhabitants, descriptions of the climate, urban and rural life, brief inventories of fauna and flora, and the description of crops, livestock, and natural resources such as gold, silver, and emeralds, all that offered potential opportunities for U.S. investment.

The visual component of the four articles comprised 75 photographs and one map. They document the landscapes and landmarks observed by travelers. The camera, most of the time, focuses on roads and paths; it also gives attention to the “caminos reales” (old roads created in the times of Spanish colonial rule) and riverside landscapes where steam vessels travel. Attention is also given in texts and photos by these travelers to inns and/or small hostals, the abundant vegetation and animals, diversity of climate; and in some of the articles, the writers record their desire to invest in mining and to generate large-scale production of some local natural resources such as sugar and fruits.

“Notes on Panama and Colombia” (December, 1903). The first article, titled “Notes on Panama and Colombia,” was written by NGM editor Gilbert H. Grosvenor and published in December 1903. The article features eight pages of content and a subheading for “Colombia” (Grosvenor, 1903, p. 462). Writing in third person, Grosvenor is careful to attribute the information reported to the official sources used: the Bureau of Statistics of the U.S. Department of Commerce and Labor, Reports of the United States Advisors at Panama and Colon, the official Census of 1881, and scientific reports as that authored by Dr. A. H. Keane with the title “Central and South America.”

The text includes 12 black and white photographs credited to Robert T. Hill. The photos are accompanied by captions that appear as factual, neutral descriptions. For instance, in photos of the Panama Canal two captions state: “An uncompleted section of the Panama Canal” and “Canal cutting through massive basaltic rock.” In photos of natural sites in the area of Panama the captions read “Panama Bay” and “The island of Toboga, famous for its delicious Pineapples” (Grosvenor, 1903, pp. 459-460). Photos of historical sites and/or symbols of the city of Panama feature the following captions: “Panama. Interior of Ruins of the Old Cathedral,” “Panamá. This tower alone remains to mark the site of the great city before it was sacked by Sir Henry Morgan,” etc. (see Appendix G for subtitles and photo titles of this article). In three photos with images of local residents, the captions read: “Washerwomen—Isthmus of Panama,” “Houses of the Talamancan Indians,” and “Typical Vegetation of the Isthmus of Panama. Two Talamancans in the Foreground” (Grosvenor, 1903, pp. 461-466).

In a general sense, the focus of the reportage is to draw the reader’s attention to the variety and abundance of natural resources in both countries, to the possibilities of

accessing the area by the means of transportation available at the time, and to relevant data about population, trade, imports, exports, currencies used, territorial size, climate, language, customs of the inhabitants, and racial origin. Although this report was published only one month after the separation of Panama from Colombia, it is worth noting that there is no comment on the situation of conflict and tension being experienced by Colombia and Panama at the time. It is quite interesting to note, however, that the author refers to Panama as the “Republic of Panama” but when the focus shifts to Colombia, he simply refers to the country as “Colombia.” Perhaps this is because the author wants to emphasize the consolidation and recent foundation of a new republic called Panama, which was news to most readers. More significantly, this difference in the labeling of Panama and Colombia might be related to the ideological position and investment of the United States government in the separation of the Panama from Colombia. Details of the strong tensions between Colombia and the United States concerning the building of the Panama Canal will be explained in the section on Geopolitical Context.

“Latin America and Colombia” (December, 1906). The diplomat and director of the Pan American Union, John Barrett, is the author of the second article (See Appendix A for details of the Pan-American Conferences from 1889 to 1948). The article, published in December 1906, has 17 pages and 10 black-and-white photos. Four of the photos are full-page and six are half-page in size. However, only two of the pictures—the photo of Don E. Cortés, Minister of Colombia, and photo of General Reyes, the President of Colombia—are credited to a photographer; in this case they appear as “Copyrighted by Clinedinst.”

The text is written in third person and divided into 16 sections with subheadings like these: “The visit of secretary Root,” “A Latin-American movement needed,” (See Appendix H for subtitles and photo titles). The captions accompanying the ten photos deal with four aspects: famous people, transportation means and characteristics of the capital of Colombia. Regarding the first aspect, the famous or important characters in the story are: “Secretary of State Root and the Committee of Reception at Cartagena, Colombia, September 24, 1906,” “Don E. Cortés, Minister of Colombia” and “General Reyes, President of Colombia” (Barrett, 1906, pp. 693-700).

Regarding the second aspect, the means of transport used in Colombia, two classes of vessels are mentioned: the large river steamer and the small river steamer; The caption accompanying the description of such vessels are as follows “Hand Propelled Freight Boat for Shallow Tributaries of Magdalena--Large river steamer in background,” “Small River Steamer for Tributaries and Canals of Magdalena River,” “A Scene in Colombia on the Upper waters of the river Magdalena,” and “On the mule road to Bogota, across the mountains from Honda” (Barrett, 1906, pp. 695-703). Finally in relation to Bogota, capital of Colombia, there are the following photos with the following descriptions: “Bogota is situated at the Foot of the Mountains on a High Plateau,” “Street scene in Bogota,” and “Grand Procession in Bogota on occasion of the Feast of Corpus Christi, with everybody kneeling at special signal of bell in cathedral” (Barrett, 1906, pp. 695-703).

The main focus of article is to inform on the positive results of the visit of Secretary of State Root to Colombia and draw the attention of investors, traders and American scientists highlighting the possibilities Colombia represents. Much of Barrett’s

report is intended to dismantle prejudices and misunderstandings that have arisen between the two countries with regard to cultural, climatic, and language differences. The final part of the text is devoted to presenting a panoramic and detailed view of Colombian natural resources and introducing accurate data on imports and exports, mines and minerals, crop products, and the variety of natural wealth to be explored by scientists and academics.

“Over the Andes to Bogotá” (October, 1921). The ornithologist Frank M. Chapman is the author of the third article examined in this chapter and titled “Over the Andes to Bogotá” (October 1921). The article has 20 pages of text and 19 white-and-black photographs credited to Frank M. Chapman. The text is written in first person and divided into 20 sections, labeled with subheadings like these: “No risk to life, limb, or property,” “A record of four hundred inches of rain in a year,” etc., (Chapman, 1921, p. 353-373) (See Appendix I for subtitles and photo titles).

Each of the photos features a title and caption with descriptions of rural and urban landscapes. The photographs are organized in chronological order, according to the author’s narration of the journey from the city of Cali, southern Colombia, to Barranquilla, northern Colombia. The pictures document some of the most representative landscapes in rural and urban areas, and some details of the tour of the “Caminos Reales” through the Colombian Andes. Photographs documenting rural landscapes are more frequent than those documenting urban areas. The photos of rural landscapes feature captions like “Cauca Valley from San Antonio Pass, in the western Andes, and, above the clouds, the central Andes,” “Ferrying across the Cauca river in the shadow of Ceiba trees,” “The heart of the central Andes: Rio Toché, from the pass of San Juan”

(Chapman, 1921, pp. 354-370). The captions referring to urban landscapes offer descriptors like: “A Cali Patio,” “The market place at Cartago,” “A prehistoric stone image from San Agustín, in the Park of Bogotá,” “The water approach to the market in Barranquilla” (Chapman, 1921, pp. 359-373). Some captions describing inns include reference to the roads and natural resources found nearby: “A Posada in the temperate zone, on the Quindio trail, of the central Andes, at the altitude of 10,300 feet,” “Persuading a diffident traveler on an Andean road,” “These Colombian highways will never be popular with automobilists,” or “Foliage that well deserves its name” (Chapman, 1921, pp. 362-372). These images provide clues for readers about the natural beauty of the landscape at the same time they call attention to the difficult travel conditions in the country.

The central focus of the reporting is to share with the reader—which the writer refers to as “traveler”—the observations and experiences lived by Chapman. The scientist narrates his journey crossing the Andes from southern Colombia—starting in the city of Cali—passing through the capital Bogotá, to the north of the country, Barranquilla. In fact, the reader learns that Dr. Chapman's goal in making the trip to Colombia was to study birds and investigate “the origin of these highly specialized fauna” on the Andean zone (Chapman, 1921, p. 370). It is noteworthy that in several passages in the text, the author records a persistent complaint about the “backwardness” of relying on mules and oxen as the main transportation system in the countryside. In relation to urban landscapes, the author makes the following caveat: “A naturalist has neither time nor inclination for a study of city life. Certainly I do not feel qualified to write of the characteristics of Bogotá, and with a suggestion or two I will leave the traveler to make

his own investigations” (Chapman, 1921, p. 371). Although Chapman studied birds and natural species, he also commented on the lack of infrastructure, a criticism of what the country lacked despite its natural treasures.

“Round about Bogotá. A hunt for new fruits and plants among the mountain forest of Colombia’s unique capital” (February, 1926). The fourth article, published in February 1926, is titled “Round about Bogotá. A hunt for new fruits and plants among the mountain forest of Colombia’s unique capital.” It was written by Dr. Wilson Popenoe, a botanist employed by the Department of Agriculture of the United States. The length of the text is 33 pages, which include 1 map and 34 black-and-white photos credited to Forrest Clark, Russell Hastings Millward, and Wilson Popenoe. The text is written in first person and divided into 20 sections that relate to the author's observations of the inhabitants of Bogotá and their habits when it comes to dressing, eating, and traveling; and the identification of particular local products that could attract the attention of foreign investors (particularly related to plants, fruits, and vegetables). Some of the subheadings in the article are: “Bogotá is twelve day’s journey from the sea,” “The ruana is a garment of grace and service,” “A quest for the giant blackberry,” “A night of distress,” “Travelers and their horses proceed on the same train,” etc. (Popenoe, 1926, pp. 127-160) (See Appendix J for subtitles and photo titles).

The 34 photos that appear in the text can be classified into three groups: scenes of embarkation and disembarkation at ports; cityscapes and rural landscapes; and fruits and plants. Regarding the first group, the six photos included were titled: “The water front at la Dorada,” “A trophy from the Magdalena,” “The port of Girardot, on the Magdalena River,” “A wayside beggar,” “The royal road across the Andes,” “The tavern of El

Peñón” (Popenoe, 1926, pp. 128-153). In relation to urban landscapes, 11 photographs are reproduced with captions like: “In the outskirts of the capital,” “Potato venders in the market of Bogotá,” and “A relic of colonial days” (Popenoe, 1926, pp. 133-155). The last group of photos is an “inventory” of native species of plants and fruits. This group consists of 17 photos, some of which are titled: “The ‘siete cueros’ in the Parque Independencia, at Bogotá,” “The hardy papaya of the northern Andes,” “Tropical fruits in the market place,” and “Herds grazing on the sabana” (Popenoe, 1926, pp. 136-159).

The central purpose of Popenoe’s narrative, as identified in the very headline of the article, is to tell a story about the discovery and inventory of fruits and plants in the Colombian Andes, while providing a listing of the scientific names of these, the place where it is possible to find the plants, and their characteristics and possible uses. For example, in reference to the “Giant Blackberry,” readers learn of its scientific name “*Rubus macrocarpus*,” and the place where the plant is found, Fusagasugá. In this case, a brief description of the plant reads: “it is one of the largest berries in the world. Single specimens sometimes measure more than two inches in length by an inch and a half in thickness” (p. 143). And finally, its use is described as follows: “plant breeders may find this berry valuable for hybridizing with North American forms, in order to produce new varieties of unusually large size” (p. 143). This is one small example of the work he did. His prior experience as head of the U.S. Department of Agriculture gave him both the knowledge and credibility to work in Colombia. The goal of his work had important consequences for Colombia since he used his scientific knowledge to advance education about plants and to produce agricultural innovations in Latin America. At the same time Popenoe gained financial benefits for the United Fruit Company and its stockholders.

Framing Colombian Identities

This section presents and explains the most recurring frames related to Colombian identities in the four articles described above. Three salient frames emerged from the analysis of text and photographs: 1) Colombia is a nascent democratic country in need of assistance; 2) Colombia as a bifurcated society; and 3) Colombia as a racially mixed society. In the explication of these frames, I will argue that the three frames constructed in coverage become part of the larger discourse that supported the ideologies of Manifest Destiny and Positivism.

Colombia is a nascent democracy in need of assistance. In the articles analyzed, the identity of the Colombia is directly linked to the characterization of the Colombian government as a weak, poor, penniless state: “Colombia has no army to speak of, no ships, no money, only a few miles of railway, and hence no means of sending a good force against Panama” (Grosvenor, 1903, p. 465). In this context, Colombians are represented as people in need and lacking resources. This frame emphasizes the need for the support of the U.S., particularly financial support, to achieve the stabilization of the nascent democratic government. To build an atmosphere of trust between the two countries, a writer like Barrett acknowledges the “patronizing” position assumed by U.S. people toward the “sister republic” of Colombia, only to stress that Colombia was a nation “striving” to achieve a higher level of civilization. The statement implies that Colombia’s efforts to improve its political system make the country deserving or worthy of U.S. attention. Barrett stated:

The people of the United States have too often and too persistently and characteristically “patronized” the people, customs, institutions, achievements,

and governments of their sister American nations. *Per contra*, we should, give Latin America more credit for its actual and praiseworthy progress in developing stable national and municipal government, in promoting both high class and general education, in making its own excellent literature, historical and romantic, in advancing scientific investigation and invention in solving grave social and economic problems and comprehensively striving, under difficult conditions to reach a higher standard of civilization. (Barrett, 1906, p. 698)

A central premise in this frame is that with greater economic growth, the Colombian state would achieve consolidation of a more democratic and civilized country. The construction of this identity for Colombia suggested, simultaneously, a position of identification for the U.S. as the superior system faced with “opportunities” to expand its economic interests. Thus, the U.S. presence in Colombia and Panama is justified on the grounds of the Latin American “need” for assistance and the “opportunity” for the U.S. to bring “North American trade and prestige” to South America. Barrett wrote:

The time is at hand that calls for what might be termed a widespread Latin American movement in the United States. The commercial and economic possibilities and social conditions and progress of our southern neighbors invite our immediate and particular attention. To say that it may be “now or never” with North American prestige and trade in Central and South America is not a statement of an alarmist or pessimist. It is a simple and logical conclusion drawn from a thorough study of the actual situation. (Barrett, 1906, p. 694)

The photos associated with this frame highlight state personalities of both countries, particularly those in charge of the mission of “strengthening” democracy. The

nature and function dimension of those photos are associated with the values of distinction, solemnity, and institutionality. For example, in the picture "Secretary of State Root and the Committee of Reception at Cartagena, Colombia, September 24, 1906" (Barrett, 1906, p. 694), the personalities sitting in the front row are identified in the caption, while those standing on second row are unnamed. Those identified were: at the center is Mr. Root, Secretary of State; to his right the Minister of Foreign Affairs, General Alfredo Vasquez-Cobo and the Governor of Passos Cartagena; left of the photo is the Archbishop of Cartagena and Mr. John Barrett, one of the authors of the article and the U.S. Minister to Colombia. The 21 men appearing elegantly dressed and standing in the second row of the photo are not mentioned, neither by name nor by their post. However, in an effort that seems to highlight the legitimacy of democracy in force in Colombia, the photographs of General Reyes, President of Colombia, and Mr. Don E. Cortes, Minister of Colombia, are included in the reportage.

Colombia as a bifurcated society. Colombia is depicted as a society separated and segregated into only two groups or social classes: the bourgeois class and the working class, with no reference to middle sectors. Generally, the upper class is represented by the old nobility estates, businessmen, industrialists, bankers, investors, senior government officials, landowners, intellectuals, and professionals such as lawyers and doctors. The humblest citizens, the poorest classes, are generally represented by the working classes in urban settings or highland peasants. Most of the four articles analysed estimated the Colombian population, according to the 1881 census, at 3,600,000 inhabitants (Grosvenor, 1903), but little effort is made to cover other different social classes. Regarding the Colombian upper class, it is generally assumed that they are those

who live in cities, particularly Bogotá, Medellín, and Cali. While the lower classes are assumed to be the people who live on the outskirts of the city or in rural areas, except the landowners (Ranchmen). Some of the features attributed to the Colombian upper class are:

Nearly all the high-class people with whom one comes in contact live in beautiful homes, are well educated, have traveled abroad, and speak French as fluently as they do Spanish. There is a vigorous literary, artistic, and musical element, which exercises a favorable influence on the refined progress of the nation. There are excellent colleges and general schools. The clubs are centers where the cleverer men of the capital gather. There is opportunity for the enjoyment of sports, especially in such forms as tennis, polo, and riding horse-back. Dinners and balls are given with an elegance that would be a credit to Washington or New York, while the women dress with as much taste and respect for the latest fashions as the women of our home capital. (Barrett, 1906, p. 706)

In the same sense, authors express surprise upon observing that social and cultural practices of the capital inhabitants are very much in line with European customs—hence Bogotá bears the nickname “Colombian Athens” (Grosvenor, 1903, p. 465). For example, Popenoe (1926) finds that there is a common and distinctive feature of the Bogotá citizens when it comes to dressing:

the streets of Bogotá present the appearance of a European capital, with even more stress on formal attire than is at present customary in Europe. The tailors of Bogotá, and their name is legion, receive fashion plates from London and Paris by

every mail and strive to outdo each other in dressing their patrons according to the latest style. (p. 131)

This peculiar style of Bogotá's dwellers not only represents a hallmark of belonging to the bourgeoisie or upper class, is also a factor of exclusion, not only perceived by local people, but also by the visitors from other countries. The author of the fourth article conveys the feeling of exclusion as follows:

Needles to say, the result of all this attention to dress is highly pleasing to the visitor, who may find, however, that the clothes he has brought from home—clothes which he has considered suitable for all occasions—fail to meet the rigid requirements of this South American capital, where formality is the rule, and few liberties are taken. (Popenoe, 1926, p. 131)

In the texts analysed, I did not find descriptions of Colombia's lower social classes. Most of the time, the comments are indirect, when hallmarks of the costumes of the inhabitants of the highlands and the lowlands are observed, such as the use of hat, trousers of cotton drill, the "ruana" or poncho, "alpargatas" or rope sandals. The dress code of the lower social classes is characterized as exotic and picturesque; for example, the poncho is described as a garment of "grace" and "service": "I have never seen anything more expressive of unaffected grace than the manner in which a country gentleman of the Colombian Andes dons his ruana when mounting for his morning ride about the hacienda" (Popenoe, 1926, p. 133).

Some descriptions of the methods of land and water transport—such as the mule, canoe, silleteros, and hand propelled freight boat—are made in describing life in rural towns, along with references to some of the fruits and vegetables that are consumed by

peasants and that could have some market value in the U.S. In fact, the bifurcation of Colombian society in the early twentieth century is constructed by one writer by using the train as a metaphor of Colombia's social hierarchy:

The ordinary traveler in Colombia rarely thinks of going first class. Government officials, military officers, members of the clergy, and a few wealthy hacendados (ranchmen) are the chief patrons of this exclusive method of transportation, and of this group I suspect that all but the hacendados ride on passes. The real democracy of Colombia is found in the second-class coaches. As for the third-class—well. I could hardly blame Hernando, once I had seen the motley collection of peons, mule-drivers, and low-class woman with squalling babies which filled this car. (Popenoe, 1926, p. 136)

The photographs that are associated with the frame of bifurcation usually present in the foreground the faces or the homes of upper-class characters; as for example, photographs of “Secretary of State Root and the Committee of Reception at Cartagena, Colombia, September 24, 1906” (Barrett, 1906, p. 694) and the photos of General Reyes, President of Colombia and Señor Don E. Cortes, Minister of Colombia. In contrast, pictures that depict the lower social classes do not feature the faces of people nor their names. Sometimes, they just allude to a collective or generic noun as follows: “two men” (Chapman, 1921, p. 368) or “the man in the foreground” (Popenoe, 1926, p. 137). The only exception found was the picture captioned *Persuading a diffident traveller on an Andean Road*, where the name of “Mr. Louis Fuentes” is mentioned as he “leads his horse through the ditches (cajilones) and over the ridges (almohadillales) of an Andean trail” (Chapman, 1921, p. 366).

Colombia as a racially mixed society. In the four reports analyzed, the racialization of Colombians is a focus of attention in defining a national identity, for identities are directly associated with and restricted to the space of the nation state. In this respect, the national identity of Colombians is described as “a fusion in varying proportions of the aborigines with the whites from various parts of Spain, including a considerable number of baptized Jews (...) There is also a considerable African element in the population” (Grosvenor, 1903, p. 465). When reference is made to inhabitants in particular regional spaces, the descriptions vary. Whites are excluded from those living in the territory called “lowlands,” where “the tropical sun beats down with an intensity that makes those sections uninhabitable by the white man” (Grosvenor, 1903, p. 465). But in reference to Bogotá, the capital of Colombia, Chapman (1921) states, “we will note the almost entire absence of the negroid element which forms a large part of the population of the low altitudes” (p. 371).

In addition, this concept of identity links race to climatic factors that place Colombians in an unfavorable position and mark them as physically and mentally different from Europeans. In contrast to U.S. and European citizens who experience the four seasons of the year, “Latin Americans have been long subjected to climatic and other influences which have of necessity profoundly affected them bodily and mentally. We must remember also that, racially, we are as far apart as were the Conquistadores from the Pilgrim Fathers” (Chapman, 1921, p. 357). This distinctive identity associated with tropical climate and the mixing of races allows the writers and their readers to keep distance from Colombians and create an “us” whose superiority is scientifically tested and confirmed: “Let us therefore accept as a fact that our habits of thought are

fundamentally different and give to history, tradition, environment, and heredity their share of praise and of blame for existing conditions” (Chapman, 1921, p. 357).

The photographs featuring this frame emphasize the savage and primitive character of segments of the Colombian people. For example, the caption for the photo “Houses of the Talamancan Indians” (Grosvenor, 1903, p. 466) states the following: “Talamancans are a tribe of uncivilized Indians living on the borders of Panama and Colombia. They are aborigines, and are practically as wild today as in the time of Columbus” (Grosvenor, 1903, p. 466). To show this state of primitivism and savagery the photo “Washerwomen—Isthmus of Panama” (Grosvenor, 1903, p. 466) highlights in the foreground a native woman with nude torso. Regarding the primitive aspect, the depiction of the photo “A prehistoric stone image from San Agustín, in the Park of Bogotá” (Chapman, 1921, p. 371), points out the aboriginal character of Colombians identities “neither Incan or Chibchan, about which comparatively little is known” (Chapman, 1921, p. 371).

Ideology and Hegemony in Relation to the Framing of Colombian Identities

In relation to the concept of identities, I argue that the three frames constructed in coverage, “Colombia is a nascent democratic country in need of assistance,” “Colombia as a bifurcated society,” and “Colombia as a racially mixed society” become part of the larger discourse that supported the ideologies of Manifest Destiny and Positivism.

Firstly, the framing of “Colombia is a nascent democratic country in need of assistance” reproduces the ideology of Manifest Destiny as it supports two distinctive values of this ideology: 1) The virtue of the institutions and the citizens of the United States; and 2) the mission of transforming the world according to the values professed by

the United States as a mandate or a divine decision. Regarding the first value, the virtue of U.S. institutions and citizens, John Barrett (1906) writes about the visit from Secretary of State Root: “the South Americans were grateful, and wished to show their gratitude, because we sent to them one of our greatest men” (p. 694). He continues to exalt the figure of the diplomat as follows: “in short, they looked upon him as the best we could send, as an ambassador of good will, next to the president himself” (p. 694). In an effort to advance the mission of promoting the values of freedom, democracy and civility as a moral duty entrusted by God—Manifest Destiny’s second value—a rhetorical strategy of “appropriation” (Spurr, 1993, p. 28) is used in many of the reports to justify the need to intervene in our “sister American republics”:

There never was a period in the history of the relations of the United States with her sister American republics that afforded such combined opportunity and necessity as the present for the development not only of our moral influence, but of our commercial interests. (Barrett, 1906, p. 694)

Another noticeable editorial feature in the articles written by Grosvenor (1903) and Barrett, (1906) is that none of them mention the central role played by the United States in the secession of Panama from Colombia. Panama separated from Colombia on November 3, 1903. This means that the reportage by Grosvenor, titled “Notes on Panamá and Colombia,” was published just one month after the separation. Hence the main purpose of the article was to officially present to the U.S. public of NGM the new “República de Panamá” (Grosvenor, 1903, p. 458). The discursive practice found in the reportage presents the rhetorical strategies of “aestheticization” (Spurr, 1993, p. 43) that hide and mask the United States’ imperialist project in Panama (Beluche, 1999, 2003;

Díaz Espino, 2003; Terán, 1976). This rhetorical strategy in some cases describes the strategic value of the territory of Panama for trade relations between the United States and other countries of the Americas, and at other times the story falls into mythical and idealized descriptions of the territory trying to divert attention. In either case, it serves to depoliticize the discourse at a critical time in U.S.-Colombia relations. An example of this distracting, ideologically meaningful strategy is found in the following paragraph:

It is supposed by some that Panama derived its name from the native word butterfly. Explorers of the interior tell of swarms of butterflies which at times rise on the slopes of the mountains in dense clouds, darkening the sunshine. Others maintain that the name is from an Indian word meaning abounding in fish. (Grosvenor, 1903, p. 458)

Secondly, the framing of identities as “bifurcated society” and “racially mixed society” are connected with the ideology of Positivism since the identities of the Colombian people are conceptualized according to the application of the scientific theory of Darwinism to socio-cultural developmentalism policy, which is anchored in the existence of a “racial hierarchy.” The first theory, Darwinism, explains:

the evolutionary stage of humanity, while developmentalism conceived the progress of societies through a generic humanity that was not divided by a racial hierarchy. However, in the sociocultural post Darwinian context biological developmentalism took a biological sense by means of the idea that living Aboriginal groups were closer to the civilized primitive man because of the size of their brain, body characteristics and skeleton structure. (Urías Horcasitas, 2000, p. 73)

In relation to these hegemonic scientific theories of evolutionary character that associate biological characteristics with behavioral aspects, the texts analyzed reproduce the belief that there is a form of mental retardation or inability of the inhabitants of the tropics due to the uniqueness of the climate of the Tropical Zone, also described as “insalubrious climate” (Grosvenor, 1903, p. 465):

Who enters the tropics should leave all haste behind. We have a superior way of talking of the land of “mañana,” quite overlooking the fact that the physiological law of the land is expressed in the “mañana” attitude. With the cumulative energy of generations of Temperate Zone born ancestors in our veins, we may maintain our standards of push and speed in the tropics for a time, but that is no reason why we should expect people who have been reared under less favorable climatic conditions to live up to them. (Chapman, 1921, p. 357)

Framing Colombian Humanature

This section presents and explains the most recurring frames related to Colombian humanature in the articles described above. Two salient frames emerged from the analysis of text and photographs: 1) Colombia as a sublime spectacle; 2) Colombia, a land of great economic possibilities; 3) Colombia as a desirable field for scientific “data” collection. I will argue that these three frames constructed in coverage become part of the larger discourse that supported the ideology of Positivism and the policy of Pan-Americanism.

