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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

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*El Negro Permitido: Representations of Black Bodies and Beings in the  
Colombian Press, 1970-1980*

A Thesis submitted in partial satisfaction of the  
requirements for the degree Master of Arts in  
Latin American & Iberian Studies

by

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Professor Edward Telles

December 2019

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September 2019

*El Negro Permitido*: Representations of  
Black Bodies and Beings in the Colombian Press,  
1970-1980

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by

Christine Zarui Khrlonian

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## ABSTRACT

*El Negro Permitido: Representations of Black Bodies and Beings in the  
Colombian Press, 1970-1980*

by

Christine Zarui Khrlobian

This thesis focuses on the representations and stereotypes of Afrocolombians in the press from 1970 to 1980. The two newspapers used in the study were *El Tiempo*, the widest circulated paper in the country with its publishing house in the capital, Bogotá, and *El País*, the most influential paper of the Pacific Coast hailing from the third-largest city in the country, Santiago de Cali. During the 1970s, Black social and political leaders were creating the first congresses focusing on racial discrimination, unequal opportunities, and cultural identifiers for which to promote in the country. However, the majority of Black presence in the press was of mainly how Afrocolombians used their bodies as athletes, dancers, musicians, and laborers/domestic help. Although the country was promoting mestizaje as its' national identity, Blackness had been largely stigmatized and/or ignored in general ideas of patrimony and citizenship. Therefore, this thesis will show the complexities of how Afrocolombians were represented in the press on a national and regional scale through the lens of *el negro permitido*: what is permissible or follows in line with historical notions of how Blackness has been constructed by a White or Mestizo/a elite.

The findings of this thesis mostly derive from image and text analysis of microfilms of *El País* and *El Tiempo* during the 1970s, building on comparative approaches which span many sectors of society and their perspectives, and has its strength in clarifying some of the nuances to how racism is produced and understood in a Colombian context. This is significant in the sense that the central government was promoting the nation to be free of racism while reserving these acts of discrimination and inequity of power to the United States. This thesis will explain how racism, through *el negro permitido* operated, thrived, and continued to normalize Black subordination through a color-blind rhetoric.

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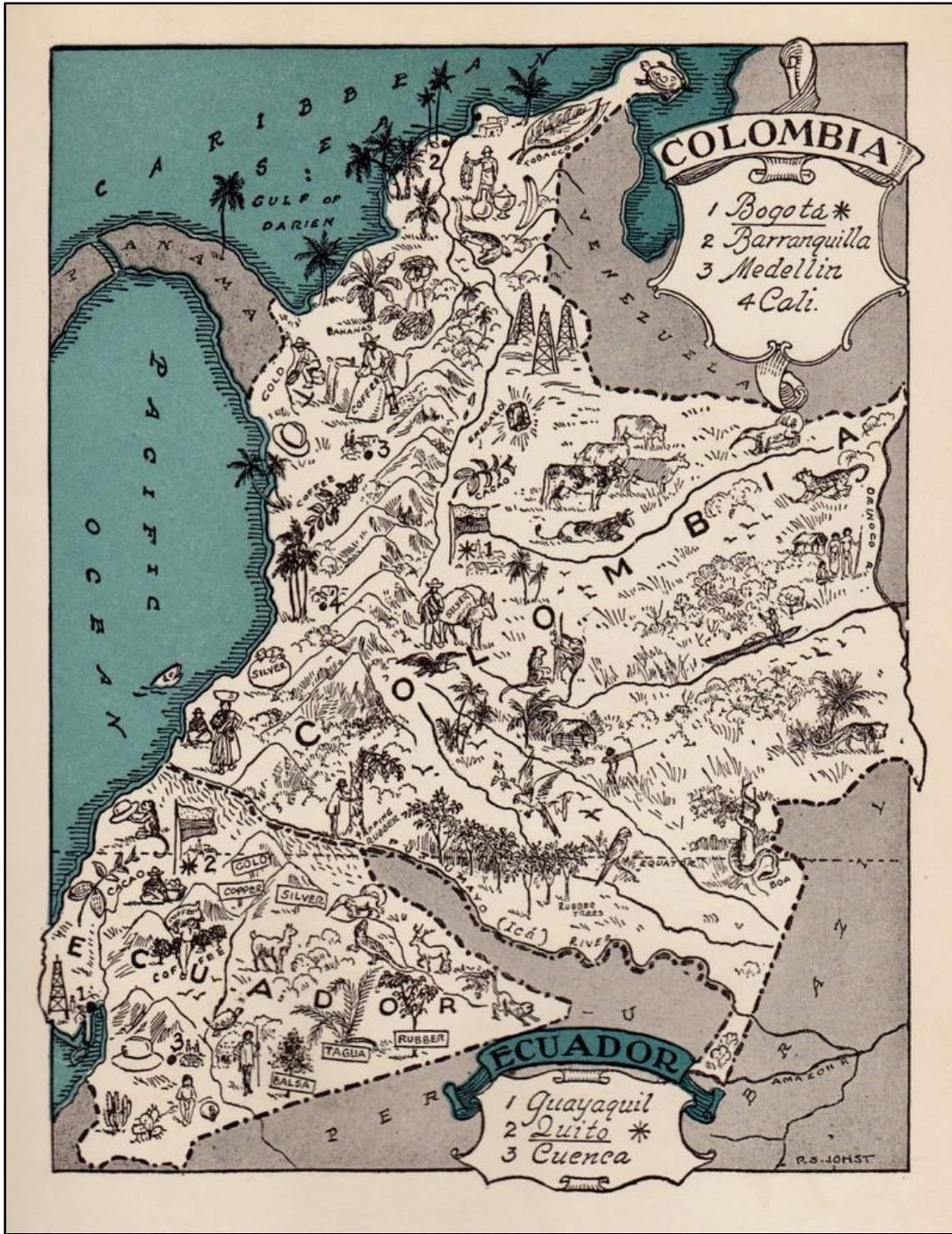
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## PROLOGUE

The moment most people learn I am studying the Afrodescendant population of the Pacific in Colombia, their first reaction is typically confusion. It is followed with a general question such as, “How did you get into that?” or “What made you interested in Colombia, or it’s Black population?”. This then flows into a reply of how my connection to Colombia began years before with the music I would listen to, the learning of the armed conflict and how it disproportionately affected individuals who identify as having indigenous and African descent, and of course, my intrigue with the general social, cultural, political, and economic conditions of the country due to my Colombian fiancé, David Galindo Díaz. But after being asked this question and looked at with concern and intrigue for my research topic by others, I began to ask the same questions to myself. Why is it that I took such a deep interest in the inhabitants of the Pacific Coast? Why do I have such a heavy concern for issues of “identity,” “race” or “ethnicity” and how people self-identify or group themselves? What does this mean in the larger context of the State or ideas of nationhood? What makes an individual feel included or excluded in a micro and macro level? Once I began delving into these questions, I realized that I too have been dealing with these same issues of feeling “a part of” and yet “apart of” simultaneously: a part of society as someone who was born and raised in the US, yet also apart of general notions of “Americanness” as a first-generation ethnic Armenian. I realized that on a human level, most people need to feel connected to a particular group or claim an “identity” to feel whole. Yet, how those groups are formed, have as much historical connotations as they do connections to their present realities. This thesis

will focus on how Afrocolombians have been represented with particular parameters as one social group in the Colombian press, and how historical anxieties of racial difference developed the context in which these representations were expressed from a centralist perspective of the capital, Bogotá, and from a regional perspective of the Southwest, Cali.



<sup>1</sup> Google image, Accessed on August 29, 2019. Introduction map #1.

## INTRODUCTION

Colombia remains in a predicament where Afrodescendant people are continually marginalized amid a national rhetoric of legal inclusivity and cultural mixture as stipulated by Law 70 of 1993 or the Law of Black Communities.<sup>2</sup> My investigation into print media will attempt to outline and analyze how representations of people deemed “Black”, molded ideas of nation in the mid-late 20th century, and how it can account for the socio-political dilemma of Colombia’s multiculturalist approach today.

For this work, I have analyzed how Afrodescendants have been represented in the media, specifically through the stories, images, cartoons, and advertisements present in two largely circulated newspapers of the time: *El Tiempo* and *El País*. I chose these two newspapers as the core of my research because of their influence amongst audiences in a national and regional perspective. *El Tiempo*, a newspaper hailing from the capital of Bogotá, was ranked as the highest circulated newspaper of the time, whereas *El País*, a regional paper from the Southwest region of Valle del Cauca, was ranked as the fourth most circulated paper.<sup>3</sup> I was interested in how a paper geared towards a more national lense from

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<sup>2</sup> Law 70 of the 1993 Constitution was a series of policies which officially recognized Colombia as a “pluri-ethnic” and “multicultural” country. Therefore, it officially recognized the “right of Black Colombians to collectively own and occupy their *ancestral* lands,” (emphasis added). This law was labeled the law of the black communities or “comunidades negras” but only referred to “black communities” living along the Southern Pacific Coast. The 4 main objectives of the law are as follows:

- Recognition and protection of ethnic and cultural diversity, and equal rights for all cultures that compose the Colombian nationality.
- Respect for the integrity and dignity of the Black Communities’ cultural life.
- Participation of the Black Communities and their organizations, without detriment to their autonomy, in decisions that affect them and in those that affect the entire nation in conformity with the law.
- The protection of the environment, emphasizing the relationships established by the Black Communities and nature (Law 70, art. 3) Translated by Nicolas Pirsoul in, “Assessing Law 70: A Fanonian Critique of Ethnic Recognition in the Republic of Colombia”.

<sup>3</sup> *El País*, Nov. 1975.

the nation's center depicted Afrodescendant individuals vs how a regional paper hailing from an area which has a large percentage of Afrodescendants represented its Black population.

### **Preconceived Ideas / Process**

Upon the initial start of my investigation of racism and Black representation in the press, I had some theories, as most scholars do, of some things I was “expecting” to find. I believed that I would see more obvious forms of racial discrimination in *El Tiempo* and find more incorporation of Black voices in *El País*. These thoughts were proven wrong almost immediately into my diving into the analysis of first, *El Tiempo*, then later into *El País*. I began with my investigation of *El Tiempo*, looking through countless microfilms of poorly visible content. Reel after reel after reel, I was frustrated by the lack of Black visibility and voices. I was disillusioned by the “lack” of evidence and discovered that most of any inclusion of Black people was in the sports section, covering mostly male athletes. However, as my advisor Cecilia Méndez mentioned to me, “a non-finding is a finding”: and that changed the whole game.<sup>4</sup> I began asking myself, “why is it that there is virtually no mention of Black people in *El Tiempo*? Why only in the sports section? Why are so few Black women included in this paper, and mainly through photographs with little to no context? Essentially, why are Black voices and stories silenced in this paper, which is the most circulated print media source in the country, even today? Was this not the beacon of politicians boasting racial democracy and inclusion? So, where is its traces?

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<sup>4</sup> Cecilia Méndez. “The Power of Naming, or the Construction of Ethnic and National Identities in Peru: Myth, History and the Iquichanos”. In *Past and Present* (Oxford U. Press), 171, May 2001, pp. 125-160.

What was once a frustration, took another year of contemplating, reading, discussing, and finally, analyzing the data in *El País* to ultimately understand this “non-finding.” The “non-finding” in *El Tiempo* was a consequence of multiple factors, but I will focus on one in this thesis: racial anxieties during a monumentally transformative time. The 1970s saw the end of Frente Nacional, a political pact which granted the two major parties of the time, the Liberals and Conservatives, to rotate power.<sup>5</sup> This system momentarily pacified armed leftist groups, pushed for education, land reform, and development, specifically to capitalize on tourism. These development projects were specifically targeting areas with rich natural resources and the coasts, which happened to be occupied mostly by Black and indigenous communities, as well as rural campesinos. Due to these goals set by the government at the time, this era saw the expansion and promulgation of more international investment and private enterprise without withholding the institutionalization of folkloric groups and creating connections between the state, institute of anthropology, and ministries of culture and education. Folklorization projects defined and promoted regional and national culture to produce and market what was “authentically” Colombian.

During the 1970s, Black “identity” in the Colombian media and cultural imagining was largely influenced by the folklorization of Black musical traditions and dances, mainly but not limited to the Pacific Coast. Therefore, popular perceptions of Black people resembled a faulty mirror with its focus on performative culture and athletics: simply, the physical body with a negligence of Black intellectual production and political participation. The visibility of Black people in the press mainly dealt with this same thread of what is permissible, the triumphant body, and what was made invisible, intellectual capabilities. It

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<sup>5</sup> The Frente Nacional had a duration from 1958-1974.

was also a window bound by the permissibility of an image established to normalize the subjugation of Colombia's Black population. These misrepresentations and silences aligned with sociologist Sylvia Rivera's concept, 'el indio permitido' as discussed by Charles Hale, where a customized image of what is permissible of an indigenous person may appear in national discourse.<sup>6</sup> Therefore, *el negro permitido* will parallel Rivera's notion by encapsulating the interplay of inclusionary yet exclusionary methods of the media to promote either an image of racial 'color-blindness' or Black inferiority, defending only the cultural differences of Afrodescendants while ignoring racist attitudes contributing to economic and socio-political inequalities present amongst many Black Colombians.<sup>7</sup> Simply put, *el negro permitido* is the gender defying, social classes colliding, permissible representation of Afrodescendant individuals in the press.

*El negro permitido* is the Black woman or man who is either exoticized as a far-off inhabitant of some coast or normalized as a subordinate in the domestic sphere. *El negro permitido* is the Black woman or man who is praised for their athleticism, dancing and singing abilities, but only if it brings pride to the country: if it fits in the mold of "nationalism". *El negro permitido* is the Black woman or man who is a vessel which houses "sensuality" and "simplicity", but not the intellect to create and sustain knowledge or meaningful change. *El negro permitido* is the Black woman or man whose destiny is fulfilled, future foretold, and voices silenced: the content of her character only to be regarded when it perfectly fits or breaks this mold. When she is "una mujer humilde", she is in *el*

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<sup>6</sup> Charles Hale discusses "el indio permitido" in the context of late 20th century multicultural visions of many Latin American nations, mainly in Guatemala, Honduras, and Nicaragua. The term does not imply the same meaning or context to my definition of *el negro permitido*. I am simply using the structure of the term to fit my conception of what is a permissible image of Black people in the press during the 1970s.

<sup>7</sup> Charles Hale. "Rethinking Indigenous Politics in the Era of 'el indio permitido'". Sep. 25, 2007. Nacla.org Accessed June 10, 2018.

*negro permitido*, when she is “una simpática negrita”, she is in *el negro permitido*, when he is “un boxeador espectacular”, he is in *el negro permitido*.<sup>8</sup> They fit the mold. Yet, she is also in *el negro permitido* when she is ‘una madre despreocupado’, or when he is called “unpatriotic” for expressing “hay existe en Colombia discriminación racial”.<sup>9</sup> Therefore, the Black woman or man who fits in *el negro permitido* is both near and far, exoticized and normalized, a part of the nation yet against it, fetishized and ignored: the framework operates as a polarization of identity boxes, check one or the other, the gray in between is a privilege not granted.

*El negro permitido* operates in a society where its political elites claim that there is no racial discrimination. It operates in White/Mestizo/a imaginings which produces the majority of media content circulated throughout the country and marketed to international investors and potential tourists. It tickles the ears of the majority mestizo/a population which boasts mestizaje as a token of superiority over the United States. *El negro permitido* is designed to disavow, silence, and distort the images of Black Colombians in the press. It is used defensively and offensively, depending on the case at hand, and reveals racial anxieties from both the Bogotá context of *El Tiempo* and the Cali/Southwest context of *El País*. However, both anxieties and uses of *el negro permitido* operate differently within each paper. The first is the anxiety of “colorblindness” or the myth of racial democracy in *El Tiempo*, and second is the anxiety of normalizing social inferiority in *El País*. These social anxieties will be threaded through this work as the medium in which *el negro permitido* operated in these two contexts.

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<sup>8</sup> Quoted phrases taken directly from articles in *El País* and *El Tiempo*.

<sup>9</sup> Quoted phrases taken directly from articles in *El País*.



## The Press

Both newspapers in this thesis, *El Tiempo* and *El País*, were known to have strong political ties to one party or another because both presses were owned by families heavily involved in the political arena. Until 2012, *El Tiempo* had been run and operated in the highest positions by members of the Santos family: producing four presidents, Joaquín Camacho (1814) and Clímaco Calderón (1882), both men related through the maternal side of Santos Calderón, Eduardo Santos who served from 1938-1942, and more recently, Juan Manuel Santos, who's administration ran from 2010-2018 and was responsible for signing the Peace Deals with the head of Leftist guerilla group, the FARC. The family has also had one vice president, Francisco Santos (2002-2010).<sup>10</sup> An article by *El Espectador*, recounted how by the early 20th century, the two brothers, Enrique and Eduardo Santos, "consolidated the most influential media in the country and with the help of other equally important newspapers such as *Republican Gazette*, *El Liberal*, and *El Espectador*, constituted the platform of the liberal press that put an end to the conservative hegemony in 1930."<sup>11</sup> Eight years later, Eduardo Santos was elected President of the Republic. Luis Fernando Santos, brother of former president, Juan Manuel Santos, worked in the editorial office and became the head of production and manager of the paper between 1972 and 1996, in which he was appointed president until his retirement in 2010.<sup>12</sup> The Santos family are aligned with the Liberal political party, and historically, have used *El Tiempo* as a means to propagate stories within this perspective and even as a vehicle to promote personal and political ambitions as

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<sup>10</sup> *El Colombiano*, "La familia Santos ha tenido 4 presidentes", Jan 31, 2014. Retrieved on Dec. 17, 2018. <https://www.elcolombiano.com/blogs/elcoleccionista/la-familia-santos-ha-tenido-4-presidentes/3131>

<sup>11</sup> *El Espectador*, "La dinastía de los Santos", June 26, 2010. Retrieved on Dec. 17, 2018. <https://www.elespectador.com/impreso/articuloimpreso-210505-dinastia-de-los-santos>

<sup>12</sup> *El Tiempo*, "Luis Fernando Santos se retira de la Presidencia de la Casa Editorial El Tiempo" July 21, 2010. Retrieved June 8, 2019. <https://www.eltiempo.com/archivo/documento/CMS-7819078>

well as the presidencies of candidates the family was aligned with, though the paper itself says it is more centrist leaning.<sup>13</sup>

*El País*, on the other hand, has a Conservative affiliation, and was owned by Álvaro Lloreda Caicedo, a successful businessman and political leader of Valle del Cauca. The paper began its operations in 1950, and still holds the first spot in regional news of the South West. Lloreda's influence in the capital of Valle del Cauca, Cali, and the political realm of the country ran deep. He was elected mayor of Cali in the 1950s, and was also a member of Congress serving both in the Chamber of Representatives and the Senate, and in 1974, was appointed as Ambassador of Colombia to Spain.<sup>14</sup> A 2002 article in *El Tiempo* described Lloreda's business group, Pacífico Group (Grupo Pacífico) as "one of the most serious business conglomerates in the country" in the 1990s.<sup>15</sup> He was reported to have kept his business ventures, including the newspaper, within natural and legal family members, in order to maintain utmost control of these operations. In 1998, he was known to have sold 8,160 shares of the Modern Press (Press Moderno) to "one of his relatives, who in turn sold them to another family member. The latter closed the circle by selling them back to Alvaro José Lloredo."<sup>16</sup>

I delve into these brief histories of *El País* and *El Tiempo* because it is imperative to understand the power structures of the press in Colombia, and how one family can have so much of an influence of popular ideas and narratives through the ownership of a leading

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<sup>13</sup> *Colombia Reports*, "Power Through Manipulation, the Story of the Santos Family", May 26, 2017. Retrieved on Dec. 17, 2018. <https://colombiareports.com/power-manipulation-story-santos-family/>

<sup>14</sup> "Presentación de Cartas Credenciales de Embajadores". *ABC*: Madrid. Aug 2, 1974. Retrieved on Dec 12, 2018.

<sup>15</sup> *El Tiempo*, "Chequean Acciones de Álvaro José Lloreda", May 19, 2002. Retrieved on June 7, 2019. <https://www.eltiempo.com/archivo/documento/MAM-1327325>

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*

paper. Colombian historian and journalist, Jorge Orlando Melo, has recounted the significance of the press in promulgating ideas and political candidates in the country, by recounting how, “the very birth of the Republic was accompanied by loud voices of public authors. Antonio Nariño used his newspapers to topple and change presidents and Simón Bolívar, after having founded The Orinoco Post, said that the press was ‘as useful as war supplies’, and used her like a kind of ‘artillery of thought’”.<sup>17</sup> Although this research focuses on the 1970s, similar forms of the press as privately owned operations to promote specific social, political, and economic ideas in the country are nothing new, just refashioned to fit in their respective eras.

When I unpack representations of Black individuals and racialized geographies in *El País* and *El Tiempo*, it must be foregrounded with this knowledge of how the press has operated in Colombia. Therefore, speaking of not only social discrimination but how some of these representations of Blacks are actually remnants of systemic racism in the country is not accidental. Since racism is exercised with power, the press with all of its influence in the country can be interpreted as promulgating tacit or explicit forms of racism and not just prejudice or normalization of Black inferiority. This thesis attempts to manifest these larger, systemic issues of racial anxieties present in the country, at a time when both newspapers were scapegoating the problem to the United States or of some African countries in their fight for independence.

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<sup>17</sup> *Colombia Reports*, “Power Through Manipulation, the Story of the Santos Family”, May 26, 2017. Retrieved on Dec. 17, 2018. <https://colombiareports.com/power-manipulation-story-santos-family/>

## A Note on Labels

I will be referring to the subjects of this research as Black, Afrodescendant, and Afrocolombian interchangeably. However, when I am specifically discussing the 1970s, I only use the terms Black and Afrodescendant as the term Afrocolombian did not exist and would be irrelevant to the era being discussed. I aim to be as responsible with how I label, identify, or categorize individuals, and therefore need to make a few things clear. During the 1970s, many Afrodescendants lived along the country's two coasts: The Pacific and the Caribbean. Due to this, the term Afrodescendant is problematic in itself, as many individuals of African descent identify within the ethno-geographic context of their communities. For example, an individual from San Basilio de Palenque in the Caribbean Coast will identify as a Palenquero/a, or someone from the department of Chocó will identify as a Chocoano/a and so forth. There are also communities along the Pacific Littoral who identify as members of a community based around the main river of their town or settlement, as well as individuals who phenotypically may look "Black," but identify per their occupation or even as a "mestizo/a" or some other label. For the sake of this thesis, I will mainly address Black individuals with the general categorizations of either Black (negro/a), Afrodescendant, and Afrocolombian as mentioned before. I am also choosing to keep Afrodescendant and Afrocolombian without hyphenation, such as the way it is written in Spanish, to reflect my beliefs of not separating the pretext "Afro" from "Colombian" as a symbol of how the two are of the same thread, nor to overly exaggerate the pretext "Afro."

In the Colombian census of 2005, the official question of self-ethnic identification was as follows: "According to your culture, people, or physical features, are you or do you recognize yourself as being...indigenous, Roma or gypsy, Raizal, Palenquero, Black, mulatto,

Afrocolombian, None of the above. NS [Doesn't know] and Not in refs. [Doesn't answer]?"<sup>18</sup> The categories "Raizal," "Palenquero," and "Black/mulatto/Afrocolombian" correspond to the Afrodescendant category.<sup>19</sup> The alternative answer, "None of the above," was preferred by the majority of the country who saw themselves as either "white" or "mestizo/a." This reveals how the majority of the nation did not see themselves as part of any ethnic identification, but simply as "normal" Colombians. The Afrodescendant and Indigenous categories were something beyond the "normal" scope of self-identification. Therefore, more than just a philosophical approach to not hyphenating "Afrocolombian," I believe it to be a small act of resistance to the normalcy of Colombian "identity" as simply mestizo/a and inclusive of varying degrees of experiences of people who do not identify as such.<sup>20</sup>

The main argument, *el negro permitido*, is also used as a moniker for Black, negro/a, Afrodescendant, or Afrocolombian but it encapsulates a systemic understanding of Blackness, not a label of identity. Therefore, *el negro permitido*, has no gender and is referring to Afrodescendant representations and multi-dimensional experiences in Colombia during the 1970s.

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<sup>18</sup> Edward Telles, *Pigmentocracies: Ethnicity, Race, and Color in Latin America*. North Carolina: the University of North Carolina Press. 2014.

<sup>19</sup> A Raizal is a member of an Afro-Caribbean ethnic group who speak an English Creole from the Islands of San Andrés, Providencia, and Santa Catalina. A Palenquero/a is a member of the ethnic group which speaks a Spanish Creole which originated in the town, San Basilio de Palenque, south east of Cartagena in the Caribbean coast and is also spoken in parts of Barranquilla.

<sup>20</sup> More information about the terms "Afrocolombiano/a", "Negro/a," "Raizal," and "Palenquero/a" can be found in Paschell (2010), Wabgou and authors (2012), Caicedo (2013), and Vergara-Figueroa and eds. (2017).

## Historiographical Discussion

Anthropologist Peter Wade, in his book, *Blackness and Race Mixture*, discusses two main ideas when addressing racism and notions of mestizaje: The first one is how blackness and race mixture interplay with patterns of discrimination, and second, how the dynamics of exclusion and inclusion of blackness within a national identity are institutionalized.<sup>21</sup> He focuses mainly in el Chocó, parts of the Atlantic Coast, and Medellín; nevertheless, his study is applicable to general notions of state policies and civil rights for Afrodescendants throughout the country. In part one, Wade discusses the dichotomy of inclusion and exclusion of Blackness by explaining how there is a slippage between including Blacks as ordinary citizens and excluding them from the heart of nationhood which characterizes the position of Blacks in the Colombian racial order,” as not simply a framework established by elites but also perpetuated in social practice.<sup>22</sup> Wade’s concept of a “racial order” contextualizes his critique of mestizaje by analyzing the ways in which Blackness is placed at the bottom of a hierarchical “triangle”, and what is perceived as “whiteness” or “white-behavior” nestles on top.<sup>23</sup>

An additional approach to themes of race and ethnic identity are seen in works by historians Cecilia Méndez and Mauricio Archila, as well as cultural anthropologist Mauricio Pardo. In Méndez’s work, “The Power of Naming,” she discusses how ethnic identity is a political construction used by groups in a particular region to gain access to resources, increase chances of social mobility, and receive necessary benefits from the State in late 19th

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<sup>21</sup> Peter Wade, *Blackness and Race Mixture: The Dynamics of Racial Identity in Colombia*. Baltimore: the John Hopkins University Press.1993, introduction.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid, 19.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid, 3-7.

century Peru.<sup>24</sup> Méndez argues for the strategic benefits of ethnic labeling as a political tool (opposing a Herderian natural-cultural model), while illustrating how the aforementioned group of peasants refused to be identified as an “Iquichano” due to their more familiar connection to their community of origin, and the stigma associated with the “ethnic” group as “barbarians” or “traitors to the patria”.<sup>25</sup>

Similarly, Mauricio Archila describes a familiar synopsis of Afrodescendant construction as an ethnic group in the 1970s. His focus on Afrodescendant ethnic identity stems in the Black Social Movements of the time, and how many individuals of African descent refused to be classified in this category. Archila suggests that Black people in rural zones, for example, were present in social protests as part of a collective of campesinos or mineros (farmers/miners), not as Afrodescendants. He attributes this to the regional significance of the Pacific Coast (many of its regions being heavily populated by Black and some indigenous people) as the second largest zone of political action from 1958-1990.<sup>26</sup> Archila also mentions that documentation of a “Black” group is rare in these decades, which also may have implications to racist attitudes discouraging people against claiming African ancestry and/or feeling discriminated against for having darker skin color. The geographic location of the Pacific, for example, has been viewed by the State as the “Black” region, which also accounts for most of the poorest areas of the country, the highest occurrence of violence, and low access to educational opportunity. Blackness in this context is connected to stereotypes of Africa. Therefore, the Pacific coast is associated with rural life and

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<sup>24</sup> Cecilia Méndez-Gastelumendi, “The Power of Naming, or the Construction of Ethnic and National Identities in Peru: Myth, History, and the Iquichanos.” *Past and Present*, No. 171 May 2001 (p 154). Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid*, 138.

<sup>26</sup> Mauricio Archila. *Idas y venidas vueltas y revueltas: Protestas Sociales en Colombia 1958-1990*. Bogotá, Col: ICANH y CINEP. 2005. Print. 251.

“backwardness” in comparison to the “modernity” of Bogotá,<sup>27</sup> it is no wonder many individuals in the 1970s did not identify as “Black.”

Political elites throughout the late 19th-20th century also refused to include racial categories in official government documents (census data, constitution, etc.) in efforts to disassociate Colombia with its colonial past and position the country on a progressive track for modernization and gaining access to the global market. This is not to say that racism in some magical sense disappeared. Within this process was a deliberate denial of racial distinction in an “official” sense, while a deep-rooted racist ideology of Black and indigenous people remained. Seeing that instances of racial discrimination were not occurring under legal segregation as in the United States, Colombian politicians and policy makers denied its very existence, and blamed discriminatory attitudes as class struggles. I will elaborate this process of official inclusion and cultural exclusion of people considered Black in my research.

Peter Wade and many others in the field also criticize the academic establishment’s negligence of black studies. Wade argues that indigenous groups have been historically romanticized and still are a “category of special interest for intellectuals and the state” (not always for the best reasons) while studies of Africans or their descendants have been largely ignored.<sup>28</sup> He mentions well-known Colombian anthropologist who studied Afrodescendants of the Pacific coast, Nina de Friedemann, as also making this claim before he began work in the field, estimating that between 1936 and 1978, 271 people became professional anthropologists; only 5 have focused on blacks”. According to Friedemann and other

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<sup>27</sup> Peter Wade. *Blackness and Race Mixture: The Dynamics of Racial Identity in Colombia*. Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press. 1993.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid, 34.



scholars of Afrodescendants (Jaime Arocha, Eduardo Restrepo, Aurora Vergara, Maguemati Wabgou and many more) “blacks have been ‘invisible’ in the national arena.”<sup>29</sup> Wade believes this difference of indigenous and black studies can be traced back to colonial attitudes of the groups and that indigenous people were given a specific “distinctiveness” as being a people with unique cultural traditions and languages while absorbing perceived indigenous communities within the state. In contrast, he argues that Afrodescendants in Colombia had apparently lost their cultural distinctiveness and have been incorporated as “ordinary citizens,” albeit not typical ones “nor ones that would be used to represent Colombia in most discourse about national identity.” Due to this, and at times racist attitudes, the lens of anthropologists shifted towards indigenous study. It is this meandering position of a black individual in the racial order which led Friedemann’s colleague to say that the study of blacks was not “anthropology.”<sup>30</sup>

An impressive compilation of caricatures depicting Afrodescendants in Colombia was recently published in October of 2017, which displays the various ways in which black culture has been commodified, marketed and portrayed in newspapers for most of the 20th century by Óscar Perdomo.<sup>31</sup> Though there are concerns of bias in his choice of imagery, the majority of the work is telling of media portrayal of black bodies and culture. Many of the images from the 1970s include caricatures of black men as athletes, (soccer players and boxers), or rural and poor with tattered clothing and swollen bellies who seem to lack the intellect of an urban mestizo or white male. As for black women’s images of the same era, most of them do not have voices (captions of dialogue) and/or are highly sexualized and

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<sup>29</sup> Ibid, 35.

<sup>30</sup> Peter Wade. *Blackness and Race Mixture: The Dynamics of Racial Identity in Colombia*. Baltimore: the John Hopkins University Press. 1993, introduction. P. 36. The statement was made in 1984.

<sup>31</sup> Óscar Perdomo Gamboa. *1000 Caricaturas Afro en la historia de Colombia*. Cali, Col: Univ del Valle. 2017.

lusted after by white men.<sup>32</sup> Some representations, for example the athletic archetype, are not necessarily negative. The lack of stories of and by Afrodescendants is what is concerning, and how often these stories are even reported. This “single-story approach”<sup>33</sup> where a monolithic message is consistently being disseminated, is not only creating a false narrative of the subject, but exoticizing them from the dominant group’s prerogative. This process has created an incomplete “imaginary” of Afrodescendants and perpetuated racial stereotypes to this day.

Ethnomusicologist, Michael Birenbaum Quintero, builds on the everyday articulations of racial stereotypes by explaining in his work, *Rites, Rights and Rhythms. A Genealogy of Musical Meaning in Colombia's Black Pacific*, how Black Colombians in the mid-twentieth century would “perform respectability” or essentially attempt to emulate the behavior of white elites in the region in order to move up the social ladder. Birenbaum Quintero broke down how the stigma of blackness lent individuals of African descent to deny their ancestry and create difference between the way they dressed, spoke, danced, music listened to, and how they generally carried themselves in public to distinguish themselves as having little to no relation to other Afrodescendant individuals not sharing these similar qualities or desires to essentially publicly carry themselves similar to that of their “white” or “mestizo/a” countrymen. Here there is an understanding and urge to stratify whiteness as the peak of a unilineal social evolution while interpreting blackness as something that is backwards, shameful, and lacking social, economic, and political prestige.

Anthropologist, Marisol de la Cadena, capitalizes on Birenbaum Quintero’s and all the other scholar’s works mentioned throughout this discussion, by establishing the necessity

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<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

<sup>33</sup> Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie. “The Danger of a Single Story.” Lecture, TED Talk, Oct. 7, 2009.

to discuss racism even though biological races have been proven to be a myth and used as a means of exploitation and domination of one group over another. In her work, *Indigenous Mestizos: The Politics of Race and Culture in Cuzco, Peru, 1919-1991*, she defines racism as “the discriminatory practices that derive from a belief in the unquestionable intellectual and moral superiority of one group of Peruvians over the rest.”<sup>34</sup> Therefore, when discussing racism I am looking concurrently at the fabrication of its authenticity with the very real consequences it has produced historically and in the present-day. Just because biological “races” do not exist, does not exonerate the perpetrators of using it as a means to oppress others, nor excuse the lasting repercussions of its salience in society. De la Cadena’s concept of how race can be adjusted as various euphemisms such as geographies, economic status, culture, and labels is also another reason why race should not be ignored as a focus of study. The consequences of racism may lead to social/political exclusion, normalization of inferiority, under or misrepresentation in media/politics/education, physical and psychological violence, prejudices, essentialism, deeming the “othered” group as vessels of immorality, stigmatization, economic exploitation, and internalized self-hatred of the targeted group amongst other things. All of these factors may also manifest in the institutionalization of discrimination which produces these symptoms in society for those who identify within the “othered” group. Therefore, De la Cadena’s and others engagement with race as “institutionalized hypocrisy” is a viable research model which seeks to explain why society functions and values what it does.

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<sup>34</sup> Marisol de la Cadena, *Indigenous Mestizos: The Politics of Race and Culture in Cuzco, Peru, 1919-1991*. Durham & London: Duke Univ. Press, 2000. 4. Of course, this definition can be applied to many other nations and not just Peru.

## Contributions

Although I have discussed some of the major historiographical accomplishments in racism and prejudice in Latin America, most of the works which specifically discuss race in Colombia were written by sociologists and anthropologists. Almost every book or article I have read deals with the question of racial formation or ethnicity in Colombia pre and post abolition of slavery in 1851, or fast forwarded to the constitutional change of 1991. Ethnicity in Colombia is discussed, generally, in terms which were created after Law 70 of 1993. Countless books have been written by activist scholars which begin the discussion of racial prejudice beginning from 1991, or retracing its enactment by looking closer at the 1980s. This lead me to the question: How can we begin to understand what group formation or ethnic/racial boundary making entails by only studying the moment in which black “ethnicity” was institutionalized? How did we get there? What processes were taking place in the twentieth century in order for this constitutional change to occur? And not just what was happening with Black activism in the few years leading up to the change, I am seeking to understand why some communities in Chocó, for example, identify as “libres” and not “negro/a”? Why do individuals along the Pacific coast who are visibly Black identify as per their region or as mestizos and not “negro/a” or “Afrocolombiano/a”? Why do some Black folk prefer to marry “lighter”? What are the deeper implications of the stigmatization of slavery? And if it is so far gone, then why still deny blackness as part of the official *recent* history of Colombia? The limited research conducted by historians presents a gap in race scholarship which specifically deals with Afrodescendant individuals.<sup>35</sup> Its silence acts as an

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<sup>35</sup> I do also take into account that most of my research has been conducted in the US, which may have caused the difficulty of locating books and articles written about racism in the mid-20th century by Latin American historians.

erasure of human existence which in reality, churned the economy of the country and heavily flavored the capital of cultural and intellectual production of the nation. Due to the serious lack of historical research on this topic in the mid-late twentieth century, this work is seeking to add to the minority (yet growing) literature that has been done which addresses these points.

What I also hope to convey are the nuances between deliberate racist language intended to belittle the targeted individual, versus the unconscious normalization of discriminatory language or imagery intended to create difference but without clear indications of it intentionally attempting to damage or hurt the person in the press. I believe this research will also add to the conversation of “decoloniality” by simply centering the Afrodescendant individual and decentralizing myths of racial democracy which still ignites heated debate within all sectors of Colombian society and scholars alike.