Colombia as a sublime spectacle. This framing is linked to the view of some intellectual preservationists of the early twentieth century who defended the idea that our conceptions on humanature must “go beyond their purely instrumental value to include

scientific or ecological, aesthetic, and religious worth” (Corbett, 2006, p. 28). In the reports studied, the four writers express their state of surprise, shock, and affection when transiting the Colombian Andes:

Speaking of the conformation of Colombia reminds me to comment on the marvelous scenery that charms one’s eyes as he travels over the different parts of the Republic. It has been my privilege to view that best panoramas of the United States and Canada, of Switzerland, and the Himalayas in India, but I have never seen anything so equal the variety, grandeur, and exquisite beauty of the vistas of the Colombian Andes. (Barrett, 1906, p. 705)

Frank M. Chapman, one of the most prominent scientists of the time—and the Curator of Mammals and Birds for the American Museum of Natural History— states de following:

Someday I hope to return to the little inn of El Consuelo to watch, morning after morning, the sublime spectacle of the sun illuminating the snow crests of the Central Andes, revealing the deep seams on their rugged slopes, and stealing slowly out in the valley at their base until it turns the wining Magdalena into burnished silver. (Chapman, 1921, p. 372)

In the photos and captions, humanature is represented as an awe-inspiring entity that deserves our attention and admiration. Some photographs emphasize the aesthetic values, in some cases highlighting the majesty of the Andes, the valleys, the rivers, the animal, the plants, etc., appearing on the expedition. For example in the photograph titled “Cauca Valley from San Antonio Pass, in the western Andes, and, above the clouds, the central Andes” (Chapman, 1921, p. 372), the author includes the following caption:

The curtain of clouds gradually lifted, revealing beneath it the level floor of the Cauca Valley, with gleaming streams and lagoons and varicolored areas of marsh, pasture, and forest. Above the clouds rose the purple summits of the Central Andes. (Chapman, 1921, p. 372)

The function and evaluation dimension of the pictures supporting this frame present Colombian humanature as a unique spectacle where the visitor is exposed to live an unique and exclusive experience since the landscape of the Andes “has great wealth lying untouched on her plains and her forests and mountains” (Grosvenor, 1903, p. 465).

Colombia, a land of great economic possibilities. The economic changes brought by the Industrial Revolution in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century put in the spotlight the Colombian and Panamanian area of Darien as a large pantry of raw materials (Leal & Restrepo, 2003). Since then, this area has been subjected to an extractive economic model that focused on the removal of various natural products such as “tagua palm seeds (*phytelephas macrocarpa*) and latex rubber to sell in the U.S. and European markets” (Leal & Restrepo, 2003, p. 1). In this context, the most recurring frame in relation to humanature is “Colombia, a land of great economic possibilities,” a framing pattern that emphasizes the products of Colombian soil, mines and minerals, and exports and imports” (Barrett, 1906, p. 701).

Colombian humanature is depicted as a “resource or product” of rich and varied character that is at the service of man: “So varied and abundant are its natural resources, both above and below ground, that, under a firm and enlightened administration, Colombia, despite the insalubrious climate of many districts, might soon become one of

the most prosperous regions in the world” (Grosvenor, 1903, p. 465). In 1906, some of the products inventoried as desirable exports were:

Today Colombia is selling to the Unites States such exports as coffee, hides, alligator skins, goat skins, gold bars and dust, rubber, tobacco, and balsam of tolu, heron plumes and other feathers, straw hats, bananas, cocoanuts, chocolate, ivory nuts, quina, platinum, dyewoods, cedar, mahogany, orchids, etc. The value of these exports to the Unites States in 1905 approximated \$6.300.000 in gold. This amount will be tripled when Colombia is started on an era of permanent peace and national productiveness is accordingly increased. (Barrett, 1906, p. 707)

The inventory of possible exports to the U.S. on the surface seems like a financial benefit for Colombia. But this benefit had strings attached since Colombia was expected to deplete its resources and export them to other countries and comply with U.S. policies about how to strengthen this intergovernmental relationship. This policy also provided major benefits for the U.S. economy that may not have been obvious for the Colombian people but were obvious to readers of NGM. As part of the commercial treaty that promoted the policy of *Pan-Americanism*, the U.S. budgeted an aggressive sales strategy to promote the export of U.S. American products to Colombia, among these:

flour, kerosene oil, agricultural implements, mining and sugar refining machinery, railroad and steamboat equipment, novelties of all kinds, shoes, matches, arms, sporting goods, hardware, dyes and chemicals, toilet articles, some lines of cotton cloth and clothing, paper and printing supplies, etc.; but, excepting the first of these items, the greatest quantities are supplied by Europe. Imports from the United States in 1905 amounted in value only to \$ 3.700.000 although the grand

total of foreign imports amounted approximately from \$12.000.000 to \$15.000.000. (Barrett, 1906, p. 707, 708)

Within this frame, the proposition that existing transportation systems are an impediment to the exploitation of Colombia's potential was part of the discourse. The photographs and captions associated with this frame emphasize the need to transform and modernize the transportation system in Colombia with the aim of generating greater mobility and efficiency in cargo and mobilization of products traded between the two countries. Regarding the inconveniences and lack of functionality of the roads in the Andes Mountains, two titled photographs make the point clear: "Persuading a diffident traveler on an Andean road" (Chapman, 1921, p. 366) and "These Colombian highways will never be popular with automobilists" (Chapman, 1921, p. 366).

Colombia as a desirable field for scientific "data" collection. The third frame regarding Colombian humanature is the construction of the national territory as site for scientific collection of biological data. The fact that Colombia has different zones: the tropical zone from sea-level to about 5,000 feet, the subtropical from 5,000 to 9,000 feet, and the temperate from 9,000 to 12,000, encourages the exploration of biodiversity. In the subtropical zone, Chapman (1921) "found 230 species of birds which were not observed elsewhere. To determine the origin of these highly specialized fauna is the main object of our Andean researches" (p. 370). Other species inventoried by the author are: "monkeys, sloths, macaws, parrots, pigeons, toucans, and many other wood-loving creatures; herons, screamers, jacanas, and jabiru storks in the marshes, capybaras on the shores, and rafts of crocodiles on the playas" (Chapman, 1921, p. 373).

In addition to the possibilities to collect unique and particular fauna, the agronomist Wilson Popenoe (1926) found that Colombia is also an exceptional place to study an exotic, rare or little known plants. He made explicit mention of the giant blackberry, which according to Popenoe (1926), was known to U.S. American scientists thanks to the stories previously told by Dr. Chapman:

I felt a thrill as I realized that this was the region in which Dr. Frank M. Chapman, of the American Museum of Natural History, had first observed the giant blackberry. It had been some years since he visited Colombia, but the story which he told us on his return had not been forgotten. Indeed, the giant blackberry had been on the list of rare plants which I was to seek when I left Washington; but it had looked a long way off to me at that time. (p. 140)

The photographs and captions supporting this frame record the exuberance and singularities of trees, fruits, and vegetables found in the area of the Andes. For example, some of the captions read: “Where strawberries are sold by the yard” (Popenoe, 1926, p. 142), “Berries too large to be taken at a single mouthful” (Popenoe, 1926, p. 143), “An edible tuber of the Andes” (Popenoe, 1926, p. 144), and “Five cents worth of tunas” (Popenoe, 1926, p. 145). In an effort to draw the reader's attention to the actual size of the plants, vegetables and/or fruit, the author includes most of the time a human in the pictures—man or woman—that would, by means of a comparison strategy, determine the actual size of the fruit or vegetable being described. This strategy of placing the human body in contrast to the fruit or vegetable shows how the photographs were part of the strategy of the surveillance and classification in the written discourse during this period of time.

Ideology and Hegemony in Framing Humanature

In relation to the framing of humanature, it can be argued that frames identified—a sublime spectacle, the land of great economic possibilities, and a privileging setting for data collection—reproduce and support the policy of Pan-Americanism and Positivism. The authors of the articles, Grosvenor (1903), Barrett, (1906), Chapman, (1921) and Popenoe (1926), like supervisors in the Panopticon, engage in the position of surveillance and authority “on the analytic arrangement of space from a position of visual advantage” (Spurr, 1993, p. 16). This promotes economic and commercial exchange in the following terms: “the commercial and economic possibilities and social conditions of progress of our southern neighbors invite our immediate and particular attention” (Barrett, 1906, p. 694).

Within the frames—the land of great economic possibilities and a privileging setting for data collection—two rhetorical strategies emerge in terms of “resources or product” to promote Pan-Americanism policy: surveillance and classification (Spurr, 1993, p. 13, 61). In Grosvenor (1903) and Barrett, (1906), it is possible to identify a rhetorical strategy of surveillance in which he tries to “alert” the reader—possible investor—on the availability of such resources in the area, descriptions are usually given in the following terms:

Extensive coal-fields and reservoirs of petroleum occur in several districts, so that few regions can compare with Colombia for the astonishing variety of its underground products. Scarcely less varied are those of its forests and cultivated lands, including coffee, cocoa, tobacco, sugar, vegetable ivory, rubber, dye-woods, plantains, wheat, and maize; but at present only a small part of the country

is under tillage, and the development of its agricultural resources is greatly retarded by the lack of good communications. (Grosvenor, 1903, p. 465)

The rhetorical strategy of classification is presented in general sense in the four articles analyzed; although it is more detailed and comprehensive in the articles of scientists Chapman (1921) and Popenoe (1926). A distinctive feature of these articles in relation to the strategy of classification consists of photographs that include these features; they serve as evidence to the impulse and exercise of classifying. This is possible to assert due to the high number of photographs used in each of the reportages: Chapman's (1921) article included 19 photographs in an article of just 20 pages, while Popenoe's piece (1926) features 34 photographs in an article of 33 pages. In conclusion, one can say that for these two scientists, photographs occupy a central and leading role to support the story or the story being told; they contribute in a function of support or validation of that given by the text (Foss, 2004). The photographs both embellish and accentuate the viewpoints of the authors at the sometime they romanticize nature and they promote U.S. tourism.

In the article by Chapman (1921), the exercise of classification is applied to plants and animals which are present in the area of the Andes that vary according to the altitude: Tropical Zone, from sea-level about to 5,000 feet; Subtropical Zone, from 5,000 to 9,000 feet; Temperate Zone, from 9,000 to 12,000. In the article by Popenoe (1926) the classification exercise is presented in a comprehensive and detailed way to classify plants and vegetables in the Andean zone. The classification is presented in detail through the listing of the common name, the scientific name, uses and characteristics of the plant, and

a brief description of the plant. Appendix K presents examples of classification of plants and how the language used reproduced the scientific and academic style.

Sociocultural Practices

The main goal of this section is to discuss how textual and discursive practices activate the ideologies of Manifest Destiny and Positivism, and the policy of Pan-Americanism and how they contribute to create and reproduce relationships of power and domination regarding identities and humanature. Accordingly, this section contextualizes text and discursive practices within the geopolitical context and discusses how the coverage articulates broader social discourses.

The Geopolitical Context

From the diplomatic point of view, there was a strong tension between Colombia and the United States concerning the latter's interest in building the Panama Canal during the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century. This project represented the fulfillment and continuity of geopolitical and economic interests of the doctrine initiated in 1823 and better known as the Monroe Doctrine. This doctrine "embodied the relation between US identity and security through the creation of a Manichean world in which Europe was the negative Other" (Mariano, 2011, p. 43). The main aspects of the U.S. toward Europe were: 1) The U.S. would remain neutral and would not interfere with European matters; 2) No European nation would be allowed to create colonies in the Western Hemisphere, and if a European nation would try to interfere with any nation in the Western Hemisphere, the U.S. would respond accordingly. In this context:

[it]s lingering legacy shows how relations between the New World and the Old, between the West and the rest have continued to play a peculiar role in US foreign

policy as well as in the transformation of American identity and the rise of American nationalism up to the twentieth century, when the United States emerged as a global power whose interests and influence had expanded way beyond the Atlantic world. (Mariano, 2011, p. 43)

In 1903, with the signing of the Wisconsin Treaty, Civil War in Colombia or the Thousand Days Days' War (Guerra de los Mil Días) was officially terminated. This war was a civil armed conflict in the Republic of Colombia (including the Department of Panamá) between the Conservative Party and the Liberal Party and its radical factions. The main reason for the conflict was that the ruling conservatives were accused of maintaining power through dishonest elections. The situation was deteriorated by an economic crisis caused by falling coffee prices in the international market. The Panamanians were devastated by the conflict, and the unemployment and the economic losses begin to encourage the separatist idea among Panamanians with the argument that the Colombian government had abandoned them (Bermúdez, 2010; Cera, 2002). Finally the separation of Panama from Colombia was effective on November 3, 1903.

The separation of Panama deeply affected the traditionally good relations between Colombia and the United States. However, after years of estrangement with Washington, the Colombian government agreed to the Urrutia-Thompson Treaty (1914), by which the United States economically compensated Colombia by the loss of Panama. Additionally, during the presidency of conservative leader Marco Fidel Suarez (1918-1921), the policy known as the *respice polum*—Latin for “look north” doctrine—was adopted and became the policy with the longest tradition in the history of international relations of Colombia (Bermudez, 2010). It is interesting to note that the use of a Latin learned word by itself

signifies the orientation of the political elites toward European and erudite traditions of knowledge. However, in practice the doctrine promoted orienting Colombia's foreign policy toward the United States: "The north of our foreign policy must be there, in that powerful nation, that more than any other exerts decisive attraction with regard to the American towns" (Bermudez, 2010). As soon as the Panama Canal opened in 1914, the security interests of the United States moved from the rhetoric of the expansionist phase—through lobbying and public relations—to action: promoting intervention and military occupation in Central America.

Rarticulating Manifest Destiny, Positivism, and Pan-Americanism

A central argument here is that the framing of Colombian identity and humanature discussed above constituted discursive strategies that reproduce hegemonic positions in the larger historical and geopolitical context of the early 20th century. Regarding Colombian identities, I suggest that framing patterns relate to Manifest Destiny because they represent Colombia "is a nascent democratic country in need of assistance," "Colombia as a bifurcated society," and "as a racially Colombia mixed society"— offer textual articulations that are closely connected with the ideological underpinnings of the U.S. Monroe policy. This policy focused on legitimizing the support for and intervention (including military occupation) of the U.S. government and corporations in Latin America. Although driven primarily by the interest of the U.S. government in maintaining political stability in Latin America to ensure the smooth expansion of the operation of U.S. businesses in the region, the policy was predicated on the need to strengthen the nascent democratic institutions in the region. In the texts analyzed, the framing of Colombians as people in need or requesting and demanding the support of the

United States is a symbolic construction that evokes the ideology of Manifest Destiny. The discourse functions to justify U.S. intervention by reinforcing the view of U.S. Americans as the chosen people to lead other countries—eager to follow the U.S. precepts—based on the perception of cultural, economic, racial, and moral superiority of the United States.

In relation to the ideology of Positivism and its position on the constitution of knowledge, representations of Colombian identities—“Colombia is a nascent democratic country in need of assistance,” “Colombia as a bifurcated society,” and “as a racially Colombia mixed society”—invoke Darwinian theories of evolution of species, with an emphasis on identifying and distinguishing the superior, pure breeds—white, European, civilized and intelligent—from other inferior races—mixed, mestizo, uncivilized, and backward people living in the tropics.

Regarding Colombian humanature, the frames identified in the first time period – “Colombia as a sublime spectacle,” “Colombia, a land of great economic possibilities,” and “Colombia as a desirable field for scientific ‘data’ collection”—are connected with the ideology of Positivism as the texts studied illustrate the interest of scientists in performing two activities directly related to the scientific method: the identification of new species, and the collection of species (fauna or flora) that could contribute to exhibitions in U.S. museums or further research for scientific or commercial purposes in laboratories in the United States.

The frames identified—“Colombia as a sublime spectacle,” “Colombia, a land of great economic possibilities,” and “Colombia as a desirable field for scientific ‘data’ collection”—also support the policy of Pan-Americanism since the framing emphasizes

the interest of the U.S. American visitor in identifying major products and raw materials that could be used for the development of industries and businesses in the United States.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I argued that in this time period NGM's editorial policies placed emphasis on strictly scientific and academic language and editors explicitly advocated for the values of accuracy, balance, and fair information. At the same time, the discourse has content that shows the beauty of nature and the promise for economic development. The photographs also reinforce the natural beauty of the country, the data gathered from scientific exploration, and the economic potential of Colombian resources for U.S. economic benefit. Accordingly, in this period the authors of the reportages were scientists, diplomats, and statesman. These narrators followed the main precepts of positivism and scientism pointing out objectivity, and presentation of evidence obtained through direct observation in the field. The audience during this time was also characterized as elite, with presidents and vice-presidents of banks, civil, electrical, and mining engineers, lawyers and physicians, manufactures and directors of corporations among the readers.

Regarding identities, I argued that the three frames constructed in coverage, "Colombia is a nascent democratic country in need of assistance," "Colombia as a bifurcated society," and "Colombia as a racially mixed society" become part of the larger discourse that supported the ideologies of Manifest Destiny and Positivism. The framing of this category is related to Manifest Destiny because the reportages support two distinctive values of this ideology: the virtue of the institutions and the mission of transforming the world according to the values professed by the United States. Through

the rhetorical strategies of appropriation and aestheticization, they are also connected with Positivism, since Colombian people are conceptualized according to the application of the scientific theory of Darwinism addressing socio-cultural developmentalism and racial hierarchy.

In relation to humanature, I argued that the three frames constructed in coverage, “Colombia as a sublime spectacle,” “Colombia a land of great economic possibilities,” and “Colombia as a desirable field for scientific “data” collection,” are connected with the ideology of Positivism and the policy of Pan-Americanism.

In the next chapter, I trace the shifts and nuances in the discourse on Colombian identities and humanature in *National Geographic Magazine*'s coverage between 1940-1947, when technological innovations that revolutionized photography allowed for the entry of new stories, and the magazine incorporate new voices from travelers, adventurers, journalists, and *connoisseurs* of other cultures.

CHAPTER 5

FRAMING IDENTITIES AND HUMANATURE (1940-1947)

In this chapter, I present evidence from the coverage between 1940-1947 to argue that a new discursive practice in *National Geographic Magazine* has a significant effect on the textures of the discourse on Colombian identities and humanature. More specifically, I refer to a new turn in the magazine's editorial practice toward a more personal, subjective, and experiential manner of telling stories by this new voices of travelers, adventurers, journalists, and *connoisseurs* of other culture. This kind of narration is also connected with the technological innovations in color photography that made coverage more visual and changed the way of reporting reality. In the three reportages on Colombia published during this period, "Stone idols of the Andes reveal a vanished people" (1940) by Walde-Waldegg, "Hail Colombia!" (1940) by Luis Marden, and "Cruising Colombia's "Ol' Man River," (1947) by Amos Burg, the two salient practices that helped reconfigure the editorial line were: the inclusion of new voices, specifically no academic voices, and the technological innovations changed in the way of reporting reality.

Although these changes in discursive practice produce a distinctive new tone in coverage, I argue that the three most salient frames on Colombian identities constructed, "A Mestizo country," "Natives are superstitious but sometimes their procedures are accurate," and "A cultured, civilized and modern country" become part of a larger discourse that rearticulates, in a different historical context, along F.D. Roosevelt's Good Neighbor policy, the ideologies of Manifest Destiny and Positivism. Through rhetorical strategies of idealization and classification the dominant values of Manifest Destiny

emphasize the Other as the savage, and introduced a more moderate and subdued tone regarding U.S.'s desires for direct presence or intervention in Latin American countries. The framing also reinforces Positivism because during this period a new scientific paradigm emerges, in which new research techniques, such as participant observation and fieldwork emerge. These begin to give a protagonist role to the so-called Social Sciences, within which anthropology and science journalism are included. Pan-Americanism, on the other hand, does not emerge as a relevant discourse, as the coverage does not delve into topics related to political or economic exchange.

In relation to humanature, I argue that two dominant frames are constructed in the coverage, “A land for adventure and consumption” and “The land of the future” to provide support to the ideologies of Positivism and Pan-Americanism in the scenario of the mid-20th century. Through the rhetorical mode of affirmation the authors give a “true” and authoritative narrative that affirms the authority of the observer over the observed. These frames enact Positivism because the discourse widens the range of categories of classification of humanature by including categories that exceed scientific interest. They also enact Pan-Americanism since the types of activities described are directly associated to two activities: the possession of the land and consumption of natural resources.

This chapter is divided into four sections: 1) the presentation of discursive practices, in which the context of textual production is addressed; 2) the presentation of textual analysis, which includes a descriptive overview of the two articles published between 1940 and 1947, followed by the frame analysis with a focus on the construction

of Colombian identities and humanature; 3) the discussion of how the features of production and coverage relate to broader sociocultural practices; and, 4) the conclusion.

Discursive Practices: The Context of Production and Audiences of NGM

In this section, I focus on tree main aspects of the production of NGM during this period: editorial policies, the audience, and the identity of writers. At this historical moment, two new elements that signaled a reconfiguration of the dynamics of production of the discursive were: 1) A change in the editorial policy of the magazine becomes evident, as the editors introduced a more personal, subjective, and experiential manner of telling stories by this new set of writers. 2) The narrations were also connected with the technological innovations in color photography that made coverage more visual and thus changed the way of reporting reality.

Editorial Policies of NGM (1940-1947)

This period was characterized by technological advances created by the advent of color photography. This, in addition to providing more vivid images that could function as evidence for the perspectives advanced in the reportages, began to serve as a window to American readers seeking escape, desiring adventure, and expanding their imagination. The photographic style used by NGM is known as “the realistic code” or “straightforward” style that assumes objective reality exists and can be harnessed through the lens of the camera. In addition, this photographic style favors the point of view of the photographer or editor, “encouraging the reader to see his or her contact with the photographed subject as unmediated, if necessarily indirect” (Lutz & Collins, 1993, p. 29).

Since 1907, some of the technological innovations in color photography that NGM adopted were Omnicolore (1907), Finlay Thames (1908), Diopichrome (1909), Paget Color (1913), Agfacolor (1916), Finaly Color (1929), and Dufaycolor (1935) (Laverdrine, 2009, p. 83). As for NGM's, "the Society hired wizards of optics and chemistry like Charles Martin and Edwin "Buddy" Wisherd, technical men who not only took pictures but also established at the Geographic one of the nation's finest color laboratories" (Allen, 1999, para. 3). In 1935, photographers began the experimentation with Kodachrome, a film that guaranteed greater accuracy in real colors and allowed the storage of film for long periods of time without deterioration. This type of film was the one most used by NGM's professional photographers, as it was the one that best suited the character of printed publications. Kodachrome films were designed for 35mm cameras, 120, 110, 126, 127, 828 and large format. It was also used to film cameras formats such as 8mm, Super 8, 16mm and 35mm.

The arrival of color photography was not only a technological innovation that made coverage more visual and changed the way of reporting reality; it also constituted a change in the very nature of the representation (Lutz & Collins, 1993). It moved photographic representation from processes of objectification of nature and cultures to more subjective processes in which the photographs represent objective evidence through the aesthetic of the spectacle:

Color photography began to differentiate the *Geographic* from a growing tradition of photojournalism that continued to rely on black-and-white photographs well into the 1950s. It became possible to render the exotic and picturesque in even more dramatic ways, leading editors to emphasize these traits rather than

historical significance and timeliness. Pictures in *National Geographic* were increasingly seen as akin to picture postcards or snapshots taken by tourist. (Lutz & Collins, 1993, p. 32)

In this period there was not a significant increase in the number of subscribers in addition to the editorial shift in visual coverage enabled by the introduction of Kodachrome. The seven principles in NMG editorial policies—as discussed in Chapter 4—remained in force during the forties. As first announced to the Board of Trustees and published in the magazine in March 1915, these principles espoused: 1) absolute accuracy, 2) beautiful and instructive coverage, 3) dissemination of information of “permanent value” rather than ephemeral events, 4) avoidance of personalities and notes of a trivial character, 5) avoidance of topics of a partisan or controversial character, 6) emphasis on topics of a kindly nature about any country or people, and 7) timelines in coverage (Bryan, 1987, p. 90). However, a close reading of the coverage of Colombia between 1940-1947 evinces a change in the editorial policy of the magazine in regards to the authorship and style in the articles. Clearly, in this period NGM begins to assign stories to writers who did not have the high academic, governmental, or scientific profile of writers of the earlier period.

In this sense, one can argue that the goal of reaching wider audiences was pursued through coverage that was visually more dramatic and using writers that employed a more subjective tone in their reportages. According to Rothenberg (2007), the main features of NGM in this period of time were characterized by:

mélange of nationalism, adventure capitalism, Anglo-Saxonism and general racism, social evolutionism, moral righteousness, missionary Protestantism,

eneration of efficiency and productivity, and what Donna Haraway calls “teddy bear patriarchy,” provided the ideological setting for National Geographic’s interpretation of the world to its readers. (p. 46)

Another important aspect to consider in this period, regarding the context of production of the text is the description of the main characteristics shared by the “progressive conservative” protestant and republican elite:

Grosvenor’s beliefs made themselves felt at National Geographic headquarters. He did not drink or smoke, and made it company policy not to accept tobacco or alcohol advertising. Grosvenor also backed a policy designed by La Gorce to deny membership to African/Americans, at least in Washington D.C., a practice made feasible by the requirement for new members to be nominated. Grosvenor didn’t want blacks to use the library, vote at annual membership meetings, or appear at lectures, ostensibly because their presence might offend the sensibilities of white members, some of whom came from the segregated south. But the policy, which lasted through the 1940s, was clearly based on his own racism. (Poole, 2004; Rothemberg, 2007, p. 57)

The Audience

During this period, even though there was not a significant increase in the number of subscribers for NGM—approximately 1,300,000 subscriptions by 1945 (Lutz & Collins, 1993, p. 37)—there was a significant change in the consumption habits of the readers due to the demands of the new consumer society. It is precisely at this time of recovery from the Depression Era and the booming World War II and post-war economies during the 1940s that readers increased their consumption capacity. “There

were more people with money to buy things, advances in education, an increase in the amount of leisure time resulting from a shorter work week in business and industry” (Peterson, 1956, p. 43-44).

Under this new context of an expanding consumer society, and with advances in color photography and commercial aviation, NGM begins to identify in greater detail the needs and interests of its readers. It provides more entertaining articles that, fun and easy to read, are both captivating for readers and easy to sell to larger audiences. Furthermore, NGM begins to be aware of the ideas promoted by the theory of uses and gratifications, where media consumption is defined as “a purposeful activity motivated by people’s varying needs and interest” (Mersey, 2015, p. 520). The major tenets of this theory can be summarized as follows. Media producers try to research:

(1) the social and psychological origins of (2) needs, which generate (3) expectations of (4) the mass media or other sources, which lead to (5) differential patterns of media exposure resulting in (6) need gratifications and (7) other consequences, perhaps mostly unintended ones. (Mersey, 2015, p. 520)

In sum, this era is characterized by expanding audiences with higher consumption potential. This era uses research to identify interests of audiences and produce content that meets expectations and gratifications among readers.

The Writers

The articles analyzed in this chapter, were written by travelers, adventurers, journalists, and *connoisseurs* of other cultures. The writers were Hermann von Waldegg, Luis Marden and Amos Burg. In this section, I present biographical

information about these authors in order to highlight their cultural membership marked by the self-taught in the context of the technological revolution of film and photography.

The author of the first reportage, “Stone idols of the Andes Reveal a Vanished People” (1940), was the Austrian anthropologist Hermann von Walde-Waldegg. It has been difficult to find information about this figure because, according to the records found, there wasn’t any news of him since he disappeared from public life after failing to comply with his commitments to Boston College in the framework of the research commissioned to him (Birnbaum, 2013, p. 35). The research involved traveling to Colombia to study the culture of San Agustín, which was central topic of the story written by him for NGM (Pueblos Originarios, n.d.). However, for the purpose of this research, this information offers a meaningful and colorful portrait of Walde-Waldegg. *The Heights* newspaper, in 1936, describes Dr. Walde-Waldegg as follows:

The 35-year-old ex–Austrian baron resumed his duties as head of the German department in the college of arts and sciences Tuesday. The descendant of the Prince of Waldeck, former ruler of an independent state in Germany, he is an accomplished linguist and a man of high cultural attainments (...) He was born in Brixen, Austria, and in his youth studied at the gymnasium of Feldkirk, and at the University of Munich and Vienna. He continued his studies at the Gregorian University in Rome and at the Pontifical Biblical Institute where he later became librarian's assistant. He served as professor of philosophy of art, aesthetics and history for a number of years at the University of Bogotá and has written several books and magazine articles on archeology. He came to the United States three

years ago, taking up residence in New York City. (“Dr. Walde-Waldegg Delighted With Success of His Expedition”, 1936, p. 6)

A search for information in the Colombian press, found that Walde-Waldegg was accused by the Colombian government of illegally extracting archaeological material from this country and depositing it in the Boston College Museum, ignoring the Law 103 of 1931 that promoted the conservation of archaeological monuments of San Agustín (Rodríguez, 2013, p. 424). Among the items removed without authorization were statues, carved stones, pottery, excavated gold and riches of San Augustin and Tierra Adentro (Pérez de Barradas, 1943, p. 174). Faced with these accusations, Walde-Waldegg published a press release in his defense in the newspaper *El Siglo*, arguing that the articles were mostly “plaster molds” that had no value as “pots” and/or abandoned objects:

It is true that with the plaster molds certain amounts of pottery were send for laboratory examination in the United States. These pots have been excavated and partly purchased from huts in the region where their owners had them in use (...) I did not think that the government could consider a criminal act taking out valued items for me, saving them from the abandonment they were in. (“Von Walde-Waldegg. No se están exportando sino moldes de yeso,” 1937)

This information shows an interesting portrait of the anthropologist in terms of his elite social status and formal academic training. Although his profile does not show any specialization in anthropology or archaeology, it does underscore his elite social and cultural status and his questionable motives. This characterization, however, contrasts with records of his performance as a questionable character with questionable ethics in

the field. Although he was one of the anthropologists who was implicated in stealing artifacts, he probably was not the only one who did so since this was a common practice among U.S. anthropologists at this time.

The author of the second article, Luis Marden, was born on January 25, 1913, in Chelsea, Massachusetts, and died in Arlington, Virginia. His real name was Annibale Luigi Paragallo, also known as Louis Paragallo. He was a “former chief of the National Geographic foreign editorial staff, photographer, writer, filmmaker, diver, sailor, navigator, pilot, linguist, raconteur, boon companion—and o yes, explorer” (Jenkins, 2003, n.d.). According to *National Geographic News*:

He did not go to college, choosing freelance photography while working at a radio station instead. While he hosted a radio program, "Camera Club of the Air," the station owners felt Paragallo was too difficult a name for a radio audience. After casting around in a phonebook, they came up with Luis Marden instead. (Jenkins, 2003, n.d.)

He was also recognized as one of the men who revolutionized underwater color photography (Britannica Book of the Year, n.d.). Marden began working for NGM in 1934 and introduced the use of 35-mm Kodachrome film. During that year, the photographer's work was done with:

bulky cameras with tripods and glass plates into the field. But things were on the verge of change. Marden arrived at the right time, arguing that small 35mm cameras loaded with the new Kodachrome film would revolutionize color photography. His persistence soon paid off, and for decades the Geographic was noted for its dynamic color photography. (Jenkins, 2003, n.d.)

Marden is also credited for a series of discoveries, such as the sea anemone in the Red Sea. Photographed while flashing different colors, the discovery earned Marden and the magazine the credit of offering the first publication about submarine fluorescence. He is also credited with the discovery of a new type of orchid found in Brazil, named *Epistephiummardeni* in his honor, and the discovery of a new specie of sea flea, the lobster parasite, named *Dolobrotusmardeni* (Jenkins, 2003). In Marden, we find the figure of the polymath but with no academic training called the Geographic's "Renaissance man." (Jenkins, 2003, n.d.). His reputation for discovery gave him scientific credentials as a wise naturalist aligned with Charles Darwin's views even though he lacked the scientific education of other NGM writers of previous period.

The author of the third article is Amos Burg, born in Portland, Oregon, on December 3, 1901. He died on June 11, 1986, in Juneau, Alaska. He was a well-known writer, explorer, adventurer, and filmmaker. He attended the University of Oregon where he studied journalism, science, and filmmaking. During the World War II, he worked as a secret agent for the U.S. in South America. He also made more than 30 films for Encyclopedia Britannica (McAllister, 1986). His filmmaking skills gave him credibility as an expert in visual discourse, which he used to emphasize Colombia's natural beauty.

Text Analysis

Overview of the Articles

This section offers a summary description of the three articles analyzed in this chapter to highlight the content of articles, editorial emphases, sources of information, and structure, design, and style in the reporting. The three articles published in the 1940-1947 period are valuable testimonies that relate to traveling, adventuring and

consumption. In this time period, and after reviewing the coverage of Colombia, it is possible to affirm that the opportunities to no scientific writers and the technological changes introduced a different quality to NGM reporting.

The textual component of the three reportages analyzed for this period comprises 96 pages and presents some emblematic, exotic, and important elements of Colombia that attract the attention of visitors, adventurers, and those ready to experience new things and discoveries. Some of the most recurring topics of the narrations refer to the historical and archaeological wealth of Colombia, the processes of development and modernization of road infrastructure; the strengthening of democratic and educational institutions, particularly in major Colombian cities.

These three reportages included a total of 91 photographs—54 black and white and 37 in color—three maps, and one illustration. Photographs show a complex Colombia, with descriptions of archaeological sites of one of the most unknown and primitive cultures of the Colombian Andes—the San Augustine culture. There is even the description and exaltation of a modern and prosperous Colombia that, in the opinion of the writers, was worth knowing. In both textual component and photographic content, the coverage explores rural and urban settings and highlights the growth and development of various cities in Colombia, mostly in terms of the upgrading and paving of roads, and construction of government buildings, libraries and universities. This likely promotes travel as well as development and extraction of Colombian's natural resources.

For instance, in “Stone idols of the Andes reveal a vanished people” (1940) by Walde-Waldegg, photographs of some of the statues and the most important relics and almost un-known culture of San Agustín are presented, which according to the author,

are “one of oldest and most mysterious of early American culture” (Walde-Waldegg, 1940, p. 627). The photographs in the other two reportages by Marde (1940) and Burg (1947) show scenes of the urban and rural landscape of some of the most important cities of the country and its surroundings: Bogotá, Medellín, Cali, Barranquilla, Cartagena, Popayán. Unlike the previous period, this period’s photographs emphasize the idea of the country's growth and development and include images of institutions such as the Senate and House of Representatives in the State Capitol, the campus of the National University, or the modern Municipal Palace of Medellín. In addition, the photographs also present some exotic artifacts with a priceless value due to their age and archaeological significance. Some of these artifacts were gold bricks, an emerald-studded crown of gold, gold ornaments from pre-Spanish days, a serpent-eating eagle, a bat god or the priest-god.

“Stone idols of the Andes reveal a vanished people” (1940). The first article published in this period was titled “Stone idols of the Andes reveal a vanished people. Remarkable relics of One of the Oldest aboriginal Cultures of America are Unearthed in Colombia’s San Agustín Region.” It was written by the anthropologist Hermann von Walde-Waldegg and published in May 1940. The article has 20 pages and includes a total of 21 black and white photos, one map, and one illustration. Six of the photos were published in a large format, full-page size, and the remaining 15 are half-page. All photos were taken by the author, with the exception of the photograph of the native birds called “guacharos” that was a courtesy of the Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago (Walde-Waldegg, 1940, p. 644). Ralph E. McAleer is the author of the only map.

The central purpose of the author, as stated in the article, is to report to the scientific community—especially to anthropologists—the results of two expeditions

where he had the opportunity “to excavate 142 statues, several temples in the form of dolmens, many tombs—in one of which some of the bones had fortunately been preserved—and quantities of pottery and other objects, some apparently used in human sacrifice” (Walde-Waldegg, 1940, p. 627). The text is written in first person and is divided into 21 subheadings that can be grouped in three themes: a) evidence of the archeologist discovery, b) characteristics of nature in the San Agustín zone, and c) beliefs of the community regarding the statues. In relation to the first theme, some of the subheadings are: “God have huge eyeteeth,” “massive priest-god refuses to budge,” “Stone conduits for water,” and “Decline of the San Agustín Nation.” In relation to nature, some of the subheadings are: “Over rough jungle trails,” “Camped in a jaguar’s den,” “Bird of darkness, with blue eyes and long mustachios,” “Woolly leaves make a warm bed.” Related to the theme of beliefs of the community of San Agustín, there are four subsections: “A farmer defies the Gods,” “Children women touch the image,” “Telling time by chewing coca,” and “Workmen fearful of the sinister sacrifice stone” (Walde-Waldegg, 1940, p. 626-647) (See Appendix L for subtitles and photo titles of this article).

The 21 photographs in black and white are organized according to the themes of the story and can be classified into two groups: statues and figures —where it is possible to see the author and his team working in the excavations—and cityscape and rural landscapes. In relation to statues and figures, the captions accompanying the photos have some of the following descriptors: “Fury stamps the forbidding feature of a disturbed priest-God,” “Totem of an ancient clan-A serpent-eating eagle,” “Sacrificial blood appeased the alligator god.” Regarding cityscape and rural landscapes some descriptors

are: “The author’s guides cut their way through trailless jungle,” “Screaming of weird steatornis birds rings through Colombian caves,” “A Colombian mountain woman shows the author how to use a spindle weight 2,000 years old” (Walde-Waldegg, 1940, p. 626-647).

“Hail Colombia!” (1940). The second article, “Hail Colombia!” was written by Luis Marden. It has 31 pages, which include 28 photos —10 black and white and 18 color photos— and one map. The article is written in first person and is divided into 17 sections that summarize the author’s trip by plane from Barranquilla in the north, to Popayán in the south, with stops in the cities of Cartagena, Bogotá, Medellín and Cali. Most of the subheadings emphasize what is different and bizarre in relation to the U.S. culture, for example: “Crabs walk Cartagena’s streets,” “Cows eat water hyacinths,” “Breakfast of turtle,” or “Parks as open-air study halls.” (See Appendix M for subtitles and photo titles of this article).

The main purpose of this article is to provide a close view of nature in Colombia, highlighting some animals, scenes and customs of the country. The tone of the text is informative and illustrative, and it is written in a language that is accessible to all audiences including those who are not scientist or diplomats. The majority of the photographs were taken by the author and labeled as copyrighted material: “© National Geographic Society, Kodachrome by Luis Marden.” Only four photos accompanying the report come from other photographers (Hans Koester, Willard R. Culver, Severin from Three Lions, and Scadta). Ralph E. McAleer and John J. Brehm drew the map in the report.

Unlike previous articles, the photographs in this article are not organized chronologically to document or support the author's story; on the contrary, the photographs and descriptors serve as “windows” and “hypertext” that serve as micro-stories, new stories, or explanations to points made by the writer without giving additional verbal detail. In this sense, the role of the four photographs, which are not Marden’s, is to support and further illustrate, any data or information that the author mentioned in the text but to which first-hand access wasn’t possible; for example, the photograph “Popayán’s Famous Emerald-studded crown of gold” (Marden, 1940, p. 535) taken by Willard R. Culver.

“Cruising Colombia’s “Ol’ Man River” (1947). The third article, “Cruising Colombia’s “Ol’ Man River,” was written by Amos Burg. It has 45 pages, which include 42 photos —23 black and white and 19 color photos — and 1 map. The article is written in first person and is divided into 21 sections showing the impressions and perceptions of Mr. Burg regarding his trip to Colombia. Many of these stories are obtained and/or corroborated by local people the author meets on planes, on trains, and in the hotels he visited. While the reportages make a short description of Bogotá and the eastern plains, the story is centered on the descriptions of the southwestern part of the country corresponding to the cities of Cali, Popayán, and Buenaventura. The subheadings of the article are written according to the experiences lived by the author while he visited some Colombian cities and places, for example, “From mule train to motorcar,” “hiking boots for cattle,” “Cali is air-mind,” etc. (See Appendix N for subtitles and photo titles of this article).

As in the previous reportage, the central purpose of this author is to present to a wider audience and in a conversational and informal language, the most important impressions that an unwary traveler may have while visiting Colombia. For example, in his articles he included references to different conversations that he had with Colombian people, and he used these conversations as evidence for some of his conclusions about Colombian culture. The photographs accompanying the article are of different authorship, including some of the same author. For example, the black and white photos are taken by Henricks Hodge from Three Lions, Kurt Severin from black star, AP from Press Ass'n, Staff, Photographer Luis Marden, © Hans Koester, W. Winston Thomas, and Amos Burg. Most of the color photos, 18, are taken by the author and are signed as "Kodachrome by Amos Burg," only 1 of the color photos appears as "© National Geographic Society." The only map on the reportage is, "From Tropical Coast Colombia Rises to Snowy Mountains" (p. 617) is by Harrys S. Oliver and Irvin E. Alleman. The description on the side of the map reads: "Nearly three times the size of California, this Republic borders both the Pacific and the Caribbean. Three lofty Andean ranges divide the western part, where most of ten million people live" (Burg, 1947, p. 617).

As noted in Appendix N, the photographs include a wide variety of images: architecture, volcanoes, people, boats, crops, and livestock. These images not only emphasize his observations of nature and his conclusion about culture, but they also show the importance of the river and the lives of the people who live near the river, which serves as the main road in the region. In contrast to the previous reportage (Popenoe in Appendix K), Burg is less formal and less scientific and more provincial. Burg records what he sees using common descriptive language and metaphors, and he uses photos that

capture the everyday lives and work of the people he observes. His goal seems to be to encourage appreciation of the people, the historical context, the architecture, the customs, and the natural environment rather than to exploit it for his own purposes or for economic or political gain.

As in the previous article, the photographs accompanying the article are not organized chronologically according to the story and many are not directly related to the text or argument developed by the author. In this sense, the text as a whole offers two stories that complement to each other: the text itself and photographs with descriptors. The photographs rather than being the support or evidence of what the author narrates, serve as windows that extend the horizon of imagination and understanding for the audience. Some of the photographs that fulfill this function are: “This Fat Hen Will Make a Nice Dinner” (p. 659), “Seven-year-old Girls in White Carry Lilies to Their First Communion” (p. 647), “It’s My Ball!” Shouts a Soccer Player in Galapa’s Village Square” (p. 645), “Admiring Friends Watch a Medellín Artist Paint a Mural of the Americans” (p. 641). These particular photographs emphasize the everyday lives that Burg observed during his journey down the river.

In sum, a change in the editorial policy of the magazine becomes evident, as the editors introduced a more personal, subjective, and experiential manner of telling stories by this new set of writers. This kind of narration was also connected with the technological innovations in color photography that made coverage more visual and changed the way of reporting reality. This group of collaborators differs from the previous period in terms of social status since the first group was prominent scientist and diplomats.

The following section presents and explains the most recurring frames regarding identities and humanature in the three articles described above. The analysis embraces the study of textual and graphic content as an integral level of analysis within the three-dimensional model of Fairclough (1989, 1992, 1995, 2003) and relies on the analysis of visual rhetoric to explore the dimension of nature, function, and evaluation of the photographic content (Foss, 2004).

Framing Colombian Identities

This section presents and explains the most recurring frames related to Colombian identities in the three articles described above. The three salient framings of Colombian identities emerged from the analysis are: 1) A Mestizo country. 2) Natives are superstitious but sometimes their procedures are accurate. And, 3) A cultured, civilized, and modern country. In the explication of these frames, I will argue that the three frames constructed in coverage become part of the larger discourse that supported the ideologies of Manifest Destiny and Positivism.

A “Mestizo” country. In the three articles, there are general descriptions and comments that frame Colombians in racial terms as a “Mestizo” identity composed by two distinct groups, the Spaniards and the Indian population. In these descriptions, it is possible to identify two dimensions of identity: race and temperament: “the people are largely mestizos of Spanish and Indian descent and show in their high cheekbones, slanting eyes, and occasional handsome faces the blending of two races and two temperaments” (Burg, 1947, p. 624).

A careful reading of the texts’ structure and photographs shows that the authors continue to defend and promote the idea that there are races that are superior and purer

than others. In this sense, the descendants of Spaniards have a central and leading role in the articles since they are described as handsome, belle, and warm. Two of the photographs allude to this racial hierarchy in which the Spaniards play a leading role, as follows: “A señorita flashes a smile as warm as Medellín sunshine” (Burg, 1947, p. 626) and “Meet the Belle of the Bogotá Bull Ring.” In the caption accompanying the first picture one can read the following: “She comes from the stock of old Spanish families who sought their fortunes in the New World. Colombians are democratic and hospitable. They also are independent” (Burg, 1947, p. 626).

In contrast, the descendants of indigenous peoples are portrayed as unattractive and, in some cases, a rare and unique segment of the population. For example, the photograph titled: “Hinterland Indians Regale Themselves with Cheroots on a trip to town” (Marden, 1940, p. 634) has the following comment on the costumes and customs of the indigenous people living nearby Popayán:

Visitors to Popayán, they are tricked out in their best ponchos and heavy strands of glass beads. Men and women dress alike and wear their hair cut in the same way. Often the Indians bring in to Popayán gold dust and small nuggets they have panned near their villages; also gold figurines taken from ancient graves. Dealers can tell quite accurately how much to pay by the color and feel of the metal.
(Marden, 1940, p. 634)

With regards to temperament, authors portray the development of certain cities and/or regions as due not only to the presence of a particular group in the area, but also to climate factors:

Although Medellín was founded more than a century after most of Colombian's principal cities, it has assumed leadership in the economic life of the country.

Numerous mills sounded their vibrant chant of greeting. Perhaps the climate is partly responsible for the accomplishments of citizens; the continuous freshness of spring pervades the city (Burg, 1947, p. 639).

This kind of discourse shows the author's motives for economic development as well as his interest in the natural environment since both influenced development. Additionally, the texts analyzed confirm the belief that certain climatic and racial factors are responsible for greater adaptability to work:

Negroes, descendants of former slaves who worked the mines, have proved even more adaptable to this environment than the Indian, who is being shoved back into the less accessible regions by the black man. (Burg, 1947, p. 639)

Natives are superstitious but sometimes their procedures are accurate. In the article written by anthropologist Walde-Waldeg (1940), Colombians' collective identity is described as superstitious and irrational, since most of the time the inhabitants of the area –the natives —refuse to sell statues and/or items that belonged to the San Agustín culture, civilization that lived from 250 B. C to A. D 1000. Some of the subtitles in the article refer to elements of irrationality: “A Farmer Defies the Gods” (Walde-Waldeg, 1940, p. 629), “Children Women Touch the Image” (Walde-Waldeg, 1940, p. 630), “Telling Time by Chewing Coca” (Walde-Waldeg, 1940, p. 635) and “Workmen Fearful of the Sinister Sacrifice Stone” (Walde-Waldeg, 1940, p. 637).

In some passages Walde-Waldegg describes his talks with residents of the area as involving “rural iconoclasts” (Walde-Waldegg, 1940, p. 629). This discursive recurrence emphasizes on the level of backwardness and ingenuity of communities:

Characteristic of the attitude of some of the natives was the reply of the owner of a plot of ground when I asked him to sell me one of the statues unearthed there.

“No,” he said, frowning. “If I were to part with one of these images, some great misfortune would surely befall me.”

“You know,” he continued, “these are guardians of the locality. For years they have been buried under the soil and it is only since you people have been coming to this region that all sorts of things have been happening to me. Just yesterday a sow with seven pigs died—the first time such a thing has happened to me in the sixty years I’ve been living in this house.”

It took me a long time to convince the man that the death of the hog had nothing to do with the excavations. To satisfy him I finally wound up by paying for the sow and the seven sucklings. (Walde-Waldegg, 1940, p. 629)

Paradoxically, against this attitude of superiority that renders “natives” as ridicule, the author acknowledges that some of the procedures practiced by the natives for measuring time and organizing the day are accurate and reliable. One of the most striking practices that occupies a central place in the article is that of “Telling Time by Chewing Coca” (Walde-Waldegg, 1940, p. 635):

Living on such intimate terms with the natives, here and elsewhere, we had ample opportunity to observe their customs. They arose about five, made a fire, and had breakfast, which consisted of chicha and bread. About six o’clock they were ready

for their first chew of coca leaves, from which cocaine is made. A chew lasts about four hours. In fact, the natives literally tell the time of day by their chews. A chewing is called a *mambeo*, from *mambe* (lime cooked in raw sugar water), which is chewed with the coca. A native of this region does not say that he will report for work at such and such an hour. He says he will be on hand in the first or second quarter of the first, second, or third *mambeo*—the 12 hours day being divided into three four-hour *mambeos*—and these people are more punctual than many of us who have watches. (Walde-Waldegg, 1940, p. 635-636)

A cultured, civilized and modern country. In the articles analyzed, a recurring idea is that of Bogotá, capital of Colombia, as “a vast forum” (Marden, 1940, p. 511) or “an open-air forum” (Burg, 1947, p. 616). This apparent coincidence is in fact an intertextual instance. These authors had previously read articles published about the country in NGM and other magazines used footnotes to invite readers to read these other reports relating to Colombia. For example, in 1947 Burg wrote in a footnote: “See “Hail Colombia!” by Luis Marden, National Geographic Magazine, October, 1940” (Burg, 1947, p. 616). The image of Bogotá as a forum is also related to the *imaginarium* of Bogotá as the “American Athens” that was common in Colombian nationalist discourse.

This characterization of Colombia has more to do with the preconceptions of nationalist ideology than with the reality of a country, which, by then, had high levels of illiteracy. In 1951 illiteracy in the urban population was 6.6 percent in men and 24.5 percent among women; in rural populations, it was 46.1 percent in men and 53.6 percent in women (Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadística, 1955). An example of this idealization rooted in ideas of Western civilization is seen the following comment:

“As I zigzagged through crowds swarming on narrow streets, I noticed men talking animatedly. Like the Athenians, Bogotanos assemble in the open air for discussion” (Burg, 1947, p. 616).

In addition, the reportages idealized the people of Bogotá as exemplary, participatory, and democratic citizens. For example, in the photo: “Every Street is a Forum and Every Café a Town Hall in Bogotá,” (Marden, 1940, p. 507) the following comments appear:

Here citizens discuss business, politics, señoritas, and each other on Seventh Avenue, the capital’s principal thoroughfare. When congestion is thickest, about five o’clock in the afternoon, all vehicles except streetcars are prohibited. Two friends at the left grasp each other by the upper arm in the conventional gesture of greeting. The headline in the Siglo (Century) of Bogotá, dated just after war was declared, says, “Germany proclaims she will attack neither France nor England.” (Marden, 1940, p. 507)

Besides the identification of Bogotá with features of Western civilization, another recurring theme within this frame is modernization, understood in terms of development of road and transport infrastructure and construction of modern buildings in major cities of Colombia: “Like most Colombian cities, Bogotá has made seven-league strides toward modernization during the past generation. Modern office buildings shoulder century-old churches” (Burg, 1947, p. 616). Some of the captions and pictures that mention modernization are: “Parks as open-air study halls” (Marden, 1940, p. 512), “Medellín, Colombia’s Chicago” (Marden, 1940, p. 521), “The Colombian Senate and House of Representatives meet in this stately Capitol facing Plaza de Bolivar” (Marden, 1940, p.