### **Organization**

This thesis is organized into four sections: 1) Essentializing blackness and the coasts, 2) Stereotypes and Stigmas of the Pacific, 3) Representations of Black Women, and 4) *El Negro no Permitido: Black Political Subjects in the Press*. Each of these chapters will discuss how the argument of *el negro permitido* operated in its particular context. The first section will discuss the “authenticity” of the coast in shaping ideas of “blackness”, as well as how the Pacific has been connected to negative stereotypes of Africa. The second section will focus on the stereotypes of Black individuals praised and understood for the use of their bodies and not their intellect. Section three will provide the discussion of a Black woman’s place in mostly Caleña society, and how beauty standards leaned towards the concept of

Hispanismo.<sup>36</sup> And finally, the last section will showcase how Black political and intellectual production was not fitting the mold of *el negro permitido*, and the consequences of such actions in the press.

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<sup>36</sup> Caleña meaning a woman from the city of Cali. Cali is the third largest city in Colombia and serves as the capital of the Pacific department of Valle del Cauca.

## Chapter 2

### Creating the “Authentic”: Development, Tourism, and Folklorization Projects of the Coasts



Map 1

In Colombia, the notion of regional markers of people, food, music, and customs is viewed generally as an intrinsic quality: something one just “has” or “is” due to the place they are from. Whether it be the Caribbean or Pacific Coasts, Andean Center, Antioquia, or the Eastern Plains, these regions house a particular set of assumptions which have been

<sup>37</sup> Google image. Accessed July 21, 2019.

continuously shaped, expanded, and marketed to create a consumable and therefore, tangible understanding of what these qualities entail. Of course, many of these “markers” are truly stereotypes which have been adapted from inhabitants’ daily lives, yet also folklorized by formal and informal organizations and institutions to produce an “authentic” representation of the region on display. Whether it be cumbia and vallenato, mestizaje, and partying for the Caribbean Coast, the perceived “whiteness” and modernity of the Andean center, the “untouched” or “unspoiled” treasure of the Amazon, the business capital of the country, Antioquia and its’ paisas.<sup>38</sup> One can hear such statements as, “Costeños love to have a good party. They party every night!” or “Bogotáños are snobby and self-interested”, or “Paisas own everything, they are business savvy” or “Pacíficos are poor black people, but happy!”. All of these statements and ideas of these regions have been reproduced in the popular media throughout the twentieth century and more recently marketed as tourist traps for both national and international travelers. However, it is the Pacific Coast which has a markedly racial tone and has not been able to recover from the stigmatization of its’ inhabitants as backwards, ignorant, and poor due to its connection with blackness. The other regions also imply a particular racial understanding, but the Pacific has garnered a more negative connotation, especially the northern department of Chocó which is populated by the highest concentration of Afrodescendant individuals in the country.<sup>39</sup> Researchers such as Odile Hoffmann, Peter Wade, and Nancy Applebaum among others have written about this racialization of the coast: simply, how a geographic area can be reconstructed to mean a euphemism for race, in this case blackness, and stigmatized because of it. These colonial

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<sup>38</sup> Colloquial term for people from Antioquia.

<sup>39</sup> According to the National Administrative Department of Statistics in Colombia (DANE), the department of el Chocó has over 80% of its population which self-identifies as either Afrodescendant or Black.



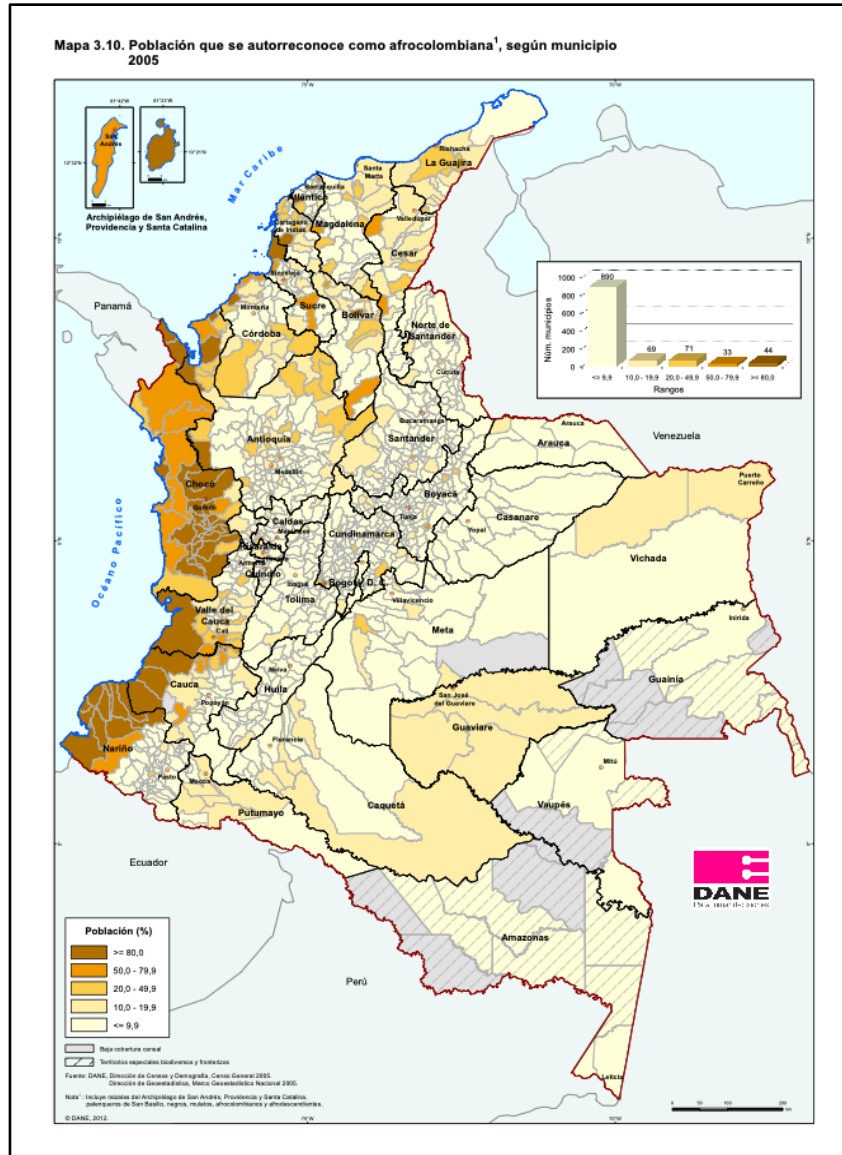
attitudes of how tropical or coastal environments create a regression of “decency” and “modernity” have sedimented in many elite Colombians’ ideas of the Pacific region and aided in the marginalization of people who reside along this coast. Many activists and scholars of the Colombian Pacific believe the government has failed to properly engage, assist, and provide necessary services to the populations across its’ departments due to this racialization process of the coasts. The map below displays the country’s departments.



**Map 2**

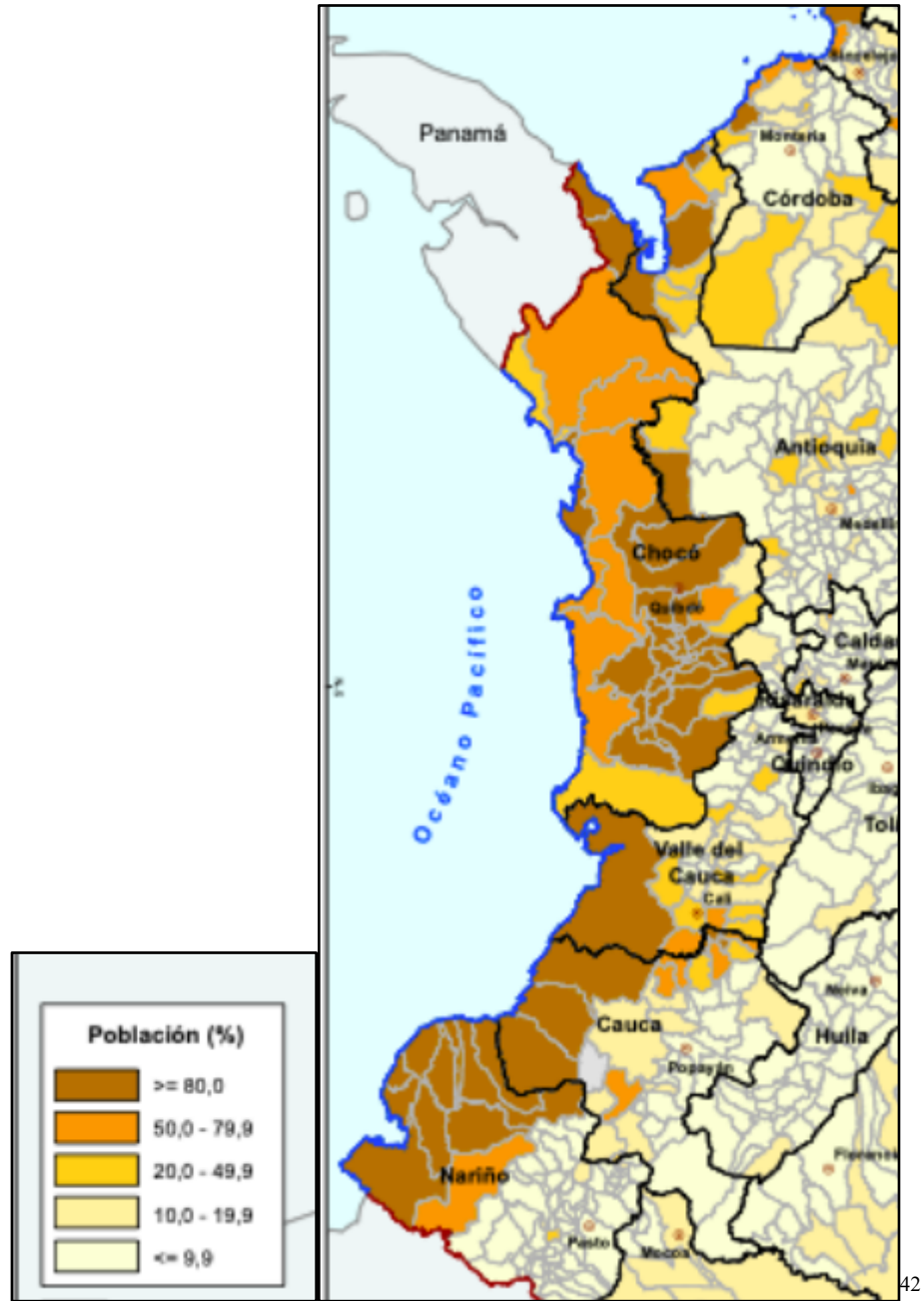
<sup>40</sup> Google image. Retrieved on July 23, 2019.

The majority of this thesis will be focused on depictions of Afrocolombians mainly from the Pacific or Western regions of the country (or have roots from these regions) from the departments of Chocó, Valle del Cauca, Cauca, and Nariño with some references to the Caribbean coast as well.



Map 3

<sup>41</sup>Even though this is a map created from the census statistics from 2005 by the National Administrative Department of Statistics, the demographic concentrations of Afrodescendants is similar to the 1970s. Accessed January 25, 2019, <https://www.dane.gov.co>.



Map 4

Both newspapers, *El Tiempo* and *El País*, often racialized the Pacific Coastal region, stigmatizing the people through what I have defined as *el negro permitido*. However, the

<sup>42</sup> Close up of the Pacific region of Map 3.

stigmatization of the Pacific coast reveals itself markedly different in the two papers. In *El Tiempo*, most images of black Colombians who are not athletes or performers, are inhabitants of either the Pacific or Caribbean coasts. I observed multiple imagery of fishermen, some of sugar-cane cutters in the S. Pacific and sporadic images and stories of black people who reside in *la selva* (the jungle). Some of these images are displayed as passive candid shots of the inhabitants, at times as a solo piece, a window into the lives of the “other Colombia,”<sup>43</sup> and some are accompanied with a story about the developing maritime industries of the coasts. The articles often showed the same photograph of a black fisherman detangling a fishing line repeatedly worked into different articles across a couple of years: A one-size-fits-all approach to displaying the monotonous “reality” of the coasts.

Throughout the decade of the 1970s, endless stories surfaced about the development, industry, and push for tourism in the Pacific and Caribbean Coasts, most notably in the two major port cities of Buenaventura in the Pacific and Cartagena in the Caribbean. The administrations of Misael Pastrana Borrero (1970-'74) and the first half of Alfonso López Michelsen's (1974-'78) multiplied efforts of international and regional investment in the ports and surrounding areas. This was, reportedly, in an effort to increase international investments in the country, and advance the maritime, mining, and logging industries, as well as engage in modernization projects to convert Buenaventura “into a city according to its category of first port” and Cartagena into a tourist hotspot.<sup>44</sup> New agencies and organizations dedicated to development and tourism also emerged within this decade, including the Corporación Nacional de Turismo, Turismo de Occidente, Colombian Travel

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<sup>43</sup> Many scholars and writers have written about the construct of the “other Colombia” as mainly rural geographies inhabited by Black and indigenous communities, and/or campesinos, opposed to the modern urban cities such as Bogotá, Medellín, and Cali.

<sup>44</sup> *El Tiempo*, August 2, 1972.

Club, among others. Many cultural and folkloric institutions also were taking more precedence in the 1970s such as the Instituto Nacional de Cultura, which aligned with the Instituto Colombiana de Antropología, Ministro de Relaciones Exteriores, Ministro de Educación, Corporación de Turismo, and representatives of the López Michelsen presidency to create the Primer Seminario de Patrimonio Cultural in Bogotá, as well as create an “archivo folclórico” of all the “authentic” roots of the nation. This discussion of the country’s folkloric traditions and patrimony was called the Encuentro Folclórico Nacional which officially recognized Colombia as having four distinct regional cultures: the Llanos (plains), Andino (Andean), Pacífica (Pacific), and Caribe (Caribbean) zones.<sup>45</sup> These agencies together developed budgets and the space to implement folkloric traditions from the four zones, which molded beautifully with the decade’s push for development and tourism.

The proposed investments by President Pastrana included the induction of new “roads, education, housing, health centers, recreation areas, infrastructure for tourism, municipal administration, and industry.”<sup>46</sup> He did this in order to “improve the living conditions of a large group who today find themselves in a precarious situation regarding personal income, participation in productive processes, etc.”<sup>47</sup> In June of 1974, reports in *El Tiempo* surfaced of the new administration’s plans to establish a “*permanent* planning system for the development” (emphasis added) of the seven departments of the Atlantic Coast. It was reported that this undertaking will result in the “socio-economic transformation in the Atlantic Coast” and “requires special attention” to ensure all inhabitants may live a life “of

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<sup>45</sup> *El Tiempo*, Feb 17, 1975.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*

maximum collective benefit”.<sup>48</sup> On February 17th, 1975, another report concluded that the Seminar on the Problems of Buenaventura organized by the SEAP (Economic Society of Friends of the Country) requested “to join efforts to achieve the transformation of the port in the Pacific”.<sup>49</sup> This seminar included plans to strengthen and revitalize the shrimp industry, and for the current government to create a maritime policy to “advance the campaign for the national government to appropriate the economic resources required by the CVC (Autonomous Regional Corporation of Cauca) and also to obtain the approval by the Inter-American Development Bank of the financing for the Integral Development Plan of Buenaventura”.<sup>50</sup>

Tourism and investment to these port cities were also highly advertised and promoted throughout these years, supplying the pages of *El Tiempo* with photographs and reports of the “tropical exoticism” of the regions.<sup>51</sup> This was done in an effort to stir interest and boost economic production in the areas. On August 2nd of 1972, a report in bold letters claimed that the country “urgently needs to channel tourism”.<sup>52</sup> In December of 1973, the front page printed a picture of newlyweds Princess Anne and Mark Phillips,<sup>53</sup> honeymooning in the historic port city of Cartagena, while praising the “magnificence of its relics.”<sup>54</sup> It was clearly apparent that government interest was more invested in the national development of these cities, and pushed for the well-to-do interior<sup>55</sup> of the country, to invest and be receptive to the

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<sup>48</sup> *El Tiempo* June 1, 1974, 4A.

<sup>49</sup> *El Tiempo*, Feb 17, 1975, 9A.

<sup>50</sup> *El Tiempo*, Feb 17, 1975.

<sup>51</sup> *El Tiempo*, Dec 12, 1973, 1B.

<sup>52</sup> *El Tiempo* Aug 2, 1972, 2A.

<sup>53</sup> Princess Anne is the second child of Queen Elizabeth II and Prince Philip of Edinburgh, England.

<sup>54</sup> *El Tiempo*, Dec 12, 1973, front page.

<sup>55</sup> By “interior” I am referring to the Andean region literally in the center of the country which houses the capital city, Bogotá. The interior of Colombia is where all the major political decisions are made and implemented and is perceived as having the most interest to political figures while the rest of the country competes for the attention of the central government.

projects which would supposedly be enacted. One story in *El País* even claimed the government needed to start building and mending the roads around Cali because it was creating problems for tourists: nothing was mentioned about how the inhabitants of the city may need the same roads for their day-to-day living.<sup>56</sup>

The regularity and diversity of tourist advertisements were more common in *El Tiempo*, whereas *El País*'s pages were more inclined to the actual development projects happening in nearby regions and cities due to the tourism enterprise. Such headlines as, "Urge canalizar el turismo en Colombia"<sup>57</sup>, "Bonos por 130 millones de pesos para el turismo"<sup>58</sup>, and "Hacia el fomento del turismo en el Litoral Pacífico"<sup>59</sup> illustrated the government's desire to solidify tourism and development with special focus on attracting European visitors, especially the French. French photographers and tourists made their way in stories explaining their love for the country and how they wished there would be more hotels and better transportation to make it more accommodating for international visitors. A tourist guide from 1975 published by the Empresa Colombiana de Turismo in Bogotá, also had multiple pages dedicated to the French airline, Air France, where it advertised comfortable flights from Europe to Colombia.

Within most of the bombardment of tourist and development stories throughout *El Tiempo* and *El País*, there seemed to be little about the actual changes it would make in the everyday lives of the inhabitants of the coasts. An exception to this silence, was an article published in November of 1975 in *El País*. This opinion piece voiced a deep concern for the inhabitants of the Pacific coast, specifically that of Buenaventura, and urged the national

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<sup>56</sup> *El País*, Nov. 6, 1975, 3.

<sup>57</sup> *El Tiempo*, Aug 3, 1972, 2A.

<sup>58</sup> *El Tiempo*, June 18, 1973, 14A.

<sup>59</sup> *El País*, Nov 26, 1975, 22.

government to do what it could to ensure that the livelihoods of those individuals improve and not decline due to these major projects. The writer of the piece was a representative of the governing body in Buenaventura, Luis Beltrán Ocoró, and he demanded that the inhabitants of the region be incorporated into the development of the country, interestingly, by reminding the reader that people of African descent in the region have suffered enough exploitation, first by the hands of the supposed “civilized man” during the Spanish conquest, and then by the national government in marginalizing the black individual in this region he called, “el Litoral Recóndito”.<sup>60</sup> Beltrán continues to say that black Colombians have contributed immensely to the cultural and intellectual production of the nation, however, what still remains is the reality of “dos colombianos”, the poverty-stricken indigenous Colombian along the Pacific coast, and the well-to-do Colombian in the Andean center which has fomented in society due to the “centralismo absorbente” (absorbing centralism) which has taken all the attention of politicians. He goes on to say that unfortunately for the black inhabitants of the Pacific, they do not even measure to be part of that second Colombian, and have been “olvidada deliberadamente” (deliberately forgotten).<sup>61</sup> This story alludes to the fact that all the promises of development, tourism, and the rapid folklorization projects which accompanied them, were not nearly doing enough to properly engage with these communities, and the promises of a better future were left only to the imagination of the people.

Beltrán Ocoró’s critique of the national government’s failure to fulfill their promises of progress came at a time when the former president, Misael Pastrana, had pushed back against agrarian and land reforms made by INCORA (Colombian Institute for Agrarian

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<sup>60</sup> *El País*, Nov. 26, 1975, 23.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*



Reform) leading to some of the country's largest civic and campesino revolts in the 20th century<sup>62</sup>. Pastrana turned day-laborers, and wage workers to jobless campesinos, no longer having access to make their livelihood on vacant lands, or "tierras baldias", once again displacing hundreds, if not thousands of people of African and indigenous descent along the coast.<sup>63</sup> These areas were known to have been converted to private property for hotels, tourist sites, and agricultural plantations owned by foreign corporations and politicians of Colombia. Beltrán's critique and other counter-reports surfaced in *El Tiempo* and *El País* criticizing the lack of progress but for two different reasons. In *El Tiempo*, the major concern was the millions of pesos of public money which seemed to have vanished mid-way through construction projects in Buenaventura,<sup>64</sup> and in *El País*, criticisms from local leaders, especially those with ties to the negritudes movement, were expressing dismay and anger towards the government's marginalization of the region.

By the mid to late 1970s, national development projects and promotion of tourism nearly vanished from *El Tiempo's* pages. So much so that one report claimed that the "Colombian state has abandoned the assaulted wealth of the seas, mainly that of the Pacific, to keep it as a preset for international piracy."<sup>65</sup> This was a far-cry from the article of June 1971, where *El País* claimed the inhabitants of Buenaventura held an "entusiasta recepción" (enthusiastic reception) for Governor, Marino Renjifo Salcedo, to discuss plans to develop "sitios turísticos" (tourist sites) for the beaches of Juanchaco and Ladrilleros.<sup>66</sup> Whereas

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<sup>62</sup> Archila, Mauricio. *Idas y venidas vueltas y revueltas: Protestas Sociales en Colombia 1958-1990*. Bogotá, Col: ICANH y CINEP. 2005. Print.

<sup>63</sup> Pardo, Mauricio. "Entre la autonomía y la institucionalización: Dilemas del movimiento negro colombiano". *The Journal of Latin American Anthropology*. 7 (2): p. 72. 2002.

<sup>64</sup> *El Tiempo* Aug. 2, 1972.

<sup>65</sup> *El Tiempo* Aug. 1, 1979, 5A.

<sup>66</sup> *El País*, June 1, 1971, p 3.

public interest in Bogotá centered around geopolitics of the United States and the “race wars” in Africa in the latter half of the decade, Cali remained dedicated to local stories. What remained as a constant was the distance which *El País* and *El Tiempo* created between black individuals and lighter-skinned elites, by connecting black coastal inhabitants to negative stereotypes of Africa.

From the multiple stories about development and tourism throughout the 1970s in *El País* and *El Tiempo*, there is really no guarantee about the livelihood of the inhabitants of these areas which are part of the “plan”. There was some discussion in *El País* with local leaders interviewed as having concern for the wellbeing of their people and desiring to create a continued dialogue with central authorities (Bogotá) to carry this through. Apart from some of these interviews as part of a larger series on the intense development projects of Buenaventura, there really was not much concern of the negative consequences of these developments, the displacements that very well may have arose due to it, and continuation of clientelist relations of the inhabitants and land owners of these areas. When looked with a refined lense, the government really does not have much intention to shake the status quo and offer black communities a stable future of economic and civil growth, because it still replays stereotypes of a black person’s position in the larger scheme of social hierarchies. One may discuss the amazing development projects underway, but that in itself cannot offer any solace to racial equality if there is no concrete action put in place and the necessary resources and human effort to carry it through. This is seen more concretely, by the photographs of Buenaventura’s population throughout the story, and how young black women are staged in aprons and service attire, while situated next to white women dressed as occupying corporate jobs or managerial positions, and a white nun who is the pillar of morality and decency.

**TODOS LIMPIAMOS A BUENAVENTURA...**

Utilizando los recolectores de basura colocados en diferentes sitios de la ciudad hacemos de Buenaventura el puerto más limpio de América.

Por Buenaventura... hagámoslo con gusto.  
Campaña de las Empresas Públicas Municipales.

**SERVICIOS PARA SU SERVICIO**

The photograph above is staged, and the intentions are more clearly understood when compared to the dialogue of development. Development, meaning more privatization of land for profit for a small elite, and having no intention of changing social positions of its' citizens to share in that wealth and truly benefit from the projects. The image is also a physical display of the rigid demarcation of supposed female respectability, white Catholic gender norms, and creating layers of difference which expands the hierarchical space of the white nun at the top to the black domestic workers at the bottom. This photograph alone, does not

<sup>67</sup> *El País*, Nov 26, 1975 p18.

show how the development process is going to enrich the lives of some of the most vulnerable members of its society, Afrocolombian women and children, and how any such development is in essence fomenting new ideas of social change, even if right above the photo was the promising headline, “Buenaventura Progresada” (Buenaventura Progresses).<sup>68</sup> The articles written about how these development projects will “modernize” the country and make Buenaventura more accommodating for tourists do not inquire into how this narrow view of modernity is capitalist driven in nature and emblemized Western Europe and the U.S. as the model of development.

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<sup>68</sup> Ibid.

## Chapter 3

### Stereotypes and Stigmas of the Pacific

Afrodescendants within the 1970s have been included into “national” dialogue in the press as mainly athletes, dancers, fishermen, or agents of folklore. The most famous of these athletes correspond to the sports in fashion at the time; soccer, baseball, boxing, and cycling. It was in this context which Afrodescendants, majority male, gained fame, recognition, and praise. Such words as “brillante”,<sup>69</sup> “extraordinario”,<sup>70</sup> “impresionante”,<sup>71</sup> “estrellas”,<sup>72</sup> or even “la gran esperanza”,<sup>73</sup> were attributed to athletes in these early years. The Bogotá newspaper, *El Tiempo*, also included other famous black athletes such as Pelé from Brazil and some baseball players from the U.S. among others quite frequently, also expressing endearing names attributed to these sportsmen. Pelé was known as “El Rey”,<sup>74</sup> the undisputed king of soccer during the first half of the 1970s. Nowhere else in my investigation of this time period, have I seen those expressions given to any other person of African descent other than a handful of mostly male athletes.

This chapter will focus on three main themes which encompass the stereotypes reproduced by both the Bogotá newspaper, *El Tiempo*, and the Cali newspaper, *El País* of individuals understood to be “black”. The first is black individuals mainly visibilized by the use of their bodies: athletes, dancers, etc. The second is the essentialization and folklorization of the two coasts, Pacific and Caribbean, and the third are the connections

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<sup>69</sup> *El Tiempo*, Sep. 4, 1970, referring to Juana Mosquera, track.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid*, Sep. 3, 1970, referring to Jesús Villegas, track.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid*, Oct. 1, 1972.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid*, Jan. 2, 1971 Cali soccer team.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid*, Jan. 4, 1971 referring to “Rocky” Rodrigo Valdez, world middleweight champion.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid*, Sep. 24, 1970.

made of mainly the inhabitants of the Pacific coast and Colombian elite's imaginaries of Africa. All of these stereotypes operated in *el negro permitido*, the constructed expression for a black individual, and relates to the values which are placed on their personhood.

The way the Black body was exalted in *El Tiempo* (made clear in the daily sports section) differs to the way Black athletes are discussed in *El País*. *El Tiempo* tended to glorify individual black athletes, inscribing their God-like talents across the scriptures that was the sports section. *El País*, on the other hand, more frequently glorified their club teams, América de Cali and Deportivo Cali, which happened to have at least half of its players who were from the Pacific and/or phenotypically of African descent. The focus was more so on their home teams, keeping up with their successes, losses, and team news in general. This lends to the exploration of how two perspectives, the capital and regional, with two varying demographics<sup>75</sup>, value and view black sportsman and entertainers. Therefore, the perpetuation of the black “celebrity athlete” narrative was more common in *El Tiempo*, whereas *El País*'s coverage of Black athletes was generally much less sanctified, rather centering on creating sensationalist news about the teams as a whole.

### **Marking the “Other”: Racialized language and Geographies**

Racialized language expressed in *El Tiempo* was not just a simple expression of person or place but acted as a marker for “other”: an invisible boundary drawn between the interior Andean society, and black and indigenous individuals perceived as the exterior. Or in other words, Afrodescendant and indigenous individuals outside of the constructed view of

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<sup>75</sup> As mentioned in the introduction, the south west of the country including Cali, have some of the largest populations of Afrodescendants in Colombia. Bogotá was mostly populated by individuals who could pass as light-skinned mestizos/as or “white.”

Colombian mestizaje. Racialized language was most often used in conjunction, or as an add-on, to an individual or particular thing or geographic location. Similar to feminized language, such as *actress* (stemming from *actor*), or *hostess* (stemming from *host*), it is the root word, which is normalized, where the add-on of “ess” creates a highlighting effect and marks the word as “other” or a derivative of the base word. Racialized language follows the feminized process, though takes it a step further. Typically, when a racialized add-on is used, it devalues the original meaning of the phrase, which can be interpreted as subordinating, othering, and/or patronizing the individual or place it is referring to. This is evident in October 2, 1972 when *El Tiempo* discussed music from the Pacific coast as “música negra” (Black music), or “invasores de piel oscura” in Patia (dark-skinned invaders)<sup>76</sup>. This racialized language was also used towards indigenous people. In February of 1974, *El Tiempo* reported a child from Keshena, Texas as “un niño pielroja” (a red-skinned boy), and indigenous people of Valle del Cauca as, “los nativos descalzos” (the barefoot natives)<sup>77</sup>. “Los nativos descalzos” acts in a similar way, “descalzos” being the highlighted word in the phrase. Again, it was not sufficient to report that the individuals were natives; being barefoot was what the journalist wanted to capitalize on, which in essence creates negative images and stereotypes which are perpetuated for decades.

*El País* also engaged with articles of similar language and drew lines of difference from what was perceived as the “low culture” of blackness and the coast versus the “high culture” of the “whiteness” or “mixedness” of some inhabitants of urban centers such as Cali. One example which illustrates this distinction of the “two Colombias”<sup>78</sup> is the tragic story of

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<sup>76</sup> *El Tiempo*, Oct. 2, 1972 7a; June 23, 1964.

<sup>77</sup> *El Tiempo*, February 4, 1975; March 1, 1972.

<sup>78</sup> This was a concept brought to light by both members of the negritude movement and those who saw themselves as “White” or being just the “average” Colombian from urban cities. I discussed this in more depth

Victor Godoy Cuéllar, a young black man from the Pacific who saw his friend killed at a construction site in Cali. His story was published on November 22, 1977. The journalist sympathetically recounted Godoy's story of how his friend essentially was buried alive under a sudden landslide while they were on a cigarette break. There was not much detail into what caused the heaps of dirt to cave in on the two men, but what was made pristinely clear was how the journalist separated himself from the workers. Casually, the journalist introduced Godoy as "un morocho tumaqueño", (a blacky tumaqueño) who would have a difficult time in forgetting the tragedy of seeing his friend die.<sup>79</sup> The article included a tidbit of information which truly had nothing to do with the story at hand, yet it highlighted the totality of many underlying social anxieties in Cali which shared some similarities with Tumaco in the social hierarchy of its society. This is observed by the journalist adding the young man's place of birth (Tumaco) as a means to justify the racialized moniker "morocho" or "blacky". Tumaco is a port city and municipality in the Nariño department along the southern end of the Pacific coast, which is comprised of mostly Afrodescendant and some indigenous and mixed inhabitants, and has historically had contentious social and political relations of the majority Afrodescendant population with the mostly White/Mestizo/a elite.<sup>80</sup> During the 1970s, Cali shared a similar social hierarchy evident in the pages of *El País*, and has been discussed by historian, Santiago Arboleda, as having generations

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in the previous chapter about the connection of development projects, the tourist industry, and the popularization of regional folklore.

<sup>79</sup> Image of the story is below this paragraph.

<sup>80</sup> Please refer to the map in the introduction for further information.



# Vio morir al amigo!

## "Escapé de milagro," dice testigo

Será muy difícil que Víctor Godoy, un morocho tumaqueño de 23 años, olvide la espantosa escena en la que murió aplastado su amigo y en la que él también estuvo a punto de morir.

Flavio Boya Valencia y él se encontraban en el fondo de una zanja, ahondándola más para luego construir un muro de contención, pero ocurrió lo inesperado.

Gran cantidad de tierra se les vino encima. "Yo estaba un poco alejado de Flavio —relata Víctor—. Habíamos hecho una pausa en el trabajo y estábamos prendiendo un cigarrillo....De repente sentí un ruido sordo....Tembló algo...Cuidado, alcancé a gritar y corrí dando grandes zancadas...Sentí como si alguien me aprisionara de las piernas....No pude dar ni un paso....Difícilmente podía respirar....Mi amigo sólo gritó: "Nicolás"!

"Fue lo último que dijo. Llamó al hermano para que lo salvara. Gran cantidad de tierra lo sepultó en el fondo de la zanja. Yo traté de calmarme....Era imposible, creía que la tierra se iba a deslizar más y no tenía manera de escapar...Pero por lo menos estaba vivo....Carajo, sáquenme rápido, grité tan pronto cogí fuerzas...Tenía todo el cuerpo amortiguado y entre más pasaba el tiempo, más se me dificultaba respirar...."

Es un relato dramático. Víctor Godoy Cuéllar aún no se repone del susto. Mira para todos lados y de pronto fija la vista en el cadáver de su amigo paisano y que ya ha sido rescatado por los otros compañeros.

"El era de Tumaco y tenía 23 años. Hace

tres días que estábamos trabajando en este sitio (Avenida de la Circunvalación entre calle 5ª y 6ª Oeste)....El estaba en la parte más profunda de la zanja y no tuvo tiempo de nada".

Qué se siente en un momento semejante?

"No sabría explicarlo...Yo lo único que hice fue tratar de correr....Miré de reojo y vi que la tierra empezaba a deslizarse. Sólo traté de no morir aplastado...Luego, cuando quedé aprisionado de la cintura para abajo, pensé que había llegado mi hora....Pero yo no quería morir y saqué fuerzas de donde no las tenía para pedir auxilio....Luego, cuando comenzaron a cavar a mi alrededor, yo también escarvaba con las manos...Eso es horrible".

La tragedia ocurrió aproximadamente a la una y media de la tarde anterior.

Los compañeros de Boya Valencia trabajaron incansablemente durante cuatro horas hasta que sacaron el cadáver, y media hora duraron rescatando al otro obrero.

Nicolás Boya Valencia, hermano del occiso, también trabaja en la compañía constructora.

"Yo estaba lejos del sitio de la tragedia, dijo visiblemente conmocionado, cuando escuché gritos....No oí cuando llamó mi hermano, pero dicen que alcanzó a gritar a gritar mi nombre...Pobrecito".

"Inmediatamente cogí un pico y empecé a remover tierra....Tenía la esperanza de encontrarlo vivo, pero fue mucha la cantidad de material que le cayó encima.



*"Me salvé de milagro... la tierra también me aprisionó pero solo hasta la cintura", dijo Víctor Godoy Cuéllar, quien fue testigo de la muerte de su amigo Flavio Boya Valencia (Foto Arias)*



*Flavio Boya Valencia, el obrero muerto por una alud de tierra*

"Será muy difícil que Víctor Godoy, un morocho tumaqueño de 23 años, olvide la espantosa escena en la que murió aplastado su amigo y en la que él también estuvo a punto de morir." <sup>81</sup>

of a "white-mestizo oligarchy" which has dictated much of the social, economic, and political progressions of the city.<sup>82</sup>

<sup>81</sup> *El País*, Nov. 27, 1977, 8.

<sup>82</sup> Vicenta Moreno Hurtado, and Debaye Mornan. "¿y El Derecho a La Ciudad? Aproximaciones Sobre El Racismo, La Dominación Patriarcal Y Estrategias Feministas De Resistencia En Cali, Colombia." (2015) 9.

A common way in which attitudes and language of race intrude *El País*, is not solely to blatantly ridicule the perceived “other” as with Víctor Godoy, but more so a reflection of the normalcy of the placed inferiority of individuals read as black; especially from the Pacific coast. Godoy’s experience encapsulates the narrative of the “two Colombias” in two significant ways. The first, is the staggering number of individuals from the Pacific coast moving to larger urban cities such as Cali in search for work and a more prosperous future, the second, is the social hierarchy of not only lighter skinned individuals on the top and darker skinned individuals on the bottom, but of the unique mixture of their skin tone with their regional specification as a marker of difference in the city. The Pacific coast of Colombia houses most of the largest poverty rates in the country. For example, the Northern Pacific department of Chocó, which is made up of about 82% Afrodescendants and 13% indigenous, has an Unsatisfied Basic Needs (NBI) rate of 79% which is the highest in Colombia.<sup>83</sup> In the more southern Pacific department of Valle del Cauca, the major port city of Buenaventura was taken record of being the poorest municipality in the region with an NBI index of 63%. In this port, 89% of the population recognize themselves as Afrodescendant. From 1975-2000, el Chocó was in a state of economic crisis, and remained eight times lower in its GDP index than that of Bogotá, the capital city with the highest income.<sup>84</sup>

The abandonment of much of the Pacific by the central government was not a surprise by the end of the 1970s, but resurged as a topic of discussion due to the sympathetic reports of various newspapers of the social, economic, political, and health concerns of the western

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<sup>83</sup> Joaquín Vilorio De La Hoz. *Economías Del Pacífico Colombiano*. 1.st ed. Colección De Economía Regional. Cartagena, Colombia: Banco De La República, 2008, 6.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid*, 6-7.

departments as well as the reinvigoration of guerilla armies in some of these areas. A compilation of these factors forced many individuals to relocate seeking a better life with increased opportunities. However, most economic opportunities were confined to manual labor, where workers such as Víctor Godoy and his friend, Flavio Boya Valencia who tragically died in the construction accident, were obliged to face hazardous working conditions. Due to the proximity of Afrodescendant inhabitants of the Pacific to manual labor in the city, a distinction of the black body as fit for physical labor was a common association made continuously throughout both *El País* and *El Tiempo*.<sup>85</sup> This association reflected the social anxieties of mid to upper class Caleñas towards working-class Afrodescendants in the city as expressed through *El País*, in reproducing a racial border of in-group versus out-group and the convention of “white” superiority.