522), “Ultramodern buildings embellish the New 50-acre Campus of National University, rising on Bogotá’s outskirts” (Burg, 1947, p. 623), “Where an open stream one coursed, automobiles and streetcars roll along a Medellín Avenue” (Burg, 1947, p. 643), “Royal Palms flank Bolivia Street in Medellín, manufacturing metropolis” (Marden, 1940, p. 514), and “Tall, modern buildings of Medellín are dwarfed by the Mountains which rings the manufacturing city” (Marden, 1940, p. 650).

In relation to land transportation most of the items recognize the efforts that the Government of Colombia had made in the past 20 years to improve the movement of people, goods, and freight by train and car. And when it comes to air transport, the idea emphasized is that “the airplane has revolutionized life in Colombia” (Burg, 1947, p. 615), because it has allowed people to drastically reduce transport time:

Bogotá was as isolated as Lhasa, Tibet. It took from eight days to a month to reach the capital, depending upon the stage of water in the Magdalena and how many times the steamboat got stuck. Now we can fly from the coast in little over two hours. (Burg, 1947, p. 615)

Ideology and Hegemony in Framing Colombian Identities

Regarding Colombian identities, I discovered three frames: a mestizo country; the natives as superstitious but sometimes accurate; and a cultured, civilized and modern country—point out three different elements. The first frame presents Colombians in racial and temperament terms as a “Mestizo” identity composed by two distinct groups, the Spaniards and the Indian population. The second frame emphasizes the level of backwardness and ingenuity of communities. The third frame presents Colombians as exemplary, participatory, and democratic citizens. The main difference of this

representation with the frames presented in chapter 4 is that the “Mestizo” element did not appear in the last period, since Colombian society was depicted as separated and segregated into only two groups or social classes: the bourgeois class and the working class. In addition, another difference is that the Colombian race was directly associated with miscegenation and affected by climatic factors that mark them as physically and mentally backward.

A meaningful shift in discourse is the privileging the voice of the traveller, adventurer, and the connoisseur of other cultures –Anthropologist– is central. This group of collaborators differs from the previous period in terms of social status since the first group were prominent scientists and diplomats. A change in the editorial policy of the magazine becomes evident, as the editors introduced a more personal, subjective, and an experiential manner of telling stories by this new set of writers. This kind of narration was also connected with the technological innovations in color photography that made coverage more visual and thereby changed the way of reporting reality.

It is noteworthy that while this change in editorial policy is not expressly communicated by the directors of the magazine, it is possible to verify it since the texts and photographs are written and designed in a more colloquial tone. In an effort to draw the readers' attention and achieve engagement with the audience, reportages are written intentionally in a more experiential tone. This is evident in the following discursive techniques: the reproduction of conversations that authors (Walde-Waldegg, 1940; Marden, 1940; and Burg, 1947) had with natives of the areas visited. An example of this is the following quote:

Rossi introduced me to some acquaintances he found talking outside the café.

“My friend here,” he said, nodding in my direction, “is much taken with the custom of the *charla*. He just asked me when you gentlemen find time to eat.”

“Oh, whenever we go home,” one replied. Rossi told him that in his own country he had fixed hours for meals and that his wife expected him to come home at those hours. “What!” exclaimed one incredulously. “Interrupt the *charla* to go home and eat? Not I! I prefer to finish my discussion. (Marden, 1940, p. 512)

Representations of Colombian identities are associated with Manifest Destiny since they introduced a more moderate and subdued tone regarding the U.S.’s desire for direct presence or intervention in Latin American countries. In an effort to draw the readers' consideration and achieve engagement with the audience, reportages are written intentionally in a more experiential tone. This change in discourse seems to enact the shift in the official rhetoric of the United States about foreign policy in Latin America. The policy shift was made official by U.S. President F.D. Roosevelt, who in his inaugural speech in March of 1933, announced “The Good Neighbor Policy” as the new official policy.

Colombian identities are also linked with Positivism, due to the fact new fields of study such as anthropology, sociology, and journalism started to gain strength and recognition during this time. In this context, stories and narratives started to emerge, legitimizing other ways of knowing, expressing, and telling. It is precisely in this period of time where the so-called “soft” sciences, meaning social and human sciences, begin to spread and be institutionalized in the U.S. and other American countries like Mexico, Argentina, and Colombia.

In the early twentieth century, specifically in the field of anthropology, there is strong criticism on the evolutionary theories that retook the comparative method of natural sciences (Boivin, Rosato y Arribas, 2007). In addition, a profound challenge to traditional techniques is made, which encourages the development of alternative techniques such as participant observation and fieldwork:

During this first period most of the work of anthropologists was based on the analysis of texts produced in the field by officials, missionaries or travelers rather than field work carried out directly by them. In the words of Clifford (1996), “everything that emerged during the first half of the twentieth century, together by the success of the professional field work, was a new fusion of general theory and empirical research, cultural analysis with ethnographic description” (p. 145- 146). This is, therefore, a crucial time, when the authority criteria defines who is and by using what tools may now be considered as an anthropologist are produced; the separation between the fieldwork and data analysis in the light of a more general theory which was the predominant until the late nineteenth century is removed. (Rojas, 2011, p. 73-74)

The consequences of the criticism of the comparative method are the emergence and legitimation of cultural relativism, which implies that:

If cultures cannot be compared on the basis of a pattern that is drawn from the perspective (spatial and temporal) of the researcher, each of which would have to be analyzed on its own terms; criticism of the evolutionary idea of different cultures, according to which some of them are also lower and are in the process of civilization, led to the idea of cultures of equal value (nor higher, or lower) that

could only be analyzed in their own terms, given its radical difference. (Rojas, 2011, p. 74)

In the context of the ideologies of Manifest Destiny, Positivism and the “The Good Neighbor Policy,” two rhetorical strategies are used in relation to identities: idealization and classification (Spurr, 1993, p. 61, 125). The strategy of idealization of the savage “takes us back to the early stages of Western European imperial expansion and is invariably produced by a rhetorical situation in which the writer takes an ethical position in regard to his or her own culture” (Spurr, 1993, p. 125). An example of this strategy of idealization is found in the following comment: “Every archeologist finds himself pitted against the merciless ravages of time and is always thankful for any non-perishable substance on which long-vanished artists have unknowingly recorded their way of life” (Walde-Waldegg, 1940, p. 629).

The rhetorical strategy of classification refers to the idea that “every discourse orders itself both externally and internally: it marks itself off against the kind of language it excludes, while it establishes within its own limits a system of classification, arrangement, and distribution” (Spurr, 1993, p. 62). Regarding identities, this rhetorical strategy is found in the descriptions that reference the “metizaje” process in which the photographs and stories construct a hierarchical classification of racial groups that give a starring role to the Spaniards "(Burg, 1947; Marden, 1940) and on the descriptions of superstitions of the natives, which implicitly privilege a type of Eurocentric and rational knowledge (Walde-Waldegg, 1940).

Framing Colombian Humanature

In the three reportages, the framing of humanature is complementary and supportive of the dominant ways of framing identity. Two salient frames here are a land for adventure and consumption and the land of the future. These frames, one can argue correspond to the personal positioning and perspective of each author in the context of F.D. Roosevelt's Good Neighbor policy where there was a moderate discourse regarding the intervention in the internal affairs of Latin American countries and strengthen partnerships with Central and South American countries to promote trade and bilateral treaties.

A land for adventure and consumption. During this time period the representations of humanature are directly connected with the expansion of the U.S. consumer society, in which the practice of outdoor sports and the consumption of natural spaces for leisurely activities like tourism are highly valued as symbols of distinction and status. The authors of the three reportages seem to respond to this trend when they focus much of their description on sites and aspects of nature that stand for their exoticism and uniqueness for a foreign traveler in Colombia.

Some of the natural places that are mentioned are the "Tequendama Falls," the "Cavern of the Guacharos" (nocturnal birds), and the "Llanos Orientales" (eastern plains region). The first place is described as "two and a half times higher than Niagara Falls, nourishes surrounding luxuriant vegetation" (Marden, 1940, p. 519). The second place, the cavern, is described as "screaming of weird steatornis birds rings through Colombian caves" (Walde-Waldegg, 1940, p. 641). The caption describes the photo is "Bird of darkness, with blue eyes and long mustachios" (Walde-Waldegg, 1940, p. 641). It states:

The author camped in one cavern inhabited by thousands of the nocturnal birds.

The photograph shows the exhibit of this specie in the Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago. Indians believe the white spots on the chestnut-colored feathers are tears shed by the ancestors for defeats suffered at the hands of the white man.

Others think the birds themselves are the spirit of ancient Indians. (Walde-Waldegg, 1940, p. 644)

Another place that attracts the attention of the authors is the “Llanos Orientales” (eastern plains region). This is because these plains are privileged for sports such as hunting and fishing, characteristics that lead a writer to label it “a sportsman’s paradise” (Burg, 1947, p. 627):

We can set a party down in the llanos one hour from Bogotá, give them a good duck hunt and a chance at game ranging from a rabbit to a jaguar, with fishing thrown in, and return them the next day. Many of the ducks shot here were banded in Canada. (Burg, 1947, p. 627)

Other thematic and rhetorical features in both text and photographs promote in the NGM’s reader a desire to purchase and consume Colombian humanature in the form of exotic products such as: 1) the use of skins of exotic animals such as the jaguar, these skins can be used for making mats, bags or making any decorative elements; see for example the photograph titled “A one-man “Fur Sale”” (Marden, 1940, p. 508); 2) the consumption of local animals as a sort of exotic cuisine, for instance, the shells and flesh of animals like the tortoise and crabs; as in the text under the subtitle “Breakfast of turtle” (Marden, 1940, p. 511) and “Crabs walk Cartagena’s streets” (Marden, 1940, p. 508); 3) the consumption of precious stones, gold, sugar cane, coffee and flowers like orchids; 4)

the consumption of nature as a spectacle as in “A Volcano “Explodes” (Marden, 1940, p. 528), and the photograph titled “Once an Active Volcano, Tolima Thrusts Its Snowy Crater 19,049 Feet above the Sea” (Burg, 1947, p. 622).

The land of the future. The Colombian Eastern Plains cover about 150,000 square kilometers that extend to Venezuelan territory. This area is identified by a writer as an area with great potential for development since the early twentieth century because of its oil reserves and the possibilities for raising cattle. These features led the writer to reproduce the national *imaginariu*m of the area as “the land of the future” (Burg, 1947, p. 626). The writer affirms that some Colombians think the llanos are “a fantastic land of unknown wealth and opportunity” (Burg, 1947, p. 626). Burg described the majesty of the plain as follows:

North and south, as far as we could see, the front of the Eastern Range resembled a mighty coast range breaking off into the sea, so abrupt is the demarcation line between valley and plain. These vast llanos, watered by the numerous tributaries of the Orinoco and the Amazon, are inhabited by only 120,000 persons. Yet they comprise over half of the national territory. (Burg, 1947, p. 625-626)

Historically this framing of the llanos as a “the land of the future” has been in the national imaginary as well and has served to invite many people to migrate to this area, causing conflicts that are the result of internal migration processes and violence phenomena (Gómez, 1988, p. 50). In addition to these processes of internal migration, the area also received foreign investors and scientists interested in the study of yellow fever:

In an attempt to eliminate one bar to successful settlement of the llanos, the Rockefeller Foundation, in co-operation with the Colombian Government, has for

some years been studying the transmission of jungle yellow fever by wild animals and insects, especially its main mosquito vector, *Haemagogus spegazzinii* var. *falco*. (Burg, 1947, p. 626)

Ideology and Hegemony in Relation to Humanature

In relation to the concept of humanature, the frames I identified—a land for adventure and consumption and the land of the future—are connected with the policy of Pan-Americanism and the ideology of Positivism. The ideology of Manifest Destiny does not appear associated with the humanature concept.

Regarding the policy of Pan Americanism, the frames associated with Humanature are moderate because during this period, the process of industrialization has undergone significant change that required different inputs. In the late nineteenth century and early twentieth textile industry—or light industry—, and steel industry—or heavy industry—, were expected to grow and develop traditional raw materials such as iron, steel and coal. However, during this period of time the kind of favored resources were those associated with changes in technique and on the emerging entertainment industry or culture industry.

The term culture industry or “Kulturindustrie” coined by Adorno, denounces the systematic and programmed exploitation of “cultural goods” with business purposes (Jimenez, 2001, p. 72). In this sense, the type of product being promoted is that of Humanature in this direct connection with tourism? and its anchors in entertainment, leisure, and consumption. That is, nature becomes a new culture industry in which “technique and concentration of the economy and administration” converge (Adorno, 2008, p. 295). In this context, Humanature becomes a space of desire, “the land of

adventure” and a consumer experience of “the land of the future,” which allows people to approach the new and the unknown. It invites adventure and allows the development of new activities associated with leisure time, such as hunting and fishing-activities.

The rhetorical strategies used in relation to Humanature are those of affirmation (Spurr, 1993, p. 109). This is because the authors at this period in time intend to give a true and genuine narrative consistent with the observed; however, it is important to mention that this reality is a challenge to be overcome at all times, since what it is being witness is a chaotic and conflicting reality. These discursive and textual practices end up undermining the ideological hold of Positivism during this period. This discursive tool “is deployed on behalf of a collective subjectivity which idealizes itself variously in the name of civilization, humanity, science, progress, etc., so that the repeated affirmation of such values becomes in itself a means of gaining power and mastery” (Spurr, 1993, p. 109).

Sociocultural Practices

In this section, I discuss how textual and discursive practices activate the ideologies of Manifest Destiny and Positivism, and the policy of Pan-Americanism and how they contribute to create and reproduce relationships of power and domination regarding identities and humanature. Accordingly, this section contextualizes text and discursive practices within the geopolitical context and discusses how the coverage articulates broader social discourses.

The Geopolitical Context

Unlike the previous time period analyzed in Chapter 4, in which there was political tension and distance between Colombia and the United States as a result of the

invasion and construction of the Panama Canal, during this period rapprochement occurs between the two countries due to the U.S. Good Neighbor policy. This was an initiative created by the administration of U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt in the framework of the VII Pan American Conference held in Montevideo in December 1933.

With the aim of improving the image of the United States in the Americas and promoting economic recovery from the crisis left by the Great Depression, the Good Neighbor policy sought, on the one hand, moderate intervention in the internal affairs of Latin American countries, and, on the other hand, to create and strengthen partnerships with Central and South American countries to promote trade and bilateral treaties. In this context of rhetorical emphasis on proximity (neighbor) and “brotherhood” among nations, some significant foreign policy decisions were: the annulment of the Platt Amendment in 1934—a law by the U.S. Congress imposed as an appendix to the Cuban Constitution in 1901—the withdrawal in 1915 of the U.S. Marines that had invaded Haiti and Nicaragua in 1909, and the negotiations with the government of Mexican President Lázaro Cárdenas in 1938 relation to the expropriation of U.S. oil companies operating in Mexico.

This time period is also characterized by a favorable atmosphere for negotiations between the Colombia and the United States since a period of government in Colombia known as the “*República Liberal*” (Liberal Republic) (1930-1946) begins, after 50 years of a conservative hegemony that advocated an “economic nationalism” that hampered trade with other countries (Bermúdez, 2011, p. 101). During the period of the Liberal Republic, President Eduardo Santos committed to a foreign policy that promoted the interests of the United States and supported initiatives such as the VIII Pan American

Conference, established in December of 1938 in Lima, and three consultative meetings convened by the United States held in September 1939 in Panama, in July 1940 in Havana, and in January 1942 in Rio de Janeiro. Additionally, the Colombian government gave priority to the payment of obligations caused by foreign debt, signed military agreements with the United States in exchange for economic concessions, and fostered a favorable atmosphere for the development of military, commercial, and scientific expeditions by prestigious institutions like the Museum of Natural History and Geographical Societies (Bermúdez, 2011; Quintero, 2006).

In relation to road and transportation infrastructure in Colombia, this period makes a breakthrough as 45 percent of foreign loans were invested in the construction of railways and \$16 of the \$25 million received in payment for for the separation of Panama were also invested in this category (Meisel, Ramírez y Jaramillo, 2014). After World War II, the development of commercial aviation arrived to Colombia, with the founding of at least 18 airlines. In this context, the country witnessed great changes in both passenger mobility and postal mail and cargo. The trip on a steamboat between Barranquilla and Puerto Berrio was reduced from 8 to 15 days of navigation to 8 hours of airplane travel (León Vargas, 2011). These advances in transportation also created a new proximity between Colombia and the United States—just three hours by airplane from Miami to Barranquilla—that allowed for configuring a new scenario in which Colombia constituted “the gateway to South America” (Romoli, 1941, p. 14).

Reararticulating Manifest Destiny, Positivism, and Pan-Americanism

A central argument here is that the framing of Colombian identity and humanature discussed above constitute discursive strategies that reproduced hegemonic positions in

the larger historical and geopolitical context of the early 20th century. Regarding Colombian identities, I suggest that framing patterns relate to Manifest Destiny because the framing of Colombian identities –“A Mestizo country,” “Natives are superstitious but sometimes their procedures are accurate,” and “A cultured, civilized and modern country”– offer textual articulations that are closely connected with the ideological underpinnings of the F.D. Roosevelt’s Good Neighbor policy. In practical terms this new policy sought to restrict military interventionism in Latin America, which meant improving relations with these countries in terms of public relations, management, and persuasion. In this context, although the direct, military interventionist strategy is de-emphasized, the expansionist enterprise of the U.S. remains in place by more political and persuasive means. Rhetorically and symbolically, it re-constructed and personified the image of the United States as a more respectful and benevolent “neighbor” who upholds the principles of democracy. It is important to note also that this shift in policy toward Latin America took place during the time of economic depression and unfolded at a time when the United States entered the Second World War as the protector of democracy in the free world. It can be argued that in this historical context, there is a rearticulation of the ideology of Manifest Destiny that maintains the imaginary of the United States as a chosen nation to lead the world.

Reporters construct knowledge about Colombian identities as –“Mestizo Country,” “Natives are superstitious but sometimes their procedures are accurate,” and “A cultured, civilized, and modern country”– using enactments of the ideology of Positivism. During this period a new positivist scientific paradigm emerges, in which new research techniques are involved as participant observation and fieldwork, and these

begin to give a protagonist role to the so-called Social Sciences, including anthropology and science journalism. Regarding humanature the salient frames –“A land for adventure and consumption” and “The land of the future”– enact positivism as the discourse widens the range of categories of classification of humanature by including categories that exceed scientific interest. In this context, the new classifications that are offered for humanature take the form of an extensive menu that seem to fill the wishes or curiosity of the observers for visiting exotic locations like “Tequendama Falls” and for consuming the skin of exotic animals, such as jaguars, and exotic meals prepared with turtles.

In relation to Colombian humanature, the salient frames –“A land for adventure and consumption” and “The land of the future”– are connected with the policy of Pan-Americanism since these are directly associated to two activities: the possession of the land and consumption. Regarding the first element, the material analyzed starts to “visualize” a land with great potential for development either in terms of crops, oil exploitation, and cattle breeding. Regarding the second element, consumption, although in the previous period emphasis was placed on the identification of raw materials, in this period a change occurs as nature is turn into products or opportunities in service of adventure and other desirable activities for tourist consumption.

Lastly, regarding interdiscursivity and the intertextual chain, in the three articles analyzed in this chapter, interdiscursivity comes from a new journalistic genre or approach led by the inclusion of new voices, specifically no academic voices, and the technological innovations changed in the way of reporting reality. Although a change in editorial policy of the magazine is not explicitly mentioned, it is possible to see a distinctive new tone in coverage in which the narration became more malleable and

anecdotal, in an effort to satisfy the tastes of new readers in the context of the novel consumer society.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I argued that in this time period a significant transformation in NGM's discursive practice was the incorporation of new voices of travelers, adventurers, journalists, and *connoisseurs* of other culture. The two salient practices that helped reconfigure the editorial viewpoint were: the inclusion of new voices, specifically no academic voices, and the technological innovations changed the way of reporting reality.

Also, I concluded that the two most salient frames constructed on Colombian identities, "A Mestizo country" and "Natives are superstitious but sometimes their procedures are accurate," become part of a larger discourse that rearticulates, in a different historical context F.D. Roosevelt's Good Neighbor policy, the ideologies of Manifest Destiny and Positivism. Colombians identities are contradictory way since sometimes the frames point out the exemplary, participatory, and democratic character of the "Mestizo" and other times point out the backwardness and ingenuity of communities.

In relation to humanature, I showed that two dominant frames were constructed in coverage, "A land for adventure and consumption" and "The land of the future," reproduce Positivism and Pan-Americanism in the scenario of the mid-20th century. Humanature is directly connected with the expansion of the U.S. consumer society, in which the practice of outdoor sports and the consumption of natural spaces are highly valued as symbols of distinction and status.

CHAPTER 6

FRAMING IDENTITIES AND HUMANATURE (1948-1952)

In this chapter, I present evidence from the coverage between 1948-1952 to argue that a new discursive practice in *National Geographic Magazine* has a meaningful effect on the discourses about Colombian identities and humanature. More specifically, I refer to a new turn in the magazine's editorial practice toward the occasional assignment of stories to writers/narrators that do not personify scientism and the objective approach to reporting but leave a gendered inflection on discourse. In the two reportages on Colombia published during this period, "Keeping House for a Biologist in Colombia" (1948) by Nancy Bell Fairchild Bates and "Jungle Jaunt on Amazon Headwaters" (1952) by Bernice M. Goetz, the two salient practices that helped reconfigure the editorial viewpoint were: the inclusion of the feminine voice and perspective in the reports, and the publication of stories about the male scientists' private lives.

Although these changes in discursive practice produce a distinctive new tone in coverage, I argue that the two most salient constructed frames on Colombian identities, "Colombians in the Borderland" and "Colombians as objects of consumption," become part of a larger discourse that rearticulates, in a different historical context, the ideologies of Manifest Destiny and Positivism. Through rhetorical strategies of classification and negation, the dominant frames emphasize the values of peace, harmony, and coexistence that are present in Colombian primitive communities. The framing also reinforces Positivism since the character and identity of Colombian subjects is explicated to the U.S. reader through the appeal to incontrovertible laws that can be acknowledged through empirical observation. Pan-Americanism, on the other hand, does not emerge as a

relevant discourse, since the coverage does not delve into topics related to political or economic exchange.

In relation to humanature, I argue that two dominant frames constructed in coverage, “humanature is a lab” and “humanature is daring and adventurous,” provide support to the ideologies of Positivism and Pan-Americanism in the scenario of the mid-20th century. Through the rhetorical mode of appropriation, the coverage, humanature is conceived as data and/or information that must be collected, stored, and evaluated from a positivist and purportedly neutral fashion. The reports also frame Colombian humanature as belonging rightfully to “civilization” and “mankind” rather than to the people who occupied those Colombian lands. Humanature is also linked with Pan-Americanism because research studies conducted during this period were sponsored by lobbyists and agreements reached by the governments of the United States and Colombia in the context of Pan-Americanism meetings. The texts examined did not emphasize the sublime experience, aesthetic enjoyment or contemplation of the humanature, and in this sense, did not enact ideological dimensions of Manifest Destiny.

The analysis presented in this chapter is divided into four sections: 1) the presentation of discursive practices, in which the context of textual production is addressed; 2) the presentation of textual analysis, which includes a descriptive overview of the two articles published between 1948 and 1952, followed by the frame analysis with a focus on the construction of Colombian identities and humanature; 3) the discussion of how the features of production and coverage relate to broader sociocultural practices; and, 4) the conclusion.

Discursive Practices: The Context of Production and Audiences of NMG

In this section, I will focus on three main aspects of the production of NGM during this period: editorial policies, the audience, and the identity of writers. At this historical moment, two new elements that signaled a reconfiguration of the dynamics of production of the text were: the inclusion of the feminine perspective in the report and the publication of stories focusing on the private lives of scientists featured in coverage, especially the article written by Mrs. Bates. There are also certain variations in the composition of the audience due to cultural changes of the post-World War II era.

Editorial Policies of NGM (1948-1952)

Since there was no expressed or explicit editorial policy change in the magazine, specifically referring to the seven principles (Bryan, 1987, p. 90), I identify some significant changes that are valid for the time period analyzed and for the coverage of Colombia. These changes are: 1) the inclusion of a feminine perspective in the reports, particularly from the viewpoint of housewives and women travelers or adventurers; and 2) the publication of stories relating to scientists' private lives as a matter of public interest.

Relating to the first aspect, it is important to specify that this practice was an unprecedented feature since the magazine always had a masculine point of view and orientation. In this context, Carolyn Bennett Patterson, who worked for NGM in the middle of the twentieth century, affirms the following:

During Adam's association [first White woman that published at number 8 in NGM] with the National Geographic Society, from 1907 to 1937, only one woman, Eliza R. Scidmore, held any position among the editorial board, the Society's executive board, or on the Board of Trustees (original Board of

Managers). Even after Adam's death in 1937, little of the Society's internal social structure changed during Gilbert H. Grosvenor's lengthy leadership. Patterson was hired in 1949 to be a library research assistant and eventually became National Geographic's first full time female editor, around 1965. "There was a very, very distinct idea of what ladies did and what ladies did not do here," she said. (Rothengberg, 2007, p. 138)

It is important to note that this male dominated culture had not changed radically by 2014. On the July 2014 issue of NMG, editors announced the promotion of Susan Goldberg, former executive editor for news and features, to the position of editor-in-chief. Goldberg is described as the 10th editor-in-chief in the history of the 126-year-old magazine, and the first woman to hold that position ("Meet our," 2014, July, p. 4).