### **The Essentialized Coast**

Reports of racialized geographies were also evident throughout the decade and established similar features to racialized language of people. Though, the language is used differently, and is a slightly more obscure and nuanced form of expressing otherness. For example, widely celebrated Afrodescendant boxing champion, Rodrigo “Rocky” Valdéz, was typically referred to as “el Colombiano”, or the Colombian, but this mostly had to do with his opponents being of different nationalities across the world stage of boxing. When an Afrodescendant individual had reached a level of fame and glory, he/she was put out of the boundaries of Blackness and incorporated into national pride as a representation of the

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<sup>85</sup> The way the distinction was made in *El Tiempo* was relating the black individual as a manual laborer more so to the confines of the *coasts* as fishermen, woodcutters, and gold miners among other work.

country's populace. In this setting, he/she has been given a pass as a vessel of representation for the whole. However, it was when reports of Valdéz centered around national matches or more personal stories, did the journalist highlight his being from Cartagena: the port city in the Caribbean coast known to have a sizeable mixed and Black population. Depending on the angle and context of the article, Valdéz would shift from "el Colombiano" to "el Cartagenero", bringing glory to the nation in his successes, or resigning back to the coast in his losses.

Throughout *El Tiempo*, Cartagena was mentioned as a place of misery, sickness, poverty, and hunger. El Chocó was also regarded in this way, also including some areas of the Pacific coast, most notably, Buenaventura.<sup>86</sup> Typically, when these geographies were mentioned, it was for the need of development, mainly in Cartagena and Buenaventura, as well as reports of the economic developments of the maritime and logging industries in these areas. One report of the "Cartagenero" Valdéz, revolved around the unlikelihood of how champions can come out of "tugurios", or from the slums.<sup>87</sup> After his earned title of "middleweight champion", journalists from *El Tiempo* ventured to Valdéz's hometown in Cartagena to conduct a special report of his story. It was titled, "From Slums come the Kings of Boxing". The journalist wrote that these up-and-coming athletes are living "at the tip of a trap", and where "the only happy moments are those of triumph with the collection of a few pesos, that will serve to eat well for a week, to acquire a change of clothes, buy sweets and toys for their offspring, and drink two bottles of Tres Esquinas rum."<sup>88</sup> The article continues, "the IQ and degree of culture is very low, almost nil, although they are gentle and friendly

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<sup>86</sup> *El Tiempo*, February 16, 1975; June 2, 1974; June 16, 1976.

<sup>87</sup> *El Tiempo*, June 2, 1974 2B.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*

gentlemen.” The writer’s etic perspective on this situation boxes the realities of these Afrodescendant athletes of being misfortunate, miserable, and ties into stereotypes of the peripheral areas lacking “culture” and having a fixation for drinking. It is not to say that what the journalist was reporting was a fictional story, but the lens in which he crafted the report is extraordinarily narrow. In the larger scheme of reports on the area throughout the decade, the single-story of the poor, ignorant, miserable, Black individual is alarmingly repetitive.

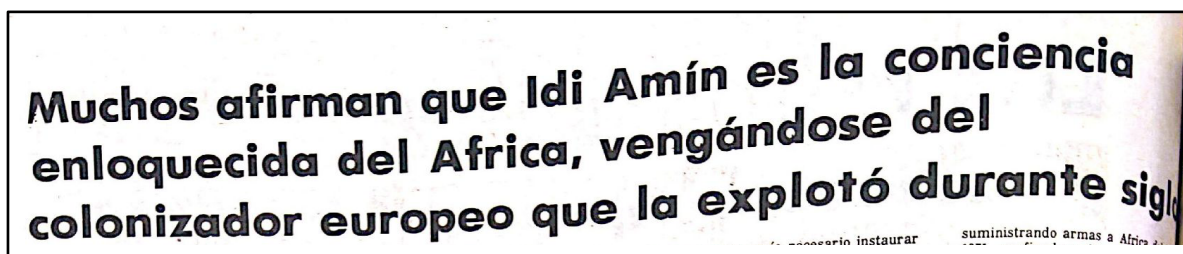
Attitudes of regionalism in Colombia in the twentieth century has become synonymous with notions of race, cultural expression, morality, social hierarchy, and economic status among many other things.<sup>89</sup> As mentioned in chapter two, the Pacific has been used as a deterministic label to define the “other” Colombia as compared to the “standardness” or “averageness” of a mestizo/a from a non-coastal or mostly non-Black or indigenous area. Backwardness, poverty, laziness, disease, and more consequential, Blackness, has been continuously constructed as a narrative about the Pacific in the press, literary and academic writings, as well as in cartoons. However, throughout this investigation of narratives of Blackness in *El Tiempo* and *El País*, the Pacific and its inhabitants have also garnered a connection to Africa. Africa, in this context, is not looking at the richness and diversity of a whole continent, but how it is perceived in the imaginaries of journalists, cartoonists, and regional elites. The Pacific’s connection to this “Africa” is not in a positive light but used as a means to use tropes of poverty, savagery, and ignorance to stigmatize Afrodescendant individuals in the country. The next section will focus on the negative and exoticized imagery of Africa in the press, and both the implicit and explicit ways the Pacific and its inhabitants have been connected to these narratives.

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<sup>89</sup> Carlos Alberto Valderrama. “Black Politics of Folklore: Expanding the Sites and Forms of Politics in Colombia”. *Master’s Thesis*. Massachusetts: 2014, 66.

## Idi Amin

Throughout the 1970s, Idi Amín, Ugandan military dictator, was the most famous African to grace the pages of both *El Tiempo* and *El País*. He was in most cases, the *only* African who was visibilized in the press, being obsessively catalogued, written about, commented about, and accompanied by numerous caricatures of himself as a bloodthirsty cannibal.<sup>90</sup> Anyone who was familiar with Amín's regime, will remember that he truly committed heinous crimes against humanity by ordering mass executions of the Christian population of Uganda, and expelling nearly 70,000 of the nation's Asian population among other things as documented in the press.<sup>91</sup> One of the most noteworthy stories on Amin was a Sunday Special which dedicated three pages, the first in full color (a limited luxury in *El País* for the time) calling for an end to his regime.<sup>92</sup> After comparing Amin to a "Frankenstein" experiment due to the colonial legacy of the West in Uganda, the second page headline manifests the value systems of the paper towards Africa as a whole. It read, "Many affirm that Idi Amin is the crazed conscience of Africa, avenging the European colonizer that exploited it for centuries."<sup>93</sup>



<sup>90</sup> This is not an exaggerated statement. In the subsequent paragraphs it will be clear how his image was recreated as a beastly creature who desired the consumption of human flesh for his pleasure.

<sup>91</sup> "Idi Amin," History, last updated August 18, 2018, <https://www.history.com/topics/africa/idi-amin>.

<sup>92</sup> *El País*, March 6, 1977, 3-5

<sup>93</sup> Ibid.

The first question that comes to mind is who were these “muchos” (many people) who affirmed this of Amin? *El País*’s affirmation of “muchos” somehow gives the statement a kind of legitimacy and therefore is wildly irresponsible and culpable of creating a false confidence in its unfounded assertion. The second, is how Amin, one person, has somehow embodied an entire continent which is large enough to fit over twenty-five Colombias within it. Especially alarming is the way in which both papers have gone to some lengths to humiliate and decrease Amin to a beastly creature. This one statement, “many affirm that Idi Amin is the crazed consciousness of Africa”, is expressing the reaffirmation of colonial imaginaries of Africa as an inherently malevolent, irrational, and homogenous continent, denying the rich historical, cultural, religious, political, and economic achievements of its people. These connections were not innocent but consequential of decades of “scientific”, “cultural”, and/or “religious” determinants of inferiority, which disavow Africa of dignity and humanity. It is within this framework and the demeaning caricatures that will be presented in the subsequent paragraphs which manifest how the accepted ideas about Africa were shaped in the press.





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As the stories of Amin multiplied throughout the decade, so did the caricatures. One of the earliest caricatures was in 1971 done by artist Velezefe (above). It is clear that the figure on the right is Amin because of his military cap, but the artist dressed him in a grass-skirt and not his military uniform. He is stirring a pot of stew with a forlorn looking white male inside, while Amin hungerly rubs his belly. The cartoon of an African in a grass-skirt was a common stereotype depicted by many cartoonists at the time (and throughout the XXth century) as a means to perpetuate stereotypes of the inherent backwardness of Africa and how far removed some societies were of Western ideals and norms. Another caricature of

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<sup>94</sup> Óscar Perdomo Gamboa. *1000 Caricaturas Afro En La Historia De Colombia*. Colección Artes Y Humanidades. Cali: Universidad Del Valle, 2017, 95. Artist: Velezefe, 1971.



Amin found in *El Tiempo* shows a similar set-up, where he is stirring a stew of White humans, again wearing a grass-skirt and a bone in his hair (below).



*El País*, April 30, 1977

This time, he is about to devour the “liver of a minister...” within a tropical backdrop of palm trees and grass. A third example of Amin displayed as subhuman and having a beastly nature is the caricature in *El Tiempo* from 1977 (next page).



*El Tiempo*, March 3, 1977, 10B

Amin is in a crocodile suit, assuring the White European or American female that he is who he says he is: he is only wearing his “work clothes”. In all three of the caricatures, one theme stays the same: Amin is beastly and craving the fear of people understood to be “White”. The joke was just as much about him being African, as it was about his persona. Africa was the justification for the barbarity depicted in the images, and the channel to humiliate Amin as a constructed representative of the imagined Africa. Additionally, although these cartoonists were joking about the brutality of his regime by depicting him as animal-like and gruesome, there are common tropes displayed in these caricatures as well as other advertisements and cartoons about Africa as a whole and, sometimes, about Afrodescendants from the coasts of Colombia.<sup>95</sup> The following image was published in *El Tiempo* on October

<sup>95</sup> Although some of the caricatures refer to black coastal inhabitants, the majority refer to the Pacific.

26, 1972, and shows a couple of African descent with nearly every stereotype projected about Africans in one image (below). The lips were drawn as minstrel characters, they had bones in their hair, grass skirts, and the male figure was shown to be incompetent while his partner explained to him that the reason for his upset stomach was because he ate a human who was indigestible: “¡Eso fue *alguien* que se te indigestó!” (italics added). The woman also appears to be angry, pointing her finger at the man while exclaiming her diagnosis to her partner. The image is revealing the stereotype of the “angry Black woman” having to teach her dim-witted male partner how to do basic things. It is unclear if this image is depicting a couple in Africa or Colombia, but what is certain is that it is communicating racial stereotypes which only stigmatizes the Afrodescendant population in Colombia to a greater and more lasting extent.



*El Tiempo*, Oct. 26, 1972, 12D

## The Chocó and Africa

Even when *El Tiempo* printed stories about Chocó, there were some instances where Chocoanos/as (people of Chocó) or the region in general were compared to the “miseries” present in “Africa”. In the 1970s, malaria outbreaks along the Pacific coast were especially harsh in the northern coast of Chocó, infecting thousands of people with scarce medical services available. Journalist, Gloria Valencia Diago, wrote an article about her expedition to Chocó to see the crisis with her own eyes. She called the story, “En el Chocó el control natal lo ejerce la muerte” (In Chocó birth control is exercised by death).<sup>96</sup> Valencia describes the desperate scene she witnessed of “los negritos” (the blackys) as having health conditions similar to those of “Africa negra” (Black Africa) with which it identifies by having jungles.<sup>97</sup> As some stories have more implicit connections of Chocó to Africa, this journalist directly connects the two, leaving no doubt to some popular attitudes connecting the region and the continent. The journalist not only claims the two are equally miserable but is reproducing a false narrative that Africa is full of jungles and therefore disease and barbarity. It is only a few sentences prior where she claims that even though the state of Chocó’s Black population is suffering immensely, they cannot be compared to the complete desolation of the Emberá, an indigenous group living in the region, who are “los marginados de los marginados” (the marginalized of the marginalized) because they are completely isolated and on the defensive of the Black population.<sup>98</sup> Valencia takes her report even further by insinuating, that is, expressing an unfounded claim, in which Black Chocoanos/as are also violent or aggressive

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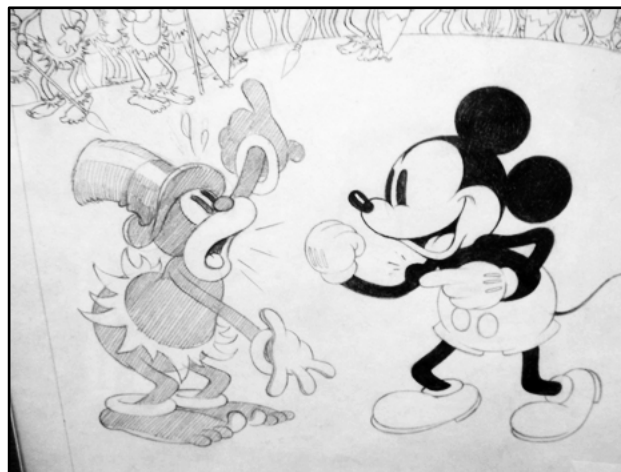
<sup>96</sup> *El Tiempo*, Feb 16, 1975.

<sup>97</sup> “...condiciones de salubridad semejantes al Africa [sic] negra con la cual se identifica en los aspectos selváticos...”

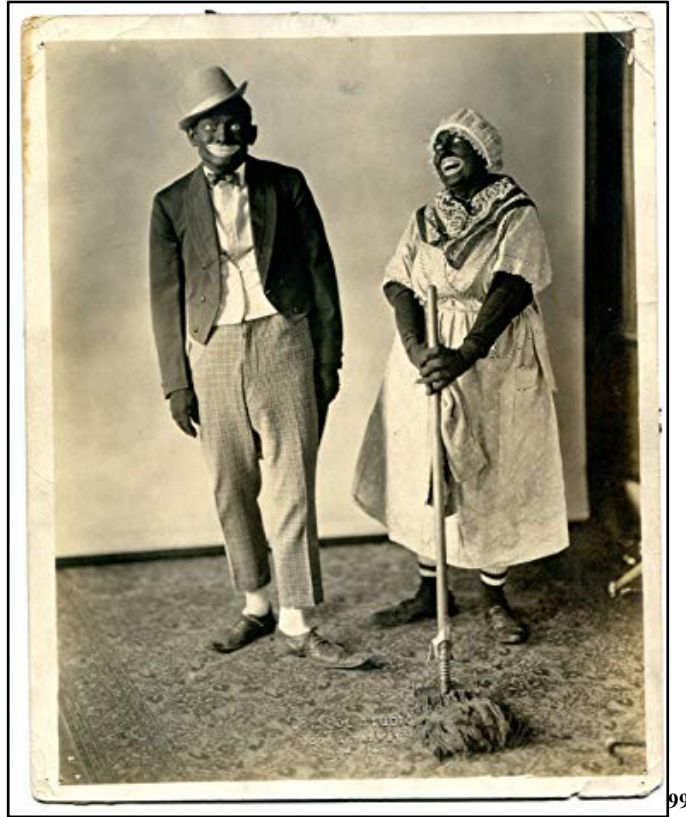
<sup>98</sup> “...a la defensiva de la población negra”

due to the Emberá's defensive stance against them. She is drawing this conclusion to gain sympathy for the Emberá, but not for the majority of Chocó's Afrodescendant population.

With some of these examples in mind of Idi Amin and Chocó's representation of a stereotyped imaginary of "Africa", the analysis cannot move further without acknowledging a historical pattern of these attitudes and how pervasive they were throughout the XX and XXI centuries in Colombia. The repeated image of a "simple", "backwards", "savage" in grass-skirts or the blackface minstrel character with abnormally large white lips was the epitome of the African and Afrodescendant caricature not only in Colombia but in the United States. Many of these caricatures in Colombia depict Afrodescendants with having the minstrel white lips, even though the context of the image has nothing to do with that historical character. The minstrel was created in the US as a form of racialized entertainment in the early 19th century. The minstrel performances typically consisted of comedy acts and sketches which were done by white people in blackface with a large white patch painted around their mouth to show exaggeration in their facial movements and ridicule African-Americans. The first example of the minstrel character in US cartoons is the sketch below of Mickey Mouse in 1935 (below).



Mickey's Man Friday, 1935



Film poster, Detroit early 1900s.

The second image is a poster advertising a minstrel film in Detroit, Michigan. Most of these acts depicted African-Americans as lazy, backwards, dim-witted, and superstitious among other stereotypes as well as the white performers' perceptions of "Black culture".

The "savage" paradigm has also been routinely pervasive, even in advertisements for tourism and hotels in Colombia. The following image (next page) is an example of this. The image was published in *El País* in 1971, advertising a hotel and children's camp in the Caribbean coast with Black figurines in grass-skirts, bones in the hair, and even one holding a spear.

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<sup>99</sup> Google Images. Dave Slack and Charlotte Sherman in blackface. Retrieved on May 27, 2019.

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*El País*, June 2, 1971, 2

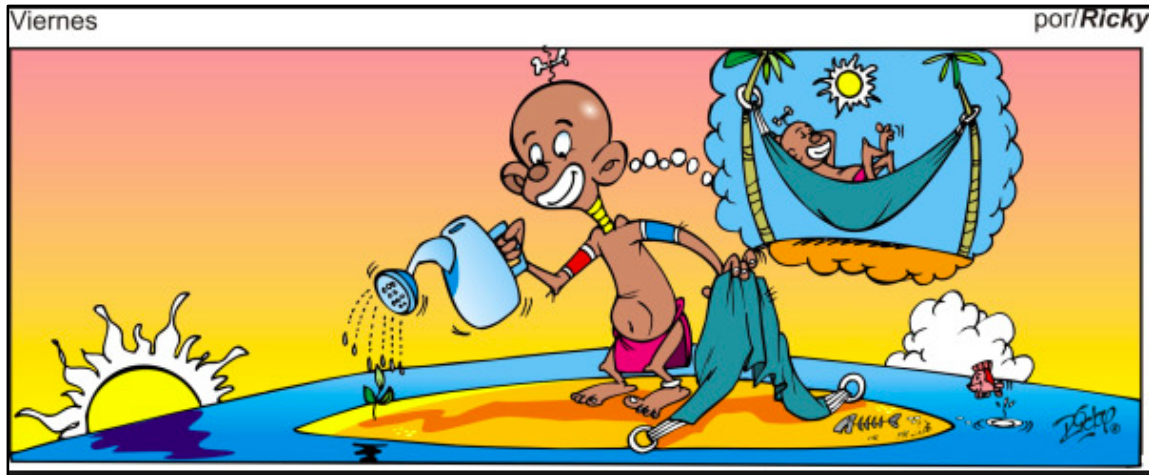
The impact of the minstrel persona and stigmatization of Afrodescendant Colombians to this imagined Africa has sadly not been left-behind as an embarrassing dent in the nation’s history but continues to be reworked into public consciousness through caricaturist’s drawings; some in major newspapers such as *El Tiempo* and *El Colombiano* for example.



Artist: Matador, 2004

<sup>100</sup> Óscar Gamboa Perdomo. *Afrografías: Representaciones Gráficas y Caricaturescas de los Afrodescendientes*. Primera edición. Colección Artes Y Humanidades. Cali, Colombia: Universidad del Valle, Programa Editorial, 2017, 131.





*El Colombiano, 2000s*

The images above show this quite clearly by both artists. The second image by Ricky (above), recycles the “lazy” and “dim-witted” tropes of the “island savage” whose ultimate desire is to swing back-and-forth from a hammock under the sun. In both cartoons, the figures are depicted with the same embellishments of gold jewelry, bone in the hair, and white minstrel lips. Apart from the racist depiction of the “savage”, these cartoons still do not explicitly connect Africa, at least through text, to the coasts. The next cartoon does, and it is with this example which this analysis will come to a close. The image is by artist, Matador, *El Tiempo*'s top caricaturist today. This cartoon is a sobering example of how the persistence of the “savage” and “miserable” Afrodescendant trope is still prevalent in Colombian media.





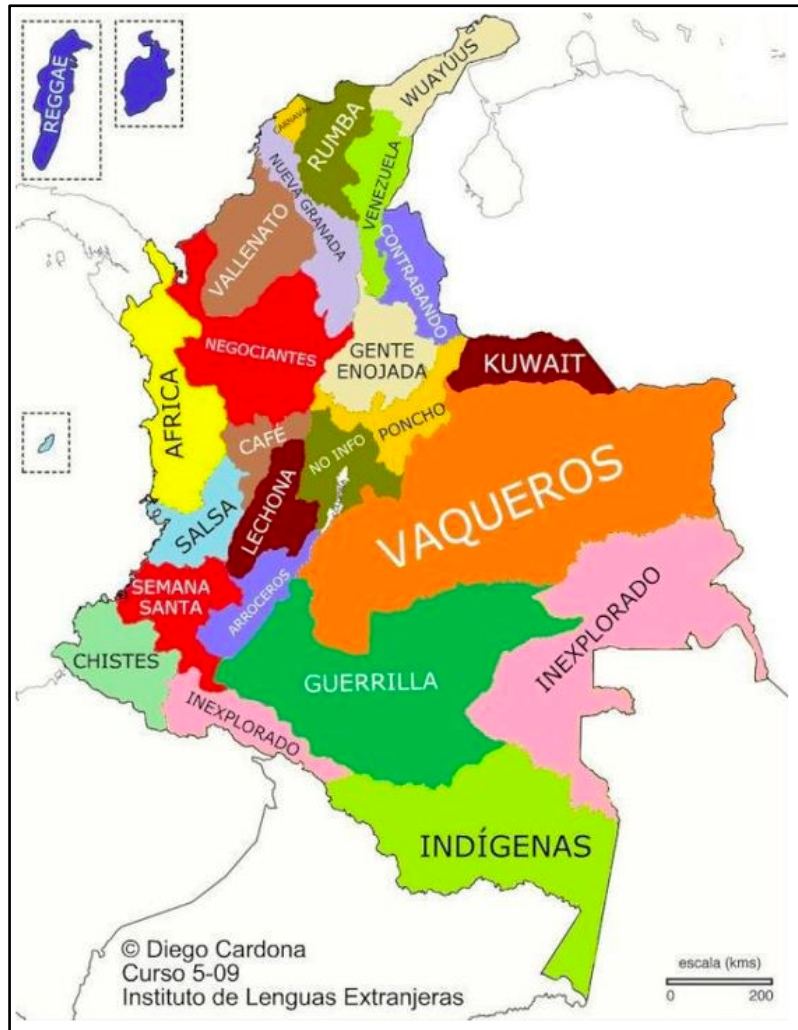
Matador for *El Tiempo*, 2016<sup>101</sup>

The image above shows a Colombian reporter in Chocó, about to interview a Chocoano (inhabitant of Chocó). The artist, Matador, is making the connection between the “misery” and “starvation” of Africa tropes to the critical economic situation of Chocó. Matador is spotlighting this connection which has consistently been visible in the general public’s ideas of the department and Africa. Throughout his career, Matador has been known to make provocative statements about global and national news which were thought provoking and is not known to make statements to intentionally ridicule the Afrodescendant population but draw attention to the disparities in Colombian society. This is to show how even though there are artists who make their careers out of engaging with social, economic, and political problems of the country, the pervasiveness of blackface and stigmas associated with blackness and Africa still persist. So much so that a well-known foreign language

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<sup>101</sup> Óscar Gamboa Perdomo. *Afrografías: Representaciones Gráficas y Caricaturescas de los Afrodescendientes*. Primera edición. Colección Artes Y Humanidades. Cali, Colombia: Universidad del Valle, Programa Editorial, 2017.

program in Ecuador, Instituto de Lenguas Extranjeras, was using the following image (below) as a tool to demonstrate the social stereotypes of Colombia per region to unfamiliar students.



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The map illustrates popular stereotypes as spread through Colombian and some international media sources which leave no doubt to el Chocó as Africa. The following departments lined along the Caribbean and the Pacific coasts are known for different musical styles such as salsa (for Cali in Valle del Cauca), rumba and vallenato in the Caribbean, and the

<sup>102</sup> “Medios de Comunicación: Nuestra Ceguera”.  
<https://mediosdecomunicacionnuestraceguera.wordpress.com/2013/04/04/lo-que-hay-detras-de-una-simple-imagen-2/> Accessed June 25, 2019.

southernmost department of the Pacific end, Nariño, associated with “chistes” or jokes. This is the place which sustains its position as a laughing stock or the brunt of many jokes in Colombia. Not surprisingly, this department has some of the higher demographics of indigenous and Afrodescendant individuals. According to the 2005 census, over 10% of the population self-identified as indigenous and about 18% identified as “negro, mulato, afrocolombiano, o afrodescendiente.”<sup>103</sup> The fact that this map was created as a study tool based on social stereotypes, where the coasts were identified with music, party (carnival), and/or “Africa”, communicates the sedimented constructions of societal stereotypes which have permeated beyond Colombia’s borders.

Nigerian journalist and television host, Kadaria Ahmed, claimed on an episode of CNN’s *Parts Unknown*, “I believe if you are a black person, whether you are African or an African-American, you’re never going to get any respect unless there is a successful black nation.”<sup>104</sup> As this analysis has shown, the negative stereotypes about Africa have been continually shaped into narratives about Afrodescendant Colombians, and as Ahmed insisted, the people of the world must see the successes of a Black nation and a more honest view of Africans for these stigmas to shift. Fellow Nigerian, author Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie adds to Ahmed’s statement by explaining how the single-story approach is a persistent tool which stigmatizes Africans and hence, perpetuates an imagined Africa as one negative

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<sup>103</sup> DANE, Censo General 2005 de Nariño. “Pertenencia Étnica”. Retrieved on July 31, 2019.

Although only 10% of Nariño identifies as indigenous according to the 2005 census, two genetic studies done by the Ulster Institute for Social Research and the National Center for Biotechnology Information found that at least 44% of the genetic makeup of over 2,000 participants in the department are Amerindian, at least 30% European, and 18-19% African. This analysis is outside of my research question but poses an interesting discrepancy between the genetic information concluded of indigenous makeup in the department versus the people’s self-identification as “indigenous”.

<sup>104</sup> *Parts Unknown*, episode 03, “Lagos, Nigeria”, narrated by Anthony Bourdain, aired Oct. 13, 2017, on CNN.

narrative. Disavowing the continent and its people the capacity to be anything more but what is circulated in textbooks and the media. She states,

In the popular imagination and in mass media we are constantly shown images of Africa that are *just* catastrophe. So we see how Africa is dying and we don't see how Africa lives. We see what Africans can't do and not what Africans can do. So, Africa becomes a place where you can build it's wells and feed its children; a place where you can go do your charity.<sup>105</sup> (italics added)

Ngozi's heartbreaking yet sobering description is a reminder of how permeable this narrow vision of Africa has become globally. Therefore, if the narrative about Africa does not change, the stigmatization of the Pacific in Colombia will not either.

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<sup>105</sup> *GRID II*, "Even though we didn't have a children's driver", Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie, aired Oct. 24, 2017 on YouTube.

## Chapter 4

### Representations of Black Women

Beauty and Colombia are two inseparable things. It has higher stakes, a higher precedence. Similar to that of Venezuela and the beauty queens which have represented some of the most coveted spots in the global pageant industry, Colombia also has a long history of beauty pageants and presenting beauty queens as prestigious members in society. This was evident in *El País* with the heavy precedence of pageant contests and contestants. For the most part, the women were photographed in their swimsuits and displayed anywhere from the front page to the Femeninas page of the paper. Even if there was not a pageant taking place, *El País*'s pages generally had images of half-naked women, typically in the entertainment industry, published relatively frequently. These women were glorified for their physical beauty and didn't typically have any story to accompany the photograph. Just a caption which told the reader the woman's name, country of origin or region if she was Colombian. The stark difference in the paper's conservative viewpoint and weekly imagery of the Mother Mary, Jesus Christ and prayers, versus the glorification of women's sexualized bodies presented a contrast of values. However, what this duplicity manifests is the heavy undergirding of a patriarchal and misogynist society which seeps into the paper.

What is most alarming about this finding is how whiteness is presented as the height of these beauty standards in mostly Afrodescendant spaces. As the Miss Colombia Pageant was taking shape in October of 1972, several candidates from all over the country were photographed in their swimsuits and introduced to the public through *El País*. Sifting through the images of these women, it was clear that there was a particular standard, a mold

if I may, of what a beauty pageant contestant should look like. Most women had light skin, straight or wavy long hair, with a relatively thin frame. This mold, however, did not waver in towns or regions with a large Afrodescendant or mixed populations. Such places were Cartago, Buenaventura, Atlántico, Cartagena, and Valle.<sup>106</sup> Even the pageant contestant from Chocó, a region which has over 85% of its inhabitants who identify as Black or being visibly Afrodescendant had very light skin and pin straight hair. This “señorita Chocó” was to represent the region in the First Folkloric Festival of the Litoral in Buenaventura.<sup>107</sup> The pageant contestants could have possibly represented a higher status in society, perhaps being the daughters and wives of elite men in the various regions, but this is not certain.

Again, as with the “modern” Eurocentric hairstyles of the “Revolución” article, Blackness, even where it was expected to be, was completely denied. The few moments that a visibly Afrodescendant woman was featured in *El País* in an advertisement, she was clearly identified as “morena” not “negra”: morena, Black *acceptability*, versus negra, Black *invisibility*. The image (next page) is one example of this. The model is clearly identified as a morena because she is attempting to sell a black sewing machine called La Morenita Superior. The “Superior” in the product’s name only aids in the assumptions which places “morena” in line with mestizaje, on the top of social hierarchies, and “negra” at the bottom.

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<sup>106</sup> *El País*, Oct. 2nd-4th, 1972. Buenaventura is the country’s largest port city with an Afrodescendant demographic of over 85% (DANE, statistical data). Please reference map #s 3-4 from chapter 2 for further information.

<sup>107</sup> *El País*, Aug. 10, 1970, 5.



*El País*, Nov 25, 1977

This was also the case with Miss Universe of 1977, Janelle Penny Commissiong of Trinidad and Tobago, who happened to be the first self-identified Afrodescendant Miss Universe to ever win the pageant. *El País* described her as “la hermosa morena” (image on following page).<sup>108</sup>

<sup>108</sup> Please also refer to the image in the Appendix under Figure 1 to see an example of how the black woman “negra” was depicted in a cartoon when standing next to a “morena”.



*Miss Universo, Jannelle Commissiong, llegará mañana a primera hora para cumplir con el programa de su visita a Cali. La hermosa morena desfilará ante los caleños acompañada de tres bellas internacionales.*

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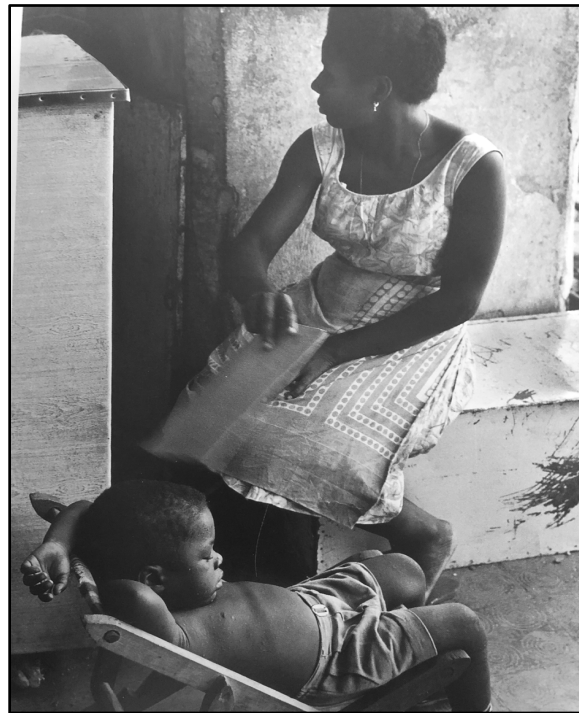
“Miss Universe, Jannelle Commissiong, will arrive early tomorrow to fulfill the program of her visit to Cali. **La hermosa morena** will parade before the caleños accompanied by three international beauties.”

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<sup>109</sup> *El País*, Aug 30, 1977, 10.



This was no different to the rare image of an Afrodescendant woman from the Caribbean Coast in *El Tiempo*. She was the subject of an artist's photograph entitled, "Cartagena Morena".<sup>110</sup> On October 1<sup>st</sup>, 1972, *El Tiempo* published a tiny excerpt about a photographer's latest project in Cartagena. This particular excerpt was describing the photographer, Hernan Diaz's, artistry and praising the work for rising to the mastery of "avante-garde," by transforming the "passive object" to "a work of art".<sup>111</sup> On first reading, Arango's description is an exaggerated artistic reflection which provided colorful praise to Diaz's work. What is alarming, however, is when the gaze shifts to the photograph, and that the "object" in which Arango is describing, is not an inanimate thing, but an Afrodescendant woman. Arango interprets Diaz's subject as a "passive object," stating Diaz's extraordinary ability to transform the photo through a "creative process" which stages the subject outside



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<sup>110</sup> *El Tiempo*, Oct. 1, 1972, 7

<sup>111</sup> *El Tiempo*, Oct. 1, 1972, 7.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid*, "Cartagena Morena."

of what is natural or real. The setting of the photograph is outside of a home or shop. The woman's clothes are simple, and do not give the impression that she is living a life with much luxury. The woman looks away from the camera with a stern yet relaxed face fanning her son so that he may sleep more peacefully from the heat. The photograph was titled: "Cartagena Morena."

The piece is emblematic of an intersection of violences upon a working-class woman who is also Afrodescendant. Arango is describing an artwork, but when the subject of the piece is dehumanized to an object, is where the creative authority of his words enact violence. The woman's personhood is stripped from this piece, and the perceived misery of her situation is another pattern that the newspaper is presenting about Afrodescendants who are not celebrated as an athlete or dancer. There really is no inbetween: An individual of African descent is either rich and famous, or poor and miserable. Arango is using the elusive nature of art to veil the racism of his words, though he may have been doing it unknowingly. The significance of this article is not to decipher whether Arango purposely or unconsciously wrote in abject discriminatory language, but its very *acceptance* manifests the normalcy of verbal prejudice against Afrodescendants, particularly Black women.

Therefore, Blackness was mostly conserved for cases which dealt with ideas of folklore from the Pacific, connections to a white or mestizo/a imaginary of Africa, and/or the uninterrupted placemark of Black laboring bodies particularly serving White or mestizo/a families or land-owners. Vicenta Moreno and Debaye Mornan explain in their article, "¿Sucursal del cielo? Mujeres Negras, Dominación patriarcal y estrategias espaciales de resistencia en Cali," how Black women in Cali serve largely as the emblem of domestic help and are connected in various ways to the kitchen. The validity of the Black domestic

worker's existence as a functioning member of society was overshadowed by her laboring body with the added pressure of performing honor and morality as a woman in the private and public spheres. The researchers argue the inextricable link between Black women and laboring in the kitchen as another form of sexualization of the Black female body providing that, "the kitchen awakens the senses with smells and flavors, becoming an act related to sensuality."<sup>113</sup> I will argue in conjunction to the senses being ignited in the kitchen it is also the stereotype of Black bodies in movement and producing perspiration which has historically invoked elites' ideas of carnality and dishonor, garnering the Black female body even more excusable to oppress. Therefore, the Black female body as domestic help is stripped from the privilege of practicing full citizenship in society, and is disqualified from the "modernization" projects in full-force during the 1970s.<sup>114</sup> In the following case, Black women were represented as not only having no place in "modern" Colombian society but also the antithesis of beauty, prestige, and value.

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<sup>113</sup> Vicenta Moreno and Debaye Mornan. "¿Sucursal del cielo? Mujeres Negras, Dominación patriarcal y estrategias espaciales de resistencia en Cali". No 11 (2015) 9.

<sup>114</sup> Michael Birenbaum-Quintero similarly discusses the historical and contemporary stigmatization of Black bodies in movement in his work, *Rites, Rights & Rhythms: A Genealogy of Musical Meaning in Colombia's Black Pacific* (2019).



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“Virgin of chilindrines! This woman is making noise”

Rather than Blackness expressed as an active process and existence in Colombian societies, the general notion which was accepted was that of mestizaje, a morena or moreno who in some way was showing that they were fitting in the preset of Colombian “nationalism” and citizenship. See how in the above image of Nieves, the light-skinned woman is wearing flashy jewelry, has her hair fixed in place, and is wearing a statement dress. Nieves’s expression, “esa señora suena” was a way of saying, “look at this woman

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<sup>115</sup> *El País*, Nov 27, 1977, 14.

who is calling attention to herself”. Nieves was not necessarily envious of her, but was quite annoyed of her elaborance. Still, the light-skinned woman is the mark of sophistication, success, leisure, and poise in the image. If the two roles were switched, the light-skinned woman wearing the apron and Nieves wearing the luxurious outfit, I believe it would have garnered discontent, confusion, and for some, anger in Caleña society. The image is powerful in the sense that it visually demonstrates the realities of white privilege and the normativity of a social hierarchy not just divided by class but also by skin color. Visually, the two women are exact opposites of each other: each having what the other cannot. One’s hair is fixed, the other wears it loose, one has jewelry the other does not, one wears fancy clothes the other wears an apron, one’s skin is light and the other is dark, one’s privilege gives no necessity to see things the way they are, while the other’s reality gives no room to play with dreams. However, it is only one woman who seems to lose from this comparison: Nieves. She is the woman who does *not* have and may never have what the other has. It is a wonder if the cartoonist, Consuelo Lago, ever considered these societal conditions before sketching scenarios such as this.

An article published by *El País*’s online paper in May 2018 was dedicated to the 50-year anniversary of La Negra Nieves by Consuelo Lago. Lago was interviewed by a journalist named Isabel Peláez, and clearly stated that she intended Nieves to be the epitome of a Black woman from Cali. According to Lago, she was desperate to create something that would warrant something long-term for the paper. She was given only one condition by *El País*’s editor; to have the character be a woman, because she was going to be featured on a woman’s only page (Femeninas).<sup>116</sup> In this rush of trying to create something, Lago stated,

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<sup>116</sup> “Nieves Perpetua”, *Semana*, December 5, 2003.

“Despair makes one invent things. It occurred to me to create Nieves, a character I saw in my house every day in Cali, young girls, full of life, who did a thousand things, who helped us in everything. I think I invented it to help me work and it has done very well...”<sup>117</sup> In her words, Lago had fully intended Nieves to be a young Black service woman, stating, “We are very different, she is young and I am old; she is Black and I am white; she is happy and I am not so happy; she dances and I find it hard to work.”<sup>118</sup> She also put it in her name, *La Negra Nieves* (emphasis added).



<sup>117</sup> Isabel Peláez R., “Nieves’ cumple 50 años y nos reveló el secreto de la eterna juventud,” *El País*, May 6, 2018, accessed February 16, 2019, <https://www.elpais.com.co>. English translation by the author.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid*, English translation by the author.

<sup>119</sup> *El Espectador*, Aug 23, 1977.

Therefore, it was a perplexing discovery to see how a character such as La Negra Nieves, created to be a “Black service woman”, racially recognized *herself* in a cartoon published in another Colombian newspaper, *El Espectador* on August 23, 1977. Nieves is pictured (previous page) looking at herself in a mirror while saying, “Little mirror, tell me: Who is the most beautiful *morena* in the midst of all the beautiful woman?” (emphasis added). Nieves clearly does not identify herself as a Black woman, “*negra*”, but as a “*morena*”. Notice how she is speaking about beauty and linking her identity to that of a “*morena*” and not a “*negra*”. Consuelo Lago, with all her efforts to pay respect to black woman, in effect made her own character deny herself and disavow the black woman to claim dignity, beauty, and value while identifying *as Black*. We as human beings, cannot objectively create content without the consultation of our experiences, therefore making any goal of pure objectivity a myth. With this cartoon it is abundantly clear that Lago, with all her human imperfections, cannot escape transplanting her inner attitudes, ideas, and dreams unto Nieves. Due to the politicized nature of the term “*negra/o*” and how some Afrodescendant individuals for generations have fought to reclaim the word as something beautiful and dignified, Lago’s choice of Nieves linking her beauty and identity within the parameters of “*morena*” and not “*negra*” does not in any shape or form aid in this cause and actually perpetuates a cycle of regenerating subordinate positions of Black women in Colombian society.<sup>120</sup>

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<sup>120</sup> Please refer to figure 2 in the appendix for a reference of how a caricaturist depicted a black woman versus a *morena* in 1950s Colombia.

## Beauty Standards: Hispanismo y “La moda en Europa”<sup>121</sup>

Mauricio Tenorio-Trillo argues in his work, *Latin America the Lure and Power of an Idea*, that Hispanismo has been deeply entrenched in the political and intellectual culture of many Latin American nations. In the late 19th and 20th centuries, Hispanismo hailed from the idea that the connecting force which situates “Latin” Americans from the US is a fluid conception of Iberia as the nexus of political culture, language (Castilian), and religion (Catholicism).<sup>122</sup> The idea of Hispanismo was threaded through the pages of *El País*, where the mention of Spanish anything was written to inspire some sense of pride and prestige. Commonplace in some regions of Colombia, bull-fighting was a staple in the paper as well as fashion and films hailing from Spain regarded as some of the top expressions of artistry. Researchers of the Centro de Estudios Afrocolombianos, Vicenta Moreno and Debaye Mornan, explain how the political and economic progress of Cali is, “still in the hands of traditional families of Spanish origin” and has historically operated by a process which David Harvey has called “accumulation by dispossession”.<sup>123</sup> The “accumulation by dispossession” which Harvey speaks of is the economic and social model of Cali which has thrived by the exploitation of Black bodies through the use of cheap labor and producing clientelist relations with the workers and business/political elites.<sup>124</sup>

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<sup>121</sup> *El País*, Oct. 3, 1972, p 10

<sup>122</sup> Mauricio Tenorio-Trillo, *Latin America: The Allure and Power of an Idea* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 2017), 78.

<sup>123</sup> Vicenta Moreno and Debaye Mornan. “¿Sucursal del cielo? Mujeres Negras, Dominación patriarcal y estrategias espaciales de resistencia en Cali.” N 11, CIES, 2015, 9.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*



The precipitation of these economic and social models in Cali reflected how Hispanismo influenced beauty standards and created the “ideal” woman in Caleña society.<sup>125</sup> In June 1971, the *Femeninas* page published a story titled, “La ‘Revolución’ Llegó al Peinado-Sin Discriminación se Usa Cualquier Estilo” (The Revolution arrived at the hairstyle-Any style is used without discrimination).<sup>126</sup> The image is pictured on the following page. The “revolution” here was referring to new fashionable ways for women to wear their hair which reverted to Spanish hair fashions, both “traditional” and “modern”.<sup>127</sup> The article begins, “The practical hairstyles...that have reached an illusion of total naturalness! Modern women wear their hair loosely which flows down their back through the fashions of Hispanic tradition, to the very short geometric style”.<sup>128</sup>

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<sup>125</sup> Caleña meaning from Cali.

<sup>126</sup> *El País*, June 1, 1971, 10.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*

# La "Revolución" Llegó al Peinado

Sin Discriminación se Usa Cualquier Estilo



Para 1971: lo práctico y lo ordenado en peinados que han llegado a una ilusión de naturalidad total!

Pocos artificios, moderación en el uso de laca. Las mujeres modernas usan el cabello que mejor luzca a su tipo de cara, desde el suelto que cae a la espalda, pasando por las modas de hispana tradición, hasta el estilo geométrico muy corto.

- \* -

Si le agradan los cabellos cortos, Juan Louis David ha creado para esta temporada, mechones sumamente breves al frente y arriba, fáciles de peinar y que contrastan con la línea alarrada del pelo sobre la nuca. Favorecerá especialmente a quienes quieran disjuntar un cuello demasiado largo.

- \* -

Para las damas que prefieren

las tendencias revolucionarias, se ha ideado la melena ondulada y en varios largos y que caiga atrás abajo de los hombros, en forma de cascada de rizos flojos...

- \* -

Las jovencitas siguen usando su cabello suelto, liso, con apariencia de frescura. Para quienes no gozan de una abundante cabellera natural, se han realizado "postizos" que son una peluca parcial muy larga que da un aire juvenil y se coloca en la parte superior de la cabeza con un peine...

- \* -

Otro estilo de peinado es el que lleva invariablemente Raquel Welch y que impondrá en nuestro medio Myriam Eclini. Se trata del cabello suelto ondeante y natural, recogido ligeramente a los lados.

- \* -

Muchas señoras prefieren los tradicionales "moños" para

ocasiones especiales y es así como se ha impuesto el cabello recogido a la nuca, tipo español, que siempre usa la Emperatriz de Irán, Farah Diba y que lucen señoras caleñas, como Blanca Lilia Molina de Holguín.

- \* -

Otro peinado fascinante para mujeres adultas es el recogido alrededor de la cabeza, estilo "geisha", tal como usaban el cabello las abuelas. Es de estilo romántico y favorece a personas de facciones muy delicadas.

- \* -

Sin embargo, no basta estar a la moda en lo que se usa. Para los peinados de cabello liso, rizos, ondulados... éste ha de tener lustre natural, no con aspecto aceitoso y debe tener cuerpo. Debe lavarse con champú.

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# Se Llena "Baúl del Damnificado"

## Exito de la Campaña. Drama en Viviendas Provisionales

Con mil pesos otorgados por el Comité Organizador de los Jóvenes ganaron-cuarenta viviendas más para el Comité de Acción Social Valle...   
 Demorados con el costo de la construcción de la obra de habilitación y amebliamiento social, esta es nacional.   
 En desarrollo de la Campaña "Bañil del Damnificado" se iniciaron viviendas nuevas distribuidas y armadas en barrios que se vincularon a las grandes obras de la zona.   
 Treinta volantes de Momento reconocieron los diferentes aspectos, con el fin de recoger los múltiples y variados datos de la difícil situación que hacen merced urgente de las familias que son afectadas.   
 "Colaboré con Calí con Amor" fue el "lema" utilizado en esta campaña y que logró una renouación notable en las familias que son afectadas por la situación de que habitan.   
 La imagen que se usó para crear conciencia en torno a la urgente necesidad de colaborar en forma de almas y voluntarios que ayudan en la obra de la campaña se muestra en el primer plano.   
 Espontáneamente las personas colaboraron,



ayudando a subir los artículos donados a las comités municipales.   
 En un momento de la campaña se recibió un cheque por el valor de los artículos donados a las comités municipales.   
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El trabajo que se usó para crear conciencia en torno a la urgente necesidad de colaborar en forma de almas y voluntarios que ayudan en la obra de la campaña se muestra en el primer plano.   
 Espontáneamente las personas colaboraron,

# Mujeres en Primer Plano

**Sonia Aguirre**   
 Una mujer humilde, madre de cinco niños, dio a la vida a un hijo que se desarrolló en Calí.   
 En un momento de la campaña se recibió un cheque por el valor de los artículos donados a las comités municipales.   
 En un momento de la campaña se recibió un cheque por el valor de los artículos donados a las comités municipales.

**Lenor Sardi de Llorente**   
 En desarrollo de la campaña Pre-Bañil del Damnificado, se cumplió ayer en el barrio de San Francisco la entrega de un cheque por el valor de cincuenta mil pesos.   
 En representación de la entidad viene de Bogotá la señora Lenor Sardi de Llorente, quien hizo la respetiva donación al Comité Social que trabaja para solucionar el problema de las familias damnificadas de Calí.   
 A esta ceremonia asistieron las primeras autoridades municipales.   
 La señora de Llorente es una mujer de gran experiencia en la obra de la campaña de la construcción y obra pública, para entregar viviendas a las familias damnificadas en la Urbanización San Martín.

**Isabel Patiño de Castillo**   
 Isabel Patiño de Castillo es la madre de un niño de tres años, que padece parálisis infantil.   
 A esta ceremonia asistieron las primeras autoridades municipales.   
 La señora de Patiño es una mujer de gran experiencia en la obra de la campaña de la construcción y obra pública, para entregar viviendas a las familias damnificadas en la Urbanización San Martín.

# La "Revolución" Llegó al Peinado

## Sin Discriminación se Usa Cualquier Estilo

En los últimos meses se han producido cambios en el peinado de las mujeres.   
 Los cambios en el peinado de las mujeres son resultado de una revolución en la moda.   
 Los cambios en el peinado de las mujeres son resultado de una revolución en la moda.   
 Los cambios en el peinado de las mujeres son resultado de una revolución en la moda.

En un momento de la campaña se recibió un cheque por el valor de los artículos donados a las comités municipales.   
 En un momento de la campaña se recibió un cheque por el valor de los artículos donados a las comités municipales.



# Columna de Zarla

Las continas noticias sobre los desastres que el río Calí ha causado en los barrios de los altos, merecen ser comentados.   
 En un momento de la campaña se recibió un cheque por el valor de los artículos donados a las comités municipales.   
 En un momento de la campaña se recibió un cheque por el valor de los artículos donados a las comités municipales.



En uno de los puestos localizados en la ciudad, las damas encargadas de la colecta de diferentes donaciones representadas en implementos de uso doméstico.   
 En un momento de la campaña se recibió un cheque por el valor de los artículos donados a las comités municipales.   
 En un momento de la campaña se recibió un cheque por el valor de los artículos donados a las comités municipales.

# Femeninas

En la oficina, en la familia, en el vecindario, en el centro de la ciudad, en la zona de los altos, en la zona de los bajos, en la zona de los medios, en la zona de los cuartos, en la zona de los quintos, en la zona de los sextos, en la zona de los séptimos, en la zona de los octavos, en la zona de los novenos, en la zona de los décimos, en la zona de los undécimos, en la zona de los duodécimos, en la zona de los treceavos, en la zona de los catorceavos, en la zona de los quinceavos, en la zona de los dieciséisavos, en la zona de los dieciséptimos, en la zona de los dieciochoavos, en la zona de los diecinueavos, en la zona de los veinteavos, en la zona de los veintidósavos, en la zona de los veinticuatroavos, en la zona de los veintiseisavos, en la zona de los veintiochoavos, en la zona de los treintaavos, en la zona de los treinta y dosavos, en la zona de los treinta y cuatrosavos, en la zona de los treinta y seisavos, en la zona de los treinta y ochavos, en la zona de los 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los diez mil y seisavos, en la zona de los diez mil y ochavos.

# Comprensión, una Meta Difícil!

## Ninguna Mujer Debe ser Juzgada "a Priori"

En la oficina, en la familia, en el vecindario, en el centro de la ciudad, en la zona de los altos, en la zona de los bajos, en la zona de los medios, en la zona de los cuartos, en la zona de los quintos, en la zona de los sextos, en la zona de los séptimos, en la zona de los octavos, en la zona de los novenos, en la zona de los décimos, en la zona de los undécimos, en la zona de los duodécimos, en la zona de los treceavos, en la zona de los catorceavos, en la zona de los quinceavos, en la zona de los dieciséisavos, en la zona de los dieciséptimos, en la zona de los dieciochoavos, en la zona de los diecinueavos, en la zona de los veinteavos, en la zona de los veintidósavos, en la zona de los veinticuatroavos, en la zona de los veintiseisavos, en la zona de los veintiochoavos, en la zona de los treintaavos, en la zona de los treinta y dosavos, en la zona de los treinta y cuatrosavos, en la zona de los treinta y seisavos, en la zona de los treinta y ochavos, en la zona de los 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los diez mil y seisavos, en la zona de los diez mil y ochavos.

# Primeros Auxilios

El festival Panamericano de la Cultura, una obra que se realiza en un momento de la campaña de la construcción y obra pública, para entregar viviendas a las familias damnificadas en la Urbanización San Martín.

# Comala

El festival Panamericano de la Cultura, una obra que se realiza en un momento de la campaña de la construcción y obra pública, para entregar viviendas a las familias damnificadas en la Urbanización San Martín.

The article continues by stating that if a woman desires a *modern* look, she should wear her hair with “cascading loose curls” and keep the hair “smooth” for it to appear “fresh”.

Freshness here is implying cleanliness, because further down the article the writer instructs the reader that hair must be brought to life by using shampoo and rinsed thoroughly to avoid an oily appearance.

This was also the case with the reoccurring hair bleaching advertisements for women and children in *El Tiempo* throughout the 1970s (images below). Countless advertisements of hair lightening shampoos were printed in the paper and marketed as a way to make the consumer’s child more beautiful or appealing. Due to the era, many of the advertisements were hand-drawn and printed in black and white. However, even within these drawings it



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<sup>131</sup> *El Tiempo*, June 2, 1973, 10A. **Pretty girls with lighter hair.** How beautiful are the girls with light hair! ... You, señora, can easily have the joy of seeing your most charming girl with blond and dazzling hair. With the new DIPLONA Shampoo with chamomile, it lightens your girl's hair, and leaves it vigorous and resplendent. Your girl does not have to envy blond hair anymore. You can have them too, clear and beautiful. You can find the new DIPLONA Shampoo with chamomile in drugstores. In its green packaging and with the drawing of a crown with the word DIPLONA. It's great!

<sup>132</sup> *El Tiempo*, June 11, 1973, 11A.

was clear that the people were depicted peculiarly Anglican or Dutch looking, with the hair left unshaded (to make it appear as if the character had light or blonde hair) and donning European fashion. “La moda Europea” was consistently marketed in both *El Tiempo* and *El País*, but *El País* seemed to be more heavily focused on Spain compared to Europe as a whole.

There are several photographs of light-skinned women with these hairstyles with the added attention drawn to the “flowing natural hair” of Raquel Welch as the epitome of this new style. The constructions of beauty present in both papers were strengthening the idea that lighter skin tones and European hairstyles were not just the standard call for feminine aesthetics but the unquestionable ideal which they should strive to attain. By achieving these Eurocentric looks, a woman is promised to have more prestige in society and a better chance at securing a male partner. One of the most despairing aspects of these hierarchical and narrow beliefs is that the patterns of its recreation was still powerfully churning in the era of supposed racial colorblindness and celebration of various regional folkloric traditions throughout the country. Therefore, the coloniality of Afrodescendant women’s appearance as the antithesis to this undying “ideal”, unclean or less-than, was still present in the latter half of the twentieth century in Colombia, and unfortunately, remains in many aspects to the present day.<sup>133</sup>

The “Revolución Llegó al Peinado” article in *El País* was not an advertisement for a particular product: It was a replication of beauty which completely negated the African

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<sup>133</sup> This topic goes beyond the timeframe of this study, but the affirmation of natural hair textures and styles in Colombia which has been gaining traction for the past few years, is a testament to the struggles in which some Afrodescendant men and women face with the stigmas of their natural hair, and the methods in which they seek to resist them. On Instagram, one can search the hashtag #peloafro and #pelobueno as a means to spread natural hair positivity and reconstruct the stereotypes of “good hair” or “bad hair” by Afrodescendant individuals posting pictures of themselves with their natural hair with the hashtag #pelobueno.

presence in Caleña society. Along with the complete disregard of Black women, the article's connection of flowing hair to white modernity more than suggests that the Afrodescendant woman was backwards by *nature*, because her hair does not grow downward but upward.<sup>134</sup> This is why Eurocentric beauty standards are so dangerous in this context. It is not just about the standard itself; it is the underlying message which disavows Afrodescendant woman from being considered worthy. Dignity, honor, value, not just physical appearance are inextricably linked to beauty standards. Therefore, I argue, when one looks in the mirror, and by default, their hair or skin tone is not recognized or on the other hand criticized by society's standards, it sends the message that the person's worth does not measure the same as lighter skinned members of society. It produces feelings of unworthiness and creates an imaginary consciousness that to be accepted as part of the nation, one must adhere to this standard. In other words, it defines the parameters of practicing citizenship in that given space and time. The "freshness" of loose hair is a diplomatic attempt to say that kinky hair, dreadlocks, braids, or afro hairstyles lack freshness, or in other words, are unclean, even if the writer was not intentionally creating this dichotomy for the article. It speaks to the normalcy of Black exclusion around discussions of beauty and adheres to stereotypes of Black people as being unkempt, unclean, and backwards, through the "natural" discussions of White Eurocentric beauty standards. It is not so simple to brush off these articles as innocent ways that women can style their hair, it is a deliberate dismissal of Blackness.

The fact that the article ties anti-discrimination in the title ("Sin Discriminación se Usa Cualquier Estilo") is the deep irony in this discussion. It is so natural to dismiss

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<sup>134</sup> To be clear, I am not implying that all White women have straight or wavy hair, or that all Black women have kinky curly hair. My analysis focuses on general patterns and Whiteness as a symbol of status rather than only the lightness of skin and hair texture.



Blackness in Caleña society, that even to think of the hairstyles presented, “geometric”, “wavy”, “long loose curls”, as the only options available is directly attesting to an illusion that Blackness does not exist, and the only discrimination present is between white and mestiza women. Consumerism, rather than full representation of society, was the evident goal of the article.

### Paternalism - La Negra Nieves and Patriarchy



“Qué dolor de CAVASA!”<sup>135</sup>

**[Camila] Interviewer:** To Roberto,<sup>136</sup> Micolta is child-like.

**[Roberto] Comedian:** He’s a big kid, a big kid in a gigantic suit...Micolta is very gentle. He’s naive but, oh is he mischievous!

<sup>135</sup> La Negra Nieves, *El País*, March 5, 1977.

<sup>136</sup> Roberto was the comedian who played the character, el Soldado Micolta, in blackface. His impersonation was of an Afro-Pacific male soldier on the hit Colombian television show *Sábados Felices*.

.....

**[Roberto]:** Micolta always likes to loaf around. He likes not doing anything.  
[Laughs].

**[Camila]:** He likes to laugh.

**[Roberto]:** He likes to bust out laughing all the time. Micolta likes to mispronounce words.<sup>137</sup>

There are different forms of racism and prejudice. Blatant, patronizing, always oppressive, but never nearly as clear as one may think. Racism when operating in this form, swerves to fit a canon, *the* canon designed to create difference and hierarchical division. Paternalism, within this lense, is also an act of racism. La Negra Nieves, and the child-like composure she was written to have, the personification of this character mirrored through representations of Black women in *El País*. “Humilde”; a euphemism for being poor. “Una mujer humilde”; the poor *Black* woman. It is here, one sees how social class is racialized, how labor is gendered. In the paternal-patriarchal form of racism in Colombia, the latter is more visible and runs deep. Self-hatred: thick lips, deep sorrow: kinky hair, deep stigmatization: dark skin. Yet, it is *not* just skin deep. It is about region, language, spirituality and its relation to an enslaved past, but not far gone. Phenotype, a simple excuse to package the devalued difference of all those things combined. The stigmas which leap off the page, accompanied with an image, *the* image, which fixes value, purpose, and the perceptions of self.

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<sup>137</sup> Excerpt from Radio Ambulante’s episode “No Soy Tu Chiste”, Apr 24, 2018. Full recording with English transcription can be found here: <https://radioambulante.org/en/audio-en/im-not-your-joke>



## Una Mujer Humilde

“Una mujer humilde” was a phrase given to women who were poor and Black in Cali as seen throughout *El País* in the 1970s. Several examples of this euphemism were used to create a paternalistic relationship between the journalist, who represented the hegemony, and the Black female subject (la negra), la “mujer humilde”. Sonia Aguirre was one such woman who unfortunately was given this title, due to the fact that she had the audacity to have more than two children in her economic condition while being Black. Mrs. Aguirre was a dark-skinned woman with an “afro” hairstyle. In June of 1971, the río Cali had flooded and created a devastating emergency throughout parts of Cali.<sup>138</sup> Aguirre had given birth the night the river overflowed and was forced to find a health clinic to accommodate her and her newly born son. Her story was part of a series which followed two other women’s battle to deal with the devastation of the flooding. These women were introduced as mothers, just like Aguirre, but were given the honor of “señora de Castillo” and “señora Llorente”; never once referred to as “humilde” even though these women were facing similar tragedies and probably lived near one another. Both señoras Castillo and Llorente were white/mestiza women with straight hair. We know this, because *El País* had published photos of the women next to their corresponding stories in the article. Mrs. Aguirre was never once referred to as “señora” and was even offered a morality lesson at the end of her interview, where the journalist put her at fault for her terrible living situation and said that it was “not appropriate for her current health status”. This health advice was nonetheless withheld from señora Castillo and señora Llorente.

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<sup>138</sup> *El País*, June 1, 1971, 10.

It is understandable how journalism geared toward inciting attention to a particular cause needs language which portrays the honest truth of a negative situation. The language of the journalist writing about Mrs. Aguirre can also be perceived in this light. However, the claim that I am making, is that Mrs. Aguirre was treated differently than Señoras Castillo and Llorente, seen as a child who does not know how to help herself, and therefore, labelled “humilde” as an outcome of that perception. The journalist’s language is racially discriminatory because Mrs. Aguirre’s position in society has become “naturally” less than. Due to the privilege of whiteness which Señoras Castillo and Llorente had, they were absolved from their circumstances rather than having the content of their character questioned due to the color of their skin. The connection between the tragic circumstance of the flood and the content of Mrs. Aguirre’s character, was a relation made due to the racial stigma attached to her appearance, and how centuries of indoctrination had been disseminated to give the white individual the benefit-of-the-doubt while blaming the Black individual to be condemned by the same circumstance. In short, Mrs. Aguirre’s image in the press had suffered from a case of white privilege. This is a colonial legacy which has resurfaced in *El País* through the euphemism “una mujer humilde”, where Mrs. Aguirre was not given the privilege to have her “nature” (that which was impressed upon her by representation) separate from the circumstance.

Another pattern which surfaces from our example of Mrs. Aguirre, is the moral judgement cast upon Black women as “bad mothers”. This trope, again linked with the circumstantial-character bias, reveals the coloniality of blaming a working-class Black woman for her financial circumstance and labelling her as an unfit mother due to her need to travel far distances for work. Many working-class Black women in Cali were forced to make

the decision to leave their children and homes to work in the domestic service field in a typically white or mestiza home. Due to this departure for work, *El País* had written about some of these women as being negligent mothers. One such case is of Jesusita Garcia, the Black mother whose son had drowned in attempts to save his friend in a river.<sup>139</sup> Both boys died, but only Clemente's mother was given the privilege of doing her best to save her son. The story unfolds, "Clemente Cortes was still a child...white complexion and picturesque face." His mother, Doña Flor Forero de Cortes was "hysterically" running down the street, screaming "save my son!". "Armando Garcia was the opposite. Demure and of dark complexion, a very good student...In the house of Armando Garcia...there were only aunts. His mother, Jesusita Garcia, had gone to work and *ignored* the fatal fate of her boy," (emphasis added). The journalist was claiming that Garcia's mother was indifferent to her child's death, and it was only Cortes's mother who was behaving as she should towards her boy. Similar to that of Mrs. Aguirre from the analysis above, it was also only Cortes's mother who was given the title "doña". Garcia was just left to her name: Jesusita. This was not a one-time case in *El País* but a pattern which manifested the popular attitudes of white Caleñas.

A second example of this paternalism is seen in an article which included interviews of six Vallecaucana women on their thoughts of then President Carlos Lleras Restrepo<sup>140</sup>. In order to understand the difference created within the women, we must start the analysis with a look into how the journalist introduces each one. The first five paint the picture clearly. The first, "Desde su residencia campestre de San Antonio, Silvia Cabal de Carvajal, emitió sus conceptos..." (From her residence in the countryside of San Antonio, Silvia Cabal de

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<sup>139</sup> *El País*, Nov 25, 1975, p12.

<sup>140</sup> *El País*, August 7, 1970, p16. Also, see appendix under #3.

Carvajal, issued her concepts...), second, “En la calle doce con quinta, localizamos a Mercedes Jaramillo de Torres, de 52 años de edad y natural de Pradera...” (On street twelve and fifth, we find Mercedes Jaramillo de Torres, 52 years old and a native of Pradera...), third, “Simpática negrita de ojos vivaces, es Ernestina Bonilla, madre de 3 niños,” (*Sympathetic negrita*<sup>141</sup> with vivacious eyes, is Ernestina Bonilla, mother of three children), fourth, “Nicolasa Quintero, nacida en Popayán hace 57 años y a quien entrevistamos cuando atendía una pequeña tienda de su propiedad,” (Nicolasa Quintero, born in Popayán 57 years ago and whom we interviewed when she attended a small store owned by her), and fifth, Margarita Montano, es el nombre de este humilde mujer, quien gana el sustento para sus seis hijos, lavando, planchando diariamente en las residencias, (Margarita Montano, is the name of this *humble*<sup>142</sup> woman, who earns her livelihood for her six children, washing, cleaning daily in the residences). It is only when the journalist introduces Ernestina Bonilla, “simpática negrita”, and Margarita Montano, “humilde mujer”, where the difference is created from the three other white/mestiza women. Again, the photos of each woman is provided in the newspaper, but even without the images the racialized language is clear. Not only are the women patronized and made inferior by the journalist’s language, they are also being spotlighted for the number of children they have; a thread of information only disclosed about them.

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<sup>141</sup> Italics added. Sympathetic here is more closely related to being kind.

<sup>142</sup> Italics added

# GRACIAS, CARLOS LLERAS

## Dicen las Mujeres Vallecaucanas

La mujer vallecaucana opinó ayer que Lleras Restrepo "ha sido el mejor presidente de Colombia en este siglo", y que gracias a su excelente labor administrativa "este país goza de un gran crédito en el exterior".

"Gracias, doctor Lleras", dijo una humilde mujer en encuesta realizada por el personal femenino de este diario.

Otra dama dijo que admiraba al Presidente que hoy entrega el mando, porque "supo amarrarse los pantalones cuando vio agitada la situación del país".

Mujeres de todos los niveles sociales, fueron entrevistadas ayer por el personal femenino de este diario, sobre la labor del Presidente Lleras Restrepo, en el periodo que hoy culmina.

### "Una sociedad igualitaria"

Desde su residencia campestre de San Antonio, Silvia Cabal de Carvajal, emitió sus conceptos: "Lleras Restrepo, es un hombre extraordinario, y todos los colombianos debemos estar eternamente agradecidos con él, por su obra de gobierno. ¿Cuáles cree Ud. que fueron las realizaciones más importantes del gobierno del Dr. Lleras?"



Es muy difícil parcializar. Su obra fue polifacética en todos los campos. En mi concepto, la creación del Instituto de Bienestar Familiar y Social, la reforma constitucional, que le da cierta autonomía al poder ejecutivo, la cual bien aplicada, dará excelentes resultados. Finalmente, la reforma tributaria, que llevará al país, a una sociedad más igualitaria.

### Protegió a la Mujer

En la calle doce con quinta, localizamos a Mercedes Ja ramillo de Torres, de 52 años de edad y natural de Pradera.



"Perdí la vista hace más de 20 años, desde entonces me encuentro dedicada a la venta de lotería, trabajo que me ha dejado buenas posibilidades para vivir. Mi esposo murió hace muchos años. Igual que yo, perdió su vista en accidente. A él le siguieron la muerte de mis seis hijos, tres varones y tres muhercitas."

En Mercedes se nota algo de amargura al recordar los momentos difíciles que le ha deparado la vida. Ciega y completamente sola se dedica a la brega diaria con su venta de lotería.

Le preguntamos su concepto sobre el Gobierno del Doctor Carlos Lleras Restrepo, que hoy termina. Y respondió:

A decir verdad, fue bueno. Dió a la mujer buenas garantías y la oportunidad de desempeñar altos cargos duran

te su administración.

¿Qué es lo que más admira usted de su obra de gobierno?"

La creación del Instituto de Bienestar Familiar.

¿Qué otra cosa?"

La paternidad responsable, en esta forma las mujeres nos sentimos tan desprotegidas.

¿Qué espera Ud. del nuevo gobierno?"

Que continúe brindando paz a los colombianos y que afloje un poquito los impuestos.

¿Por quién votó Ud. el 10 de abril?"

Por Pastrana. Yo no quería que fuera otro el Presidente.

¿Hoy 7 de Agosto trabaja Ud. como los otros días?"

Hoy es día excepcional. Me quedaré en casa escuchando la radio, terminé diciendo Mercedes, a quien todos sus clientes conocen por el nombre de "Mercha"...

### Se amarró los pantalones

Simpática ne grita de ojos vivaces, es Ernestina Bonilla, madre de 3 niños.



Al enterarse que somos de la prensa, con gentil atención nos invita a ser virnos de las deliciosas cocas, que ella labora para su expendio diario, cerca a los Almacenes Ley.

El reportaje es sobre política. Nos dice: Si es así como mezaré por decirle que nunca he votado. No me imagino cómo sea eso.

Entonces no conoce Ud. el Gobierno del doctor Carlos Lleras Restrepo?"

El que yo nunca haya depositado mi voto, no quiere decir que yo no sepa algo sobre el doctor Lleras Restrepo.

Entonces? Su gobierno fue brillante. Como hombre lo admiro por su inteligencia y porque supo amarrarse los pantalones cuando vio agitada la situación del país.

¿Qué le pide Ud. al nuevo mandatario?"

Que establezca fuentes de trabajo y que brinde más protección a la niñez.

Ernestina dice que: "Por mí que suba al poder el que quiera. Para mí el que no trabaja no come, de manera que cosa distinta al trabajo me tiene sin cuidado".

### "Cuatro años de calma"

"A mí me gusta todo lo que sea paz y tranquilidad", por eso siempre estuve de acuerdo con el gobierno del doctor Lleras Restrepo, manifestó Nicolasa Quintero, nacida en Popayán.



hace 57 años y a quien entrevistamos cuando atendía una pequeña tienda de su propiedad.

¿Qué fue lo que más le gustó del gobierno del doctor Lleras? Le preguntamos todo absolutamente, porque fueron cuatro años de

relativa calma.

¿De los Presidentes que ha tenido Colombia, cuál le ha gustado más?"

Después de que la paz reine a todo momento, no importa el Presidente que sea.

"No lo conozco... pero lo admiro mucho"



Margarita Monjaño, es el nombre de esta humilde mujer quien gana el sustento para sus seis hijos, lavando, aplanchando diariamente en las residencias.

Por su tarea, recibe pago de \$ 20 a \$ 25, pero estima que es muy poco para alimentar a sus hijos.

¿Cómo le pareció el gobierno del doctor Lleras Restrepo? Le preguntamos inicialmente.

En medio de gran timidez y sorprendida por la pregunta, va más resuelta responde: "Muy bueno. A mí siempre me ha parecido un gran Presidente".

¿Y cuál es la obra por la realizada que más le llamó la atención?"

Yo creo, que cuando en las elecciones pasadas, fue que los colombianos, nos dimos cuenta de que teníamos un buen Presidente, porque ordenó que los revoltosos fueran a parar a la cárcel y que la tranquilidad siguiera reinando.

"Yo no conozco, personalmente al señor Lleras, dice Margarita, que es nacida en Buenaventura- pero lo he visto en muchas fotos y además la gente habla mucho de él, pero siempre cosas buenas. Me da mucho pesar que su gobierno se acabe, pero viene el "Doctor" (sic) Pastrana, que también va a hacer mucho por nosotros".

### "Puse en su sitio a los Estudiantes"

"El gobierno del doctor Lleras Restrepo, fue muy bueno, porque puse en su sitio a los estudiantes revoltosos, que en vez de aprovechar la oportunidad que tienen de aprender, querían mantenerse en huelga, o trando piedras", expresó María Lillian González, soltera y natural de Calarcá (Quindío).



Lo que más me gustó del Presidente Lleras, fue su defensa a los trabajadores mayores de 40 años, y que no tenían cartón de bachillerato. Él dijo una vez, que, a los 40 años, una persona todavía tenía fuerzas y vitalidad. Eso fue muy bonito. Pero es lo que no han comprendido los industriales, que exigen que su personal, sea menor de 40 años, y que tengan el cartón de bachillerato. La gente que hoy tiene 40 años, pobre y sin recursos, es muy difícil que haya terminado estudios". Terminó diciendo María Lillian.

ESTUDIE SU

This information is particularly significant in Margarita Montano's case, where her work comprising of domestic duties in local homes is made to look insufficient to support her six children. Her story continues with the amount she makes a day made to create connections between the lack of funds to the number of children she has. This gives reason to infer that Montano was being perceived as hypersexual, as if she had no control over her body. Therefore, the journalist's diction normalizes Montano's position as a domestic worker and also normalizes Bonilla's representation as a "child" by the diminutive term "negrita", which exposes attitudes of white Caleñas. These types of stories leave lasting impressions upon the reader. As recent psychological studies of comparison as well as Stuart Hall's argument reveal, the photo with the text in conjunction create layers of meanings which fix identity and attitudes.<sup>143</sup> In essence, these stories become a part of vicious cycles of re-racialization of Afrodescendant individuals in Colombian societies.

### **Beauty Queen**

Another example is of the obsession with beauty pageants during this time, and how images of young light-skinned women typically in swimwear, populated the Femeninas pages. This is fascinating in two regards. The first, that these beauty queens were designated for a female audience (physical positioning) and how it compared to La Negra Nieves and the discussion of the feminist movement. There is an image of La Negra Nieves, slightly bent over hair out of place visibly fatigued from her daily work. This image alone, without the text accompaniment is enough to understand that she has been working hard all-day and is tired. This image diagonal to the peppy, smiling, beauty queens full of energy cements the

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<sup>143</sup> Stuart Hall. *Representation: Cultural Representation and Signifying Practices*; SAGE Publishing, 6/30/13.

obvious difference. This is normalizing Black domesticity and subjectivity. Normalizing the image of a Black woman sweating, tired, conducting some kind of physical labor. That the Black woman is designated to work for the white woman, that she belongs in the home, that she is in some way silenced to not upset her employer. Where are her dreams, aspirations, goals for her life? La Negra Nieves in the physical comparative of the beauty queen shows that she is not the epitome of beauty, that her hair is not straight enough, skin not light enough, nose not thin enough, not this enough that enough. The Black woman is “not enough”. She may not even be “woman” enough, since a “woman” in *El País* is defined by her looks, sex appeal, and manner of dress.

The following images are of the beauty queens from the regions along the Pacific and Caribbean coasts featured in *El País*. These images were specifically chosen to demonstrate the exemplification of female beauty in regions which have a sizeable Afrodescendant population, and yet, not once chosen to be its representative. The pageant queens from Chocó, Buenaventura, and Cartago have the highest populations of Afrocolombians amongst the regions selected, with Chocó having over 80% of its population who identify now as either Afrodescendant, Afrocolombian, or Black (negro/a).<sup>144</sup>

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<sup>144</sup> Statistics from the National Administrative Department of Statistics (DANE) displaying the areas with the highest populations of self-identified “Afrocolombians” in 2005. Accessed January 12, 2019, <https://www.dane.gov.co>.