Another significant change in practice during this time was the type of women who succeeded in publishing their articles as contributing or freelance writers (without permanent affiliation as staff writers). These women belonged to the upper social class and usually had a direct connection, via family, with the founders and staff members of the magazine. As Rothengberg noted, the women who worked with NGM were indeed divided by social class: unmarried college graduates who worked in editorial and clerical roles, and the women who were part of the janitorial staff. The first group,

might work at the secretary's desk, or perhaps, in the photo research department, or on the school bulletin staff. "That a woman might wish to be a writer or editor, as well as a wife and possibly even a mother, was regarded as unladylike, pushy, vulgar, unnatural, and worst of all, non-Geographic," Patterson noted.

(Rothengberg, 2007, p. 139)

The ladies who participated in janitor activities “were in a different gender category by dint of their class: the Geographic apparently allowed for the possibility that these women worked to support their household” (Rothengberg, 2007, p. 139). At the same time, the cafeteria space and eating areas were divided according to gender and position in the organization. For example, Lonelle Aikman, one woman staff writer just after World War II who was “tolerated as a nonmember” by the gentleman’s club, ate with the library and research staff in the women’s dining room rather than with the other staff writers in their all-male dining room” (Rothengberg, 2007, p. 139).

Regarding the inclusion of narratives about the private lives of scientists in the articles, it is important to observe that this element, combined with the hiring of women writers, was part of the editors’ strategy to diversify the audience to include White women and increase sales and subscriptions. At the same time, these practices are a strategy to consolidate and legitimize the traditional role of women as guardians of the domestic world. The public statement of Harriet Chalmers Adams (1875-1937), the first women explorer, illustrates this ideological, gendered position of women as companions to men travelers, care givers, and non-threatening to U.S. or foreign men. Echoing enthusiastic eagerness to fit in and be relevant in a society where the men play the main roles, Adams affirmed the following:

being a woman could have its advantages. If a woman accompanied a man in adventurous travels in out-of-the-way places, she said, the man would be safer than if he traveled with any number of male companions, “primitive people” were more likely to be accepting of female interlopers than male ones. (Rothengberg, 2007, p. 141)

Grosvenor recognized a certain value in texts that women produced for they “often see things about the life and ways of people which a man would not notice,” but he also maintained the skepticism and censorship common in the male-dominated geographer community based on the notion that “exploration was implicitly tied to the ideas of masculinity, and, second women’s work was judged too subjective, and inferior to men’s “objective” texts” (Rothengberg, 2007, p. 141-142).

While the incorporation of women’s voices and perspectives constituted a difference at this time, it is also noteworthy that NGM editors during this period omitted coverage of topics relating to important social struggles at the time: the Second World War and its immediate aftermath and other racial and cultural conflicts. The suppression of these topics was also evident in the coverage of Colombia between 1948 and 1952. According to Lutz and Collins (1993), “the struggles of the period are nevertheless part of the background for its 1950s coverage and the assiduous way the magazine averted its eyes from anything that suggested interracial or intercultural conflict” (p. 40). These omissions likely were attempts to avoid political issues and focus on personal life and scientific investigation.

The Audience

Research on NGM’s readership shows that the aforementioned changes in editorial content were, in effect, in tandem with the expansion and diversification of NGM’s audiences in the U.S. post-war context. In fact, the decade following the 1950s, was characterized by an audience growth that went from 2 million subscribers in 1957 to 5.6 million in 1967 in the U.S. (Lutz & Collins, 1993, p. 36). The reasons for this growth can be attributed to the following factors: the cultural changes associated with technology

[for example, television became very popular early in the decade and the first video recorder], the appearance of a new middle class, primarily a managerial sector, with increasing buying power due to the rapid economic expansion of the U.S. military industrial complex, and the increased appreciation of educational and cultural capital among the middle sectors of society (Lutz & Collins, 1993; Ehrenreich & Ehrenreich 1979; Bourdieu, 1984). In this context:

Parents of the postwar “baby-boom” generation who desired advancement for their children struggle to provide them with good books, enriching travel experiences, and a college education. Educational levels rose from 1950s through the 1970s; sales of books to the American public doubled between 1952 and 1961 (Kaledim, 1984). National Geographic Society membership was not marketed only to members of these classes, but they were responsible for a significant portion of its growth during this period. (Lutz & Collins, 1993, p. 38)

Another distinct trait, according to Lutz and Collins (1993), is how this audience was identified as a “middle-class” audience with “mid-to-high-brow” aspirations” (p. 38). Some of the values associated with this emergent social class were courtesy and politeness, and thinking of themselves as “raceless and classless, egalitarian and generous” group of people (p. 38). Lutz and Collins (1993) argued that the cultural function of NGM in this context consisted in “help[ing] white, upwardly mobile Americans to locate themselves in a changing world, to come to terms with their whiteness and relative privilege, and to deal with anxieties about their class position, both national and international” (p. 38). This cultural function was performed implicitly and at

the level of sociocultural practices, since the actual coverage of issues of race and social conflict were generally avoided in the discourse.

Another important aspect that has not been explored by scholars but that marks the discursive practices of NGM at this time is the fact that the magazine was published only in English and primarily for a domestic audience of U.S. Americans. In fact, it wasn't until 1997 that NGM launched the first non-English edition, the Spanish-language editions for Latin America and Spain. Today, the magazine is published in more than 30 languages and has an international readership of 60 million (Evolution of National Geographic Magazine, n. d). But in the 1950s, the writers for NMG were white Americans writing for a U.S. audience and thus they operated as “translators” of Colombian culture to U.S. readers through a discourse that fit the expectations and cultural biases of its readership.

The Writers

The author of the reportage *Keeping House for a Biologist in Colombia* (1948) was Nancy Bell Fairchild Bates (1912-1976). Bates' status as spouse and a descendent of prominent scientists was likely to allow her access to NGM editorial circle. Furthermore, as a published author of a memoir book in 1947, she also offered the magazine an educated, personal female narrative that could appeal to wider audiences interested in popular science. Bates was a privileged upper-class woman, daughter of the botanist and plant “hunter” David Fairchild—who introduced thousands of plant species from around the work to the United States—and granddaughter of Alexander Graham Bell—NGM co-founder, scientist, and inventor credited with patenting the first practical telephone

Nancy Bell Fairchild married Marston Bates, a prominent American zoologist who traveled through the northern region of South America and spent years living in central Colombia. She became her husband's research assistant when he worked in Colombia's Llanos Orientales (Eastern Plains) carrying out malaria and yellow fever research sponsored by the Rockefeller Foundation. She was also the author of a book, *East of the Andes and West of Nowhere. A Naturalist's Wife in Colombia* (1947), in which, according to Dethier's (1949) book review, Bates described the "the pleasures and problems of life in the llanos" with a "charming, conversational, and frequently amusing touch" (p. 140).

The author of the second article, *Jungle Jaunt on Amazon Headwaters* (1952), was Bernice M. Goetz (1909-1958). In contract with Bates, Goetz did not assume the traditional roles to women. Hailing from Ohio, she was a secretary by profession and became famous for her expeditions into the jungles of Central and South America. According to a news report, at age 19 the "poet-explorer" was reported missing by her father, who told the authorities that she had embarked on a trip to the "jungles of Ecuador" and had not returned on the day she was expected to return (Acme Photo, 1938). She did at least "thirteen personally planned and self-financed trips to South America, exploring regions in Peru, Brazil, Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, and Guatemala" (The Encyclopedia of Cleveland History, 2016). Goetz worked for the Red Cross and for an oil exploration firm (when she was in Colombia) in order to facilitate further travel. She also lectured and wrote about her excursions in local newspapers and magazines. She "donated the artifacts she had collected from her travels to both the Cleveland Public

Library and the Cleveland Museum of Natural History.” She died from cancer shortly after arriving from a jaunt (The Encyclopedia of Cleveland History, 2016).

Text Analysis

Overview of the Articles

This section offers a summary description of the two articles analyzed in this chapter to highlight the content of articles, editorial emphases, sources of information, and structure, design, and style in the reporting. The two articles published in the 1948-1952 period are valuable testimonies that allow us to analyze aspects relating to women’s visibility and participation in print culture associated with science and travel. In this time period, and after reviewing the coverage of Colombia, it is possible to affirm that the opening of opportunities to women writers introduced a different quality to NGM reporting.

The textual component of the two reports, equivalent to 40 pages, presents the accounts of the writers’ experiences in the Colombian jungle and among its inhabitants from two different viewpoints: the first from the perspective of a working research assistant studying malaria and yellow fever; and the second from the perspective of adventurer experiencing fun and the “mysterious” aspects of the culture. In both stories, the reader finds descriptions of animal species, vegetables, habitats, myths, beliefs of local communities and, scientific and technical procedures. Additionally, both authors include descriptions of remote areas and the practices and strategies that each one had to implement to successfully complete their stay in this tropical zone. In terms of the visual component, the two reportages analyzed included 2 maps and a total of 35 photographs,

24 black and white and 11 in color. On the maps, the reader could locate the area studied mentioned or explored by the writers.

In the first report, Bates writes that Colombia's eastern plains (*Llanos Orientales*) "comprise more than half the national territory, but supports only 120,000 persons" (Bates, 1948, p. 254). In the second report, the area explored was in the Colombian Amazon zone where Goetz was canoeing down the Vaupes (Goetz, 1952, p. 372). Some of the accompanying photographs support and show the scenes described in the narrative, focusing on the adaptations used in the jungle to accomplish scientific experiments on malaria and yellow fever. In other instances, the photographs record the customs and what appeared to the eyes of the writers as exotic behavior in the communities visited.

"Keeping House for a Biologist in Colombia" (August, 1948). This article was written by Nancy Bell Fairchild Bate, wife and assistant of Dr. Marston Bates who was in charge of the Rockefeller Foundation's laboratory in Villavicencio (Colombia). The article has 23 pages and includes 20 black-and-white photos and 1 map. Six of the photos were published full-page size, and the remaining 14 occupy in a half-page format. Dr. Marston Bates is the author of most of the photographs. Walter Henricks, Amos Burg, Scadita, and Nancy Bell Fairchild Bates also contributed photographs for the report.

The article's central purpose was to share the couple's experience living in Colombia, particularly in the Llanos Orientales, from the perspective of Bate's role as assistant and wife of the researcher Dr. Marston Bates. With the goal to maintain a certain degree of objectivity, she always referred to her husband as the "Boss." At the same time, the narrative shows a colloquial yet informative style, as she explained in a simple language the procedures and experiments realized in a laboratory for studying

malaria and yellow fever. The text is written in first person and features 20 subheadings that can be grouped in three themes: the activities accomplished in the laboratory for studying malaria and yellow fever, a description of leisure activities and family recreation, and a description of activities in her role as mother and wife of Dr. Bates.

In Appendix O the list of titles and subtitles illustrates the shift on the discourse. Bates' interest in helping her husband develop treatments for diseases evolved into a career for her, but she also was in charge of the domestic life of her family. Thus, her narratives added a different focus than previous writers since she reported on her scientific work with her husband as well as her role as wife, mother, and teacher of her children. For her, domestic life was as important as her scientific work with her husband. This content brought a woman's viewpoint to the writing and images about Colombia in NGM.

In relation to the first theme, activities accomplished in the laboratory, some of the subheadings are: "The lure of laboratory" (Bates, 1948, p. 251), "This was what we came for" (Bates, 1948, p. 255), "Human legs as insect bait" (Bates, 1948, p. 260), "The lure of night collecting" (Bates, 1948, p. 261), "Mating of the mosquitoes" (Bates, 1948, p. 267), "Studying of jungle yellow fever" (Bates, 1948, p. 268), "Mystery of a virus," (Bates, 1948, p. 269), "Virus manipulation" (Bates, 1948, p. 270), and "Mishaps in the laboratory" (Bates, 1948, p. 270). In regards to leisure time activities and family recreation, some subtitles are: "Llanos –wide and wild" (Bates, 1948, p. 252), "Remote from current history" (Bates, 1948, p. 253), "Monkeys-at least!" (Bates, 1948, p. 254), "Ladders to a treetop world" (Bates, 1948, p. 260), "Birds and butterflies" (Bates, 1948, p. 262), "The horridest monkey of all" (Bates, 1948, p. 271), and "The anties of Rusty"

(Bates, 1948, p. 274). Finally, concerning activities that Bates performed as a wife and mother, we find the following subtitles: “Bogotá, and a baby” (Bates, 1948, p. 251), and “The lab is home, too” (Bates, 1948, p. 263).

In this article, the 20 black-and-white photographs in the article that illustrate some of the isolated areas mentioned in the text do not follow the conventional chronological order in the story. Rather, the photographs function as windows or thematic clusters that illustrate in some detail the themes in the text. The photographs can be classified in three groups: contextual photographs that refer to the zone’s landscape, photographs related to the laboratory and experiments, and photographs of daily life which document leisure time activities. Both the content of the discourse and the photographs demonstrate how this woman’s narrative differed from previous NGM reportage by adding a female point of view about the family lives of scientists living in Colombia.

The photographs in the first group, landscapes, are titled: “Near Bogotá, the eastern Andean range sprawls like a prostrate giant” (Bates, 1948, p. 256), “Colombia’s broad, grassy llanos stretch away toward Brazil and Venezuela” (Bates, 1948, p. 257), and “Villavicencio, busy gateway to the Llanos, lies in the shadow of the eastern Andes” (Bates, 1948, p. 258). The second group photographs that show the laboratory and experiments are titled: “A scientist looks at a ring-tailed “dead end kid”” (Bates, 1948, p. 255), “Winged carries of a tropical disease live in these tiny glass houses” (Bates, 1948, p. 261), “Weather knowledge helps science fight malaria and yellow fever” (Bates, 1948, p. 265), and “Mosquitoes, too, like air conditioning” (Bates, 1948, p. 265). Finally, some photos showing daily life and leisure activities are labeled: “A tasty Lechona tops the

menu at a Colombian outdoor banquet” (Bates, 1948, p. 269), “An animated ball of yarn is the woolly monkey” (Bates, 1948, p. 271), and “In the animal house, Bares youngsters learn the three R’s, with natural history at recess” (Bates, 1948, p. 273).

Jungle Jaunt on Amazon Headwaters (December, 1952). The second article, “Jungle Jaunt on Amazon Headwaters,” was written by Bernice M. Goetz, who worked as a secretary for an American oil firm while engaging in travel and exploration in South America. She is described as “veteran of several tropical expeditions” (Goetz, 1952, p. 372) by the editors of NGM. The article has 17 pages, which include a total of 4 black-and-white photos, 11 color photos, and 1 map. Five of the photos were published in full-page format and the remaining 10 occupy are half-page in size.

The author’s main purpose was to report a wilderness vacation that took place in Colombia’s Amazon area. The original main focus of reporting was to describe wild and prohibited landscapes in the Amazon forest. Nonetheless, the author tells readers that she changed her focus to local communities since “primitive peoples are a hobby of mine” (Goetz, 1952, p. 371). The text is written in the first person and is divided in 21 subheadings that can be grouped in three themes: impressions of locals when seeing a white woman in the jungle, the author’s impressions and interpretations of indigenous customs, and descriptions of landscape she observed. In the first group, impressions of locals upon encountering the writer, the subheadings state the following: “Alone,” but in a good company” (Goetz, 1952, p. 371), “Stares greet a woman in breeches” (Goetz, 1952, p. 373), and “Is that a woman?” (Goetz, 1952, p. 386). In the second group, the writer’s impressions of the locals, some subheadings are: “Fructouso all right, even his shoes” (Goetz, 1952, p. 372), “Painted faces mean a famine” (Goetz, 1952, p. 383),

“Fried ants as Hors d’Oeuvres” (Goetz, 1952, p. 387), “Some Indians of pygmy stature” (Goetz, 1952, p. 387), “Father fasts after childbirth” (Goetz, 1952, p. 387), “Jungle Indians dazed by city sights” (Goetz, 1952, p. 388). Finally, relating to the third group, some descriptions of landscapes read: “Wilderness unfurls below” (Goetz, 1952, p. 371), “Vaupés river shows its teeth” (Goetz, 1952, p. 384), and “White water makes a white face” (Goetz, 1952, p. 385). (See Appendix P for subtitles and photo titles of this article).

The fifteen photographs in the article (see Appendix P) can be classified in two groups: those whose major theme is the Vaupes and Ariari rivers, and those that portray the “exotic” elements of the communities living in the jungle. In the first group, we have the following photographs: “Alone in the jungle with her Indian crew, the author rests by the Aiari river” (Goetz, 1952, p. 373), “Leaving Mitú, the author starts her daring jaunt into forbidding jungles to visit primitive Indian tribes” (Goetz, 1952, p. 376), “Cold and red, the Airari river is as wild as the Forest Through which it flows” (Goetz, 1952, p. 378), and “Curiosity-filled visitors hover like flies over the expedition’s lunch spot” (Goetz, 1952, p. 379). Within the second group, those portraying the “exotic,” the following photograph titles are found: “By the strength of her brow, an Indian woman packs a wild pig to market in Mitú, Colombia” (Goetz, 1952, p. 375), “Sanuel, the pilot holds manioc-flour tortillas” (Goetz, 1952, p. 377), “Witch Doctor didn’t know his picture was being taken” (Goetz, 1952, p. 377), “Fish and grapes cost 20 hooks and a mirror” (Goetz, 1952, p. 381), “Fruit of the Pupunha palm makes firewater” (Goetz, 1952, p. 381), and “Cubeo mother and son seem to reflect the dots on a treasured dress” (Goetz, 1952, p. 382). These photographs emphasize how nature in Colombia can be used for adventure and in so doing entices U.S. readers to see Colombia as a tourist haven. Interspersed in with these

exotic images are others that represent Colombian people as awkward and backward. In general though Goetz's images reinforce his written discourse by showing both a desire for consumption and amusement.

Framing Colombian Identities

This section presents and explains the most recurring frames related to Colombian identities in the two articles described above. Two salient frames emerged from the analysis of text and photographs: 1) Colombia as a borderland; and 2) Colombians as objects of consumption: Primitive Colombia people are a hobby of mine. In the explication of these frames, I will argue that the two frames constructed in coverage become part of the larger discourse that supported the ideologies of Manifest Destiny and Positivism.

Colombia as a Borderland. In these articles, Colombias' identity was directly associated with the empty space or frontier that was thought of as a place without a history or tradition. In this context, the Llanos Orientales operate as both a geographically open and under populated space and a symbolic space of the Borderland (Anzaldúa, 1987), which is "crated by the emotional residue of an unnatural boundary where the prohibited, the forbidden and *los atravesados* reside in a place of discomfort as they negotiate between the conflicting forces in such margins" (Aigner-Varoz, 2000, p. 49). Therefore, Villavicencio is described similar to "some frontier town of the old Wild West" (Bates, 1948, p. 254).

The Colombian characters that eventually appear on the empty space of the plains carry out functions as unskilled labor (cleaning, cooking, and cowboys) and are subordinated to the writers. They are described as part of the landscape, as "exotic"

objects, or as an amusing curiosity to the outsiders' gaze. Examples of these characters are: the Colombian cowboys, Fructuoso –Goetz' guide– and domestic servants. For example, Bates (1948) describes the Colombian cowboy who is responsible for leading her through the Villavicencio area as “the Wild West touch” (p. 252):

This Colombian cowboy wears leather chaps, as does his Texas counterpart, and a *ruana*, a whole square draped over his shoulders. From his saddle hangs a rawhide lasso. On small, wiry horses such men roam the llanos, or plains, tending the cattle which form the region's chief industry. For their favorite fiesta, that of San Pedro in the late June, vaqueros swarm into Villavicencio. Some ride their horses in and out of cafés. (Bates, 1948, p. 252)

The written discourse has many metaphors that portray Colombia similar to how U.S readers envision the Western frontier in their country with cowboys, horses, and enjoyable fiestas. In other metaphors, Goetz describes Fructuoso, the guide and her travelling companion, as the “Charlie Chaplin” of the jungle:

Fructuoso looked like a jungle Charlie Chaplin. His shoes were too big for him, the turned-up toes warped from many a rubber season. Since they were both for the right foot, he kept switching them to equalize their wear and comfort. His gaunt cheekbones showed his Indian blood, but he wore white man's clothes with dignity. It didn't matter that his shirt hung loose or that his trousers were in tatters. (Goetz, 1952, p. 372)

On the other hand, Bates also portrays characters on the borderland. However her servants appear as loyal subjects carrying out secondary roles:

Since then we have continued a series of sorties into the surrounding country that have never failed to delight us. The servants now are used to the Doctor y Señora coming back barefooted and covered with mud, the back of the car awash with dirty water, plants, and dead butterflies, and they no longer shut the garage door hastily behind us for fear the neighbors might see our condition. (Bates, 1948, p. 252)

Both writers use vivid imagery in their writing that allows NGM's readers to envision the colorful characters in the Colombian borderland. These representations were only persuasive because other media had already created similar representations.

Colombians as objects of amusement and consumption: Primitive Colombia people are a hobby of mine. Other recurring framing in this period is the presentation of “primitive Colombian people” as a pastime: “except for a crew of Indians, I go alone; primitive peoples are a hobby of mine” (Goetz, 1952, p. 372). Goetz relates some aspects of indigenous people lives and associates them with backwardness, peace, harmony, and cannibalism in the primitive communities. Goetz tells the readers that she makes her adventure productive and receives cooperation in the communities visited by trading some type of service or favor for objects that attracted the attention of locals.

Reminiscent of the narratives of European colonization of the New World, the author states that she found backward communities where “the wheel is novelty” or the “the theory of the wheel is unknown” (Goetz, 1952, p. 371):

As an afterthought, I bought five toy airplanes with wheels and propellers that turned. They have never failed to intrigue Indians in every jungle I have visited where the theory of the wheel is unknown. (Goetz, 1952, p. 371)

Another recurring thematic pattern within this frame is the description of Colombian people in indigenous communities is that they live in a state of peace, harmony, and equilibrium. This imagery is directly connected to the notion of an idealized original state, in which humans lived in harmony and equilibrium as opposed to a civilized state characterized by conflict:

Everyone was in his hammock by 7. A few women shouted in their sibilant tongue. Someone politely hissed for quiet, and there was absolute silence, with crying babies carefully muffled. This courteous habit never varied in the villages. How impressive to come upon a group of primitive people with live together in peace with a high degree of mutual regard! I soon grew accustomed to these communal nights. (Goetz, 1952, p. 374)

As this example illustrates, in this idealized world, the practice of keeping silence at night time is translated hastily into “politeness,” understood superficially in terms of the observer’s own cultural understanding.

At the same time, the idealization of the indigenous communities appears in tandem with descriptions of cannibalism, an imagery that frequently has a pejorative connotation and that the Spanish Crown associated with “anthropology, barbarism, violence and defiance” (Chicangana-Bayona, 2008, p. 158). In the visit to the Banivas community, the following conversation between Fructuoso and Goetz took place:

That night, while we prepared our meal, a windstorm raged through the growth. Above the noise of lashing trees, Fructuoso informed me calmly that some years ago the Banivas had been cannibalistic. At my request, he turned to the captain and in Baniva asked which part of the human body he considered the most tasty.

Without hesitation, the captain replied, “the palm of the hand.” (Goetz, 1952, p. 388)

Ideology and Hegemony in Framing Colombian Identities

I argue that the two frames constructed in coverage —Colombians in the Borderland and Colombians as an object of amusement and consumption— become part of the larger discourse that supported the ideologies of Manifest Destiny and Positivism. The framing is related to Manifest Destiny, because in this period of time—characterized by an atmosphere of pessimism and desolation in the context of the Second World War in Europe— the U.S. observer-traveller’s aim is focused on rescuing the values of peace, harmony, and coexistence that are present in Colombian primitive communities. The idea that primitive communities live in a harmonious and equilibrium state is supported by the image of a “noble primitive” that “represents what the world has lost in becoming modern: a locus of authenticity and community” (Tennant, 1994, p. 6). In this context, the Colombian indigenous primitive is:

the “other” which brackets and defines the modern world, at different times supporting both a positive vision of what it means to be modern, and an aspiration for the transcendence of the negative incidents of modernity. (Tennant, 1994, p. 6)

Similarly, this framing of identities points to the ideology of Positivism since in the reports the description and understanding of identity is rooted in “the metatheoretical assumption that the social world is governed by immutable laws that can be identified through empirical observation without the encumbrance of refined theory” (York & Clark, 2006, p. 425). Here, identity is assigned primarily along the axis of the nation-state —Colombians and Americans— and of social class —servants, cooks, primitive

population, workers, housewives, American scientists, etc.— which clearly demarcates a “us” and “them.” Us is the white, civilized, and developed U.S. American placed in opposition to a Colombian “other” who is mestizo, primitive, and underdeveloped. Yet, in some instances, the writer erases and denies history and cultural facts, using narratives that operate as “palimpsest” in order to “make the present vision of racial harmony and pluralism more plausible” (hook, 1992, p. 342). It is worth noting that in these narratives, the ideology of Pan-Americanism does not appear linked to the category of identities, as issues related to political and/or economic exchange between the governments of Colombia and the United States are addressed in coverage.

Two rhetorical strategies emerge as most salient in the writers’ construction of Colombian identities: classification and negation (Spurr, 1993, p. 61, 92). As I explained in the last chapter, the rhetorical strategy of classification refers to the idea that “every discourse orders itself both externally and internally: it marks itself off against the kind of language it excludes, while it establishes within its own limits a system of classification, arrangement, and distribution” (Spurr, 1993, p. 62). Regarding identities, this rhetorical strategy is observed in both authors, as Bates and Goetz center on U.S. optics and values to describe Colombian individuals as belonging to social categories (servants, cowboys, indigenous). These are marked by their difference from the U.S. identity and defined by an exoticism, awkwardness, and backwardness that serves the interests of the observer in terms of desire for consumption and amusement.

The second rhetorical pattern in these texts, most salient in the framing of Colombia as a Borderland is negation. This rhetorical mode defines the Other “as absence, emptiness, nothingness, or death” (Spurr, 1993, p. 92). In the texts analyzed, this

is most evidence in the construction of Colombian eastern plains and the Amazon jungle are empty space without history, as unknown, dangerous voids. This denial of history and culture operates most of the time as “a kind of provisional erasure, clearing a space for the expansion of the colonial imagination and for the pursuit of desire” (Spurr, 1993, p. 92-93). The authors classified people into only two groups when obviously many other classifications can be made. In addition to classification the authors use negation to focus on the exotic and unique characters but they ignore others in the Colombian population.