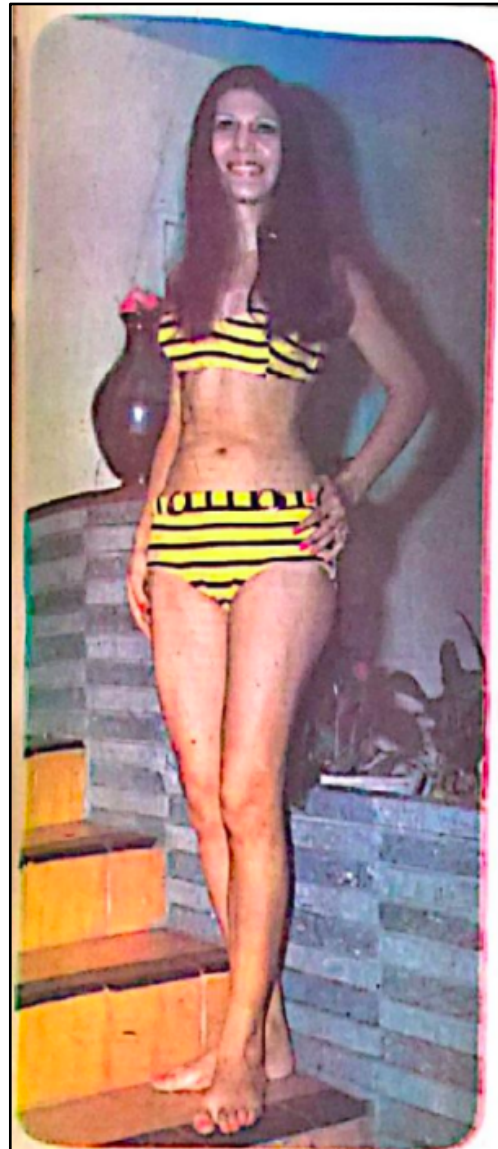




**Candidata en Cartagena**

CARTAGENA.- Rosario Uribe, nominada por el Club Campestre de esta ciudad, es una de las candidatas con mayor opción al título de "Señorita Bolívar", que se define esta semana.

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**Candidata a "Señorita Atlántico"**

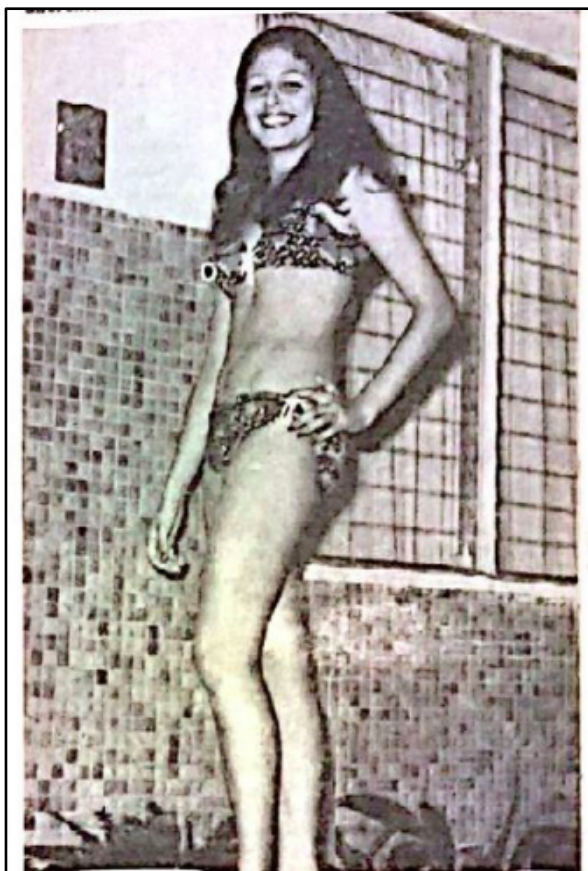
BARRANQUILLA.- Ruby Asmus, una de las más serias aspirantes al título de "Señorita Atlántico", que se definirá el próximo sábado. Compiten solo cuatro candidatas de los clubes locales (Foto EL PAIS-Yancefer).

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<sup>145</sup> *El País*, Oct 3, 1972, front page.

<sup>146</sup> *El País*, Oct 4, 1972, front page.





**Candidata de Buenaventura**

**BUENAVENTURA.**- Se confirmó que Gloria Tabora representará a Buenaventura en el reinado departamental de la belleza. En este puerto se considera que Gloria tiene sobradas condiciones para hacerse acreedora a la corona. Foto EL PAIS-Yulian.

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**Señorita Cartago**

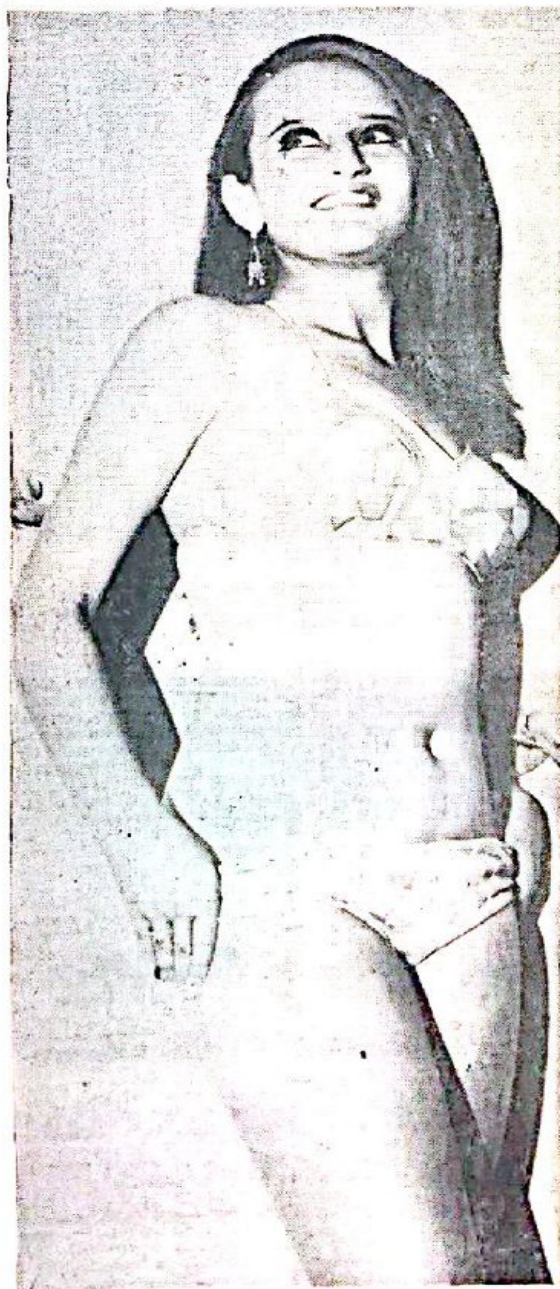
**CARTAGO.** Catalina Grohis fue designada como representante de Cartago al reinado departamental de belleza, que se define el próximo 14 de octubre en ceremonia que tendrá lugar en el Gimnasio del Pueblo en Cali. La señorita Grohis fue inscrita oficialmente ayer ante la Oficina de Fomento y Turismo del Valle del Cauca. (Foto EL PAIS Remolino)

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<sup>147</sup> Ibid, 6.

<sup>148</sup> *El País*, Oct 5, 1972, front page.

**Señorita Chocó**



Deslumbrante y con porte de Reina, este primor de chiquilla es Rosalba Eradellán, quien en su carácter de "Señorita Chocó", asistirá al Primer Festival Folclórico del Litoral que se inicia en Buenaventura, el próximo jueves.

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“With a Queen's demeanor, this (?) girl is Rosalba Eradellán, who in her character of ‘Señorita Chocó’ will attend the First Festival Folclórico del Litoral that starts in Buenaventura, next Thursday.”

<sup>149</sup> *El País*, Aug 10, 1970, 5.

In December of 1973, a photograph published in *El Tiempo* displayed the top fifteen contestants of another beauty pageant in Cali. All the women had light skin, similar body proportions adorning straight or wavy hair. These women supposedly were the representations of Caleña women at the time. The image also doubled as an advertisement for a fair in attempts to attract visitors from across the country to come see the capital of Valle del Cauca with all its attractions. Apparently, the women were a part of this marketing campaign. The caption under the image boasts, “In Cali, ‘a waterfall of lights, fantasy, and beauty’”. What is clearly missing is any visible representation of Afrodescendant women.

VIERNES 28 DE DICIEMBRE DE 1973 • EL TIEMPO • 1-B



CALI. — Las quince aspirantes al cetro y la corona del III Reinado Panamericano de la Belleza, aparecen durante una de sus presentaciones en bikini. Son ellas, de derecha a izquierda: Anne Sassen, de Ecuador; Bonnie Corder, de Estados Unidos; Delicia del Valle, de Argentina; Ethel Rioser, de Chile; Josefina Castro, de Colombia; Marcia del Carmen Weeks, de Bolivia; Maria Angela Martinez, del Paraguay; Vivian Croes, de Antillas Holandesas; Rose Marza Laprade, de Costa Rica; Eugenia Lahud, de El Salvador; Mariela Chavez, del Peru; Gladys Vanessa, de Puerto Rico; Susana Margarita Toledano, de Panamá; Silvia Manriquez, de Mexico; y Clarisa Duarte Garrido, de Republica Dominicana. — (Foto de Manuelhaiche, para EL TIEMPO).

**En Cali**  
*‘Catarata de luces, fantasía y belleza’*

Women of visible mixed ancestry, or who have darker skin were also excluded. What the pageant world in Colombia had carefully displayed in the 1970s, was the manipulation of national and international attention to a brand of female beauty which resembled European aesthetics devoid of visible African ancestry. The fact that many of these beauty pageants were held in folkloric regional festivals was also an indication of local governments utilizing the sex appeal of bikini-clad white-passing women as a point of pride and tourist attraction for their particular area. This process has its obvious down sides which promotes negative female competitiveness and objectivity, but doubles on its harmfulness by the deliberate disavowing of any woman outside of the prescribed European model of value and beauty to be present as a representative of any area in the country at the time.<sup>150</sup>

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<sup>150</sup> Please refer to figures 2-3 of contemporary cartoons which show the dynamics of whiteness as the apex of beauty standards, with a specific reference in figure 3 to how most beauty queens from the region of Valle with a considerable population of Afrodescendant, Indigenous, and mixed populations are typically very light-skinned white-passing women, yet most of the athletes are Afrocolombian.



# The Physical Space: La Negra Nieves

"In this caricature we find the charismatic way of life of our simple, modest, sincere, frank population: with its extroverted and simple way of seeing things, whatever its color... It is necessary to insist on the social work of the caricature and its author, the caricature of *Nieves* does more good than harm and, more than to affect the rights of the blacks, it glorifies their race".<sup>151</sup>

**Tres colombianas**  
**En concurso de "Miss Universo"**

Las tres colombianas concursantes en el concurso de Miss Universo...

### El miedo a la menopausia

¿Miedo a la menopausia? ¿Miedo a la menopausia? ¿Miedo a la menopausia?...

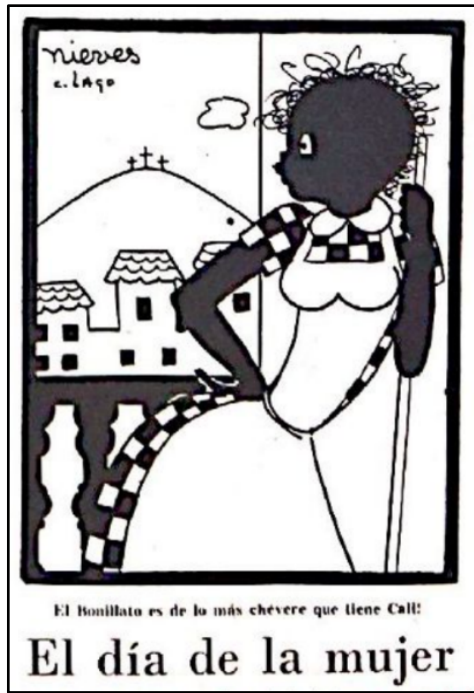
### EL PAIS

2a. Sección

Calí, Lunes 2 de Junio de 1975

### El día de la mujer

El día de la mujer...



<sup>151</sup> This was said by the judge who ruled against allegations which accused the cartoon La Negra Nieves of being racist. Excerpt from "La 'negra nieves' ou le racisme à fleur de peau. Regards croisés sur une caricature", 27, Elisabeth Cuni.

<sup>152</sup> El País, June 2, 1975.

La Negra Nieves, the cartoon, was steeped in racial stereotypes and aided in the normalizing of young Black women as domestic help in Caleña society. But what the cartoon elucidates even more, is how the character compares to the surrounding images of women and content on the rest of the page. La Negra Nieves is generally printed on the Femeninas section in *El País*. Not only is she positioned (as well as the other women and related content) in a designated slot, she is inadvertently compared to the other images and content around her. Most of the images are of light skinned women with straight or wavy hair and typically of middle or upper class. Because of the time-period I am discussing, the content density is mostly around the subject of the feminist movement and women's equality, while not limited to recipes, gendered advertisements, and articles about relationships and beauty "tips".

Each story and image has two stories ingrained within it, because it is always in contrast to a competing narrative. Poor versus Rich, Attractive versus Unattractive, Educated versus Uneducated etc. This is what Stuart Hall calls polarizing identities; how a minority group or a marginalized "community"<sup>153</sup> is depicted in the press and media. Therefore, the physical space which an article or image occupies is just as significant to the analysis of race as is the actual narrative. In many cases, the physical space is more revealing of racism than the word choice. It is about unfixing ideas of what racism could "be" and understanding the phenomenon of how it is created and re-appropriated.

When I say that La Negra Nieves is inadvertently compared to the other women and content on the page, it is because that is how human brains naturally deduce meaning. When one looks at a collage of pictures, it compares one image to the next and so forth, and that is

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<sup>153</sup> Community as defined by Benedict Anderson and also discussed by Stuart Hall, where the participants feel they are part of a larger communion of individuals without necessarily knowing all members.

how the mind makes sense of these symbols. Ferdinand de Saussure argues this point by attesting that the meaning of language is *determined* by the difference.<sup>154</sup> Researchers in cognitive science have also emphasized the importance of comparison to learn information and have it stick. Experimental studies on comparison have concluded that two examples presented together are much more likely to activate parts of the brain in control of retention and allows the mind to process information better.<sup>155</sup> Therefore, the same phenomenon occurs when the viewer absorbs La Negra Nieves and the Femeninas page. When La Negra Nieves’s image is side-by-side or underneath images of white young women in bikinis having fun on holiday (see below) it naturally fixes conceptions about both parties without



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<sup>154</sup> Stuart Hall Ed, *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices* 2nd Ed., (London: SAGE Publications, 2013), 131.

<sup>155</sup> Findings by Gick & Holyoak, 1983; Namy & Gentner, 2002 in “Compared with what? The effects of different comparisons on conceptual knowledge and procedural flexibility for equation solving” Rittle-Johnson, Bethany; Star, Jon R. *Journal of Educational Psychology* Vol. 101, Iss. 3, (Aug 2009).

<sup>156</sup> *El País*, May 29, 1975, 11.

<sup>157</sup> *Ibid.*





Cecilia de Cucalón, Medalla Cívica de la Alcaldía.



Rosa E. de Fernández, Medalla Cívica de la Alcaldía.



Matilde González, Medalla de la Sociedad de Amor a Cali.

# Condecoraciones el Día de la Mujer

## Cecilia de Cucalón, Rosa E. de Fernández y Matilde González

...vallenocanas serán condecoradas el día 29 de junio, día nacional de la mujer, en acto que dirigirá, presidido por el gobernador y el secretario de Gobierno, el señor...

...del gobierno, por su labor social en beneficio de su ciudad natal. Fue concejal suplente de Palmira, por el partido liberal, e inició su vida política desde los tiempos del presidente Olaya Herrera.

...Matilde González Ramos, directora del Gimnasio Femenino del Valle, desde 1933, era condecorada por la presidenta de la Sociedad de Amor a Cali, (Hecha Irujo de Dararmito).

...Cecilia de Cucalón Hurtado y madre de siete hijos. Rubra Cuatrecasas de Ochoa, María Cecilia Cuatrecasas de Morales, Mariana Cuatrecasas de Morales, Margarita Cuatrecasas de Cuatrecasas, Camilo, Gilberto, Yolanda y Carlos Alberto (este último fallecido), Cucalón Aragón.

...Vista de Carlos Cucalón Hurtado y madre de siete hijos. Rubra Cuatrecasas de Ochoa, María Cecilia Cuatrecasas de Morales, Mariana Cuatrecasas de Morales, Margarita Cuatrecasas de Cuatrecasas, Camilo, Gilberto, Yolanda y Carlos Alberto (este último fallecido), Cucalón Aragón.

...Matilde González fue miembro del "Instituto Iberoamericano de Cooperación Económica" que se sede en Madrid, asistente al I Congreso Iberoamericano de Cooperación Económica, que se realizó en Madrid, Valencia y Barcelona en 1953.

...Cecilia Aragón de Cucalón, de 77 años y nacida en Palmira, se hizo acreedora a la alifonía distinta...

...Rosa E. de Fernández, de 77 años y nacida en Palmira, se hizo acreedora a la alifonía distinta...

...Matilde González, de 77 años y nacida en Palmira, se hizo acreedora a la alifonía distinta...

...Adiós al nécessaire. Por años y años las mujeres aprenden con pequeños o grandes "necesaires" de aluminio, de plástico, de metal, de viaje y de maletas, la prisa de las veces. Hay la que, que comenzó con los necesaires de Vuitton o de Louis Vuitton, y los necesaires de Vuitton o de Louis Vuitton, y los necesaires de Vuitton o de Louis Vuitton...

...En el Municipal. La Academia de Ballet Ana Pavlova, dirigida por Amparo de Carvajal, tendrá sus presentaciones de los días 29 y 30 de junio, en el Teatro Municipal los días sábado y domingo a las 8:30 P.M., y el domingo 30 de junio a las 10:30 a.m. A esta función, como la viene haciendo todos los años, serán invitadas las instituciones que atienden a los niños desamparados, con el objeto de que los niños tengan un día de sana recreación.

...Barber, Ana Victoria Cortés, Hossi Fischer, Julia M. Duque y Marit Wyses. (Foto-color EL PAÍS de Henry)

...Ballet de Ana Pavlova. La academia de Ballet Ana Pavlova, dirigida por Amparo de Carvajal, tendrá sus presentaciones de los días 29 y 30 de junio, en el Teatro Municipal los días sábado y domingo a las 8:30 P.M., y el domingo 30 de junio a las 10:30 a.m. A esta función, como la viene haciendo todos los años, serán invitadas las instituciones que atienden a los niños desamparados, con el objeto de que los niños tengan un día de sana recreación.

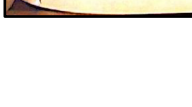
...MUSICA RITMO-COLOR. Trabajo de expresista corporal dirigido por Gloria de Lopez, las niñas danzarán libremente, utilizando voces de colores y diferentes ritmos.

...La Academia termina su cuarto año de labores y se presentará un programa con la participación de los 117 alumnos que asisten a la Academia - el siguiente: I. BUCQUET. Participan los alumnos de Pro-Ballet, en una interpretación libre, con arreglo coreográfico de Gloria de Lopez, profesora de la Academia.

...Columna de Zarla. Egre los temas favoritos de las señoras se encuentra hoy, el del "excesivo costo de la vida y la carencia de algunos artículos. En los supermercados y otros sitios de encuentros femeninos se suele poner sobre el tapete ese tema, que antes ni se mencionaba.

...Si que la Galería Alameda se está haciendo en la posibilidad de todas las señoras que siempre la eligieron para hacer sus compras. El precio de la carne es excesivo.

...Por lo que estamos seguros que en su septimo aniversario serán muchas las señoras de casa que lo visiten.



...Si no hay ningún sitio en Cali donde sea más barato. Por otro lado las muchachas que llevan las canastas están haciendo allí su agosto. Muchachas son las señoras que...

# "Aquí no hay líderes sindicales femeninas"

El abogado liberal y periodista Efraín Lenama Ramírez y el líder sindical Alfonso Vargas, coincidieron en afirmar que en Colombia no existe un liderazgo sindical femenino.



Laura O. de Ardiel

Las mujeres deben capacitarse para que haya líderes no feministas sino líderes femeninas, dijo el columnista de "El Espectador"...

...Cecilia Aragón de Cucalón. En la foto con ella se ve a la mujer que se dedica a la enseñanza en la sociedad de consumo, y por ello debemos tener un concepto de economía de familia...

El doctor Haya. En el hecho de que el doctor Haya, después de haber estado en el extranjero, regresó a Colombia...

...Luz y el verano. Si tú eres una chica que vive el verano en el mar, nadando y rebotando en las olas, entonces probablemente conoces los tampones Tampax...

Subempleada. La periodista Cecilia Aragón de Cucalón, por su parte, analizó el problema de la mujer en la legislación laboral...

...Tampax. La protección interna que más mujeres continúan usando.

Conferencia de Miryam Luz, en el Colombo. La conocida corresponsal de "El Espectador" en Nueva York, Miryam Luz...



Miryam Luz

El tema de su conferencia será "Los Estados Unidos de hoy vistos por una corresponsal extranjera".



Tampax

Además en fecha reciente recibió el premio "International Communications Award" otorgado por la Asociación de Periodistas de los Estados Unidos.

Si tú eres una chica que vive el verano en el mar, nadando y rebotando en las olas, entonces probablemente conoces los tampones Tampax. Con la protección sanitaria que llevas internamente, lo que significa que te dejan libre para disfrutar los deportes acuáticos mientras te protegen. Son seguros, cómodos, invisibles. Desde el primer día de tu período mensual. La natación—otra buena razón más para confiar en los tampones Tampax.

Miryam Luz recibió el premio "McCall's Golden Star" otorgado en el día de la liberación de las libertades de habla española de Nueva York...

La protección interna que más mujeres continúan usando.



the viewer consciously making the distinction. The young Black woman in an apron as domestic help versus the young light-skinned women in bikinis having the time and ease to frolic in the water. These images fix stereotypes of one's character. When repeated, it fixes that perceived character onto a group. What this process enables and perpetuates is the media's orchestration of not just an individual's, but a groups' value and position in society.<sup>159</sup>

As discussed earlier about the “revolution” of Spanish hairstyles in Cali, the most ironic factor of the entire story was how the caricature of La Negra Nieves was situated in the center of the page, the viewer's gaze panning across her image as they read about “modernity” and “feminism” in the stories to her right and to her left. Her presence is there, the positionality of her place in society so normalized, that the very cartoon amidst this discussion of Eurocentric beauty standards did not conjure any question of discrimination. Nieves's hair did not “loosely fall down her back”, did not have “smoothness”, or resemble a “Spanish style”. Nieves was created with the intent to embody the “Black pacific”: and inadvertently, repeatedly cast the Afrodescendant woman in opposition to modernity, nation, and worth all from the simple strokes of her hair. Nieves, in the 1970s, became the cartoon affirmation of long-held stigmas of Afrocolombian coastal inhabitants.

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<sup>159</sup> Please reference the Appendix under Figures 4-8 for further examples of this comparative model of La Negra Nieves and the Femeninas page.

## La Negra Nieves and Feminism



“Todo es posible cuando la pájara pinta se *siente* en un verde limón...”<sup>160</sup>

<sup>160</sup> *El País*, June 20, 1975, 12. Emphasis added by author.



The expression in the cartoon comes from the 1975 novel, *Estaba la Pájara Pinta Sentada en el Verde Limón*, by Colombian author Albalucía Ángel. The novel was based around the assassination of Colombian Liberal political leader, Jorge Eliécer Gaitán in 1948, who was also known by some of his opponents and their sympathizers as “el negro Gaitán”. He acquired this name as a form of insult, based around his ideas of racial and ethnic equality of all sectors of Colombian society. However, Ángel focuses the novel around women’s struggles during this volatile time (known as La Violencia) and how they were essentially invisibilized in society. The title is referring to the idea that women must be given value and not ignored or mistreated. La Negra Nieves is referring to this central theme by her statement, which essentially means that everything is possible when a woman is given value.

Notice how La Negra Nieves’s content is directly connected to the theme on the Femeninas page about feminism and gender inequalities in the Americas. In fact, Nieves’s imagery or text relating to the whole page was a pattern throughout *El País*. Whether it was explicitly or implicitly linked, the cartoon conversed with the images and content around it. Of course, this was not evident in every publication, but was common enough as in this case and a few others that I will explain further, to be missed or brushed aside as merely coincidental. Therefore, it is now more complicated to decipher whether Nieves was intentionally created to make dialogue with the particular theme of the Femeninas page, or if it was left up to the creator, Consuelo Lago's choosing. Either way, La Negra Nieves is clearly putting in her opinion of women’s deserved position in society, but with a twist. Recall how Nieves had misquoted Ángel’s title by stating, “Todo es posible cuando la pájara pinta se *siente* en un verde limón” (emphasis added). Nieves mistakenly said “siente” which means to feel, rather than “sienta” which means to sit. This error could have been



unintentional by Lago or a misprint but judging by the cartoonist's track record of intentionally scripting Nieves to mispronounce things and mix-up common Colombian sayings, it may be that Lago meant for Nieves to misquote this famous phrase.<sup>162</sup>

Consuelo Lago had intentionally created Nieves as a “naive” woman who mispronounced words, a sentiment found in an interview in *El Tiempo* on November 12, 2000. How did Lago envision Nieves's stance on feminism? A struggle too complex for Nieves to understand. Lago stated, “she defends women, without being a feminist because she does not even know that word...” She follows this statement with a reassurance that Nieves is “...flirtatious and sensitive [and] is above all a faithful representation of black cultures.”<sup>163</sup> Knowing Lago's intentions with the depth of Nieves's character, it is safe to argue that if she was a “faithful representation of black cultures” she was then a faithful representation of how Afrodescendant women had no real place in the Feminist Movement in Colombia nor the capacity to understand the cause. The Femeninas page was the reflection of the Feminist Movement in the country and how it faced some of the same issues with the United States: the invisibility of indigenous, Afrodescendant and working class women.<sup>164</sup> Nieves's cartoon adds more salt to the wound by not only being placed physically at the bottom corner of the page, but Lago further excluding her from the topic by choosing to have Nieves mispronounce a word while making a significant affirmation about gender equality. If this was her intention, Lago humorized this cartoon to have the reader laugh *at* Nieves rather than laugh with her.

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<sup>162</sup> Note the first image under the title of this section, where Nieves is complaining about a pain in her “cavasa” rather than her “cabeza”.

<sup>163</sup> *El Tiempo*, Nov 12, 2000, “Nieves Coqueta y Filosofía”.

<sup>164</sup> Aurora Vergara-Figueroa, Luis Ramírez Vidal and anth. “Memoria y Reparación. ¿Y de Ser Mujeres Negras Qué?” in *Descolonizados Mundo: Aportes de Intelectuales Negras y Negros al Pensamiento Social Colombiano*. Buenos Aires: CLACSO. 2017.

In this sense, it doesn't matter what La Negra Nieves says. It doesn't matter if she wants to go to some art gallery or makes a comment about a politician or whatever it may be that may take her out of the viewer's mind as only domestic help. Her image, as it compares to the rest of the page, is *enough* to fix her subjectivity in Caleña society and normalize that position. I say normalize because within all the discussions on the Femeninas page about women's equality, I had not seen one article challenging the caricature of La Negra Nieves, the monumental coverage of women in swimwear, or the necessity of having a Femeninas page altogether. That these stories are invalid to be included in different sections of the paper, that it must be designated only for the female audience, that gender equality is only a woman's issue not a societal issue. This is the real problem. La Negra Nieves was not questioned. The beauty standards were not questioned.<sup>165</sup> The hierarchy of "Whiteness" on top and "Blackness" below was not questioned. Nieves's invisibility grew because she fit into the order of things. Therefore, what La Negra Nieves manifests more than just the trajectory of her character, is the very normal everyday attitudes of racism present in Cali.

Just five days after the cartoon of La Negra Nieves asking the little mirror, "Who is the most beautiful morena of all the beautiful women?", a poem was published in the same paper, *El Espectador*, on August 28, 1977. The poem was written by who was perceived to be a Black woman, but the reader is not entirely sure; they went by the name, Morocho. The following is their poem, "Tema para una Película en Blanco y Negro" (Theme for a Black and White Movie) an excerpt from their larger work, "Dicen que el Destino Es Negro" (They say it's Destiny is Black).

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<sup>165</sup> Or, it may have been that the cartoon and beauty standards were concerning to some of the writers or feminist activists interviewed in *El País*, but were left out of the paper altogether.

## Negra, harto negra.

Corro a cubrirme con polvo blanco, harto blanco. También **civilizar mi cabellera** de tanto empuñar el cepillo me arden las manos. Espejito, dilo de una vez, he logrado algún progreso? Déjenla que llore, déjenla llorar. Negra mi vida y negro mi cutis. **Sueño con la blancura absoluta de la palma de mis manos y de la planta de mis pies, sube por las manos, sube por los pies, se apodera del rostro.** No esa capita precaria de "ponds". Teléfono me seguirán gritando. Entonces, negra con todas las ganas, negra que revienta. No se inventaron esas palabras para los labios finos, no juegan esas palabras con las facciones delicadas. Mi bocota irremediable, por fortuna ahí detrás guarda una dentadura maravillosa, de esas que lucen las más blancas, las gringas que salen en las propagandas de "pepsodent", mi crema favorita. Muestro mi risa? Ayer graciosa, negrita a punto de sucumbir, barriguita inflada sobresaliente ombligo. Ahora aplacado claro está decora mi cintura de avispa. Un paso y otro paso y se desorbitan los ojos de los machos.

**La alegría de mis caderas no es mi alegría.** Hoy triste, negra que gime.

Frente al espejo, definitiva negrura. Las cremas, nada de sol, refinamiento, una peluca de bucles comprada en un "sanandresito". Que rueden mis lagrimas, bella materia transparente. Mira mis ojos: una niña negra, toda negra, asociada por una gran blancura; ninguna señal?

Habla el horóscopo la ceniza del cigarrillo. Tal vez un hijo. Igual a una o más negro, **el**

**hundimiento.** Menos, comienza la redención. **Todo por un blanco.** Caderas

inquietas, soslayos, parpadeos. Negra provocativa en un jean ceñido busca el cara pálida de sus sueños para entablar un romance y concebir no blanquito. Espejito, enmudecer. Mira

como se agita mi pecho: estos pezones no los morderá un negro. **Todo para un**

**blanco.** Mi tipo de la fotonovela, de la radionovela, de la telenovela. Mientras tanto, las

otras en su rumba de negros. Santo Dios, callen los tambores, dizque Africa madre patria.

También "Vanidades". Negra pero ilustrada. También "Nivea". Negra pero pulcra. Una

sirvienta, no importa que sea una sirvienta. La ilusión sobre todo. Un chofer, no importa que sea un chofer. La inquietud de sus manos primero que todo. Negro provocativa, primero el jean cebido, acá las caderas, allí los pezones. Deliciosa negrera. **Yo la Deneuve de ébano, tú el Delon de los conductores.** Fueron felices y comieron perdices. Después un film trágico.

**Santo Dios Africa persevera.**

Dejenla que llore, dejenla llorar.

.....

**Black, very black.**

I run to cover myself with white powder, very white. Also to **civilize my hair**, my hands burn from grasping my brush for so long. Little mirror, say it now, have I made some progress? Leave her to cry, let her cry. My black life and my black skin. **I dream of the absolute whiteness of the palm of my hands and of the sole of my feet, it rises to the hands, it ascends to the feet, it seizes the face.** Not that precarious capital of "Ponds". Telephone, they continue to scream at me. Then, black with all the desire, black that bursts. Those words were not invented for thin lips, they do not play those words with delicate features. My big irrepressible mouth, fortunately there behind keeps a wonderful denture, those that the whitest women display, the gringas that come out in the propaganda of "pepsodent", my favorite paste. I show my laugh? Yesterday funny, negrita almost about to succumb, belly inflated, belly button protruding. Now synched, of course, is decorating my waspy waist. One step and another step and the eyes of the males are thrown out of orbit. **The joy of my**



**hips is not my joy.** Sadness today, black that moans. In front of the mirror, definitive blackness. The creams, no sun, refinement, a wig of loops bought in a "sanandresito". Let my tears roll, beautiful transparent matter. Look at my eyes: a black girl, all black, besieged by great whiteness; Any signal? Speak the horoscope, the ash of the cigarette. Maybe a son. Equal to me or more black, **the sinking**. Lest, the redemption begins. **All for a white one.** Restless hips, oblique, blinks. Black provocative in a girded jean looking for the pale-face of her dreams to engage in a romance and conceive a small white one. Little mirror, become mute. Look how my chest is shaken: these nipples will not be bitten by a black man. **Everything for a white man.** My guy of the fotonovela, of the radionovela, of the telenovela. Meanwhile, the others in their black parties. Holy God, shut up the drums, supposedly Africa mother country. Also "Vanidades". Black but educated. Also "Nivea". Black but neat. A servant, it does not matter if she is a servant. The hope is everything. A driver, it does not matter if he is a driver. The restlessness of his hands first of all. Provocative black, first the girded jean, here the hips, there the nipples. Delicious negrura. **I the Deneuve of ebony, you the Delon of the drivers.** They were happily ever after. After a tragic film.

**Holy God Africa perseveres.**

Let her cry, leave her to cry.<sup>166</sup>

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<sup>166</sup> English translation by author and David Galindo Diaz.

**Chapter 5**  
**Apolitical - El Negro *No* Permitido**



Artist: Rendón, 1930 <sup>167</sup>

“The afrochocoano journalist Manuel Mosquera Garcés of ‘El Debate’ was entangled in a confusion in electoral fraud. He is ‘washing’ his mistake.”<sup>168</sup>

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<sup>167</sup> Óscar Perdomo Gamboa. *1000 Caricaturas Afro En La Historia De Colombia*. Colección Artes Y Humanidades. Cali, Colombia: Universidad Del Valle, 2017, 45. The author is not certain if it was Rendón but the image was found in Fantoques magazine and is believed to be sketched by the said artist.

<sup>168</sup> Ibid.

## Introduction

This chapter focuses on Black Colombians' political aspirations and articulations as represented in the newspapers, *El Tiempo* and *El País* during the 1970s. Attitudes against Afrodescendant individual's political articulations were ridiculed and misconstrued in the press, lending to the systemic issue of the political sphere largely catering to the country's mestizo and White populations. Therefore, *el negro no permitido*, is the argument which will encompass this chapter as a description for the space and capacity of intellectual production and political prestige which is disavowed from Afro-Colombians. In this lense, cultural articulations<sup>169</sup> of folklore, music, food, dress, and more from black activists and some government officials were accepted as the appropriate space for expressing blackness and gaining national visibility, whereas the political aspirations and claims of discrimination were not. This chapter will examine three major events, the protest of the *Vuelta a Colombia* in Puerto Tejada,<sup>170</sup> the First Colombian National Congress of Black Populations, and the First Congress of Black Culture of the Americas, as well as the place of Afrodescendant women's political articulations in the press which demonstrate this process.

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<sup>169</sup> Culture as defined by Afrodescendant scholars, activists, and community members which directly related to socio-regional specificities while centering the African root and its significance in their redefined conception of *mestizaje*. These definitions were in conversation with central state actors which will be discussed in detail within the chapter.

<sup>170</sup> Puerto Tejada is a port-city along the Pacific Coast with a majority Afrodescendant population. *Vuelta a Colombia* was a cycling competition.

## The Protest in Puerto Tejada

It was June of 1973, and the country's largest cycling tournament, Vuelta a Colombia, was taking shape. The course was to span for thirteen stages, beginning June 19th to July 1st. The first stage was planned to begin in Popayán and end in Cali. However, when riders neared the small town of Puerto Tejada, just thirty kilometers shy of Cali, they were met with a protest of mainly Afrodescendant citizens.<sup>171</sup> The headline in *El Tiempo* read, "To protest the official abandonment, the boycott of the Vuelta".<sup>172</sup> The town of Puerto Tejada, like many communities with high demographic populations of Afrodescendant or indigenous people, was facing what the protesters called "an abandonment of the national authorities" for years. The state had promised the people of Puerto Tejada a new road, which would connect their town to the bustling urban center of Cali, to increase ease of commerce and travel for leisure, necessity, and economic purposes. This road was never built, and when la Vuelta, with all its media coverage, was going to pass near Puerto Tejada, the community created a blockade, forcing the cyclists to have to continue the race through their town to draw attention to the conditions of the road. The first report by Rafael Matallana, made sure to highlight the people's voices, quoting one protester who said, "We regret the inconvenience that this could have caused, but the people considered that one of the ways to make us heard was taking advantage of the passage of the Vuelta. You cannot imagine how many years ago we have been asking for them [government] to pave the way to Cali." Another protester, former soccer player, David Lizcano, expressed, "It's a pity that this happened with the Vuelta...this is a sports town by tradition, but really nobody wants to pay

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<sup>171</sup> Please refer to Figure 7 in the Appendix.

<sup>172</sup> *El Tiempo*, June 19, 1973, 2C.

attention to us and we had to do something.” This report, with on-site interviews, and multiple mentions of the protest as a non-violent march, was coupled with an image of the peaceful protest with signs raised high stating, “For Puerto Tejada”.