Framing Colombian Humanature

In the two reportages, the framing of humanature is complementary and supportive of the reporters’ framing of identity. Two salient frames here are humanature as a laboratory for the outside visitor and humanature as a place of adventure. These frames correspond to the personal positioning and perspective of each author in relation to the human and natural worlds of Colombia.

Humanature is a Lab. Colombian humanature is represented as a natural space for experimentation or a nature laboratory that is rendered attractive to the outside observer for its abundance and variety of resources. According to Bates:

We have here about anything you could wish for if you are of a naturalist turn of mind. It is in fact true that this region, cut over, burnt back as it may be, is still one of the richest spots in the world from a natural-history point of view. Small wonder, then, that even I, with no training whatsoever, have caught butterflies, tried skinning birds, kept fish, hunted frogs, and been black fly bait. Alas, I have never done any of them properly; there are too many stools to fall between.

(Bates, 1948, p. 263)

In this context, the focus of Bates' article is to present, in colloquial and simple language, some of the research activities carried out by her husband in malaria and yellow fever research. She describes the activities of mapping, collection, and experimentation. In the mapping research, Colombia's Llanos Orientales are transformed in an empty space, without history, where it was necessary to intervene and take inventory according to standard scientific procedure, using the technologies/equipment available in that moment:

Marston had a small piece of the Forzosa forest completely mapped out with every tree, every bush, practically every rock, numbered. The mosquitoes were caught in man-hours lots—so many mosquitoes per man per hour. There were thermographs, hydrographs, evaporation pans, and other equipment for observation and recollecting the forest world at different levels. (Bates, 1948, p. 260)

In the description of her collection activities, Goetz emphasized the great variety of species that she observed in the Colombian plains “overhead a toucan flew, a pair of parrots quarreled somewhere near, the butterflies drifted away” (Bates, 1948, p. 255). She described her nighttime collection activities as a “fascinating sport” where one can find an unknown world:

When Dr. and Mrs. E. R. Dunn came to Villavicencio, they introduced me to night collecting. It is fascinating sport, for one sees so many things that go unnoticed in daylight—spiders, whose eyes shine like tiny diamonds; great green, slow-moving frogs with eyes like rubies; or the fluffy underparts of sleeping birds as the light runs up a tree. (Bates, 1948, p. 261)

In addition, the author described Dr. Bates'—the Boss—experiments to make an effective repellent to prevent the spread of diseases:

Beside the Guatiquía River the Boss ran his experiments on insect repellents. His staff, his wife, and any chance visitors were lined up along the bank with their legs exposed as a bait. One leg of each pair was treated, the other left as a control, and the black flies had to be allowed to bite before they could be counted. (Bates, 1948, p. 260)

This frame, which obviously centers the position of Bates as a U.S. American outsider in Colombia, as a research assistant, and as the wife of a prominent zoologist, is not withstanding with the patterns of framing identity and culture in Colombia.

Humanature is daring and adventurous. Other recurrent framing in this period centered on the personification of humanature as daring and adventurous. Humanature is represented as “daring” where various landscapes are highlighted in their majesty and force, particularly the power of the fast flowing rivers:

Rather than portage, dugout paddlers prefer to gamble on a swift passage or a tumble into the rapids. Indians often challenged most furious currents. Later, in quite water, they relaxed and giggled like children. After the author's first experience shooting rapids, her guide exclaimed, “Señorita, you are as white as an egg!” Here the canoe shoots the Aiarari's last big stretch of white water. (Goetz, 1952, p. 380)

With the aim to make her experience more vivid and to emphasize humanature's “daring” impulse, the author used prosopopoeia to attribute human features to the river such as teeth and a face:

Vaupés River shows its teeth. On our way next day we approached the mouth of the Querari where it enters the Vaupés at the Brazilian border. Here the river took on a different face. We threaded narrow rocky channels, pushing and pulling the dugout. We unloaded and reloaded time and again. (Goetz, 1952, p. 385)

Concerning the adventurous character of nature, Goetz includes descriptions of natural occurrences that take the human subject by surprise and pull her into fascinating experiences. For the author, humanature is turned into a vivid and spectacular experience, with her at the center of the narration:

About 8 o'clock I was aware of movement through the trees. My hammock pumped slightly up and down. I thought Fructuoso was testing the support ropes of my "bedroom"—until I heard a chorus of squeaks. Quickly stepping clear of the netting, I flashed the carbide ray into the velvet blackness. Small monkeys, probably squirrel monkeys, were bouncing up and down with glee while they chewed the strands of rope. Their parents high in the branches above shrieked advice. (Goetz, 1952, p. 384)

The author creates a vivid portrait of Colombia using literary devices such as prosopopoeia and personification; at the same time, she inserts her personal perspective into the narrative.

Ideology and Hegemony in Framing Humanature

In relation to the concept of humanature, I argue that the two frames constructed in coverage —humanature is a lab and humanature is daring and adventurous—support the ideology of Positivism and the policy of Pan-Americanism. The framing, particularly in Bates' reports, reproduces the ideology of positivism since its focus offers the reader

an illustration of the lives of individuals who were conducting scientific research in Colombia for long period of time funded by U.S. entities—in her case the Rockefeller Foundation. U.S. funding of such research in Latin America was a dominant trend during these decades.

In this context, Colombian humanature is associated with "preservationism" and the conception of natural resources as data and/or information to be collected, stored, and evaluated (Corbett, 2006).

Preservationism also promotes the idea of protecting natural “resources for humans to use and enjoy for reasons that go beyond their purely instrumental value” (Corbett, 2006, p. 28). The interest could be scientific, ecological, aesthetic or religious. The difference between preservationism and the “unrestrained instrumentalism” — illustrated by the framing discussed in Chapter 4—and “conservationism” —discussed in Chapter 5—is that the first shifts toward the ecocentric end of the spectrum of environmental ideologies, but it is still close to anthropocentrism. This is due to the fact that preservationism continues to justify the use and appropriation of humanature for scientific purpose, assuming that science is neutral ground, depoliticized and ahistorical.

The framing of humanature also supports the policy of Pan-Americanism, as the type of research done during this period are experimental, and made possible thanks to the lobby and agreements reached by the United States as part of the Pan-Americanism meetings and in the context of World War II:

When World War II started and the USA led in Latin America ambitious state projects to develop mineral, agricultural products, forestry, animal products, etc., to promote their production through experimental stations, laboratories, farms and

commercial plantations. Sometimes borrowed money; in some others money was non-refundable, but in all cases sent dozens of scientists and experts to explore the resources, negotiate with governments and, eventually, coordinate the works.

(Cuvi, 2009, p. 15)

In this context, scientific missions, as performed by Dr. Bates and others funded by the Rockefeller Foundation are similar to “military operations” or strategic operations with a mission to civilize and modernize under the aegis of the U.S. capitalist and defense systems (Stakman, 1969, p. 270).

For example, the resources provided by the Rockefeller Foundation to fund research in Colombia related to yellow fever go back in time to 1934 (The Rockefeller Foundation Annual Report, 1947, p. 63). In addition to research conducted in the field of health, research related to agricultural issues was also supported. Description of city life and modernity in the urban landscapes disappears in this reporting. The omission of reference to Colombian institutions with which these partnerships were signed is noteworthy. These institutions were, for example:

Schools at Universidad Nacional, such as the Faculty of Veterinary Medicine in Bogotá, Agriculture in Medellín, as well as the College of Agriculture located in Cali, part of the National University. The funds are earmarked for infrastructure construction, purchase of equipment, and scholarships for outstanding students to study in the U.S. or staying in the Mexican program. (Fernandez Molina & Picado Umaña, 2013, p. 12)

The framings in this time period are also emphasizing representations of humanature as an object for the consumer experience, either in the context of science, as

in the case of Bates, or in terms of leisure and tourism, as is the case in Goetz's narratives. These narratives, as mentioned before, activate the rhetorical strategy of appropriation (Spurr, 1993, p. 28). Both reports depict Colombian humanature "as belonging rightfully" to "civilization" and "mankind" rather than to the indigenous people who inhabited those lands" (Spurr, 1993, p. 28). In these constructs, the place of enunciation is one that creates an empty space, with no people, and no history. The few characters that are mentioned and characterized, for example, the *llaneros* (people who live on the plains), Fructuoso the cowboy and "Charlie Chaplin" of the plains, and some indigenous people are connected to elements of the landscape or objects of consumer interest due to their strangeness, amusing character, and exoticism.

Sociocultural Practices

The main goal of this section is to discuss how the ideologies of Manifest Destiny Positivism, and the policy of Pan-Americanism had evolved by the 1950s and how they continued to contribute to the reproduction of relationships of power and domination in the new scenario of the mid-20th century. I address two main points: the relevance of the changing geopolitical context of the Cold War, and the rearticulation of core ideas in the ideologies of Manifest Destiny, Positivism, and the policy of Pan- Americanism.

The Geopolitical Context

After the Second World War, the Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union generated a new bipolar order in both countries fought to promote their ideologies in Latin American countries. In this context, the United States maintained a tight relationship with the Colombian government, particularly with president Mariano Ospina Pérez, trying to maintain Colombia as an allied country:

The Truman-MacArthur doctrine imposed anti-Communism and urgent alignment with one of the two conflicting blocks as the cornerstone in Western foreign policy. When the IX Pan-American Conference was held in April, 1948, Colombia enthusiastically assumed alignment with the United States. (Bermudez Torres, 2010, p. 144)

The United States was seeking to form a “beneficial economic and political pact with the transnational elites” in order to defend free markets and private property rights, and offer military aid (Salgado, 2013, p. 24). This was an effort to consolidate “an alliance with the manufacturing industrial class, landowners, the armed forces, the local political elites and the U.S. government” (Grandin, 2004, p. 8).

For instance, the Inter-American Treaty of Mutual Assistance or the Rio Pact, signed on September 2, 1947, was the first time that the United States organized an international policy for defending and protecting the American continents for a possible attack from the Soviet Union. The policy attempted “to achieve equipment standardization, doctrine, organization and training along American models” (Salgado, 2013, p. 24).

In April, 1948, 21 member nations attended the IX Pan-American Conference celebrated in Bogotá. With this conference completed, the Pan-American Union and started the Organization of American States (OAS). Some themes dealt with in the conference were related to international economic cooperation, the reorganization and strengthening of the Inter-American System by forming an organic pact, socialization of the Pan American Union board of directors’ report to resolve juridical, political social

and cultural problems (International American Conference & Pan American Union, 1948).

Although Colombia's president Laureano Gómez (1950-1953) had strongly criticized the pro-American policy maintained by former presidents, he decided to maintain the alliance and loyalty to the United States invoking the idea of "multinational pacification force." In fact, Colombia was the only Latin American country that fought on the side of the American Army in the Korean War; and "it was an active member of all Western alliances that participated in containing international Communism (Pardo & Tokaltlian, 1988, p. 99).

Reararticulating Manifest Destiny, Positivism, and Pan-Americanism

My central argument here is that NGM's framing of Colombian identity and humanature featured discursive strategies that reproduce hegemonic positions in the larger historical and geopolitical context of the mid-20th century. I suggest that these framing patterns relate to Manifest Destiny because of their emphasis on solidifying the view of the United States as a country leading the development of science and peaceful development in a context of international conflict and polarization; U.S. Americans are portrayed as people seeking harmony and peaceful coexistence with Colombian primitive communities.

Through rhetorical strategies of classification and negation, the reportages also construct a sense of neutrality in the U.S. observer—no emphasis on conflict or histories of violence colonization and exploitation—that ends up reproducing the ideology Positivism. Here, Colombian identities are explained through appeals to incontrovertible laws that can be acknowledged via empirical observation.

When comparing this coverage to the coverage in the previous period (1940-1947) discussed in Chapter 5, some differences surface. In the 1940-47 era, the identity of Colombians is associated with the idea of a “Mestizo identity” connected to European roots and in the process of modernization, civilization, and progress. This is made evident to the reader through the travelers’ recognition of a bifurcated society, giving visibility of people living in the urban and rural areas visited. Despite such recognition, it is important to note that the representation is a romanticized perspective that reduces most Colombians to a category of mestizos showing their potential to continue on the path to progress and democracy.

In the period of 1948-1952, the representation of mestizos in the process of development and progress disappears, for two reasons. First, the emergence of the figure of a “primitive noble” emerges and is credited with upholding the values of harmony and balance, values that are worth imitating, in the ahistorical space of the borderland, according to the female writers. Second, emphasizing the construction of Colombia as a borderland area outside of urban centers of political, economic, and intellectual life, allowed the writers to focus on an idealized space where the only characters included were those who accepted submissive roles and are easily stereotyped or caricatured in order to fit the writers’ search for adventure, amusement, and consumption. The noble figure as well as the amusing and subservient characters inhabiting the plains were particularly attractive, given the context of the political violence and instability that Colombian “mestizos,” primarily the middle and upper class sectors that were deemed the most “civilized,” were leading along political party lines at this time of civil war known as La Violencia.

In relation to humanature, the reporters' frames supported the ideology of Positivism and the policy of Pan-Americanism most directly. As stated earlier, humanature is represented as scientific information that must be collected, stored, and evaluated by the U.S. scientist and adventurer. This construction is also linked with Pan-Americanism because the context provided in the article refers to research studies done during this period and supported by agreements reached by the governments of the United States and Colombia in the context of Pan-Americanism meetings. In that context, the rhetorical strategy of appropriation enacts the dynamics of power relation between Colombia and the United States at the time.

As in the earlier time period analyzed, the 1940-1947, period features representations of humanature associated with the ideas of "adventure and consumption." The pattern in the discourse of humanature between 1940 and 1952 has the following characteristics: 1) an anthropocentric and Eurocentric perspective, in which humanature is conceptualized as an object of consumption, and 2) an instrumentalist view of humanature that objectifies and reduces humanature to an asset or element that produces pleasure and satisfaction to the U.S. observer—a perspective that still underlies the contemporary discourse of the tourism industry.

One difference in this period of 1948-52 is that humanature is described as a laboratory as well as being considered an open space to gather information and species — this characteristic was present in the first period analyzed 1903-1926. In this new scenario of the 1950s, Colombian humanature is represented as a great laboratory, which means privileged space not only to collect data, but also to experiment in a more interventionist gesture.

Lastly in the two articles analyzed in this chapter, interdiscursivity comes from a new journalistic genre or approach led by the female voice and perspective that furthers the popularization of natural science and the expansion of the audience. Although a change in editorial policy of the magazine is not explicitly mentioned, it is possible to see a transformation in the articles analyzed, since the strictly academic tone—of describing and providing evidence—in NGM becomes more colloquial, accessible to a wider audience, and more entertaining and experiential, in an effort to satisfy the tastes of a new audience that includes different readers, from housewives who have not gone through college to university researchers. In this context, the discursive practices that emerge help set and reproduce representations of the identity of Colombians in terms of “borderland” open to exploration and adventure, and of “primitive people” as a “hobby.” Likewise, human nature is represented as a laboratory or space for adventure pillars support the organizational goals of NMG through discursive practice while reinforcing the dominant ideologies of Manifest Destiny, Positivism, and Pan- Americanism.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I argued that in this time period a meaningful transformation in NGM’s discursive practice was the incorporation of a new genre author a/o narrator that did not personify the male “scientific” voice. The inclusion of the feminine voice and perspective with a new orientation to relating to the narrators’ private lives is a noteworthy change in this period. I discuss this discursive practice in the context of NGM’s goals of expanding readership through the advancement of a more popular form of dissemination of scientific information.

However, this change in discursive practice does not change the ideological underpinnings of coverage. In the framing of Colombian identities, I emphasize that the two frames constructed in coverage, “Colombians in the Borderland” and “Colombians as an object of consumption,” become part of the larger discourse that supported the ideologies of Manifest Destiny and Positivism; the policy of Pan-Americanism is not associated. The framing of this category is related to Manifest Destiny because the reportages point out how the U.S. American traveling abroad seeks and personifies the values of peace, harmony, and coexistence through their identification with an idealized version of Colombian “primitive” communities. The framing also supports Positivism since Colombian identities are described as incontrovertible laws that can be acknowledged through empirical observation.

In relation to humanature, I conclude that the two frames constructed in coverage, “humanature is a lab” and “humanature is daring and adventurous” reproduce Positivism and Pan-Americanism. Humanature is conceived as data to be must be collected, stored, and evaluated, and is linked with Pan-Americanism since the context of action relates to projects sponsored by the new post-war economic agreements reached by Colombia and the United States.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSIONS

My main purpose in this dissertation was to challenge assumptions of neutrality and objectivity in popular science journalism by investigating how representations of Colombian identities and humanature in *National Geographic Magazine* (1903 to 1952) created social knowledge and power in the context of the U.S.-Colombia relations in the first half of the 20th century. The research questions explored were: What are the media representations of Colombian identities in NGM from 1903 to 1952? What are the media representations of Colombia's humanature in NGM from 1903 to 1952? How does the discourse about Colombian identities and humanature produced by NGM relate to U.S. dominant ideologies in the first half of the 20th century? In this concluding chapter, I address how the evidence and analysis presented Chapters 4, 5, and 6 provide answers to the research questions guiding the investigation. I also discuss the most important contributions of my research, its limitations, and some questions and reflections that emerge from it for future research.

Media Representations of Colombian Identities and Humanature in NGM (1903-1952)

The discussion of the most salient representations of Colombian identities and humanature in NGM was organized chronologically into three significant periods and related to changes in editorial policies over time, as these changing policies emerged as meaningful for the understanding of the main features of coverage.

During the period of 1903-26, NGM's editorial policies placed emphasis on strictly scientific and academic language and editors explicitly advocated for the values

of accuracy, balance, and fair information. Accordingly, in this period the authors of the reportages were scientists, diplomats, and statesmen. These reporters followed the main precepts of positivism and scientism pointing out objectivity, evidence, direct observation, and documentation. The audience during this time was described by the magazine editors as an elite group of “Presidents and Vice-presidents of Banks, Civil, Electrical, and Mining Engineers, Lawyers and Physicians, and Manufactures and Directors of Corporations.”

At this time, three salient framings of Colombian identities emerged from the analysis: 1) Colombia is a nascent democratic country in need of assistance. This frame proposed that with greater economic growth, the Colombian state would achieve consolidation of a more democratic and civilized country; 2) Colombia as a bifurcated society. This frame showed the image that Colombian society was separated and segregated into only two groups or social classes: the bourgeois class and the working class; and 3) Colombia as a racially mixed society. This frame showed the image that Colombian race is directly associated with miscegenation and affected by climatic factors that mark them as laggard, both physically and mentally.

In the framing of Colombian humanature, the most salient frames were: 1) Colombia as a sublime spectacle. This frame emphasized intellectual notions of the early 20th century that defended the idea that humanature must go beyond their purely instrumental value; 2) Colombia, a land of great economic possibilities. This frame presents Colombian humanature as a large pantry of raw materials in the context of the Industrial Revolution at the beginning of the 20th century; and 3) Colombia as a desirable

field for scientific “data” collection. This frame reduces Colombian humanature to a site for U.S. scientific collection of biological data.

In the period, 1940-1947, technological innovations that revolutionized photography allowed for the entry of new stories and new voices of travelers, adventurers, journalists, and *connoisseurs* of other culture. This group of collaborators differs from the previous period in terms of social status since the first group was prominent scientist and diplomats. A change in the editorial policy of the magazine becomes evident, as the editors introduced a more personal, subjective, and experiential manner of telling stories by this new set of writers. This kind of narration was also connected with the technological innovations in color photography that made coverage more visual and changed the way of reporting reality. Even though there was not a significant increase in the number of subscribers for NGM in this period, there was a significant change in the consumption habits of the readers due the demands of the new consumer society.

In this second period, three salient framings of Colombian identities emerged from the analysis: 1) A Mestizo country. This frame presents Colombians in racial and temperament terms as a “Mestizo” identity composed by two distinct groups, the Spaniards and the Indian population; 2) Natives are superstitious but sometimes their procedures are accurate. This frame emphasizes the level of backwardness and ingenuity of communities; and 3) A cultured, civilized and modern country. This frame presents some Colombians as exemplary, participatory, and democratic citizens.

Regarding the representation of Humanature, the most salient frames were: 1) A land for adventure and consumption. This frame presents humanature directly connected

with the expansion of the U.S. consumer society, in which the practice of outdoor sports and the consumption of natural spaces are highly valued as symbols of distinction and status; and 2) The land of the future. This frame presents the Colombian Eastern Plains as an area with great potential for development of its oil reserves and the possibilities for raising cattle.

During the last period of analysis, 1948-1952, NGM's coverage of Colombia introduced a new element: the inclusion of women writers. For the first time in the history of NGM, the writers of the articles were women, not scientists. In this case, they were two women who to travel to Colombia, one as the wife and research assistant to a zoologist, and the other one as an independent explorer and adventurer. Their narratives depart from the conventional narratives of NGM in that they included stories of the private life of scientists and adventurers in the Colombian plains. Some dimensions of the private lives that are open to the view of readers are related with daily life and leisure activities. In this period the audience increases from 2 million subscribers in 1957 to 5.6 million in 1967 in the U.S. Some of these changes can be attributed to the cultural changes associated with technological innovations.

In these articles, the most salient framing of Colombian identities were: 1) Colombia as a borderland. This frame reduces Colombia to an empty space or frontier without a history or tradition; and 2) Colombians as objects of amusement and consumption: Primitive Colombia people are a hobby of mine. These frames linked aspects of indigenous people with backwardness, peace, harmony, and cannibalism, and as objects of amusement for the U.S. American writer.

The most salient framings of humanature in this period were: 1) Humanature is a lab. This frame presents humanature as a natural space for experimentation or a nature laboratory that is rendered attractive to the outside observer for its infinity and variety of resources; and 2) Humanature is daring and adventurous. This frame represents humanature as audacious, where various landscapes are highlighted in their majesty and force, particularly the power of the fast flowing rivers.

Across time periods, a set of rhetorical strategies provided consistency to the discourse. In relation to Colombian identities in the first period studied, 1903-1926, these were appropriation and aestheticization. Appropriation is the rhetorical strategy used to justify the need to intervene in our “sister American republics” and aestheticization is the rhetorical strategy used to depoliticize the discourse at a critical time in U.S.-Colombia relations pointing out mythical and fantastic descriptions of the territory trying to divert attention. In the second period studied (1940-1947), the strategies were idealization and classification. Idealization is the rhetorical strategy in which the writer takes an ethical position in regard to his or her own position, referring to the Other as the savage, and thus justifying his or her own actions. Classification is the strategy used to establish limits to the system creating some specific order, arrangements, and distributions in relation to the U.S. and the Other. The strategies of classification and negation were most salient in the third period studied, 1948-1952. Classification in this period refers to the rhetorical strategy to catalogue from the U.S perspectives and values the Colombian identities in terms of awkwardness and backwardness that serve the interests of the observer in terms of desire for consumption and amusement. Negation is the rhetorical mode to define Colombian identities as absence or emptiness.

In relation to Humanature, the salient rhetorical strategies in the reporting were surveillance and classification in the first period studied, 1903-1926. Surveillance is the rhetorical strategy in which the writer tries to “alert” the reader or possible investor on the availability of some natural resources in the area, such as plants and animals. Classification is the rhetorical strategy that consists of inventorying with special detail (the scientific name of each specie and the respectively photograph) Colombian humanature. Affirmation was most salient in the second period studied, 1940-1947. With this rhetorical strategy the authors intend to give a “true” and authoritative narrative that affirms the authority of the observer over the observed. In the third period studied, 1948-1952, through the rhetorical strategy of appropriation, humanature is conceived as data and/or information that must be collected, stored, and evaluated from a positivist and purportedly neutral fashion.

In sum, the changes in discursive practices and framing patterns summarized above reinforced the dominant ideologies and policies informing the U.S. relations with Colombia.

Representations of Colombian Identities and U.S. Dominant Ideologies

While the ideologies of Manifest Destiny and Positivism, and the tenets in the policies of Pan-Americanism, have distinctive elements at the theoretical level, they tend to be overlapping and intertwined in NGM discourse. For the three historical periods analyzed, I argued that the frames used in coverage attribute particular identities to Colombians as part of the larger discourse that supported most strongly the ideologies the Manifest Destiny and Positivism.

Manifest Destiny. From 1903-1926, the framing of Colombian identities – “Colombia is a nascent democratic country in need of assistance,” “Colombia as a bifurcated society,” and “as a racially Colombia mixed society”– offer textual articulations that are closely connected with the ideological underpinnings of the U.S. Monroe policy. This policy focused on legitimizing the support for and intervention (including military occupation) of the U.S. government and corporations in Latin America. Although driven primarily by the interest of the U.S. government in maintaining the political stability in Latin America to ensure the smooth expansion of the operation of U.S. businesses in the region, the policy was predicated on the need to strengthen the nascent democratic institutions in the region. In the texts analyzed, the framing of Colombians as people in need requesting or demanding the support of the United States is a symbolic construction that evokes the ideology of Manifest Destiny. The discourse functions to justify U.S. intervention by reinforcing the view of U.S. Americans as the chosen people to lead other countries—eager to follow the U.S. precepts—based on the perception of cultural, economic, racial, and moral superiority of the United States.

In the second period 1940-1947, representations of Colombian identities were: – “Mestizo Country,” “Natives are superstitious but sometimes their procedures are accurate,” and “A cultured, civilized, and modern country.” They introduced a more moderate and subdued tone regarding U.S.’s desires for direct presence or intervention in Latin American countries. In an effort to draw the readers’ consideration and achieve engagement with the audience, reportages are written in a more experiential tone.