However, it is the second official report directly adjacent to Matallana’s, which surfaced a racialized tone. This article was titled, “End of Surprises” by Carlos Caicedo.<sup>173</sup>

The article was as follows:

Buenos días, estimados lectores. Para hoy, está el tema del secuestro de la Vuelta a Colombia por una bullanguera multitud de morochitos de Puerto Tejada. Esto desde luego es un precedente funesto, de ahora de adelante, señor lector, los habitantes de muchos pueblos podrán parar la máxima prueba por toda clase de problemas. Por ejemplo: que no tienen alcantarillado que los vidrios de las escuelas están rotos que la señora Polita ilustre matrona y tronco de rancia familia está enferma y los atribulados habitantes obligan a la caravana ciclista ir a visitarla porque en su delirio exclama y pedía que le llevaran la prueba a su lecho de enferma...O también porque hay un reinado de belleza en el pueblo y la candidata en un rasgo de inteligencia, propone que sus seguidores vayan a la carretera y secuestren la Vuelta para que sus corredores se echen una bailadita y después continuen muy orondos. Roguemos a San Caralampio, el abogado de los pen<sup>174</sup>... y de los pedalistas, que esto no se repita.<sup>175</sup>

This report was not an opinion piece, it was not published in a far-right paper; it was the article adjacent to the one by Matallana. Caicedo opens with derogatory racial slurs, then expands on literary layers of deep racial stereotypes of Afrodescendants as people who lack intelligence and hygiene, while being highly superstitious, calling on the patron-saint of the town to force the cyclists to give her a visit. He also alludes to the stereotype that Afrodescendants are loud and boisterous, while using the mark of Blackness, “morochitos”, to not only cement their position as subordinates in Colombian society, but demean rational, intelligent processes of protest, as childish games and petty complaints. What is most

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<sup>173</sup> Ibid, 2C.

<sup>174</sup> Caicedo may have been referring to the crowd as “pendejos” without writing the full word out as it is a national newspaper. However, morochitos, seemed to pass the test of editorial decency.

<sup>175</sup> Ibid. English translation in Appendix under Figure 8.

striking, is Caicedo’s language to highlight the realities of the town, having no sewer system and broken school windows, which in reality, proves the urgency for the protest to be happening in the first place. He is admitting that Puerto Tejada, in essence, has been neglected by the State, but rather than report in solidarity to their plight, he belittles the inhabitants and unearths centuries of racial stereotypes present like a bursting belly under a thin buttoned-down shirt. It is also alarming, that he himself was present during the march, as he had supplied the photograph of the protest to the newspaper, witnessing the same protest Matallana had, but refusing or not including any interviews of the people.

Finally, Matallana’s report mentioned the strike as being non-violent, three times throughout the piece. This seems to be done to quell any assumptions that every protest is violent, specifically amongst Black individuals. It is as if Matallana is attempting to speak to his audience of the capital, knowing that he must make the stance clear that the march was done peacefully, in hopes that the readers will not automatically make connections between Black individuals and violence. It is how he uses this thread that reveals the necessity for him to restate the reality of the peaceful protest, which manifests that there is still a very real racial stereotype which links a person of darker skin color to increased actions of violence.



<sup>176</sup> *El País*, June 20, 1973.

In *El País*, the official coverage of the protest took a very different approach to Rafael Matallan's writing in *El Tiempo*. *El País*'s coverage of the event spanned across three issues, with multiple articles and images accompanying them. The main headline read, "Secuestrados' los ciclistas" (Kidnapped the cyclists).<sup>177</sup> This first article opens with words such as "saboteo" (sabotage) and repeats its use several times. Correspondent, Guillermo Ospina, begins by saying the sabotage of the twenty-third Vuelta a Colombia forced one-hundred cyclists to stop here [Puerto Tejada]. He continues:

The organizers of the civic movement...said that the movement was necessary...so that it would have an echo in the highest spheres of the government and the nation. The people who had crowded on either side of the road, *pounced* on the cyclists when they were going to penetrate uncovered terrain and stopped their machines *by all means* at their reach. The first groups [of cyclists] rolled to the ground...and the director of the competition, Alberto Cobo Arizabaleta...foreseeing acts of violence or massive exaltation...marked that site as the culmination of the first stage. The governor of Cauca, Gerardo Bonilla Fernandez, described the incident as unjustifiable and many criticisms rained on the civic leaders of Puerto Tejada who organized the *sabotage*.<sup>178</sup>

Within the opening sentences of the first story of the protest, the journalist is immediately making claims that the protesters were violent and pushed the cyclists to the ground as a way to sabotage the beloved event. The so called, "exalted ones" as Ospina called them, continued to be "aggressive on both sides of the road in protest of civic or political order that has nothing to do with a sporting spectacle of such tradition as the Vuelta a Colombia."<sup>179</sup> This story was followed by two images under the headline: "A los ciclistas los cogían y los tumbaban" (the cyclists were caught and thrown) shown below.

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<sup>177</sup> Please refer to Figures 9 and 10 in the Appendix.

<sup>178</sup> *El País*, June 20, 1973.

<sup>179</sup> *Ibid.*





Notice the arrows (black on the left image and white on the right) which have been drawn onto the images as a means to “illustrate” what the story was attempting to create: a scene of violence and hooliganism. The caption of the images read, “...Montoya [the cyclist] is hindered [entorpecido] by a representative as they caught the riders to stop them to fight [en una brava] in Puerto Tejada...Note the hands of people stopping the riders in the sabotage that culminated with success.” In other parts of the story, the same journalist says some cyclists who had managed to “escape” were also “forcibly detained” by the actions of the protesters.

Around this same time, cartoonists, Caleb and Elcíades, sketched their interpretation of the protest (shown on next page). As discussed in the previous chapter about stereotypes and stigmas of Blackness, these images both degrade and attempt to humiliate Black inhabitants of the Pacific by bestowing them with animal-like features and perpetuating the stigma of violence, delinquency, and ignorance as inherent qualities of Afrodescendants.

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<sup>180</sup> Ibid.





181

Caleb, 1973



182

Elciades, 1973

<sup>181</sup> Óscar Perdomo Gamboa. *1000 Caricaturas Afro En La Historia De Colombia*. Colección Artes Y Humanidades. Cali, Colombia: Universidad Del Valle, 2017, 105.

<sup>182</sup> *El País*, June 21, 1973. 4.

In the first image by Caleb, the protestors of Puerto Tejada are drawn with white minstrel-esque lips and oddly reminiscent to another Latin American racially derogatory cartoon, Memín Pinguín.<sup>183</sup> Both Memín Pinguín and the figures drawn in Caleb's piece were made to resemble monkeys, while Caleb takes it a step further and puts the figures in grass-skirts and equips them with spears. The figures are behaving so "foolishly" that even the cows in the background cannot understand their behavior. Unfortunately, the "savage African" trope is nothing new by this decade but acquires a new depth of shaming by resorting lawful protest into a joke. The second piece by Elcíades also exaggerates the Black inhabitant's facial features yet keeps the white cyclist's face in the cartoon element without degrading him. There is a stark difference between the two facial depictions which lends to the intention of Elcíades to attempt to distort the Black inhabitant's features for ridicule. Similar to the analysis of la Negra Nieves in the previous chapter, the positionality of the cartoon in conjunction with the stories surrounding it tends to be much more powerful in its message than the actual caption provided. The case with Caleb's and Elcíades's pieces are no different. The images alone speak so loudly, cut so deeply, and continues to normalize the inferiority of Blackness in a sea of the government's messages of "modernity," "development," and "prosperity".

*El Tiempo's* official coverage of the protest made poignant explanations which ensured that the people of Puerto Tejada were peaceful and did not attack the cyclists in any way while *El País's* stories were full of language and images which attempted to show the complete opposite. After cross-referencing *El Tiempo's* coverage with the second leading

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<sup>183</sup> Please refer to the Appendix under Figure 10. Memín Pinguín was a Mexican cartoon created by writer Yolanda Vargas Dulché and author Sixto Valencia and first appeared in a comic book magazine called "Pepín" in 1943.

national newspaper and its major competitor, *El Espectador* of Bogotá, journalist Mike Forero Nougues, reiterated what Matallana of *El Tiempo* had concluded, and adhered to the participants as “...peaceful citizens of Puerto Tejada” and that “...even though the protest seems exaggerated, the people of Puerto Tejada are friendly and cordial.”<sup>184</sup> Therefore, *El País*’s publications of the supposed aggression and violence of the mostly Black protestors seem orchestrated to present the inhabitants of Puerto Tejada as unruly, violent, and completely irrational.

In addition to *El País*’s claims that the protesters were violent and purposefully threw cyclists to the ground, the articles affirm that the inhabitants’ actions were “unpatriotic” positioning the people of Puerto Tejada in opposition to the nation. Such statements as, the protesters “animated a *sabotage* of the highest contest of *national* cycling” (emphasis added) or calling the protest “unsportsmanlike and *unpatriotic*...which exerted thousands of *mutineers* in this population of the department of Cauca,” (emphasis added). One section of the article affirms this act of protest for a better road is “only proper to people who do not love their country and want to impede the normal development of an event that gives Colombia an image [international presence] and takes joy from thousands and thousands of fans who follow the Vuelta a Colombia.”<sup>185</sup> These statements made by the journalist and the director of the competition are adamant that these Black inhabitants of Puerto Tejada, desperately trying to get the government’s attention to the abandonment of their community, is seen as an act of mutiny against the nation. They have placed this community *outside* of the idea of nation because they are voicing their grievances. However, the protesters do see themselves as part of the nation, and that is why they are enraged that the government is not

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<sup>184</sup> *El Espectador*, June 20, 1973, 2B.

<sup>185</sup> *El País*, June 20, 1973.

fulfilling their role to keep up infrastructure for these people to have opportunities for a better life. It is the state which has wronged these people by its false promises and neglect, not the other way around. In *El Espectador*, some of the protesters interviewed were quoted saying, “they [the government] has tricked us for three years...” and apologized for the stoppage of the competition but explained that it was “the only way” to get the attention of government officials. The article concludes with this statement:

It is possible that some intellectuals criticize the inhabitants of Puerto Tejada saying that what they demanded were claims and that they were not facing the system or the Government. But this would be an erroneous criticism because one is linked to the other and one leads to the other. There is an intimate relationship between the non-paving of a road- simple variant -and the inefficient system or government.<sup>186</sup>



**'No Podíamos Perder Esta Oportunidad'** 187

An *opinion* piece in *El País* also vouches for the port city and affirms that their actions were necessary for a community who produces so much of Popayán’s food supply to gain any attention from the government.<sup>188</sup> Francisco Gómez V. writes that Puerto Tejada is one of the most “abandoned municipalities in Colombia and paradoxically is located twenty minutes from one of the three largest cities in the country...” He continues, “nobody suffered in its physical integrity and at least today the press will inform that Puerto Tejada is also Colombia and that it is sick and tired of *dulcecitos*.” It is interesting that the official

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<sup>186</sup> *El Espectador*, June 20, 1973.

<sup>187</sup> *El Espectador*, June 20, 1973, 3C

<sup>188</sup> *El País*, June 20, 1973, p4. Popayán is the capital city of the department of Cauca, where Puerto Tejada is also located.

coverage of the Vuelta in *El País* and Caicedo's piece in *El Tiempo* claims that the protest was orchestrated by violent "mutineers", yet Gómez's opinion piece does the very opposite. He insists that the popularly understood "other Colombia" is *still* Colombia, and the people deserve to feel that they are included into that idea of nation.

### **The Black Social Movement(s?) in Colombia**

Just two years after the protest at Puerto Tejada, the First National Meeting of Black Populations would take place in Cali. Throughout the mid-twentieth century, specifically in the 1960s, 70s and 80s, leaders from the Pacific and Atlantic coasts, as well as from the large urban centers of Cali, Medellín, and Bogotá, joined together in an effort to organize, deliberate, and protest racist policies and negligence from central and local governments.<sup>189</sup> These racist policies manifested in mainly rural areas in the form of international and national exploitation of lands mainly occupied by Afrodescendant communities, little to no access to healthcare and educational opportunities, as well as the unreachable access to land titling and security. It was also during the 1970s, which saw the fruition of the study of negritude in the country. In this decade, Black social leaders were very much inspired by the civil rights movement in the United States, the writings of Frantz Fanon, Amílcar Cabral, Patricio Lumumba, Nelson Mandela, and Marcus Garvey, Black South Africans' protests to apartheid, as well as the independence revolutions in various parts of Africa leading up to the 1970s. They were connected to the global Pan-Africanist Movement of the time and

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<sup>189</sup> Maguemati Wabgou with Unidad De Investigaciones Jurídico Sociales and authors. *Movimiento Social Afrocolombiano, Negro, Raizal Y Palenquero : El Largo Camino Hacia La Construcción De Espacios Comunes Y Alianzas Estratégicas Para La Incidencia Política En Colombia*. Primera Edición ed. Bogotá D.C., Colombia: Universidad Nacional De Colombia-Sede Bogotá, Facultad De Derecho, Ciencias Políticas Y Sociales, 2012, 100.

participated in conferences and important events of a rising black consciousness around the world.

Catching the fire, other groups emerged in the late 1970s and 1980s such as Cimarrón in Popayán (formerly known as SOWETO), Hasta Tabala in Tunja, as well as a chapter of The Black Panthers (Panteras Negras) and Black Muslims (Musulmanes Negras)<sup>190</sup> in Buenaventura. This particular sect of Islam in Colombia was inspired by the teachings of the Nation of Islam in the United States, spearheaded for some time by Malcolm X, who preached power and dignity as the foundation of black consciousness. Groups also emerged in rural areas of the Pacific, but were more associated with indigenous and campesino organizations advocating for land rights and other issues on a local level.<sup>191</sup> Therefore, the Black Social Movement was not one homogenous group with a common goal, rather a conglomerate of multiple organizations with their respective socio-cultural and regional bases and goals. These struggles of dignity and social welfare prompted many Afrodescendant professionals and intellectuals to gather, in what became known as the First National Meeting of Black Populations in 1975.<sup>192</sup>

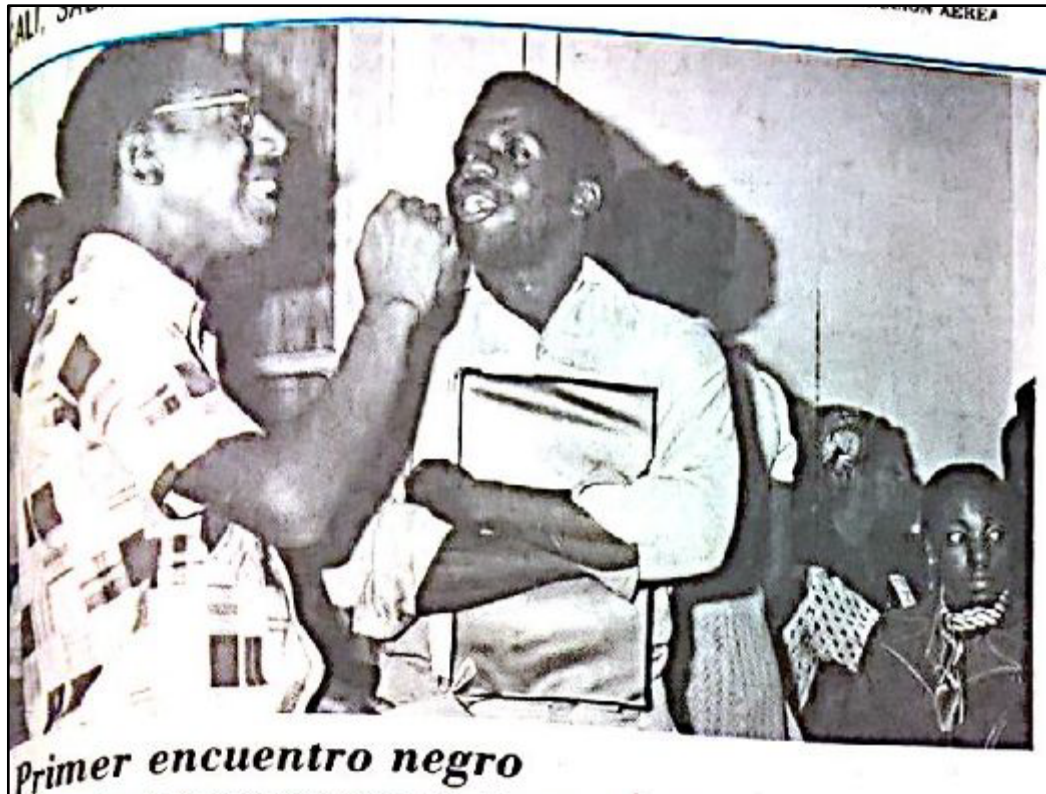
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<sup>190</sup> The Black Muslims in the 1960s and 70s were mainly following the teachings of Malcolm X and the Nation of Islam, by having pamphlets boated to the main port of the country, Buenaventura, in the Pacific coast by Esteban Mustafa Meléndez, an African American sailor of Panamanian origin. More information about this topic can be found in Diego Castellanos (2014) and at <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/jan/23/colombia-islam-muslim-buenaventura>

<sup>191</sup> Maguemati Wabgou and authors, *Movimientos Sociales* (2012) and Tianna Pachell *Becoming Black Political Subjects* (2016).

<sup>192</sup> *Ibid*, 99.

## Black Political Activism



*El País*, February 22, 1975, front page

Quote of the Day: “It is only the law that can give us liberty.” - Goethe<sup>193</sup>

The First Colombian National Meeting of Black Populations (Primer Encuentro Nacional de la Población Negra Colombiana) took place on February 21st, 1975 and culminated on the 23rd in Cali, Colombia. This was the first national meeting to officially discuss and draft a conclusion of the immediate needs and future goals of Colombia’s black population.<sup>194</sup> The council was headed by Valentín Moreno Salazar (President) and Genaro

<sup>193</sup> *El País*, Feb 22, 1975, front page. “Únicamente la ley es lo que nos da libertad.”

<sup>194</sup> *Ibid.*

Bonilla Perlazo, including the board of directors John Herbert Valencia Boat (Vice President), Adelina Abadía Villegas (Fiscal), Luis Enrique Dinas Sape (Treasurer), Carlos A. Vallecilla (Secretary), as well as Amir Smith Córdoba and Francisco Valencia as members.<sup>195</sup> The major concerns brought forth at this meeting were discussing avenues to end racial discrimination in the country, create equitable opportunities for black people to gain more access to education (especially higher education), systems of health and infrastructure, and strive to politicize their cause to the greatest extent in order to implement these measures in local and central governments. Most of the 183 delegates were students, intellectuals, and professionals (mostly lawyers) who lived in larger urban cities, therefore the point of discussion mainly focused on black people in urban areas of the country, and not necessarily more rural or coastal areas who had immediate needs which pertained to issues of illegal land seizure, violence, the armed conflict,<sup>196</sup> and access to health systems and good infrastructure mainly to help with transporting farmer's agricultural goods for sale. Due to the daily interactions these professionals and academics had with light-skinned members of the country in the capital, Medellín, and other large cities, they experienced first-hand how racial discrimination could deter their chances of success, and how national policies did not address these systemic issues.<sup>197</sup>

According to Mauricio Archila, historian of social movements in Colombia, the first mention of the Primer Encuentro<sup>198</sup> in the press was categorized as a “protest” to take place

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<sup>195</sup> Ibid, 101-102

<sup>196</sup> I am referring to the national armed conflict which began in the mid 1960s between the government of Colombia, paramilitary groups, criminal bands, and leftist guerrillas such as the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) and the National Liberation Army (ELN) amongst others, fighting to increase their influence on the nation's lands, resources, and economy.

<sup>197</sup> More about the Black Social Movement(s) can be found in Paschell (2010) (2016), Wade (2009), and the Cimarrón webpage at <http://movimientocimarron.org/afrocolombianidad/>.

<sup>198</sup> I will be referring to the First Colombian National Meeting of Black Populations as the Primer Encuentro or The First Meeting throughout this chapter.



in February of 1975.<sup>199</sup> Months before, *El Tiempo* had announced the event as the “first meeting of the black population” on September 6th, 1974<sup>200</sup>. However, it was not until November 2nd of 1975, when *El Tiempo* dawned the headline the “First Congress of Blacks” were to take place in Bogotá.<sup>201</sup> Confounding information resounds. From over a dozen major congresses and meetings which took place in Colombia throughout the decade, it was only the misnamed “first congress of blacks” in Bogotá which granted a report of anything of its kind in *El Tiempo*. Historian of the Black Social Movement, Maguemati Wabgou, recounts how the Primer Encuentro actually took place in Cali, February 21st of 1975. Therefore, what *El Tiempo* published was a brief story about the National Congress of Blacks (Congreso Nacional de Negros) which was scheduled to take place on November 22nd in the capital. Not only did the journalist responsible for this story make a substantial error, but the paper silenced the Primer Encuentro completely by not publishing a single story about it.

**Después de brujos y yogas...**  
***Primer Congreso de Negros*** <sup>202</sup>

The *El Tiempo* story of the National Congress begins with the title, “Después de brujos y yogas...Primer Congreso de Negros,” or, After Sorcerers and [yogis]...The First Congress of Blacks.<sup>203</sup> The report begins as such:

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<sup>199</sup> Archila does not specify which paper.

<sup>200</sup> Mauricio Archila Neira, *Vueltas y Revueltas Idas y Venidas: Protestas Sociales en Colombia 1958-2000*. Bogotá D.C., Colombia: Instituto Colombiano De Antropología E Historia : Centro De Investigación Y Educación Popular, 2003, 212.

<sup>201</sup> *El Tiempo*, Nov. 2, 1975, front page.

<sup>202</sup> Ibid.

<sup>203</sup> Ibid, 3A.

Without the slightest doubt, Colombia became the country of the congresses. And rare congresses at that. Only in the last ten weeks has the capital served as a stupefied venue for a World Congress of Witchcraft, an International Congress of Yogas and a World Congress of Clowns. Apparently the phenomenon was going to be transient. But now another congress, no less spectacular, is that of Colombian Blacks. First there were two thousand sorcerers from all latitudes...then there were 700 [yogis] from seventeen nations guided by authentic Indian gurus...In order to not break the thread, a foreign circus arrived...Now the turn corresponds to 3,000 professionals and folklorists of the dark race [raza oscura] who intend to demonstrate that in Colombia, there is racial discrimination.<sup>204</sup>

Alegre Levy, the journalist, begins the story with an undoubtedly snide tone, deliberately placing the monumental congress as nothing more than another exotic exhibition.<sup>205</sup>

Introducing the Primer Encuentro within such a bizarre caste of events classifies Black individuals' grievances and capacities for political organization as nothing more than some irrational creation which disintegrates to a mist, becomes dispensable. This process occurs because it is taken out of the realm of rationality and reality and displaced in a shadowy world of chaos and nonsense.

Although the article opens in such a manner, it does weave in the voices of the congress's leaders, Valentín Moreno Salazar and Genaro Bonilla Perlaza, throughout the piece. Both Moreno and Bonilla address the needs of Black populations throughout the country, and the abandonment of the state in these particular areas; specifically, in the Chocó. One significant part in the story was the leaders' call for President Lopez Michelsen and "all his ministers" to attend the congress in an attempt "to learn about the unfortunate life of the black Colombian" (...para que se enteren de la lamentable vida del negro colombiano).<sup>206</sup> The

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<sup>204</sup> Ibid.

<sup>205</sup> It is important to note that this article was not an opinion piece but the only official narrative of any Black congress in the 1970s.

<sup>206</sup> Ibid, 3A.

organizers say that the congress is not trying to instigate racial tensions, but seeks to visibilize the discriminatory system which disenfranchises the country's Black population in having equal access to a quality life and opportunities allotted to mestizos and whites in the public sphere.

Right after this sobering quote, Levy writes, "Upon hearing this, I could not help but think of Arnold Toynbee. The unforgettable English historian who spent six months in our country at the end of the fifties. His intention then was to understand why in Colombia there is no racial problem..."<sup>207</sup> This quote exemplifies the problems the two Afrodescendant lawyers were addressing in the first place. Levy, once again in a dismissive tone, is indirectly attesting to the ridiculousness of the congress's position by revealing their own attitude of racial blindness. In essence, they are mocking the congress by stating that there is no racial problem in Colombia, while unbeknownst to them (or not), behaving in a racially discriminatory manner. Levy further attempts to build this argument, by mentioning that at least in Colombia, people of all races "prefer to dialogue [in a friendly manner] instead of committing riots as in the United States".<sup>208</sup> How can the organization gain national awareness, if its very organization has been relegated to nonsense?

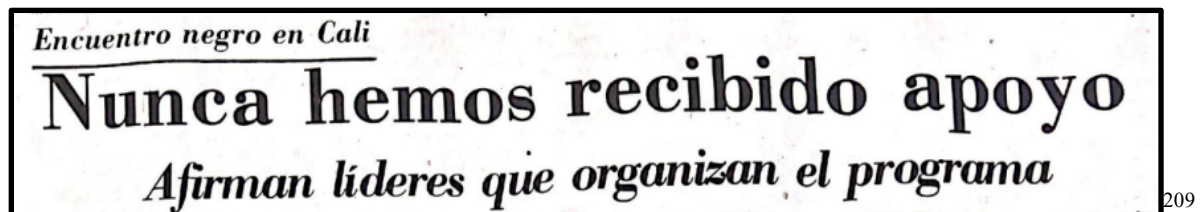
This story marked the start of a new flood of reports, which revealed racial problems outside the country, while claiming that within Colombia, no such complication existed. This story along with the numerous images and headlines dedicated to racial violence in the United States and Africa built an imaginary safety blanket which obscured the realities of racial discrimination within the nation by ignoring and silencing the misfortunate realities of Black Colombians in the press. This report, as the only report of the Black Social Movement

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<sup>207</sup> Ibid.

<sup>208</sup> Ibid.

in *El Tiempo*, is a blatant rejection of the capital to recognize the realities and the organizational efforts of Afrodescendants within the country. The indirect jabs taken at the congress and the organizers through the use of the embellished language is exemplary to what Bonilla was attesting to when explaining how racial discrimination in Colombia generally operates: it can be subtle and does not necessarily happen openly as a racially derogatory insult. Rather, it places the Black individual in an inferior position because they are disavowed the power to articulate their stories truthfully due to the majority mestizo/white representation in government and the media.



*El País*'s stories about the National Congresses were notably different from *El Tiempo*'s single article. As the Primer Encuentro was to take place in the paper's publishing city, Cali, there was an extensive account dedicated to each day of the conference.<sup>210</sup> The first headline, "Nunca hemos recibido apoyo" (We never received help [from the government] ) and the tone of the article, is more inclusive of the organizer's voices, and sympathetic to the issues the conference raised. The article published on the first day of the conference, February 21st, was more of an interview which allowed two of the organizers, Valentín Moreno and Iván Forbes Bohorquez, to comment extensively about the goal of the

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<sup>209</sup> *El País*, Feb 21, 1975, 7.

<sup>210</sup> There could have been other factors such as rumors of government officials being present amongst other reasons for why there was extensive coverage of the conference that were not made clear in the paper.

three-day congress and what they felt Black people in the country faced as their largest obstacles in getting ahead in life. One such explanation is as follows:

The government has never been concerned about people of color [los de color], does not allow them to emerge. Surreptitiously, slyly, we are made to be victims of racial division, of course this is not seen in a black manual-laborer [obrero], in a black female cook [negra cocinera], in any black employee who occupies lower positions, the division is made when a black intellectual emerges, and he feels able to occupy a position within the government, their intellectual capacities are no longer seen, they are fixed only on the color of their skin. When has an ambassador or black consul been appointed? Up to the present we have not had a black occupying such exclusive positions of whites.<sup>211</sup>

It is clear in this statement, that the organizers are openly criticizing the racist system which disavows more than the two or three exceptional cases, for Black Colombians to have equal access to positions of power in all sectors of society. They bring forward the acceptance of Black people as mostly occupying subordinate positions in society, but not given the capacity to cross-over to spaces deemed exclusive to mestizos and whites. It is also made clear that they are not organizing the conference simply to discuss the current situation of Black Colombians, but to offer a political response to these problems. At the end of the meeting, the Colombian National Council of Black Populations (Consejo Nacional de la Población Negra Colombiana) was formed, and the delegates decided to put Juan Zapata Olivella, brother to acclaimed Afrocolombian scholar and activist, Manuel Zapata Olivella, as a liberal presidential candidate in the following year's elections.<sup>212</sup>

The second day's report in *El País* was just a photo and caption of two unidentified delegates having a debate, while the third day's coverage consisted of a full story to conclude the conference. The story focused primarily on some of the religious, economic, and

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<sup>211</sup> *El País*, Feb 21, 1975, 6. It is unclear if it was Valentín Moreno or Iván Forbes who gave this response in their interview.

<sup>212</sup> Mauricio Archila Neira. *Idas y Venidas, Vueltas y Revueltas: Protestas Sociales en Colombia, 1958-2000*. (2003) 212.

historical determinants of racial discrimination which were brought forth in the congress, such as complaints against the Catholic Church which “prevents the few blacks who show religious vocation from entering their communities,” and explaining how the most impoverished areas of the nation also are inhabited disproportionately by Blacks.<sup>213</sup> The delegates interviewed were quoted saying that the consequences for this poverty were in no way accidental, yet were rather framed within the “racist policy exercised conscientiously from all levels of Colombian government and society.”<sup>214</sup> The most informative and transparent piece of the article was the inclusion of the list of demands developed by the delegates for the central government and “Colombian society” to be “studied and resolved”.<sup>215</sup> However, what closed the story was the hollowness of those key figures in the global and national Black community, as well as some government officials who did not show up to the conference. Among the guests who did not attend were boxing champions, Rodrigo “Rocky” Valdez and “Pambele”, US political activist, Angela Davis, as well as the President, Alfonso López Michelsen and some other government officials. What the paper did not mention was how the two most visible activists for Colombian Afrodescendants, Manuel Zapata Olivella, and pioneering anthropologist of the Black Pacific, Nina de Friedemann, were also not in attendance.<sup>216</sup> In the paragraphs to follow, it will be made clear how these absences reflected the ideological disjunctures in the beginning stages of the Black Social Movement, and which articulations of discrimination gained traction with the central government.

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<sup>213</sup> *El País*, Feb 23, 1975, 3.

<sup>214</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>215</sup> *Ibid.* The list of these demands can be referenced in the Appendix under Figure 1.

<sup>216</sup> *Ibid.* Amilkar Ayala, interview in Bogotá, March 2012 by author. p101.



Quote of the Day: "Freedom is not a merit; It is a conquest." - Gilberto Alzate A<sup>218</sup>

Two years after the Primer Encuentro spearheaded by Valentín Moreno Salazar, a second congress took place in the same city of Cali from August 24th-28th.<sup>219</sup> This congress was called the Primer Congreso de la Cultura Negra de las Américas (First Congress of Black Culture in the Americas). Just from the title, "culture" and how it will be debated and shaped throughout this conference, was the focus rather than on racial discrimination and political disenfranchisement in the Primer Encuentro. Manuel Zapata Olivella with his organization, el Fundación de Estudios Folclóricos (the Foundation of the Study of Folklore) was the head organizer of this congress which boasted an international scope of Pan-Africanist scholars and activists such as Brazilian professor, Abdias Do Nascimento, from the State University of New York in Buffalo, representative of the African Culture of the Diaspora Project in Nigeria, Wande Abimbola, Cesar Fernandez Moreno, director of UNESCO in the Caribbean (based in Havana), Mohamed El-Khasindars, delegate of Egypt who read a statement from President Sadat, Norman E. Whitten, anthropologist from the United States amongst others, representative from the Organization of American States (OAS) Valerie McCormie, as well as other prominent intellectuals from Chile, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Honduras, Mexico, Panama, Peru, Puerto Rico, Venezuela, Spain, and Senegal.

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<sup>217</sup> *El País*, Aug 24, 1977, 3.

<sup>218</sup> *Ibid*, front page. "La libertad no es un merecimiento; es una conquista."

<sup>219</sup> Please reference figures 4 and 5 in the Appendix to see how the congress appeared in *El País*.

Among the Colombian intellectuals who attended were some of the most renowned scholars of the theme, including figures such as ethnologist, Rogelio Velásquez, poets Helcías Martán Góngora and Jorge Artel, Ricardo Cros, Aquiles Escalante, anthropologists Nina S. de Friedemann and Jaime Arocha, acclaimed folklorist and dancer Delia Zapata Olivella (sister of Manuel Zapata Olivella), historian Nancy Motta Gonzalez amongst many others.<sup>220</sup>

The main goal of the congress was to create a global dialogue about how culture in the articulation of food, music, dance, dress, religion, amongst other expressions, had “raíces del África” (roots from Africa) by trying to “find the origin and the identity of the communities of people of color” (...trata de buscar el origen y la identidad de los pueblos de raza de color...) in order to foster a sense of dignity amongst Afrodescendant individuals.<sup>221</sup> The second major topic of the congress was how to visibilize Africa’s presence through these expressions and its influence on the development of the American nations. According to *El País*, the congress followed the format as such:

The groups will discuss their respective areas of work based on the reports of the sub-delegates. At the end of the sessions, the rapporteurs of each group will present the agreed conclusions and recommendations before the plenary session. The plenary assembly will consider the suggestions presented by the four groups [a. thought, b. socio-economic structure, c. production and technologies, d. ethnicity, mestizaje, castes, and classes] in order to discuss and approve the general recommendations that should guide the studies of black culture in the Americas according to new criteria of historical reinterpretation and to define the suitable forms of action that assure a total change in the alignment and discriminating norms of the colonizing canons.<sup>222</sup>

These procedures, in effect, were a means to magnetize the contributions of Afrodescendants in the Americas to combat the coloniality of silence in the education system. This focus happened to fit neatly into *el negro permitido*, a space which had been plowed a few decades

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<sup>220</sup> Ibid, 114.

<sup>221</sup> *El País*, Aug 26, 1977, 7.

<sup>222</sup> *El País*, Aug 24, 1977, 8.



before by folklorists such as the Zapata Olivellas and others, to express cultural distinction and pride, without candidly expressing any political aspirations. This also corresponded well with the development of the folklore paradigm and tourist industry as discussed in chapter 1. In other words, it *seemed* non-threatening at the core.

As mentioned in the previous paragraph, prominent figures from the Institute of Anthropology in Colombia and the Americas were present not only in solidarity, but to discuss the anthropological merits of how to define and classify ethnic or “cultural” groups.<sup>223</sup> This focus, rather than on political power for example, largely guided the future discussions of Black inclusion into dialogues of the nation, and effectively aided in redrawing the constitution of 1993 to include specific ancestral rights to Black rural inhabitants of the Pacific. One of the organizers of the conference, Jorge Franco, made it explicitly clear that this congress had no “political character or party in the present Colombian electoral campaign” (...el evento no tiene carácter político ni se identifica con aspiraciones de ningún candidato ni partido en la presente campaña electoral colombiana).<sup>224</sup> In some aspects, I believe this affirmation can be interpreted as a “safe” stance, a non-declaration in order to distance themselves from radical leftist groups which were resurging at the time in rural areas of the country. I also believe that the concurrent involvement of white and mestizo anthropologists from the US and Colombia offered a sense of inclusion into majorly inaccessible spaces and a platform to further the congresses goals to some government officials who were already assisting indigenous organizations claiming *ethnic*

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<sup>223</sup> Please refer to figure 2 in the Appendix.

<sup>224</sup> Ibid.

territorial rights over lands encroached upon by foreign companies and private national investors.<sup>225</sup>

Both congresses' placement in *El País* also implied the position of importance and acceptance of each conference. For example, the Congress of Black Culture secured the front page, twice, and even garnered multiple photographs and stories cataloguing the event. The First Congress also had articles dedicated to the event, but its placement in the paper was in a much less prominent space, the first mention occupying the bottom of the seventh page between an advertisement for dentures and a radio program.<sup>226</sup> The journalist also titled the First Congress as a "program" (el programa) in its first appearance in the paper, further diminishing its weight in the national context. The Congress of Black Culture, on the other hand, was not mis-titled nor withheld from the prestige of its placement on the top of the page versus the bottom. This could have been due to factors such as the international scope of the Congress and the involvement of such prominent figures in the academic and NGO world who happened to also be mestizo or white along with the "culture" paradigm as the focus.

### **Sabotage: The Stories Which Revealed the Cracks**

Unfortunately, such an unprecedented conference in Colombia's history, that was the Congress of Black Culture, was silenced in the Bogotá paper, *El Tiempo*, without even a mention from the dates examined.<sup>227</sup> Many scholars and activists of the Afrocolombiano/a,

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<sup>225</sup> Brett Troyan, "Ethnic Citizenship in Colombia: The Experience of the Regional Indigenous Council of the Cauca in Southwestern Colombia from 1970 to 1990" (2008) 179.

<sup>226</sup> Please refer to the Appendix under Figure 3.

<sup>227</sup> I had looked through microfilms of the entire month of August as well as the month of July and the first two weeks of September to see if the paper had any stories related to this congress but did not find anything.

Raizal, Palenquero/a, and Negro/a populations of the country view this Congress of Black Culture as one of the most significant conferences in creating the strong ripple effects which gave momentum to the Black Social Movement in the late 1980s and 1990s.<sup>228</sup> Therefore, what can be examined are the attitudes and responses to both Congresses by other stories and caricatures printed in the same issues when the coverage of the conferences appeared. There is a clear push-back from other journalists, seemingly inspired by these activities, which undermine the work of not only the journalists who wrote the articles about the Congresses, but the Afrodescendants who gathered together to make them possible.