This change in discourse seems marks the shift in the official rhetoric of the United States about foreign policy in Latin America. The policy shift made official by U.S. President F.D. Roosevelt's inaugural speech in March of 1933, announced "The Good Neighbor Policy" as the new official policy. In practical terms this new policy restricted military interventionism in Latin America, which meant improving relations with these countries in terms of public relations and management. In this context, although the direct, military interventionist strategy is de-emphasized, the expansionist enterprise of the U.S. remains in place by more political and persuasive means. Rhetorically and symbolically, it re-constructed and presented the image of the United States as a more respectful and benevolent "neighbor" who upholds the principles of democracy. It is important to note also that this shift in policy toward Latin America took place during the time of economic depression and unfolded at a time when the United States had entered the World War II as the protector of democracy in the free world. It can be argued that in this historical context, there is a rearticulation of the ideology of Manifest Destiny that maintains the imaginary of the United States as a chosen nation to lead the world.

In the third period, 1948-1952, representations related to Colombian identities – "Colombians in the Borderland" and "Colombians as objects of amusement and consumption: Primitive Colombia people are a hobby of mine" – provide evidence of the imaginary (desire) and renewed sense of superiority of the U.S. observer in Latin America. This is evident in the position of women writers who structure their narratives around their own personae and experiences, and do not even recognize the culture, history, and agency of people living in the area of the eastern plains (or borderland). In

the few instances in which they identify and describe, the authors use stereotypical characters and burlesque characterizations. I argue that this enactment of superiority, negates the Colombian “other” that inhabits the constructed “borderland” of civilization and also centers upon the desires and interests of U.S. scientists and observers, which is yet another re-articulation of the ideology of Manifest Destiny in the new post-World War II scenario when the U.S. asserts its world power in the Cold War and the policy of the Good Neighbor is abandoned as the official policy.

Positivism. In relation to the ideology of Positivism and its position on the constitution of knowledge, in the first period of 1903-1926, representations of Colombian identities—“Colombia is a nascent democratic country in need of assistance,” “Colombia as a bifurcated society,” and “as a racially Colombia mixed society”—invoke Darwinian theories of evolution of species, with an emphasis on identifying and distinguishing the superior, pure breeds—white, European, civilized and intelligent—from other inferior races—mixed, mestizo, uncivilized, and backward people living in the tropics.

In the second period studied of 1940-1947, the representations of Colombian identities—“Mestizo Country,” “Natives are superstitious but sometimes their procedures are accurate,” and “A cultured, civilized, and modern country”—are enactments of the ideology of Positivism because during this period a new positivist scientific paradigm emerges, in which new research techniques are involved as participant observation and fieldwork, these begin to give a protagonist role to the so-called Social Sciences, within which anthropology and science journalism are included.

In the third period of 1948-1952, representations about Colombian identities – “Colombians in the Borderland” and “Colombians as objects of amusement and

consumption: Primitive Colombia people are a hobby of mine”—relate to the ideology of positivism in that identity is defined as a metatheoretical presumption governed by natural laws. The frames enact a concept of identity in an essentialist perspective, where identity is determined by the country of origin or social class in which you are born.

Representations Humanature and U.S. Dominant Ideologies

For this reasons, the frames constructed in coverage of Colombian humanature become part of the larger discourse that supported Positivism and the policy of Pan-Americanism.

Positivism. The frames identified in the first time period of 1903-1926 – “Colombia as a sublime spectacle,” “Colombia, a land of great economic possibilities,” and “Colombia as a desirable field for scientific ‘data’ collection”— are connected with the ideology of positivism as the texts studied illustrate the interest of scientists in performing two activities directly related to the scientific method: the identification of new species, and the collection of species (fauna or flora) that could contribute to exhibitions in U.S. museums or further research for scientific or commercial purposes in laboratories in the United States.

In the second time period of 1940-1947, the salient frames –“A land for adventure and consumption” and “The land of the future”— enact positivism as the discourse widens the range of categories of classification of humanature by including categories outside of scientific interests. In this context, the new classifications that are offered for humanature take the form of an extensive menu that seem to fill the wishes or curiosity of the observers for visiting exotic locations like “Tequendama Falls” and for consuming the skin of exotic animals, such as jaguars, and exotic meals prepared with turtles.

In the third period studied of 1948-1952, the salient framings –Humanature is a lab and Humanature is daring and adventurous– are reinforcing Positivism because the discourse emphasizes that all humanature is a space that becomes a great laboratory. While in the first period of 1903-1926, the territory was represented as a particular space for the collection of species to be later analyzed. In this period of time a new form of colonizing discourse represents various stages of the scientific method performed in the Colombian humanature: collection, observation, experimentation, writing, and reporting.

Pan-Americanism. The frames found in the first time period of 1903-1926, – “Colombia as a sublime spectacle,” “Colombia, a land of great economic possibilities,” and “Colombia as a desirable field for scientific ‘data’ collection”– support the policy of Pan-Americanism since the framing emphasizes the interest of the U.S. American visitor in identifying major products and raw materials that could be used for the development of industries and businesses in the United States.

In the second period studied of 1940-1947, the salient frames –“A land for adventure and consumption” and “The land of the future”– are connected with the policy of Pan-Americanism since the type of activities described are directly associated to two activities: the possession of the land and consumption. Regarding the first element, the discourse starts to “visualize” a land with great potential for development either in terms of crops, oil exploitation, and cattle breeding. The second element, consumption, was previously connected with raw materials, but in this period the authors show how people can use nature and material reality for adventure and for tourism, which both produce economic gain.

In the third period of 1948-1952, the framing “Humanature is a lab” and “Humanature is daring and adventurous” are associated with the policy of Pan-Americanism. The reporters stress far-reaching research projects, involving investigations by U.S. scientists that involve internships of more than eight years—such as those by Dr. Bates—profile the types of activities sponsored by the U.S. government and research foundations in the framework of agreements achieved as part of Pan-Americanism policies.

Contributions of the Research

From the historical point of view, one of the major contributions of this research is the description, analysis, and explication of the particular discursive practices, their meaning within structures of power and desire, and through which meanings of Colombian identities and humanature have been created and fixed over time. The research shows how the representations are deeply rooted and interconnected with core beliefs and material interests that underlie the ideologies of Manifest Destiny, Positivism, and the policy of Pan-Americanism. The analysis thus demonstrates that NGM’s representations do not follow a neutral, scientific, or fixed pattern. On the contrary, they show patterns that overlap, change, and in some cases contradict each other in the service of power. In this regard, this research does not limit the discourse to a dichotomous framework of Western World and non-Western World since it shows how overlapping orders of discourse are articulated to reinforce the policy interests of government and businesses in both the United States and Colombia at a particular time. The framing patterns change orientation to accommodate the shifting policy orientations of the U.S. political and capitalist orders over time. In some cases, they are contradictory,

particularly those associated with the identity of Colombians, who are represented at times as civilized and at times as primitive and backward.

From the historical point of view, one of the major contributions of this research is that it identifies and explains the discursive structures –structures of power and desire– from which Colombian identities and Colombian humanature have been created and fixed. In this context, this research shows how the representations are deeply rooted and interconnected with the beliefs and prejudices that have origin in the ideology of Manifest Destiny and Positivism, and in the policy of Pan-Americanism. According to the findings, the representations do not follow a uniform neutral, scientific and/or homogenous pattern. On the contrary, they show patterns that overlap, change, and in some cases contradict one another within each historical period studied.

In this context, this dissertation first deconstructs the dominant versions of Colombian identities and humanature; and second raises awareness of the active role of language and discourse in creating the social world. Lastly, it contributes to future studies in the intercultural communication with emphasis on women's perspectives as windows into how the female voices enter the genre of science journalism in NGM. It suggests questions about the sociocultural and personal characteristics of the women who had opportunity to participate in this public discourse and how they might reproduce or transform discourses that end up constructing gender and political domination and subordination at the personal and collective levels.

Final Notes on Scope, Reflexivity, and Praxis

The scope of this study, coverage of Colombia for the period 1903-1952, may limit the types of cross-context generalizations and historical comparisons to the present

time that can be drawn from the analysis. Moreover, I underscore two additional elements that influenced the analytical orientations of this dissertation. The fact that I am a Colombian scholar, whose first language is Spanish, investigating the construction of discourses about Colombia by a U.S. cultural industry has obviously influenced the reading and interpretation of the texts.

However, my positionality allows me to situate my research within the larger goal of contributing to Colombian historiographical concerns and to praxis. Regarding the first aspect, this dissertation helps to make visible the historical dimensions of the media framings of Colombian identities and humanature in NGM. More specifically, this research contributes knowledge about media representations of Colombian identities and humanature and problematizes the central role they played in creating and reproducing the colonizing discourse of the United States in the context of the ideologies of Manifest Destiny and Positivism, and the policy of Pan-Americanism at the beginning of the 20th century. Therefore, regarding the second element, praxis, this research provides new historiographical elements that to allow us to re-interpret and re-write the inventory of discourses on Colombian identities on the basis of a critical analysis of the U.S. hegemonic discourse that—privileging the interests and desires of a White, economic, and cultural elite—fixed some of the understandings of Colombia that can be found even today in national and international imaginaries. The information gathered here can be used as a pedagogical tool, for instance, in history, communication, and media classes to deepen students' understanding of how media construct reality and knowledge of identities and humanature. It could contribute also to the creation of materials for the

development for community workshops that aim to raise political awareness for social action.

Appendix A

Pan-American Conferences (1889-1948)

This chart has been elaborated with ideas taken from Aguilar (1968, p. 169-171), Barrett (1914, p. 24-87), International American Conference & Pan American Union (1938) and Pan American Union, (1947).

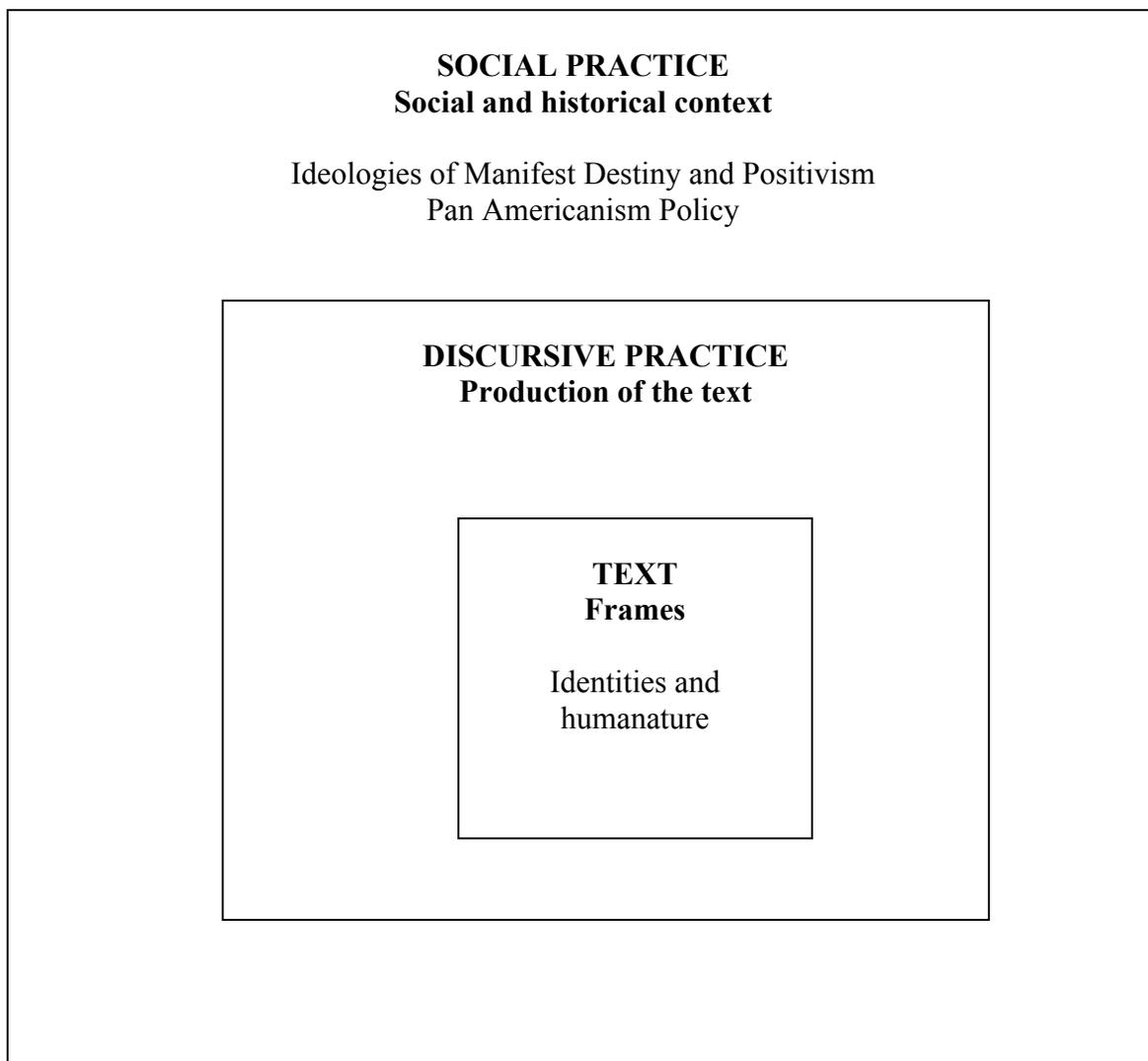
Conference	Topics
First Conference Washington (1889-1890)	<p>Purpose of the conference: To have delegates from the different nations in the Americas meet and discuss issues relevant to the governance and cooperation of those nations.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - It was established that foreigners enjoy the same civil rights as the national of a country. - It was agreed to settle international problems and disputes by peaceful means. - It was recommended that trade among the countries of America be encouraged, railway and maritime transportation be promoted and inter-American bank be created.
Second Conference Mexico City (1901-1902)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - With reference to the rights of foreigners, the recommendations made in the first conference were reaffirmed. - The question of arbitration was fully discussed and both a Treaty of Compulsory Arbitration and a Treaty of Arbitration on Pecuniary Claims were signed by all the nations. In agreement. - It was agreed to reorganize the commercial office as an International Office of the Inter-American Organization in Washington. - The adoption of measures tending to the protection of industry agriculture and commerce, and the increase and improvement of the means of communication between the American nations, the uniformity, if possible, of consular regulation and rules concerning ports and customs-houses, and the collection of statistics.
Third Conference Rio de Janeiro 1906	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The Drago Doctrine was thoroughly discussed and several countries attempted to have the use of force as a means of collecting a country's debts prohibited. - The Drago Doctrine promoted the idea that no foreign power, including the United States, could use force against a Latin America nation to collect debt. - Various problems regarding transportation and foreign trade were taken up, as was done in the previous conferences.
Fourth Conference Buenos Aires (1910)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The Bureau of the American Republics was replaced by the Pan-American Union, which was transformed into a permanent committee of the international American conferences. - Problems regarding the Pan-American Railway, postal rates, parcels post, uniformity in census and commercial statistics, uniformity in customs regulation and consular documents, establishment of more rapid steamship communication between the American republics, sanitary police and quarantine, conservation of natural resources, wireless telegraphy and aerial navigation, patents, trade-marks, copyrights, foreign immigration, practice of the learned professions, naturalization,

	<p>neutrality in case of civil war and uniformity of regulations for protection against anarchists, were taken up, as was done in the previous conferences.</p>
<p>Fifth Conference Santiago de Chile (1923)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The proposal to create a League of American Nations was discussed and finally rejected. - The need for revising the operation of the Pan-American Union was insisted upon. -The advisability of reducing military expenditures was brought up. -The Gondra Treaty was proposed. It proposed that certain international disputes must be submitted to a special investigating commission, which would function with the cooperation of the parties in the conflict.
<p>Sixth Conference Havana (1928)</p>	<p>The problem of intervention was fully discusses in connection with the report presented by the Pan-American Meeting of Jurist (Rio de Janeiro, 1927).</p> <p>The problems discussed in relation to communication were: 1) regulation of international automotive traffic, 2) international regulation of railway traffic, organization of a technical commission to study, 3) recommend the most effective means for the establishment of steamship lines to connect the countries of America, 4) Results of Electrical communication conference.</p> <p>In relation to the intellectual cooperation the main topics discussed were: 1) establishment of a Pan American geographical institute which shall serve as a center of coordination, distribution, and dissemination of geographical studies in the American States, 2) recommendation to the countries of America to publish geodetic, geological, agricultural maps, etc., which will give the idea of their natural resources, possibilities of development, 3) Establishment of scholarships and fellowships, 4) Exchange of professors and students, 5) To recommend the establishment in the universities of the countries, members of the Pan American Union, of special chairs for the study of the commercial legislation of the American Republics.</p>
<p>Seventh Conference, Montevideo (1933)</p>	<p>A non aggression, anti-war treaty was adopted. The so-called Good Neighbor Policy of the United States was promulgated.</p> <p>The principle of nonintervention was again fully discussed and the Convention on Right and Duties of the States was unanimously adopted.</p> <p>In relation to Economic and Financial Problems the following topic were recommended: 1) Currency stabilization and the possibility of adopting a uniform monetary system, 2) Promotion of tourist travel. In relation to social problems were: 1) Consideration of the establishment of an Inter-American Bureau of labor, which will include in its program the following: promotion of safety in industry, improved housing conditions, social insurance and uniformity of demographic statistics.</p> <p>In relation to transportation the following agenda items were referred: 1) Inter-American fluvial navigation, 2) Report of the Pan American Railway Committee. 3) Study of the penal provisions and the regulations of the Convention on Commercial Aviation.</p> <p>The Conference adopted a resolution recommending that the governments utilize as soon as possible the five short –wave radio frequencies assigned, through the intermediary of the Pan American Union, for the broadcasting of inter-American radio programs.</p>
<p>Eight Conference Lima (1938)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Creation of an Inter-American Court of International Justice. - Uniformity and perfection of the methods of drafting multilateral treaties, including the form of instruments, adherence, accession, deposit

	<p>of ratifications, etc., and means to facilitate ratifications.</p> <p>-In relation to the organization of peace the agenda included: investigation, conciliation, arbitration, code of peace, definition of aggressor, sanctions and the strengthening of means for the prevention of war.</p> <p>In relation to Intellectual cooperation and moral disarmament the agenda items were: 1) Promoting inter-American intellectual and technical cooperation, and the spirit of moral disarmament. 2) Conservation and preservation of natural regions and historic sites.</p> <p>The Lima Declaration was adopted and the principle of non-intervention was reaffirmed.</p>
<p>Ninth Conference Bogota (1948)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The Character of the Organization of American States was adopted, thereby substantially modifying the legal structure and various other aspects of Pan-American organization. The principles of political-juridical relation were established. They were: 1) Equality of States, 2) Respect for Treaty Obligations, 3) Non-Intervention, 4) Forcible Acquisition of Territory; Aggression, 5) Non-recognition of territorial acquisitions by force, 6) Pacific settlement of International Disputes, 7) Procedure of Consultation, 8) Reciprocal assistance, 9) Transfer of American Territorial possessions owned by Non-Continental Powers, 10) Status of Aliens, 11) Political activities of foreigners. - The principles of economic and social relations established were: 1) Basic value of international trade, 2) Principles that <i>Must govern Trade</i>, 3) Equality of treatment, 4) Reduction of tariffs and other trade barriers, 5) Production; Social and health conditions. - The principle of cultural relations recognized was cultural relations and Intellectual Cooperation. -The treaty on Pacific Settlement was also approved, which was called the Bogota Pact. - The conference also approved a Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Man and the famous Resolution XXXII on Preservation and Defense of Democracy in America Which, strictly speaking, was no more than a violent explosion of anti-Communism and McCarthyism.

Appendix B

Fairclough's three-dimensional method.
Figure adapted by the author from Fairclough (1992, 2003)



Appendix C

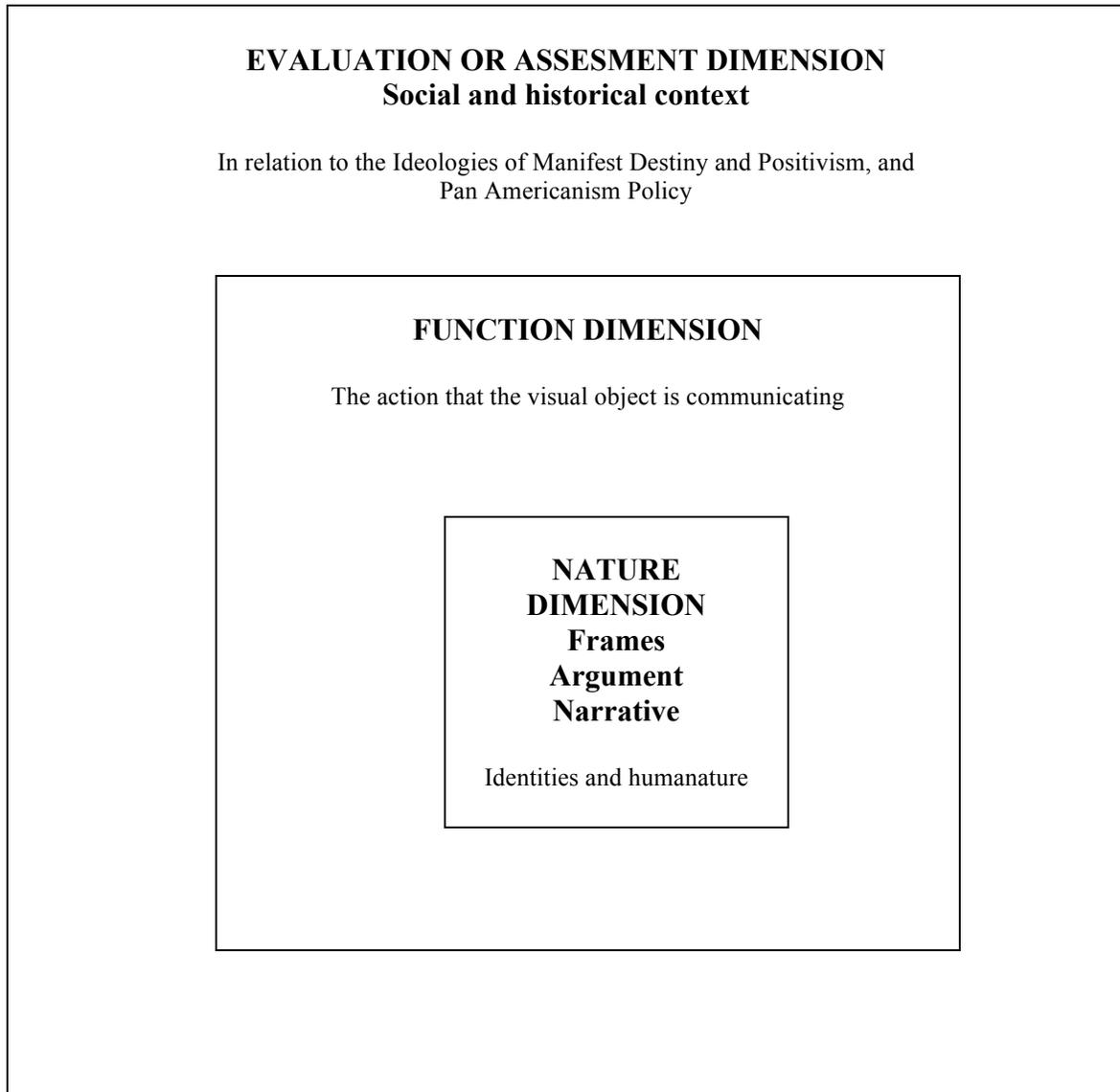
Fairclough's three-dimensional method.
Table adapted by the author taking ideas from Fairclough (2003)

	Definition	Questions	Examples
Text	<p>Frames in relation to identities and humanature</p> <p>It concentrates on the formal features (such as vocabulary, grammar, syntax and sentence coherence) from which discourses and genres are realized linguistically</p> <p>Keywords (Entman, 1993), catchphrases (Pan & Kosicki, 1993), metaphors (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989).</p>	<p>What frames were used in relation to identities and humanature?</p>	<p>"A Lain-American movement needed" (Barrett, 1906, p. 694), "Latin America making rapid progress" (Barrett, 1906, p. 695), "Our ignorance of Latin America" (Barrett, 1906, p. 698), "No risk to life, limb or property" (Chapman, 1921, p. 353), "Forty years to build a 60 mile rail road" (Chapman, 1921, p. 360)</p>
Discursive Practice	<p>It focuses on how the text is produced and how it is consumed. This dissertation convers only the production level.</p>	<p>How the text was produced? What kinds of processes does a text go through before it is printed? Who is the audience (general perspective)?</p>	<p>The context of production of NGM (Lutz & Collins, 1993). 1) Advocate for the "new science" (positivism); 2) The attempt to combine scholarship and entertainment; 3) The attempt to create and reproduce accurate, balance and fair information, photographer and reports following the values of the new science; 4) Photographs were "evidence" and "spectacle".</p>
Social Practice	<p>It is the analysis of the relationship between discursive practice and the broader social practice that the study arrives at its final conclusion. It is here that questions relating to change and ideological consequences are addressed.</p> <p>Interdiscursivity: occurs when different discourses and genres are articulated together in a communicative event. It is possible to analyze "discursive</p>	<p>What elements of ideology or hegemony can be identified in the text? Does the discursive practice reproduce the order of discourse and thus contribute to the maintenance of the status quo in the social practice? Or</p>	<p>Manifest Destiny Positivism Pan-Americanism</p> <p>Anthropocentric ideologies in relation to Nature Eurocentric ideologies in relation to identities.</p>

	<p>reproduction” and “change” through an analysis of the relations between different discourses within order of discourse and between orders of discourse (Fairclough, 1995)</p> <p>Intertextual chain: Where the same text can be seen in a range of different versions.</p>	<p>has the order of discourse been transformed, thereby contributing to social change? What are the ideological, political and social consequences of the discursive practice?</p>	
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Appendix D

Visual Rhetoric Method (Foss, 2004). Figure Adapted by the author according to Fairclough (2003).



Appendix E

Visual Rhetoric Method (Foss, 2004)

Table adapted by the author

	Definition	Questions	Example
Nature Dimension	Frames, argument or narrative	What representations or frames were used in relation to identities and humanature?	Photo: Mule Road
Function Dimension	The action that the photo or the visual object is communicating	What values are embedded in the discourse (historical context) in relation to Manifest Destiny, Positivism and Pan Americanism? How does the picture relate to the text?	To show the deficiency and/or absence of road transport infrastructure.
Evaluation Dimension	To evaluate an artifact using the criterion of whether it accomplishes its apparent function	Does it accomplish its function?	Pan Americanism Absence of road transport and the need of modernization

Appendix F

NGM' Articles (1900- 1952)				
	Year	Title/Author	# Photos	# Pages
1	December 1903 Vol. XIV, Issue 12, pp. 458-466	Notes on Panama and Colombia	12 photos	8 pages
2	December 1906 Vol. XVII, Issue 12 pp. 692-709	Latin America and Colombia By Hon. John Barrett. Unites States Minister to Colombia	10 photos	17 pages
3	October 1921 Vol. XL, Issue Four pp. 353-373	Over the Andes to Bogota. Frank M. Chapman Curator of Birds, American Museum of Natural History	19 photos	20 pages
4	February 1926 Vol. XLIX, No. 2 Washington pp. 127-160	Round about Bogota. A hunt for new fruits and plants among the mountain forest of Colombia's unique capital. Wilson Popenoe Agricultural explorer, United States Department of Agriculture	34 photos 1 map	33 pages
5	May 1940 Vol. LXXVII, Issue Five pp. 627-647	Stone idols of the Andes reveal a vanished people. Remarkable relics of One of the Oldest aboriginal Cultures of America are Unearthed in Colombia's San Agustin Region Hermann von Walde-Waldegg With Illustrations from Photographs by the Author	21 photos 1 map 1 illustr.	20 pages
6	October 1940 Vol. LXXVIII, Issue Four, pp. 505-536	Hail Colombia! Luis Marden	28 photos 1 map	31 pages
7	May 1947 Vol. XCI, Issue Five, pp. 615-660	Cruising Colombia's "Ol' Man River" Amos Burg	42 1 map	45 pages
8	August 1948 Vol. XCIV, Issue Two pp. 251-274	Keeping house for a biologist in Colombia Nancy Bell Fairchild Bates With illustrations from photographs by Marston Bates	20 photos 1 map	23 pages
9	September 1952 Vol. CII, Issue Three pp. 371-388	Jungle Jaunt on Amazon Headwaters. Foaming Rivers Led a Lone white woman to remote clearings where primitive Indians Peered at Her in Wonder Bernice M. Goetz	14 photos 1 map	17 pages
	TOTAL ARTICLES: 9		TOTAL: 200 Maps: 6 Illust. 1	TOTAL: 214 p

Appendix G

Notes on Panama and Colombia (December, 1903)
by Gilbert H. Grosvenor

Text (subtitles)	Photos Titles
<p>1. Colombia.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. An uncompleted section of the Panama Canal. 2. Canal cutting through massive basaltic rock. 3. The island of Toboga, famous for its delicious Pineapples. 4. Washerwomen—Isthmus of Panama. 5. Panama. Interior of Ruins of the Old Cathedral. 6. Panamá. This tower alone remains to mark the site of the great city before it was sacked by Sir Henry. 7. A Street of Colon. 8. Colon-Driveway of Christofer Colon, the Canal Suburb. 9. Residence of the superintendent of the Panama Railway Company at the Entrance of Limon Bay. 10. Panama Bay. 11. Houses of the Talamancan Indians. 12. Typical Vegetation of the Isthmus of Panama. Two Talamancans in the Foreground.

Appendix H

Latin America and Colombia (December, 1906)
By Hon. John Barrett. Unites States Minister to Colombia

Text (subtitles)	Photos Titles
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The visit of secretary Root 2. A Latin-American movement needed 3. Latin America making rapid progress 4. Appreciation of Latin America 5. A critical time for the United States 6. Factors unfavorable to North America 7. Our ignorance of Latin America 8. North Americans must learn Spanish 9. Lack of fast steamship facilities 10. Revolutionary movements exaggerated 11. Colombia a land of great possibilities 12. The area of Colombia 13. The conformation and climate of Colombia 14. How to get to Colombia 15. Bogota, the capital of Colombia 16. Products of Colombian soil 17. Mines and minerals 18. Exports and imports 19. Field for sportsmen and scientists 20. General observations 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Secretary of State Root and the Committee of Reception at Cartagena, Colombia, September 24, 1906. 2. Hand Propelled Freight Boat for Shallow Tributaries of Magdalena--Large river steamer in background. 3. Grand Procession in Bogota on occasion of the Feast of Corpus Christi, with every body kneeling at special signal of bell in cathedral. 4. Small River Steamer for Tributaries and Canals of Magdalena River. 5. Bogota is situated at the Foot of the Mountains on a High Plateau. 6. Don E. Cortés, Minister of Colombia. 7. General Reyes, President of Colombia. 8. A Scene in Colombia on the Upper waters of the river Magdalena. 9. On the mule road to Bogota, across the mountains from Honda. 10. Street scene in Bogota.

Appendix I

Over the Andes to Bogotá (October, 1921)

By Frank M. Chapman

Text (subtitles)	Photos Titles
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. No risk to life, limb, or property 2. A record of four hundred inches of rain in a year 3. Equipment for the tour 4. How to get to Colombia 5. Leave all haste behind 6. A fifty/day's journey from New York 7. Forty Years to build a 60- mile railroad 8. Birds restricted to clearly defined zones 9. A traveler always carries his own sleeping outfit 10. Mule-drivers comprise half the male population 11. Hostess' four-year-old daughter smokes a big cigar 12. Arrival at charming Cali 13. A trip downs the Cauca river 14. Tropical birds may be observed from steamer 15. Following the Quindio trail 16. The heart of the Andes 17. Bogotá a city of strong contrast 18. The old mule trail from Bogotá to Honda 19. A voyage down the Magdalena 20. Fauna of the Magdalena's shores 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Cauca Valley from San Antonio Pass, in the western Andes, and, above the clouds, the central Andes. 2. The western Andes from the bridge over the Cali river: Colombia. 3. The approach to Cali. 4. A Cali Patio. 5. The Cauca Valley, showing the "farallones," or summits of the western Andes near Cali, from the hacienda La Manuelita. 6. Ferrying across the Cauca river in the shadow of Ceiba trees. 7. The market place at Cartago. 8. Crossing the Rio Vieja. 9. A Posada in the temperate zone, on the Quindio trail, of the central Andes, at the altitude of 10,300 feet. 10. The ascent of the central Andes on the Quindio trail from Ibagué. 11. Persuading a diffident traveler on and Andean road. 12. These Colombian highways will never be popular with automobilists. 13. A mother and her children crossing the Andes in chairs. 14. At the journey's end. 15. Sawing boards by hand in the subtropical zone of the central Andes. 16. The heart of the central Andes: Rio Toché, from the pass of San Juan. 17. A prehistoric stone image from San Agustín, in the Park of Bogotá. 18. Foliage that well deserves its name. 19. The water approach to the market in Barranquilla.

Appendix J

Round about Bogota. A hunt for new fruits and plants among the mountain forest of
Colombia's unique capital (February, 1926)

By Wilson Popenoe

Text (subtitles)	Maps and Photos Titles
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Bogota is twelve day's journey from the sea 2. Bogota Spanish is unexcelled in America 3. Fashion stalks the streets of Colombia's capital 4. Strange Andean vegetables are encountered 5. One of the most complete markets of tropical America 6. The ruana is a carment of grace and service 7. Travel by train in Colombia 8. A quest for the giant blackberry 9. A night of distress 10. The giant berry is found 11. Colombians at a picnic 12. The ancient chibcha Indians were an industrious people 13. Departure by train is a civic ceremony 14. Travelers and their horses proceed on the same train 15. Travel with a burro 16. A troubadour sings for lodging 17. A beggar exchanges poetry for alms 18. Foot travelers are social outcasts 19. Gabriel enjoys a new diet 20. A climate too nearly perfect 	<p>Map: A sketch map of the republic of Colombia.</p> <p>Photos:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The water front at la Dorada. 2. A trophy from the Magdalena. 3. The port of Girardot, on the Magdalena River. 4. In the outskirts of the capital. 5. The equestrian figure of Simón Bolívar in the Parque de Independencia, Bogotá. 6. A favorite gathering place of Colombian students. 7. The "siete cueros," in the Parque Independencia, at Bogotá. 8. A courtyard of Bogotá. 9. A hedge of tree dahlias. 10. The "curuba de castilla," a fruit of the northern Andes. 11. The balú, which grows on trees. 12. The hardy papaya of the northern Andes. 13. Stately rows of eucalyptus trees. 14. Eggs which have been scrubbed to a pearly whiteness in the Bogotá market. 15. Where strawberries are sold by the yard. 16. Berries too large to be taken at a single mouthful. 17. An edible tuber of the Andes. 18. Five cents worth of tunas. 19. Tropical fruits in the market place. 20. The pottery section of the Bogotá market. 21. Some staple foodstuffs of the northern Andes. 22. A wayside beggar. 23. A basket of Colombian berries. 24. Potato venders in the market of Bogotá. 25. Fetching the day's supply of water. 26. A comfortable country residence near Facatativá. 27. The royal road across the Andes. 28. A fiber plant of the Andes. 29. The tavern of El Peñón. 30. A doorway in the town of Guaduas. 31. Enjoying a day in the country. 32. A relic of colonial days. 33. Along the edge of the Sabana. 34. Herds grazing on the Sabana.

Appendix K

Classification of plants

This chart has been elaborated with ideas taken from Popenoe (1926)

Name	Scientific Name	Place	Uses, Characteristics / Description
Siete cueros (p. 136)	a species of <i>Tibouchina</i>	Parque Independencia, at Bogotá	They are remarkable for the various shades of color which they exhibit Blossoms of rich blue, others of violet hue, and still others of mauve, may be seen on the plant at one time
<i>Dahlia</i> (p. 138)	<i>Dahlia maxonii</i>	It grows in Mexico, Central America, and the northern Andes	It grows in Mexico, Central America, and the northern Andes. It reaches 20 feet in height and bears starry pink or white blossoms, usually single, though double-flowered forms are occasionally found
The “curuba de castilla” (p. 139)		A fruit of the northern Andes	This favorite fruit of the Bogotanos It contains a large number of orange-colored, translucent globules of pulp, each having a small seed. The flavor is acid and highly aromatic.
The balú (p. 139)	<i>Erythrina edulis</i>	It is cultivated in several parts of the Colombian highlands.	They have a pleasant, slightly sweet flavor and are prepared in the same manner as lima beans.
Hardy papaya (p. 140)		The northern Andes Fruit of tropical lowlands	It is replaced in the Colombian highlands by a hardier species, whose fruits are much smaller.
Eucalyptus trees (p. 140)			It has become one of the most conspicuous features of highland landscape. It is used for street and avenue planting, as well as for the production of timber and fuel
Two kinds of strawberries: One, the Wild European variety The large-fruited Chilean species	<i>Fragaria vesca</i> <i>Fragaria chiloensis</i>		The last named is rare and is considered a great delicacy; the fruit are strung together by their stems and hung up in the market, where the customer can purchase as many feet or yards of strawberries as his purse will permit

(p. 142)			
Giant blackberry (p. 143)	<i>Rubus macrocarpus</i>	Fusagasugá	it is one of the largest berries in the world. Single specimens sometimes measure more than two inches in length by an inch and a half in thickness. Plant breeders may find this berry valuable for hybridizing with North American forms, in order to produce new varieties of unusually large size.
Cubios (p. 144)	<i>Tropaolum tuberoston</i>	It grows in the cool, moist climate of the higher Andes	It has been used for food since prehistoric days. Cubios are boiled with meat or other foodstuffs.
Tuna, or prickly pear (p. 145)			They are dark red in color, with many seeds and soft, juicy flesh of sweetish flavor. These fruits, which are similar to those of several North American cacti, are popular among the poorer residents of Bogotá
The fique plant (p. 153)	<i>Fourcroya macrophylla</i>	It is cultivated in the higher Andes	Its fiber is used for making cordage, sandals, coarse sacking, packsaddles, and other articles of everyday use
Passion vine It is also known as tumbo and <i>badea</i> (p. 154)	<i>Passiflora quadrangularis</i>	Northern Andes	Its fruits, sometimes as large as muskmelons, contain a subacid juice of pleasant flavor.

Appendix L

Stone idols of the Andes reveal a vanished people. Remarkable relics of One of the
Oldest aboriginal Cultures of America are Unearthed in Colombia's San Agustin Region
(May, 1940)

By Hermann von Walde-Waldegg

Text (subtitles)	Photos Titles
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Gods have huge eyeteeth 2. God and goddess in a pasture 3. Huge stone troughs as punch bowls 4. Stone warriors taller than a man 5. A farmer defies the Gods 6. Carving of the moon indicate a method of calculating time 7. Goddesses of the life and death 8. Children women touch the image 9. Unearthing an ancient Colombian 10. Over rough jungle trails 11. Telling time by chewing coca 12. Alligator god of sacrifice 13. Workmen fearful of the sinister sacrifice stone 14. Massive priest-god refuses to budge 15. Camped in a jaguar's den 16. Bird of darkness, with blue eyes and long mustachios 17. Faces on the cliffs 18. Woolly leaves make a warm bed 19. Relics here more primitive 20. Stone conduits for water 21. Decline of the San Agustín Nation 	<p style="text-align: center;">1 map</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Fury stamps the forbidding feature of a disturbed priest-God. 2. Death to the intruder!" This warrior seems to warn 3. Forgotten stone gods slumber in the hills encircling San Agustin 4. A "fine fellow," one native called this immense block of stone fury 5. Monkey heads embellish a house shaped throne 6. Ancient carved deities brood beside a modern memorial in San Agustin Plaza 7. A Colombian miss looks before she leaps 8. Who needs a perambulator? 9. Early American punch bowl? 10. Totem of an ancient clan-A serpent-eating eagle 11. Once more a bat god, symbol of death, blinks in the sunlight 12. The goddess of life holds a baby 13. The author's guides cut their way through trailless jungle 14. Four pulleys failed to put this priest-god back on his feet 15. Vanished carvers gave catlike teeth and puma ears to this giant. 16. From her hillside perch, a 14-foot figure of a woman peers into the valley of the Magdalena. 17. Sacrificial blood appeased the alligator god 18. Screaming of weird steatornis birds rings through Colombian caves 19. A Colombian mountain woman shows the author how to use a spindle weight 2,000 years old 20. A priest-god demonstrates the way to pierce the tongue 21. He would feel at home in a cubist art display

Appendix M

Hail Colombia! (October, 1940)

By Luis Marden

Text (subtitles)	Photos Titles
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. German-founded Air line now Colombian 2. Landslide helped open the harbor 3. Cows eat water hyacinths 4. Stop lights serve also as billboards 5. "Cartagena of the Indies" 6. Crabs walk Cartagena's streets 7. "Breakfast" of turtle 8. Bogotá a vast forum 9. Five clear days a year in Bogotá 10. Parks as open-air study halls 11. How king vultures got their name 12. Emeralds worth more than diamonds 13. Medellín, Colombia's Chicago 14. Orchids to U. S. A. by plane 15. Machine-made coffee in Cali 16. Emerald-studded crown of Popayán 17. A volcano "explodes" 	<p>Map Three rocky fingers of the Andes run through Colombia</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Lofty Monserrate Shrine gleams between the towers of Bogotá cathedral 2. Every Street is a forum and every café a town hall in Bogotá 3. A One-man "Fur Sale" 4. At noon Cartagena's narrow streets offer little protection from the tropic sun 5. Spanish Stirrups of Brass are still seen in Colombia 6. Colombia's tricolor heads marching youth in Cartagena on Independence Day 7. Cut Orchids—From Colombia to Washington, D. C., in 48 hours 8. Barranquilla, Colombia Coffee Port, Is Journey's End for a Magdalena River Boat 9. Hub of Bogotá is the Plaza de Bolivar, with its statue of the liberator 10. Colombia preserves Simón Bolivar's suburban Estate outside Bogotá as a National Shrine 11. Royal Palms flank Bolivia street in Medellín, manufacturing metropolis 12. With Thunderous roar, the Bogotá tumbles over a cliff in a 456-foot plunge. 13. Terra Cotta Rooftops blanket Bogotá, Colombia's capital 14. The Colombian Senate and House of Representatives meet in this stately Capitol facing Plaza de Bolivar 15. Like a Pastoral from the Brush of Millet is this Scene in the Colombian Highlands 16. Not a flood scene –Just a normal day in an Indian Village near Ciénaga, Colombia 17. Liners of the air fly between Barranquilla and Bogotá in 2 ½ Hours-Magdalena River Steamers take 6 to 15 days. 18. Former Prussian Uniforms clothe Colombia's Soldiers

	<ol style="list-style-type: none">19. Projecting Eaves and Overhanging balconies shelter pedestrians on rainy days20. Medellin's city fathers convene in a Modern Municipal Palace21. Eight cars abreast may drive over Cartagena's massive 16th-Century walls22. Walls of the Church of Veracruz were Old when Colombia won its Independence in 1819.23. Life on the Magdalena—A Colombian stern-wheeler modeled after the Old Mississippi river boats.24. Gold bricks—Half a million Dollars' worth25. A King Vulture earns Prison leave for Good behavior26. Hinterland Indians Regale themselves with cheroots on a trip to town27. A daughter of an eminent Colombian man of letters dons native costume28. To the United States has come Popayán's Famous Emerald-studded crown of gold
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Appendix N

Cruising Colombia's "Ol' Man River" (May 1947)

By Amos Burg

Text (subtitles)	Photos Titles
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Pack trains and airplanes 2. Climbing through climates 3. Bogotá's open-air Forums 4. Letters to the Editor 5. From mule train to motorcar 6. Hiking boots for cattle 7. In "the land of the future" 8. The llanos one big airfield 9. Jungle ants and caymans 10. Cali is air-minded 11. Spanish cattle become Colombian, too 12. Mules and oxen move a sugar mill 13. Queen of colonial cities 14. The "Voice of Popayán" bell 15. Buenaventura a busy port 16. Dinner with an Indian family 17. A gold mine for every family 18. Orchids—and more Orchids 19. Life among coffee growers 20. "Ol' Man River" of Colombia 21. Turning back history's pages 22. Rice, beans, rice—and beans 23. Towns that stood still 24. Memories of buccaneers 	<p>Map 1 From tropical coasts Colombia rises to snowy Mountains</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Water powers Medellín Factories 2. Fluted columns impart Grecian lines to the Portico of Colombia's Capitol 3. Meet the belle of the Bogotá Bull ring! 4. On a Plateau more than a mile and a half high, Colombia's capital Bogotá, Nestles Beneath Andean Peaks. 5. Dark-suited Bogotanos Scan Late News Bulletins as a Prelude to Spirited Café Conversations 6. Once an active Volcano, Tolima Thrusts its snowy crater 19,049 feet above the sea 7. Ultramodern buildings embellish the New 50-acre Campus of National University, rising on Bogotá's outskirts. 8. A barefooted <i>Llaneros</i> stages an impromptu dog and pony show 9. In pre-spahish days, Chibcha Indians fashioned intricate gold ornaments 10. A señorita flashes a smile as warn as Medellín sunshine 11. An indian harvest hand enjoys a bowl of luncheon gruel. 12. Indians leave their dugout empty while they peddle fruit and fish 13. A twin-stacked steamboat Pushes Freight barges up Colombia's main highway. 14. Stern-wheelers on the Magdalena resemble Mississippi river boats of Mark Twain's day. 15. Along side a tropical village of thatched houses, a dugout noses into the muddy river bank. 16. Homemade bamboo rafts float bunches of <i>Plátanos</i> downstream to market 17. At journey's end the rafts are dismantled and reassembled as houses 18. Sugar cane shoots up 15 feet in the fertile Cauca Valley. Oxen haul the stalks to near-by mills. 19. Many Colombian families get their beefsteak from the well-filled cattle pens

	<p>of the Medellín Market.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 20. Medellín's sunshine ripens grapefruit all year round 21. For little fingers, embroidery requires patience and concentration 22. Admiring friends watch a Medellín artist paint a mural of the Americas 23. In case of rain, a roller shoves this rackful of drying coffee beans under the house 24. Where an open stream one coursed, automobiles and streetcars roll along a Medellín Avenue 25. Even steps and platforms are crowded on wooden coaches 26. "it's my ball!" Shouts a soccer player in Galapa's Village Square 27. Open-toed Sandals fit the stirrups of a hard-riding plantation Overseer 28. Seven-year-old girls in white carry lilies to their First Communion 29. From his bridge the captain of the <i>Jesusita</i> eyes the river bank, eaten away until the town is threatened 30. In an airplane age, sure-footed burros still deliver the goods to Colombia's mountainous interior 31. Tall, modern buildings of Medellín are dwarfed by the Mountains which rings the manufacturing city 32. Delicate plants in the patio of his Popayán home furnished inspiration for a revered Colombian poet 33. Steamboat's coming round the bend! Mompós residents line market-place archways for the big event 34. From the <i>Llanos</i> (Plains) of the Eastern Colombia a herd of weary cattle plods downhill on an 8-day journey 35. Sacks of Coffee beans, Colombia's chief export, are loaded on river steamers 36. Pole-pushing boatmen shuttle cargoes along a shallow canal in Barranquilla 37. Perhaps this Old Cannon fired on Sir Francis Drake's raiding ships 38. Coffee enough for hundreds of thousands of cups is stowed aboard ship at Barranquilla 39. Thatch-roofed houses of El Salto ("The Waterfall") hug the "Main Street" as it winds high into the Mountains 40. Molten gold forms bricks in Medellín's Casa de Moneda 41. "This fat hen will make a nice dinner" 42. Gems experts appraise Colombian emeralds, the world's finest
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Appendix O
Keeping house for a biologist in Colombia (August 1948)
 By Nancy Bell Fairchild Bates

Text (subtitles)	Photos Titles
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The lure of a laboratory 2. Bogotá, and a baby 3. Llanos-wide and wild 4. Remote from current history 5. Monkeys--at least! 6. "This was what we came for" 7. Ladders to a treetop world 8. Human legs as insect bait 9. The lure of night collecting 10. Birds and butterflies 11. Lab is home, too 12. Mating of the mosquitoes 13. Study of jungle yellow fever 14. Mystery of a virus 15. "Virus manipulation" 16. Mishaps in the laboratory 17. "The horriddest monkey of all" 18. "Little widows," with folding legs 19. Marmoset curiously marked 20. The antics of rusty 	<p>1 map, Three towering Andean ranges from Colombia's backbone</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Vaqueros lend a wild west touch to Villavicencio's streets 2. Sukey, a pet coati, spends evenings on her Mistress's lap. 3. A scientist looks at a ring-tailed "dead end kid". 4. Near Bogotá, the eastern Andean range sprawls like a prostrate giant 5. Colombia's broad, grassy llanos stretch away toward Brazil and Venezuela 6. Villavicencio, busy gateway to the Llanos, lies in the shadow of the eastern Andes 7. In a miniature cable car the author and a companion swing across Colombia's Guatiquía river 8. Winged carries of a tropical disease live in these tiny glass houses 9. Three feet of mischief is "Barbie the Bicho" 10. Palm leaves, fastened to a sapling framework, make a watertight jungle shelter 11. Trucks await their turn on a one-way mountain stretch of the Bogotá-Villavicencio road 12. Weather knowledge helps science fight malaria and yellow fever 13. Mosquitoes, too, like air conditioning 14. Vine-hung forest pools harbor larvae of the Malaria-bearing <i>Anopheles</i> 15. They also serve who sit and get bitten 16. "What's holding up that roast pig?" ask the author, at left 17. A tasty Lechona tops the menu at a Colombian outdoor banquet 18. An animated ball of yarn is the woolly monkey 19. Mosquito bar converts a hammock into tiny, boxlike room 20. In the animal house, Bares youngsters learn the three R's, with natural history at recess

Appendix P

Jungle Jaunt on Amazon Headwaters. Foaming Rivers Led a Lone white woman to remote clearings where primitive Indians Peered at Her in Wonder (September 1952)
By Bernice M. Goetz

Text (subtitles)	Photos Titles
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. "Alone," but in a good company 2. Light reading for jungle nights 3. Wilderness unfurls below 4. Fructouso all right, even his shoes 5. Stares greet a woman in breeches 6. Foot fires near the Equator 7. Courtesy in the jungle 8. Birdcall ricochets like bullet 9. Flies take joy Out of bathing 10. Painted faces mean a famine 11. 8-foot blowgun for a paring knife 12. Imps of night dance in glee 13. Flowing bowl at the jungle Jamboree 14. Vaupés river shows its teeth 15. White water makes a white face 16. "Is that a woman?" 17. Fried ants as Hors d'Oeuvres 18. Some Indians of pygmy stature 19. Doing business with a witch Doctor 20. Father fasts after childbirth 21. Jungle Indians dazed by city sights 	<p>1 map. River of danger, the Vaupés writhes through the Brazil-Colombia wilderness</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Against a towering Forest Backdrop, Chicle Hunters Pause to Stare at a White Woman 2. Alone in the jungle with her indian crew, the author rests by the Aiari river 3. By the strength of her brow, an indian woman packs a wild pig to market in Mitú, Colombia 4. Leaving Mitú, the author starts her daring jaunt into forbidding jungles to visit primitive indian tribes 5. Sanuel, the pilot holds manioc-flour tortillas 6. Witch Doctor didn't know his picture was being taken 7. Cold and red, the Airari river is a wild as the Forest Through which it flows 8. Curiosity-filled visitors hover like flies over the expedition's lunch spot. 9. Rather than portage, dugout paddlers prefer to gamble on a swift passage or a tumble into the rapids 10. Fish and grapes cost 20 hooks and a mirror 11. Fruit of the Pupunha palm makes firewater 12. Portaging heavy packs through jungle is womean's back-bending job. 13. Cubeo mother and son seem to reflect the dots on a treasured dress. 14. Indians heave the canoe over rock in a tug of war against foaming rapids. 15. Young muscles do a man's work. Cubeo lad paddles tirelessly through the day

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