The day after the Primer Encuentro was publicized in *El País*, an article showcased one of the most prominent singers of the country, Leonor González Mina (more commonly known by her stage-name La Negra Grande de Colombia) with the headline, “En Colombia sí hay discriminación racial” (In Colombia There is Racial Discrimination).<sup>229</sup> The article opens with her background story, of how she was part of a folkloric dance group organized by Delia Zapata Olivella and has gained fame in Europe (particularly Spain) for her songs about life in the rural Pacific. Swiftly after this introduction, she is quoted saying:

Having arrived where I am, despite all the problems and obstacles I have had, is my greatest pride: the fact of being black, because in Colombia there is discrimination and I felt it from school and also the type of songs I have already started singing that are remorsefully called protest, but in which I simply say what my people feel, which is the same thing that all the peoples of Colombia and Latin America feel...

The call of discrimination is poignant. The journalist, Lucia Navia, dedicates the rest of her story to the interview she had with la Negra Grande, and begins concluding the article with a question about the singer’s political leanings. Navia claimed, “la Negra Grande says that in

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<sup>228</sup> Maguemati Wabgou and authors, *Movimientos Sociales* (Bogotá D.C.: Univ. Nacional de Colombia, 2012).

<sup>229</sup> *El País*, Feb 22, 1975, 11. Please reference Figure 6 in the Appendix. This issue also had a front-page image of the 2nd day of the Primer Encuentro.

the four times she has visited the Soviet Union, she has been very sympathetic to the system.

What do you say?” La Negra Grande responds:

In the socialist countries, they have always received me very well, they have a great interest to know all the artistic manifestations of Latin America. But if I do not accept that there are helpless children and not communicate all the miseries that exist in this country...Being able to solve them [the issues], is to be socialist, so I am.

The journalist’s questioning guided the conversation to points of social and political issues which mimicked what some delegates of the Primer Encuentro were quoted saying in the first story the day before. The paper is engaging in these conversations within the climate of the Primer Encuentro and dedicated this page with la Negra Grande and another Black female singer la “Negra Francisca”, by putting the latter’s story right beneath the interview just discussed.

The next story about Angela Correa, or la “Negra Francisca”, seamlessly unbinds each stitch of progress the first story made with criticisms of the country’s socio-economic and political issues, by replaying the stereotype of *el negro permitido*; repositioning the Black individual, in this case, the Black woman, where she needs to be in structures of power. As la Negra Grande’s headline read, “En Colombia sí hay discriminación racial,” Correa’s read, “Desayuno con aguardiente” (Breakfast with liquor). The caption of her photo begins with, “Angelita Correa, widow from Medina, 61 [sic] year-old *negrita*, illiterate...” (emphasis added).<sup>230</sup> What is at first, confusing, is how a woman in her sixties can be considered a “negrita” the diminutive “ita” twice deployed in the same opening statement. As a Black woman, her marital status is disclosed from the start, another commonality detailed in the previous chapter. The article continues with this description of Correa:

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<sup>230</sup> “Angelita Correa, viuda de Medina, la negrita de 61 años, analfabeta...”

With her patent leather wallet that she squeezes nervously in her hands, Angela Correa from Molina [sic] arrived, the “Negra Francisca”... to our editorial offices. A huge purple bow looks out from behind her brown head [cabeza prieta]. Two tiny dolls of cheap craftsmanship [de artesanía barata] serve as a brooch to her humble dress. Cheerful and naive in a partying fashion, Angelita tells us her complete name, “I am Angela Correa. I am 64 years old and I was born in Cali.”

Just as the photo caption above, the diminutive “ita” was again used in this opening statement, and justified by Correa’s “nervous hands”, “huge purple bow”, “cheap brooch”, “humble dress”, and “cheerful” and “naive” demeanor. The journalist, B. L. de B. (very descriptive), highlighted these perceived qualities from an aerial view and crafted the article with subheadings such as, “Poor but happy” (Pobre pero feliz), “I do not understand politics” (No entiendo política), and lastly, “Drink aguardiente” (Toma aguardiente). Taking these three subheadings alone, with the caption, and the title, the conclusion comes down to something like this: She is a Black woman, a singer, deserving little respect, is too dull to create her own opportunities, has no class, is ignorant to politics and societal issues, but does not mind because she is blissful in her poverty and drinks liquor every day. The journalist makes the statement, “Angela Correa acts [in a play] in an eminently political work. But she says she does not understand it.” Then asks Correa, “Would you be in favor of change?”

**Correa:** “Well, I do not know. At least to favor us poor people in the economic aspect.

We are very scarce of everything.

B. L.: “Would a revolution scare you?”

**Correa:** “I’m not scared.”

B. L.: “Do you think there is racial discrimination in Colombia?” [Discriminación racial]

**Correa:** “Dis...what? I do not understand that word.”

B. L.: “As a kind of contempt to people of color.”

**Correa:** “I don’t believe it. I have had the great advantage that ladies like Luz de Obes and Cecilia Holguin had, the Blum family has great respect for me. They invite me to their parties.

The journalist, taking inspiration from the Primer Encuentro and talks about racism, dutifully is asking Correa her thoughts about what some Black people in the country are striving to manifest. Her responses, in some aspects, may be due to the few years she was able to attend school, and her being unaware of talks about systemic racism which were taking place, most frequently, on university campuses and amongst Black professionals.<sup>231</sup> La Negra Grande's involvement in Delia Zapata's folkloric dance troupe educated her on these systemic issues, which she later incorporated into her songs about the Pacific.<sup>232</sup>

The signifiers of this text accompanied with the subheadings and image combine which lead to an understanding or perspective predisposed by the author to lead the reader to a particular window of awareness. Roland Barthes called this the anchoring of meaning through text.<sup>233</sup> The journalist here is not singly responsible for this action (it is what any person does) but their and the editors' intention cannot be overlooked within the current social climate, the page as a whole as an operating organism, and the images procured to justify the texts. These signifiers anchor meaning. With Correa's remarks to the racial question at hand, it is in some ways a sigh of relief, a nod back to popular attitudes of not only a woman's place, but a Black woman's place in this society, a cut in each stitch placed by the previous story and the Primer Encuentro. La Negra Grande's position had more merit because she was described as a folklorist (a permitted space for a Black individual in the national order) and had gained international fame in Europe. This page as a whole manifests the disequilibrium of what is permitted and what is not in the social hierarchy.

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<sup>231</sup> Wabgou (2012), Paschell (2010), Wade (2009)

<sup>232</sup> Carlos Valderrama. "Folclore, Raza Y Racismo En La Política Cultural E Intelectual De Delia Zapata Olivella. El Campo Político-Intelectual Afrocolombiano." 2013. Accessed April 12, 2018. doi:10.18046/recs.i12.1674.

<sup>233</sup> Roland Barthes. *Image Music Text*. (New York: Hill and Yang, 1977) 40.

The story of Angela Correa was not the only unbinding of the work laid down by the Congresses and other articles sympathizing with the cause, there were multiple others. The two most significant was an opinion piece in *El País*, published on the last day of the first conference, a “when all is said and done here is the final word”, and another some years later reiterating a popular notion that blacks do not have a space in politics or to raise any awareness of racism. The opinion piece by Francisco Gomez V. was propelled by the journalist’s state of annoyance as to how delegates of the Primer Encuentro can suppose that “our people make distinctions of racial character, as happens, for example, in the United States or in South Africa...”.<sup>234</sup> Gomez was referring to racially driven violence and legal segregation which was prominent in both countries but not in Colombia. Colombia is a country of mestizos, afterall, and of people who do not discriminate on the basis of skin-color or race, but by one’s socioeconomic level. He did not see the intersection of the two. However, he critiques the Primer Encuentro’s plight by affirming that “there is necessarily a loss of historical perspective....since in our country, the fundamental question lies in the bad distribution of income...which shelter[s] equally blacks, whites, indians, mulatoes, etc.” Again, he is misinformed or uninformed of how racism on an institutional level operates more so than on just discrimination alone. He continues to say that the “organizers of the ‘black meeting’ were wrong,” “confused” and needed to understand the position of the “proletariat”. “The fundamental mistake”, he concludes, “lies in considering that blacks lack opportunities in Colombia.” From his statements, and the use of the term “proletariat”, it is clear that Gomez is approaching the delegate’s concerns of race through a Marxist lense. He vehemently observes that poverty has no color, and that all suffer, but does not seek to

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<sup>234</sup> *El País*, Feb 23, 1975.

understand the position of the delegates who not only build their arguments around the disproportionate amounts of poverty and negligence in the coastal regions, but the historical consequences of slavery, displacement, violence, and the structural tenants of stripping honor, dignity, and capacities for morality and intelligence from Afrodescendants.<sup>235</sup> It is not clear whether he attended the Encuentro, or was interpreting the information from the published stories, either way, he was like many in the country, in a strong denial that such a thing is possible, and accuses the delegates of being discriminatory towards non-blacks.

Tianna Paschel documents a similar response to Afrobrazilians' claims of racial discrimination in the 1970s, which garnered the largest circulating newspaper of the state of Bahia (known to be a hub of Pan-Africanist thought and aesthetics) *A Tarde*, to publish an article titled, "Racist Carnival Group Hits a Low Note." It read:

Carrying posters with expressions such as "Black World, Black Power, Black for you," etc., the carnival group Ilê Aiyê - nicknamed the "Carnival Group of Racism"-performed an ugly spectacle in this year's carnival. Because racism is prohibited in this country, we have to hope that the members of Ilê Aiyê come back in a different way next year, in a way that reflects the natural liberation and instinct of carnival. We are happy that we do not have a racial problem. That is one of the great prides and happiness of the Brazilian people, the harmony that reins in the divisions between different ethnicities.<sup>236</sup>

As Paschel illustrates, it was common for the "state, the media, and the broader Brazilian population to interpret groups like Ilê who raised awareness about racism and promoted a positive image of blackness as racist" themselves.<sup>237</sup> Speaking about race and organizing *as* Blacks rather than organizing *while* Black was interpreted as taboo, divisive, and even unpatriotic, to the fallacy that Brazil, Colombia, or any other Latin American country had

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<sup>235</sup> Evelyne Laurent-Perrault. "Black Women Political Imagination in the Province of Caracas. Violence(s) and Sequels of a Silenced Modernity," February 2019.

<sup>236</sup> Tianna Paschel. *Becoming Black Political Subjects* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 2016) 75.

Interestingly, this statement was published in the same month and year as the Primer Encuentro, February 1975.

<sup>237</sup> Ibid.



achieved the fifth element: racial democracy due to mestizaje. Yet, as scholars of race in Latin America such as Aurora Vergara Figueroa, Edward Telles, Eduardo Restrepo, Nancy Appelbaum, and many others, have attested to these visions of mestizaje, in reality, reformulated to deny blackness and blur the categories in attempts to claim modernity and pacify racial tensions. The hierarchy was always intact. Whiteness or white idealism remained at the top. While it is true that racelessness was not institutionalized into Colombia's official politics, statements by Colombian representatives in UN meetings in the latter half of the twentieth century reveal that they did represent the nation as "devoid of ethno-racial divisions."<sup>238</sup> Therefore, to admit that racial tensions did exist in the early years of Black organization, would rip at the very underlying fabric of Colombian society and reveal the need for complete social transformation and shifts of power to a more equitable position for Blacks. As will be discussed in the subsequent analysis, ideals and social conditions were not the only things at stake.

Black activists claiming racial discrimination in Colombia, whether it be through the Congresses of the 1970s or separate cultural, political, and religious groups like Musulmanes Negras in Buenaventura, also received backlash and were the targets of jokes, contempt, and political cartoonists in the press. A caricature published by *El País* resident cartoonist, Elciades, was printed on the last day of the Congress of Black Culture on August 26, 1977. The image was as follows:

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<sup>238</sup> Ibid, 72.



*El País*, August 26, 1977

“Suppose Amin arrives incognito?”

The cartoonist was poking fun at the Congress by making connections between its international scope and the thought of Ugandan President, Idi Amin, arriving incognito. As discussed in the previous chapter, Amin was demeaned to an animal-like cannibal who represented the “crazed conscious of Africa.” The artist’s attempts at creating relevant content is not necessarily innocent. The simple connection between Amin and the delegate from the Conference (who appear as near identical twins) is not accidental. Nor is the journalist’s dismissal of Black Muslims in Buenaventura as “lacking intellectual preparation” innocent, while revealing that the same ignorant men he was referring to also spoke Arabic, English, and French apart from Spanish.<sup>239</sup> There was a sense from these cartoons and

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<sup>239</sup> *El País*, Aug 10, 1978, 9.

articles, that at any point black individuals organized in such a way that lent to possible political or economic power, it was ridiculed, delegitimized, and/or belittled.

However, throughout the 1970s, the types of manifestations and Congresses which gained the most pushback and ridicule had at their core political and economic demands, versus the manifestations which highlighted cultural aspects garnered a less disparaging response from the press. In essence, the organizational efforts of Valentín Moreno Salazar, Amir Smith Córdoba and others of the Primer Encuentro were articulating a right to *equality*, whereas the efforts of Manuel Zapata Olivella of the Congress of Culture focused more on a right to *difference*. This phenomenon can be understood more clearly through Brett Troyan's work about Indigenous citizenship in twentieth century Colombia. She investigates the ways in which some state officials supported indigenous community organizations in the 1960s, '70s, and '80s on the basis of ethnic difference in order to pacify Marxist ideology which was gaining traction in rural areas of the country under control by leftist armed groups. According to Troyan, if the state did not finance census coordinators' trips to these indigenous communities in Northern Cauca (Pacific coast), it would have been difficult for one of the leading indigenous organizations, Consejo Regional Indígena del Cauca (CRIC), to spread its message as effectively as it did. Troyan writes:

Some of the coordinators [of CRIC] were indigenous, but some were not, such as Luis Angel Monroy, an Afro-Colombian. In the course of representing the indigenous movement as a purely indigenous one and not a multicultural one, the Afro-Colombian and mestizo peasants who participated in many of the land recoveries were gradually set aside once the class discourse became less important. This representation was forced on the indigenous movement in that the state, and in particular the army, brutally repressed any attempt at class-wide solidarity and the national state encouraged the formation of indigenous ethnic identity. In other words,

CRIC did not have much choice in terms of trying to survive politically and physically but to represent itself solely as an ethnic movement.<sup>240</sup>

Although the Colombian government did not view black people as a separate ethnic group in the 1970s, state officials did support black “culture” through folklorization projects by officially archiving black regional music and dances of the Pacific and Caribbean coasts. The stance that the government had on indigenous groups by some branches being inclined to help raise awareness of cultural elements, and gain equitable access to land, was different for black people because the negritudes movement with the most visibility (academics in big cities) of the time were not popularizing ethnic difference. Troyan mentions that the press was also used as a key method in “disseminating this new vision of citizenship...which played an important role in affirming the rights of indigenous communities.”<sup>241</sup>

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<sup>240</sup> Brett Troyan, “Ethnic Citizenship in Colombia: The Experience of the Regional Indigenous Council of Cauca in Southwestern Colombia from 1970 to 1990”, 2008. 186.

<sup>241</sup> Ibid.

## Conclusion

### ¿Hay Racismo en Colombia?

The purpose of this thesis was to detail the various ways Afrocolombians were incorporated into the national dialogue through the leading newspapers of two regions: *El País* of the south west and *El Tiempo*, not only boasting the largest readership in Cundinamarca (the Andean center) but constituted as the national voice of Colombia through the press at the time. My argument of *el negro permitido*, what representation of blackness and black lives were permitted in the press, attempted to validate these characterizations which pertained to the capacity of how flexible, diverse, and far-reaching these stories could be. Therefore, throughout this research it became increasingly clear that there did exist racial tensions in the country even though the government at the time refused to formally accept that such conditions existed.

Chapter 2, “Creating the “Authentic”: Development, Tourism, and Folklorization Projects of the Coasts”, aimed to set the foundation for this thesis by explaining the various stereotypes and stigmas various regions of the country have acquired, and how that was used by all sectors of society for economic gain. The Pacific region in particular with the highest populations of Afrodescendant individuals in the country, was incorporated into the fabric of Colombia during the 1970s as mainly an area ripe for tourism and development. With these “modernization” projects in effect funded mainly by capital from the interior of the country, parts of the Pacific and Caribbean coasts became increasingly intermingled with folklorization campaigns as well. The intersection of development, tourism, and the folklorization of culture were inseparable phenomena which kept the coasts as areas of

exploration and exploitation rather than incorporation into the direction of more affluent areas of the country.

Chapter 3, “Stereotypes and Stigmas of the Pacific,” focused more on the stereotypes of Afrocolombians as depicted in the press, as mainly agents of folklore, athletes, and/or musicians. The chapter highlighted the positive and negative impacts of these stereotypes perpetuated in the *El País* and *El Tiempo*, as well as unpacked the different contexts of how and why these stereotypes were present in each. The major significance of this chapter was how these depictions of Afrodescendants were stemming from a white or mestizo/a imaginary of who “black” people were, while connecting the Pacific region to a stereotyped, stigmatized, and overly-simplified version of “Africa”.

Chapter 4 dove into the more specific forms in which mainly *El País* depicted Afrodescendant women, and how it perpetuated the devaluation of black women in society. I argued that the cartoon, *La Negra Nieves*, the brainchild of Consuelo Lago, displayed deep racial stereotypes of black women and acted as one of the only representations of them in the paper. This became increasingly problematic with the physical placement of the cartoon on the *Femeninas* page, and how it compared to the other white-passing or mestiza women on the page in beauty pageants, advertisements, and part of the feminist movement. The Afro-Colombian woman was unequivocally denied from these spaces of prestige and dignity, while occupying a minimal space in society mostly due to a cartoon created by a self-identified “white” upper-class woman.

Chapter 5, “Apolitical: El Negro *No* Permitido,” was the final theme which discussed the growing Negritude Movement during the 1970s, and how black activists were depicted in the press. The chapter mainly focused on the two major conferences which took place in

1975 and 1977, as well as the protest of the cycling competition of Vuelta a Colombia in 1973. These examples showed how the two newspapers had varied perspectives about the events, *El País* generally being more sympathetic towards the conferences while *El Tiempo* treated the congresses as either insignificant or with sarcasm. However, when it came to cover the protest at Puerto Tejada, *El País* went to great lengths in attempts to create a story in which the protestors were violent and purposefully aiming to hurt the cyclists and sabotage the entire competition. *El Tiempo* also utilized horrific racist language to emblemize the mostly Afrodescendant protestors as a gang of noise-makers and “blackies”, but *El País* carefully crafted a plot using tampered images to create a false narrative. The significance of this chapter was the way in which both papers devalued black political and intellectual participation in the country and denied that racism even existed. Both papers accused the activists of being racist and unpatriotic and questioned the validity of their claims which disrupted the racial hierarchy of the country.

Prominent Colombian intellectuals of the twentieth century created cleavages between Colombia’s racial dynamics and the United States’ by claiming that mestizaje in their country produced racial ambiguity, thus, equitability, rather than the distinct separation and discrimination of the “Yankees” in the North.<sup>242</sup> Intellectuals of the time believed that race was not the defining cause of difference in Colombia, rather, it was class structures which truly separated people in society. And as this thesis has unpacked, the press had an active role in disseminating these ideas which additionally revealed the social anxieties present in the country. These attitudes about mestizaje and “racial blurring” contributed to the popular belief that racial discrimination somehow did not exist in Colombia, because

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<sup>242</sup> Wade, *Defining Blackness*, (2009) (2012); Telles, *Pigmentocracies* (2014)

black Colombians were technically “free” to participate in all sectors of society from the beginning of the twentieth century; unlike the US which had legal segregation laws up to the mid 1960s. However, what I have attempted to build throughout this thesis, is that these “popularly” held beliefs about racial democracy in twentieth-century Colombia could not be further from the truth. Racial discrimination, negligence, humiliation, and even segregation in communities with significant numbers of Afrodescendants *did* exist in Colombia, yet its roots were pulled and refashioned as solely class struggles and regional hierarchies or simply silenced altogether.<sup>243</sup> Unfortunately, similar kinds of prejudices and attitudes still exist today and are far from being memories of a “dark” past.

In Cali, the publishing city of *El País*, there existed a much larger population of Afro-Colombians (born in the city and many migrating there from the Pacific for a chance at a better life) which enacted a specific *negro permitido* throughout its pages. Due to the close proximity of the white and mestizo population with black citizens, it only continued to strengthen bonds of group formations which differentiated themselves from the perceived “other”. This dynamic was mostly seen through labor and the social segregation of some communities. Most domestic and manual laborers were black or mulatto, along with the sugar-cane cutters of Northern Valle who were in a sense forced to do this work on account of the changing agricultural landscape in the mid-twentieth century. According to Wabgou, Agudelo and other scholars, Southern Cauca and Valle del Cauca in the first half of the twentieth century had a flourishing black middle-class who profited from their productions of mainly cacao and cassava.<sup>244</sup> These families, in turn, were able to put their mostly male children through school and higher-education in the larger cities in the country, producing

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<sup>243</sup> Oslender (2016), Hoffmann (2002), Restrepo (2007), Wade (2009)

<sup>244</sup> Wabgou (2012), Agudelo (2005), Pisano (2010)



some of the first black professionals (mostly lawyers) to attempt to gain national attention and change political policies regarding Colombia's black populations. However, in the late 1930s, many of these lands occupied and worked by black families were taken over by businessmen from mostly Antioquia and the Andes or criminal bands, and soon became converted to sugar-cane fields.<sup>245</sup> The families who previously had occupied these lands, were given the option to leave or work as sugar-cane laborers for these new occupants. Due to this shift of labor, it attracted more blacks from the Pacific to venture to the areas looking for work on the fields and solidified an even stronger white and mestizo elite.

These dynamics produced a new order of social segregation in Cali and parts of the Pacific. La Negra Grande de Colombia, or Leonor Gonzalez, had plainly said in an interview in 1977 for *El País*, that she had trouble getting into schools because she was black, and once there faced intolerable treatment.<sup>246</sup> Black intellectual-activists such as Juan de Dios Mosquera and Amir Smith Córdoba also spoke about this type of social segregation in some of their writings, Córdoba explaining how difficult it could be for black children (especially black girls) to be permitted in some schools around the country due to the color of their skin.<sup>247</sup> In *El Tiempo*, journalist, Gloria Valencia Diago, wrote about the rising rates of malaria in the Chocó in which the journalist openly addressed the separation of a movie theater in Andagoya: one part for blacks, the other for "whites" or anyone who did not phenotypically look "black". The journalist continued how if some black people protested, they were called "obreros" [manual laborers] as to justify their exclusion, and "whites" were

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<sup>245</sup> This land take-over was publicized by the state as well, offering these "tierras baldías" or open lands to any farmer who could create a successful production of the crop (or others) for the country and export. The black families who had been occupying those lands, some for generations, were kicked off due to the lack of papers and titles which stipulated the land was legally theirs.

<sup>246</sup> *El País*, Aug 1977.

<sup>247</sup> Amir Smith Córdoba, *Cultura Negra y Avasallamiento Cultural* (1980). Juan de Dios Mosquera (1975).

deemed “empleados” [employees], therefore gaining the right to have a separate space.<sup>248</sup>

The stigma of a black individual working with their hands in the fields or in a home, attributed to a lower status in society even like Chocó, where over 85% of its population identifies as black or Afrodescendant. Therefore, the intersectionality of race, class, and gender acted as the floating categories which depending on one’s classification and phenotypic appearance, could be detrimental to their future and quality of life.

These social tensions were also visible in the press. In *El Tiempo*, the main target of racial tensions was the US, however, the way in which Afro-Colombians were mostly visibilized in the press was through sports or exoticization of black coastal inhabitants. Due to Bogotá having a majority mestizo population, the daily interactions of many of its city dwellers were less likely to include people perceived to be black. Therefore, apart from the God-like portrayals of many of the country’s popular black athletes, blackness was reverted to the coasts and exoticized as a mysterious place of wonder or complete misery. There was an apparent distance that was created by the inhabitants of the center of the country versus the “fishermen” and “forest-dwellers” of the coasts.<sup>249</sup> Notwithstanding, the near silence of two major congresses of negritudes in the decade was also a sign of pacification of what may have been perceived by centrist political elites as stimulating racial tensions. If one recalls, the protest at Puerto Tejada in 1973 and the Primer Encuentro in 1975 were two events which were also openly mocked in the paper. However, the void of black voices and stories in addition to countless articles and images of racial tensions in the US, I believe, was a social anxiety present in *El Tiempo*. I believe this pattern was a way to muffle any concern of the country having racial tensions, by casting out the issue as a US problem, and by painting a

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<sup>248</sup> *El Tiempo*, Feb 16, 1975.

<sup>249</sup> *El Tiempo*, Oct 1, 1972.

picture of racism or prejudice as solely one that is openly violent or having ties to Jim Crow. This led me to see the silences of black voices in *El Tiempo* as a color-blind approach of viewing Colombian society. It was an active approach to encourage an image of a mestizo nation which, in turn, blurred the active presence of black citizens and mainly visibilized them for the use of their bodies (dancers, athletes, etc.) or their exoticization as inhabitants of a far-off coast.

In *El País*, the visibilization of Blacks was more common than in *El Tiempo* due to the larger numbers of Cali's black citizens as well as the close proximity of black and mestizo and white individuals. There was less glorification and worship of black athletes and more stories which normalized black inferiority in the social hierarchy. The presence of black maids, obreros, and vendedoras for example was much more commonplace, and were mostly depicted as people who were impoverished, miserable, or at times "poor but happy". One may recall from chapter 4 the multiple times black women were referred to as "una humilde mujer"; a euphemism for black being synonymous with poverty, or the paternalistic language which referred to black citizens with the diminutive suffix "ita/ito" or coupling that with the violence of derogatory labels such as "morocho". The cartoon of La Negra Nieves also operated within this lens, being the naive black domestic worker who was witty and charming but could never reach the mestiza and white women present on The Femeninas page. She encompassed the literal and figurative nature of paternalistic racial discrimination: the first, on her actual being (the body), and the second, her presence in comparison to the other women and stories on the page (the environment). She portrays what many black inhabitants of Colombia embodied in the mestizo imaginary, both included as entertainment and having part in mestizaje, yet excluded as having real political, intellectual, and complex

identities. In short, what constitutes a black man or woman as fully incorporated into the idea of the Colombian nation?

### **20th Century Historiography: Afro-Colombian or Black?**

The debate over how blackness has been perceived by a popular imaginary throughout Colombian twentieth century historiography has mostly fallen into two camps. The first, that black Colombians have systematically been silenced and invisibilized in national dialogue as having little to no contribution to the making of society, and the second, is that blacks have always been present but in an inferior position. The first group typically approaches the idea of black “identity” as having what Nina S. de Friedemann, Manuel Zapata Olivella, and Jaime Arocha amongst others have called “huellas de africanía” (traces of Africa) which have been ignored in academia, the arts, and society in general. The second group sees this first approach as too essentialized and homogenous of a single “root” and typically aligned themselves with the idea that black Colombians are agents of their everyday realities, and less-attached to ideas of behaviors, attitudes, and cultural uniqueness as a direct derivative of African ancestry. This second group comprises of scholars such as Peter Wade, Michael Birenbaum-Quintero, and Tianna Paschel amongst others. This distinction is significant in the sense that most works written about Colombia’s black populations are understood within these two avenues of thought.

Throughout the course of this investigation, I have come to align with the second group of scholars for reasons that follow. The first is in the representations themselves. Peter Wade had discussed in his article, “Defining Blackness in Colombia”, as blackness

being perpetually recast as present in the social triangle of mestizaje yet occupying a space of inferiority and exclusion in certain realms of power. Basically, there are boundaries of how far a black individual is included and excluded from the ideas of the nation. Representations of black bodies and beings in the press also aligned with his argument. Both in *El Tiempo* and *El País*, black people were included and present: but to the extent of *el negro permitido*. There was never a sports section without the presence of blacks, or a story about the Pacific and South West without the inclusion of how black inhabitants from these areas are mostly seen as miserable, impoverished, naive, content in misery, or simply without a voice. There was a particular construction of how black individuals were included that mostly fit into a safe space prescribed by *el negro permitido*. As discussed above, *El País* was much more inclusive of black voices than *El Tiempo*, but their presence was generally cast as an inferior position in society. Therefore, as unpacked in the stigmas and stereotypes chapter, blackness in the press generally reflected connections to inferiority and valued with the use of their bodies. Afro-Colombians have always been visible, but through a narrow lens which did not permit a diversity of realities, thoughts, dreams, and potentials as having space in the national dialogue. This space in *el negro permitido* included an enslaved past and a connection to the stigma of an imagined Africa, which further justified the inferior position of Afrodescendant individuals perceived to be “Black”. In this sense, it could be argued that Black Colombians have been silenced and African roots invisibilized, but the consistent reinvention of Black inferiority in national dialogue also cannot be ignored.

The second reason that Wade’s argument also rings true in this research was how the Primer Encuentro and First Congress of Black Culture was discussed in the press. Although *El Tiempo* and *El País* had two very different approaches, the Congress of Black Culture was

much more widely accepted than the Primer Encuentro which exclusively discussed the presence of racial discrimination in the country. Culture above politics was cast as an accepted space to explore ideas of blackness in the national sphere. Specifically, culture as aligned with the solidification of folkloric traditions also had a sizeable agreeability in the press during the 1970s. Again, blackness as connected to the use of the body through music, dance, and athleticism was commonplace, but blackness as connected to intellectual and creative productions of society was cast as “separatist” and “unpatriotic”. Although these depictions of blacks, in a sense, exist in polarized spheres, it still does not dismiss their *presence* as argued by Nina S. de Friedemann. It is not ideal, but it is not entirely silenced either. Therefore, only viewing blackness as never having a place in discussions of nation is simply not true. It just operated in the limited parameters of *el negro permitido*.

This explains why anthropologist of the Afro-Pacific, Nina S. de Friedemann’s magazine, *América Negra*, had an entire feature on La Negra Nieves and praised its creator, Consuelo Lago as a champion of fighting white supremacy.<sup>250</sup> De Friedemann argued that the cartoon was a, “double victory for the 'black' populations: it not only promotes the 'visibility' of their presence in Colombia, but it also reflects the new multicultural face of the country.”<sup>251</sup> She continued how Nieves embodied the “huellas de africanía” or the African footprints present in Afrodescendants, and does nothing but positively represent the country’s black populations.<sup>252</sup> French Scholar argues, that for de Friedemann the question of race was irrelevant. Rather it was ethnicity, Nieves no longer being seen as “black” but as

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<sup>250</sup> The magazine circulated from 1991-1998 and was conceived as a response to some black activists claiming ethnic diversity which led to Law 70 of 1993 discussed in the introduction.

<sup>251</sup> Elisabeth Cunin. “La Negra Nieves ou le racisme à fleur de peau. Regards croisés sur une caricature” in Bulletin de L’Institut Français d’Etudes Andines, 32 (32 (2)) September 2003.

<sup>252</sup> Ibid, 38.

“afrocolombiana” or “afrodescendiente” and embodying the huellas de africania aligned with some activist groups of the Pacific, anthropologists, and her view on black identity and citizenship in the country. Therefore, to de Friedemann, la Negra Nieves was not a racist caricature but an embodiment of what the supporters of Law 70 have envisioned for the future of the discipline of Anthropology and multiculturalist policies of the pending future. Black Colombians were no longer invisible, as she had argued for decades. Yet, what sadly de Friedemann and Consuelo Lago did not envision about this character was just how racially stigmatizing the entire cartoon’s process was. It denies the very real racial discriminations present and the many black activists who fought to bring the cartoon down, claiming it was racist. Focusing on ethnicity, defined in cultural and genealogical terms, but not race and all that accompanies it, discrimination, prejudice, stigmatization, and inequity of power and resources, became a new source of theoretical analysis for some Colombian scholars. This produced new fields of study for Anthropology, Sociology, and other social sciences which now relied on a definition of Africanity in Colombia through the new “Afrocolombian” label. French scholar argues that because of this new perspective of Black as ethnicity and not as a racial category or experiences, operated to produce a *new* invisibility of all the varying degrees of blackness in the country, and blanketed these experiences mostly as traces of Africa which needed to be manifested to the public eye.

Of course, I am not implying that there is no basis to this perception, rather that it is dangerous to search for some purity of cultural preservation which lacks any transformation through time. I understand this discussion is complex, and I do not claim to have any definitive answer to what label is best nor do I believe I may ever grant myself any ownership or authority to do such a thing. However, as this research has shown, it would be

irresponsible to ignore the fact that the ethnicization of Black individuals in Colombia brought an essentialization and institutionalization of complex and multifaceted individual experiences which only aided in the blanketing theorization processes of scholars, and furthermore, how that simplified approach can affect the policies enacted by some government officials. It is no mystery that many of these policies aimed to uplift self-identified “Black communities” or individuals, are still a long way away from enacting real equitable opportunities of growth and heightened quality of life.



## Epilogue

Is there still a racial problem in Colombia? Definitely, yes. Were its roots solely in the 20th century? Absolutely, not. Do I believe that the 1970s marked a transformative time for some Colombians in discussing race on a local and national level? I do. And the reason why race is still a relevant topic and not just a cloudy memory before the multiculturalist curve of the 1990s, is due to one of the most poignant examples of normalized discrimination which fueled my project in the first place: El Soldado Micolta.



Roberto Lozano a.k.a. El Soldado Micolta in blackface<sup>253</sup>

El Soldado Micolta was the character comedian, Roberto Lozano played in blackface on one of the most popular Colombian television shows of the 2000s, “Sábados Felices.” This photo was taken from either 2014 or 2015. A country such as Colombia, which marks

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<sup>253</sup> For the comedy variety show called “Sábados Felices” (Happy Saturdays), 2014-2015.

the third largest Latin American country with individuals who identify as “Afrodescendant” or “Black,” who has built a large part of it’s tourism around Palenquera vendedoras in colorful dress selling fruits in Cartagena, who’s national music recognized around the entire world, cumbia, an Afro-Indigenous and Creole-mixed sensation that has reproduced innumerable artists playing variations of its soulful beats, has a mestizo man in blackface well into the 21st century.



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<sup>254</sup> Google image, photo credit: alamy.com, “Palenqueras, Cartagena de Indias, Colombia.” Accessed Aug 13, 2019.

<sup>255</sup> Pinterest.com, April 25, 2018. Photo credit: somtoseeks.com.



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The episode, “No Soy Tu Chiste,” on the podcast Radio Ambulante dedicated an entire show to explaining the crash and burn of El Soldado Micolta by a determined group of mainly Afrocolombian activists who claimed the show was racist and needed to be taken off-the-air immediately.<sup>258</sup> They proposed this immediate removal on the grounds of the 2011 Anti-Discrimination Law (Law 1482) which stipulated that, “any behavior interpreted as discrimination against one’s race, nationality, sex, sexual orientation, religion, political ideology, or ethnic and cultural origin” was punishable of up to thirty-six weeks in prison.<sup>259</sup> The irony of the entire matter, was how Roberto Lozano could see absolutely no harm in his

<sup>256</sup> Pinterest.com, Jan 14, 2019. Photo credit: @dayanalangaro.

<sup>257</sup> ElPais.com, November 13, 2012. Mrs. Colombia with a woman in Cartagena selling fruit in traditional Palenquera dress.

<sup>258</sup> “No soy tu chiste,” episode on Radio Ambulante. Produced by Camila Segura. Apr 24, 2018. <https://radioambulante.org/en/audio-en/im-not-your-joke>.

<sup>259</sup> ADF International, “Constitutional Challenge Against Colombian ‘Anti-Discrimination Law’ (Law 1482).” Sep 10, 2014. <https://adfinternational.org/legal/constitutional-challenge-against-colombian-anti-discrimination-law/>

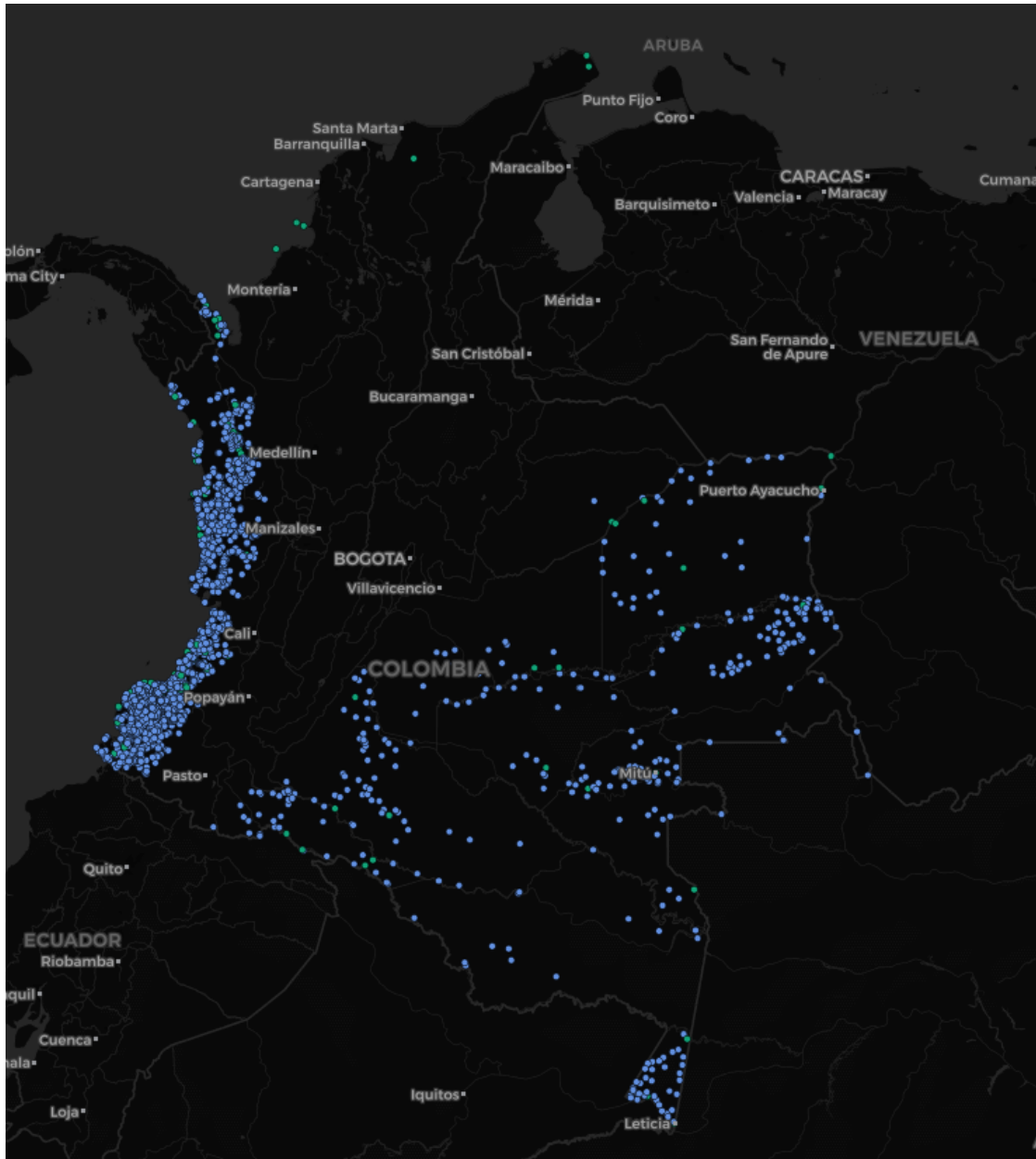
blackface character, yet rather believed it to be a way for Colombians to come together (even Afrocolombians) to enjoy some comedy within the raucous of their daily lives. The show was finally taken down, and Lozano sounded genuinely disturbed and could not understand why his fellow country men and women were so angry with him. Lozano's reaction, similar to that of Consuelo Lago and other Colombians who have been accused of being racist or speculated the validity of racism in the country, do not believe that it is a reality, and blame discrimination on classism. Yet, according to many Afrocolombian scholars and activists, the fight continues for equality in all aspects of life. In an essay by Colombian scholar of the African diaspora, Dr. Claudia Mosquera Rosero-Labbé, she insists on how regions of the country which house the highest populations of Black and some Indigenous groups experienced the absolute worst of the Armed Conflict throughout the twentieth century, have repeatedly been killed, uprooted, and forcibly displaced, as a cause of this violence as well as economic factors, and experience some of the most exploitative projects without consent of various communities in the Pacific Coast.<sup>260</sup> A map I recently encountered also shows the regions in the country which still do not have access to electricity in their homes or towns. The map shows 1,710 towns which use candles as their main source of light or energy for the day. The two departments which had the least access to electricity were both situated in the Pacific Coast: el Chocó and Nariño.<sup>261</sup> El Chocó, as discussed in chapters 2 and 3, is populated by the largest density of Afrocolombian or Black individuals in the country. The map is as follows:

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<sup>260</sup> Claudia Mosquera Rosero-Labbé, "Reparaciones para negros, afrocolombianos y raizales como rescatados de la trata negrera transatlántica y desterrados de la guerra en Colombia" in *Descolonizando Mundo*, Buenos Aires: CLACSO, 2017, 117-163.

<sup>261</sup> Julián Vivas for *El Tiempo*. "El mapa de 1,710 poblados que aún se alumbran con velas en Colombia". <https://www.eltiempo.com/colombia/otras-ciudades/los-lugares-que-aun-viven-sin-energia-electrica-en-colombia-325892>.





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Although there are a variety of factors to why this may be, many activists and scholars alike believe the main culprit to be racism. As far as the research of this thesis has shown, I align with these beliefs. Whether one sees themselves as Afrocolombian, Black, Afrodescendant,

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<sup>262</sup> Ibid.

Raizal, and so forth, it is no question that these individuals have been lumped into a category of dumbed-down sameness, misrepresented and underrepresented, essentialized to an African continent referred in many instances as a single country, “that place,” and are still fighting for proper recognition, restitution, and representation by many. From the smallest action, correcting one’s discriminatory or ignorant speech, to organizing rallies in hopes for the world to see. In the words of esteemed poet, Mary Grueso, she contends proudly:

¿Por que me dicen morena?  
Si moreno no es color  
Yo tengo una raza que es negra,  
Y negra me hizo Dios.

Y otros arreglan el cuento  
Diciéndome de color  
Dizque pa` endulzarme la cosa  
Y que no me ofenda yo.

Yo tengo una raza pura  
Y de ella orgullosa estoy  
De mis ancestros africanos  
Y del sonar del tambó.

Yo vengo de una raza que tiene  
Una historia pa`contá  
Que rompiendo sus cadenas  
Alcanzó la libertá.

A sangre y fuego rompieron,  
Las cadenas de opresión  
Y ese yugo esclavista  
Que por siglos nos aplastó.

La sangre en mi cuerpo  
Se empieza a desbocá  
Se me sube a la cabeza  
Y comienzo a protestá

Yo soy negra como la noche,  
Como el carbón mineral,  
Como las entrañas de la tierra  
Y como el oscuro pedernal.

Así que no disimulen  
Llamándome de color  
Diciéndome morena  
Porque negra es que soy yo.<sup>263</sup>

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<sup>263</sup> Mary Grueso Romero, "Negra Soy," <https://poetassigloveintiuno.blogspot.com/2014/12/mary-grueso-romero-14189-poeta-de.html>. Accessed on Aug 25, 2019.

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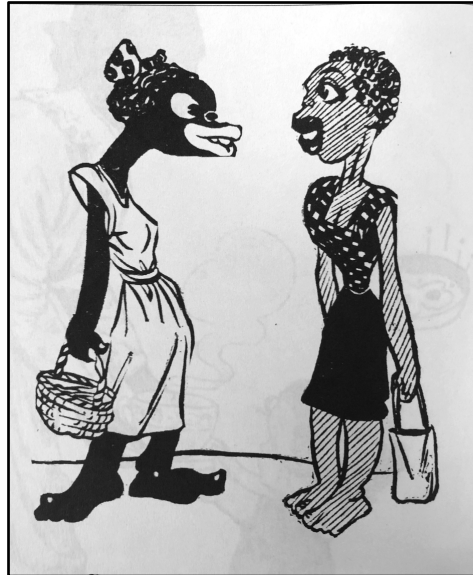
## APPENDIX

### Chapter 4

#### Figure 1

Artist: Anonymous, 1955

Óscar Perdomo Gamboa. *Afrografías: Representaciones Gráficas y Caricaturescas de los Afrodescendientes*. (Cali: Univ. del Valle, 2017), 136.



#### Figure 2

Artist: Pepón, 2002

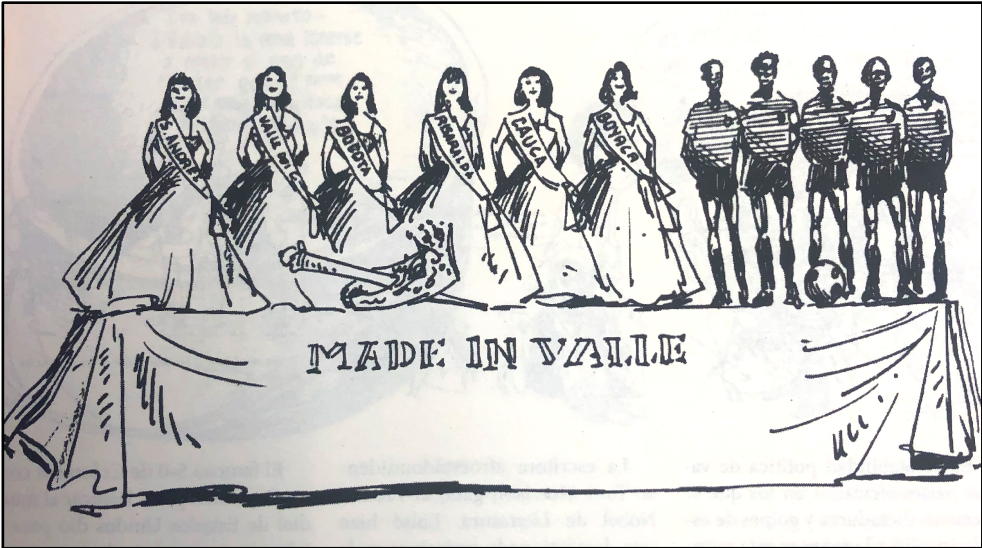
Óscar Perdomo Gamboa, *1000 Caricaturas Afro en la Historia de Colombia*. (Cali: Univ. del Valle, 2018), 235.



**Figure 3**

Artist: Luisé, 1993

Ibid, 235.









“Earthquake, earthquake!”



“Malaga: On August 1st they arrived at Malaga airport, many famous people who would attend the parties of Marbella. Among them, the Princess of Monaco and her husband Prince Rainier and the Aga Khan. The photo shows Princess Grace and the aforementioned Aga Khan.”

Figure 5  
El País, Oct 2, 1972, 9

Si quemamos la tierra se acaba el agua del mundo? y si se acaba el agua se muere usted!

“Perspectivas”

Efemérides centenaria

POR MERCEDES DE GUERRA

Con motivo del primer centenario del nacimiento del Padre José María Campoamor, la Caja del Circulo de Obreros que él fundara como todos sus afiliados, han programado di-  
est. arch. para celebrar alborozados...

Francisca Ruby Cucalón:

Reina que no va por corona

Por AMPARO PELEAZA

Que una reina diga que va a competir y no lleva corona para su región es como medio difícil de creer pero lo cierto del caso es que Francisca Ruby Cucalón Conde, nuestra flamante soberana departamental del Turismo, así lo manifestó a EL PAÍS mediante diálogo sostenido el día anterior cuando se apresura a viajar a Girardot para participar en el III Festival de la “Industria sin chimeneas”.

Francisca Ruby la chica del Cerrito de solo 18 años que en 1971 concursó al lado de Lania El Kourie por el título de Señorita Valle, que hace algún tiempo y en difícil competición fuera designada como Reina del Turismo del Valle, y a quien hace solo dos días le fue confirmada la invitación, cuando estamos a solo 10 días de la iniciación del evento. No ha recibido ninguna ayuda de la Oficina de Fomento del Valle, solo le fue entregado el estatuto que contempla el puntaje para la elección de la nueva soberana del Turismo y también una hoja donde dice los trajes que debe llevar a dicho concurso, lo que representa un gasto estimado entre los 8 ó 10 mil pesos, según expresó la propia Ruby.

empuje y porque se da que se trata es por que creo que el Valle va bien representado en ellas.

“Creo que la Oficina de Fomento del Turismo se ha preocupado lo suficiente por el incremento turístico de la región”.

“No todo lo que debería haber sido, pero de todas maneras ha trabajado y eso es importante, sin embargo hay sitios que continúan promocionándose cuando ya no hay nada más que hacer con ellos, en el caso específico de la Hacienda El Paraiso y se han olvidado de lugares tan importantes como La Casa Rural de Guacari que por su estado colonial y bella arquitectura y riqueza de joyas serían uno de los sitios turísticos de mayor atractivo”.

“Cuando hace casi un año fue electa Reina del Turismo tenía un interés tan bien fundado por la “Industria sin chimeneas”.

Sinceramente no.

Lógicamente me sentí feliz de mi nombramiento como Reina del Turismo pero mi constante vinculación con las empresas que promueven el turismo me

Lo moderno en peinados  
De los más famosos estilistas europeos son los tres modelos de la gráfica; A la izquierda el estilo “afro look” en cabello un

poco largo.  
Al centro corte, “Mia Farrow” que no

requiere enredo ni laca y a la derecha un estilo que recuerda los años 20; grandes ondas y el cabello a la altura del mentón.

Qué hace la mujer joven en Cali?

Los tiempos han cambiado: la mujer se sitúa en el mundo moderno y marcha acorde con él. La mujer es factor de desarrollo y de progreso en nuestra sociedad. La mujer sin perder su femineidad, se enfrenta al mundo, lo cuestiona, y lo humaniza.

Hay muchas mujeres jóvenes que se realizan como personas en muy diversas actividades. Entonces, vamos a conversar con ellas, cada una desde su posición, con su profesión o los conocimientos que ha adquirido, nos entregará su experiencia y su modo de ver la vida. Cada una entregará en un diálogo sincero con Gloria H. lo que considera fundamental en su existir y lo que la hace más mujer.

La mujer en Cali se realiza. La mujer joven cambia el panorama actual, le inyecta optimismo y vitalidad y lo hace más espontáneo. Para una ciudad diferente una mujer comprometida con su tiempo y su momento.



Figure 6

El País, June 17, 1975, 22

### Nueva junta directiva de voluntarias hospitalarias

En la Asamblea reunida en Caicedonia el diez de junio se nombró nueva Junta Directiva Departamental de las Voluntarias Hospitalarias y de Salud Seccional del Valle y Cauca.

Esta Junta junta quedó integrada de la siguiente forma: Presidenta Lucía de Cujar, primera vicepresidente Elvia Guevara, segunda vicepresidente, Ruby de Sanclemente, Tesorera María Cristina de Ortiz, secretaria Cecilia de Villamizar, Vocales Aura de Ruiz, Belisa de Jiménez, María Elena de Bueno.

### Cumpleaños

En días pasados cumplió 15 años de vida Patricia Ocoró, quien adelanta estudios de bachillerato en el Colegio Liceo Francés.

Es hija del señor Fidel Ocoró y señora Nelly de Ocoró. Con tal motivo hacemos llegar felicitaciones a Patricia, extensivas a sus padres y abuelos.



### Señorita Colombia en Nueva York

NUEVA YORK. Martha Lucía Echeverri, Señorita Colombia (derecha), llegó a esta capital procedente de Cali. Fue recibida en el aeropuerto por Carlos Orejuela, presidente de la Asociación Deportiva Cali, de Nueva York, por Ivonne Agostí, Reina de Puerto Rico. La belleza colombiana participará en julio en el concurso de Miss Universe (Radiofoto EL PAÍS, UPI)

## Sociales de Armenia

Rodeados de sus hijos y otros miembros de la familia celebraron sus bodas de plata matrimoniales, don Armando Parra Ocampo, distinguido

funcionario al servicio de la Administración de Impuestos Municipales y la gentil dama Margoth Gómez de Parra.

El presbítero Fernando López Valencia ofició en la residencia del apreciado hogar una solemne misa en acción de gracias. Posteriormente fue servida una copa de champaña a la cual asistieron miembros de la familia y un grupo de amistades.

Al registrar este acontecimiento de don Armando Parra Ocampo y doña Margoth. L. Gómez de Parra, enviamos para ellos nuestras cordiales felicitaciones las que hacemos extensivas a sus hijos Armando Parra Gómez, señora María Teresa Arbeláez de Parra, Oscar, Farid y Luz Stella Parra Gómez.

### Bautizo

En solemne ceremonia que se realizó en esta ciudad, fue bautizada con el nombre de Catalina, la primogénita de los esposos Guillermo Vélez Londoño y señora Marina Botero de Vélez. Actuaron como padrinos el señor Efraín Correa y Beda Londoño de Vélez.

### Nacimiento

Con la llegada de una niña se encuentra de plácemes el hogar de don Ramiro Giraldo G., gerente del Banco Cafetero y doña Magda Polanía de Giraldo. Les hacemos llegar nuestras felicitaciones.

Una preciosa chiquilla alegra el hogar de don John Echeverry Posada y Ana Luisa López de Echeverry. Les felicitamos.



La gente chávete tiene que ayudar a que el Mundial sea mundial.



ARMENIA. Armando Parra Ocampo y Margoth Gómez de Parra celebraron sus bodas de plata matrimoniales en compañía de un grupo de sus familiares y amigos. (Foto EL PAÍS, Especial).



“The cool people need to help make the World cup global”



**Figure 7**  
*El País*, October 3, 1972

**10 EL PAIS** Cali, Martes 3 de Octubre de 1972

### Sofía Loren, espera nuevo hijo

GINEBRA, octubre 2 (UPI) — La estrella cinematográfica italiana Sofía Loren, aguarda un segundo hijo para fines de diciembre y gracias de enero, según dijeron sus allegados a la familia.

El ginecólogo profesor Hubert de Watterville, a cuyo cargo estuvo el nacimiento del primer hijo de la estrella en Ginebra en 1968 y que también la atiende actualmente, reside en el mismo edificio.

Sofía permanecerá en Ginebra hasta que nazca el niño, manifestando amigos de la actriz que también viven en la misma casa. Para agregar que la señora de Ponti se instaló en su nuevo apartamento el sábado pasado.

### Palmira, ausente en el torneo de belleza

PALMIRA, octubre 2 (La Correspondencia) — Anunció el jurado del torneo de belleza que Palmira estará ausente en el torneo para elegir la candidata del Valle del Cauca que habrá de representarnos en el máximo evento de noviembre que tradicionalmente se celebra en la ciudad heroica.

Marieme Rojas, coordinadora de la Junta de Fomento y Turismo de la ciudad, informó a EL PAIS que en un principio se pensó enviar una embajadora de la belleza palmirana a competir por la corona departamental, por lo tanto ya se habían barajado varios nombres de hermanas mías de la Villa de las Palmas entre los cuales figuraban las de Ana Lucía Sanabria y Eleonora Navia, pero se consideró luego, que el municipio de la Junta encargada de organizar la elección de la Señora Valle, ejerce siempre gran presión para que la niña de la ciudad sede del renado departamental sea elegida, considerándose el acto de elección y coronación de la belleza vallecana como una velada que tiene como uno de los objetivos allegar fondos que han de cubrir los gastos que este evento, ya de carácter nacional, representa.

Descentralizar el renado

Se dijo también que el Renado Departamental de la Belleza debería hacerse en forma rotatoria, en las diferentes ciudades del departamento, eligiendo como municipio sede la ciudad que represente la rinda que sea elegida, descentralizando de esta forma el torneo que tantas controversias suscita cada año, además, serviría para extender la unión vallecana, que debe existir entre todas las regiones de esta sección del país.

Apoyo a una candidatura

Se informó, además, que en caso de que la ciudad de Cartago eligiera como su representante al torneo regional de la belleza a Catalina Gribiño, la ciudad de Palmira se anexaría a esa candidatura, asociándose a ella.

### Palmira, ausente en el torneo de belleza

Esta hermosa niña de la ciudad del norte, hermana de Catalina Gribiño de González y hija de las reinas más exitosas de los últimos tiempos.

Se asegura que Palmira no anexaría a esta competencia el único fin que persigue es el de reafirmar sus méritos como candidata de la ciudad que existe entre las "vallecanas".

El torneo anterior Palmira en el período de curso departamental de la belleza estuvo representada por Flor Marina Ochoa, quien conquistó la corona en la ciudad, "en donde se celebró el segundo lugar más exitoso".

Flor Marina Ochoa, representante de la ciudad de Villavieja, fue la representante del Valle del Cauca donde obtuvo el primer lugar del Vireinato Nacional de la Coración.

Es de destacar que el representante de Palmira en el Valle del Cauca en el período de la Metá, asumió con orgullo la decisión de no participar en la ausencia de la ciudad de Turismo del Valle del Cauca, decisión que siempre acompaña a los representantes que tiene como fin principal organizar cada año la "Fiesta de Cali", invitando a las demás ciudades vallecanas, las provincias, salablemente, toda la "zona moral" que los representantes departamentales.

De esta manera se hace a la representación de las ferias sociales de la ciudad que se manifestará el domingo de que Palmira no fue representada en las elecciones de Cali, agregando así a esta lista de ausencias que Palmira y por razones de índole personal, no tiene planeada concurrir a las ferias sociales que se celebran en Cali.





**La moda en Europa**

A la izquierda un conjunto en lana color camello de Montedoro, el pullover es a cuadros en tonos azul y camello. En el centro un modelo de Lesy del que hay que destacar el deportivo chaquetón de ante en color arena con pantalones anchos en azul. Y a su lado original traje de noche de Hermit en Chiffon de tonos contrastes, profundo escote en la espalda y unido a la cintura.

**Flor Marina Ochoa, actual reina de la belleza de Palmira y virreina departamental.**

entre todas las regiones de esta sección del país.

Apoyo a una candidatura

Se informó, además, que en caso de que la ciudad de Cartago eligiera como su representante al torneo regional de la belleza a Catalina Gribiño, la ciudad de Palmira se anexaría a esa candidatura, asociándose a ella.

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## Qué hace la mujer joven en Cali ?

# Lía de Caicedo : artista y decoradora



**Lameralda ha debido dejar a Linito con misid Blanca y trarse a Dominig.**

**Por Gloria H**

Después de mucho insistir, Lía de Caicedo aceptó la entrevista. La Mona De Raux, como la conocen sus amigos, es una persona muy espontánea y sencilla. Pero las entrevistas me coaccionan. "No resultó una y otra vez. Sin embargo comenzamos el diálogo."

Lía de Raux de Caicedo es la esposa del Dr. Juan Martín Caicedo, secretario ejecutivo de la Cámara de Comercio. Tienen una niña de 6 meses. Estudió el bachillerato en el Sagrado Corazón de Jesús, y luego, en la Universidad Pontificia Bolivariana de Medellín se graduó en Arte y Decoración. Durante un corto tiempo permaneció en Estados Unidos, estando en contacto con Jiny Delacó, experta fotógrafa de revistas de decoración americana. Actualmente trabaja en compañía del arquitecto Ramiro González con el que ha decorado varias residencias y hasta consultorios médicos. El del Dr. Aljire es un ejemplo, en la Clínica de Los Remedios. Pero son irnos muy lejos, el apartamento de los Caicedo es el prototipo de la sencillez y del buen gusto.

Los más importante para mí, es el calor que los objetos pueden entregar. Las flores, una bombonera, un detalle, los rincones, todo puede entregar calor, acogida, que es lo principal para hacer un lugar agradable.

Por que te dedicaste a la decoración?

Siempre me ha gustado el arte, y estudiándolo era la manera más lógica de estar permanentemente en contacto con él y con el ambiente que se crea.

La Universidad

**La Universidad cumple tus aspiraciones?**

Era lo mejor que había y creo que aun es la mejor. Claro, siempre se espera más. Sobre todo en la Universidad nos enseñaron técnica. Y la decoración es algo más que técnica. En Medellín nos ganamos un concurso de virreinas de Fabricato. También decoramos la virreina de Carvajal. Y aquí en Cali, siendo estudiante, el stand de la Lanera cuando la feria Industrial del Valle.

**Cual es el fin de la decoración?**

Es bueno hacer una diferencia. En mi opinión el arte no tiene tiempo es temporal. La decoración va muy de acuerdo con las circunstancias. Tiene un fin inmediato: agrandar, dar seguridad a las personas que están en contacto con los ambientes.

**Que es lo fundamental en el proceso de la decoración?**

Vivir los ambientes. La decoración debe ir muy de acuerdo con la personalidad que va a habitar el ambiente. Y el papel del decorador es, precisamente, con los conocimientos que tiene, guiar la personalidad del cliente de manera que se sienta a gusto en lo que se ha creado.

**Tiene bastante de psicología la decoración?**

Claro. Fijate como lo que sucede con una casa campesina es la casa de ellos, con su ambiente, reflejando la personalidad de los que la habitan. De nada sirve modificarla a un gusto moderno, artístico y con todas las reglas del caso, porque su amor a ella rechazarán. Habría dejado de ser su casa para convertirse en algo extraño, que no les perteneciera.



**"Los años 20"**  
 El maquillaje "enfriado" es el que...



**Los objetos te comunican algo?**

Yo creo que todo comunica, a veces es alegría, optimismo, suavidad. Todo lo que rodea acompaña, da color.

**No influyen los cambios de ánimo en la decoración?**

Yo no creo para mí por más triste o alegre que este nunca podrá desconocer, por ejemplo, que tal color es sosegado y que tal otro fuerte. A mi modo de ver, la decoración es independiente de los estados de ánimo. Sus sensaciones son estables.

**Que es lo que más te gusta decorar?**

Las casas. Son el lugar donde la familia vive, donde se reúne, donde pasan sus horas más íntimas.

**Y de la casa?**

vallecana, que debe existir entre todas las regiones de esta sección del país.

apoyando a ella.

de participar en dicho evento.

## Los venezolanos en contra del matrimonio

CARACAS, octubre 2 (UPI). — Las estadísticas indican que hombres y mujeres venezolanos son reacios a contraer matrimonio. El número de damas solteras es de 1 a 200.000. Lo cual representa el 48 por ciento de la población femenina mayor de 15 años.

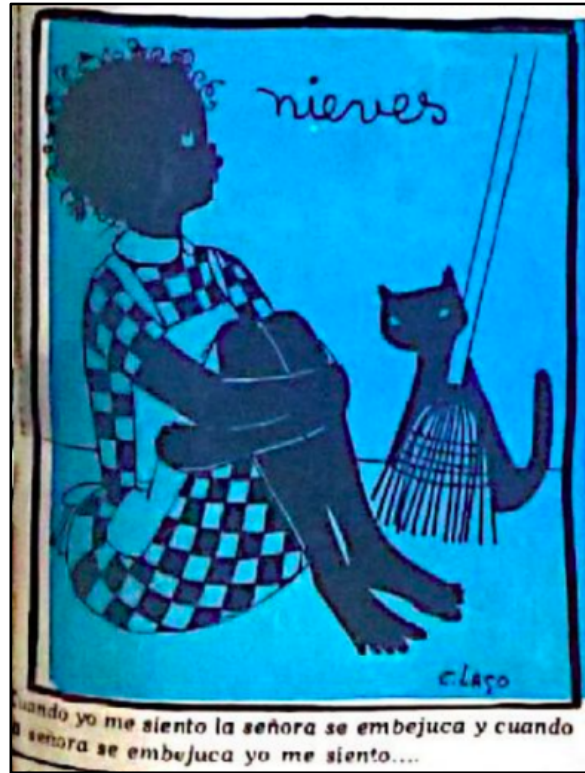
Según datos proporcionados por el Ministerio de Fomento en los últimos años el número de mujeres solteras aumento en 478.821, mientras que en 1961 la cifra total de mujeres sin contraer matrimonio era de 48.711.

Los datos conocidos hacen pensar que los venezolanos venimos manifestando en encuestas realizadas por organismos especializados, que el matrimonio no debe ser la meta de la mujer, porque el solo hecho de contraer un compromiso acaba con el amor. El caso de mujeres solteras, está siendo analizado por psicólogos, ya que el aumento de nacimientos ilegales cada año es muy alarmante.

Asamblea en los Estados Unidos que se celebra en el...







“When I feel, the missus gets angry and when the missus is angry I feel...”



## Chapter 5

Figure 1

# Incorporación a la dirección del Estado pide raza negra

La incorporación del negro a los más altos planos de la dirección del Estado, "ya que con factores de poder real en nuestras manos podemos contribuir de manera eficaz a la solución de los problemas de nuestro pueblo", es una de las exigencias planteadas en las conclusiones del Primer Encuentro Nacional de Población Negra que se cumplió aquí entre el viernes y el domingo pasados.

El Encuentro Nacional de Población Negra Colombiana reconoció igualmente que "dentro de la estructura misma del Estado y de la sociedad colombianas, se ejerce, sin tapujos, en detrimento de la gente de nuestra raza, una bien definida discriminación racial".

En el documento final del evento, en el cual participaron exponentes raciales ubicados dentro de diferentes profesiones y de diversas regiones del país, se señala, en uno de sus apartes que "nuestra educación colombiana ha sido discriminatoria y parcial al presentar a determinados elementos colombianos y grupos como los únicos necesarios dentro del conglomerado social".

Agrega el documento que "el elemento negro colombiano ha tenido un trato desigual en cuanto a prerrogativas, consideraciones sociales, derecho y poder e inclusive se le ha relegado como elemento no útil".

Señalan como casos de discriminación racial en Colombia, "el marginamiento o relegación de aquellas zonas geográficas donde predomina la raza negra", a las cuales se les "niegan las condiciones

mínimas para una existencia decorosa", poniendo como ejemplos a Buenaventura, Barbacoas, Urabá, los sectores negros de Cartagena y el Chocó.

Luego de preguntarse qué se le ha dado como contraprestación a estos sectores que han estado sometidos a la explotación, el Encuentro de Población Negra concluye que "su realidad están enmarcada dentro de un cuadro de miseria, de hambre, analfabetismo, insalubridad y muerte".

"Esta es, descaradamente —dice el documento— la realidad de los pueblos ubicados en las zonas geográficas preponderantemente negras del país, enmarcada dolorosamente dentro del contexto de toda una política racista ejercida a conciencia desde todos los estamentos del gobierno y de la sociedad colombianos".

### Valores culturales

Otra de las conclusiones del Primer Encuentro de Población Negra Colombiana se refiere a la relegación de los valores culturales negros y dice que "una de las formas más peligrosas que asume la discriminación racial reside precisamente en la alienación cultural, definida ésta en nuestro caso concreto, como la relegación de los valores culturales que informan toda la tradición de nuestro pasado.

Es así como la historia de nuestro país viene siendo sistemáticamente adulterada, con el evidente propósito de

desconocer el valioso aporte de la cultura negra a las más amplias capas de la educación colombiana".

### Exigencias

La parte final y conclusiones del Encuentro plantea las exigencias de la población negra colombiana y dice:

"Demostrada de manera incuestionable la capital importancia que para el desarrollo del país ha tenido el aporte del negro, vamos a plantear al gobierno y a la sociedad colombiana nuestras exigencias para que sean estudiadas y resueltas:

a) Aunque no buscamos la burocracia, por la burocracia misma, no obstante, consideramos que marginados y relegados en el control de los organismos del Estado, sin ninguna forma de poder real, nuestra lucha reivindicatoria no pasaría de la mera especulación teórica. Es por esto que cuestionamos la incorporación del negro y a los más altos planos de la dirección del Estado, ya que con factores de poder real en nuestras manos podemos contribuir de manera eficaz a la solución de los más acuciantes problemas de nuestro pueblo.

b) La incorporación en los programas educativos del país, con carácter obligatorio, de los diferentes aspectos de la cultura negra y su incidencia incuestionable en la cultura general del país. Esto incluye la amplia difusión de las manifestaciones del arte, el folclore y la literatura negra.

c) Como una forma de ataque frontal al racismo, demostrar científicamente a la juventud, a través de programas oficiales y de una política consecuente, que todos los seres humanos pertenecen a una misma especie llamada "homo sapiens" y que el concepto de igualdad entre todos los hombres deja de ser una simple entelequia para convertirse en algo dinámico y funcional.

d) Que por el Estado colombiano se inicie el rescate de todo el acervo cultural negro localizándolo en las distintas zonas geográficas del país.

e) Que de igual manera y como un paso importante para la solución de los múltiples problemas que agobian no solo a la raza negra, sino a la totalidad del pueblo colombiano, se ponga en práctica, de inmediato, un plan de nacionalizaciones de la riqueza nacional, hoy por hoy explotada sin ninguna contraprestación por intereses extranjeros e imperialistas.

f) Perfectamente definida como se halla la lucha de clases en nuestro país y teniendo la certeza de que la solución de los problemas colombianos no llegará hasta tanto ésta alternativa haya sido resuelta, planteamos igualmente, un cambio profundo en las estructuras socio-económicas del país".

La junta organizadora del Encuentro estuvo presidida por el profesional Valentín Moreno Salazar.

**English translation of the list of demands:**

a. Although we do not seek the bureaucracy itself, nevertheless, we consider that marginalized and relegated in the control of the organisms of the State, without any form of real power, (political) our struggle for vindication would not pass from mere theoretical speculation. That is why we question the incorporation of the black and the highest levels of the direction of the State, since with real power factors in our hands we can contribute effectively to the solution of the most pressing problems of our people.

b. The incorporation in the educational (of black culture) programs of the country with obligatory character, of the different aspects of the black culture and its unquestionable incidence in the general culture of the country. This includes the wide dissemination of the manifestations of art, folklore and black literature.

c. As a form of frontal attack to racism, as scientifically demonstrated to youth, through official programs and a consistent policy that all human beings belong to the same species called "homo sapiens" and that the concept of equality between all men stops being a simple entelechy to become something dynamic and functional.

d. That the Colombian State begin the rescue of all the black cultural heritage by locating it in the different geographical zones of the country.

e. That in the same way and as an important step for the solution of the multiple problems that overwhelm not only the black race, but the whole of the Colombian people, a plan of nationalizations of the national wealth is put into practice immediately, nowadays exploited without any consideration for interests and performance by foreign and imperialist interests.

F. Perfectly defined how the class struggle (CLASS-to all Colombians) is in our country and having the certainty that the solution of the Colombian problems will not come until this alternative has been resolved, we also propose a profound change in the socioeconomic structures of the country.



Figure 2

El País, Aug 25, 1977, p7.

# Discriminación de raza

## Hay en Colombia, dice Nina de Friedemann

El primer Encuentro de la Cultura Negra de las Américas trata de buscar el origen y la identidad de los pueblos de raza de color, dijo en esta capital, José Franco Múnera, coordinador general de ese encuentro. El certamen, que se inició ayer con participación de delegados de Estados Unidos, Europa, África y América Latina, se instaló oficialmente en la sede del Cabildo local, al comenzar la noche. Creo —comentó Franco— que todos los pueblos por el hecho de tener su cultura necesitan identificarse con los principios que rigen la humanidad. Buscamos, agregó, encontrar los aportes de las comunidades negras africanas a los negros, por ejemplo, de Colombia y también la forma como la gente de color de nuestro país ha podido influir en ella. Aseguró que todos los participantes en el Encuentro de Cultura Negra, son antirracistas. En ningún momento hemos pensado en élla. Nosotros solo buscamos nuestra identidad. Así como los indígenas, los europeos, y si todos los demás hombres buscan similitudes nosotros también lo podemos hacer. Comentó que han llegado de todas partes del mundo profesores universitarios, para participar en forma activa en el Encuentro. Entre ellos se destacan Norman E. Whitten, antropólogo de la Universidad de Illinois, en los Estados Unidos y Nina S. de Friedemann, quien pertenece al Instituto de Antropología Colombiano. Sortuvo que la delegación de Brasil presentará una de las ponencias más importantes del evento.

**Nina de Friedemann**  
Nina S. de Friedemann, es una antropóloga colombiana vinculada actualmente al Instituto Nacional de Antropología y a varias organizaciones en el Área del Caribe. Inicialmente afirmó que existe discriminación racial en Colombia porque así lo ha encontrado en los trabajos que ha hecho en Colombia con grupos negros. Esta experiencia las logró en el Litoral Pacífico, en el Valle del Cauca y en el Atlántico. En Colombia los negros no hacen discriminación. Los que la hacen son los blancos, los que son "blanqueados" y los trigueños. Ellos son los que discriminan a los negros. Cuando un blanco y un negro van a pedir trabajo, se prefiere al blanco. Eso es la discriminación. Dijo que en todos los estratos de la sociedad colombiana se observa todos estos fenómenos del racismo. En Colombia, comentó, no hay discriminación racial por leyes sino por costumbre. Afirmó que el negro colombiano es uno de los pilares de la sociedad actual. Es un individuo que no se le ha reconocido aún la participación que ha tenido en el desarrollo del país. Este congreso busca reconocer en el negro a un individuo que es una pieza clave en la organización actual del país. La mujer negra colombiana participa de la misma situación del hombre negro y que un pilar tremendamente válido dentro del sistema.

**Norman Whitten**  
Norman E. Whitten, antropólogo norteamericano, es uno de los más interesados en el desarrollo del Encuentro de la Cultura Negra. Dijo EL PAÍS que viene trabajando en investigación de la Cultura Negra desde hace más de 10 años, especialmente en la zona del Litoral Pacífico y en la región de Esmeraldas, en la República del Ecuador. Esta, comentó, es la mejor oportunidad para escuchar a los profesores colombianos, peruanos y ecuatorianos sobre los conocimientos que ellos tienen de la cultura negra. Mi experiencia con la gente de la costa Pacífica, dijo Whitten ha sido fantástica. Allí vive gente que tiene grandes conocimientos de ecología y otras materias, y que son prácticamente desconocidos por sus compatriotas. Afirmó que le ha impresionado la organización de las gentes de color que residen en la zona del litoral. Principalmente los sistemas de organización social y de ecología. Es algo maravilloso. Actualmente estoy escribiendo un libro de la situación de los negros en la zona del litoral, cuestiono algunos puntos muy importantes. Mi libro, en su primera parte, señala el origen de los negros. Luego su historia. También hablo sobre la explotación de la madera, como principal industria de esa región. También hablo de los rasgos culturales y sus ritos. Finalmente analizo el racismo entre Ecuador y Colombia.



**Jorge Franco**      **Nina de Friedemann**      **Norman Whitten**







Figure 4  
El País, Aug 24, 1977

EL PAÍS  
DÍA DE LA VENTA  
MERCADO DE SUSCRIPCIÓN  
MERCADO DE SUSCRIPCIÓN  
MERCADO DE SUSCRIPCIÓN

**EL PAÍS**  
24 PAGINAS  
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### Hoy instalan Congreso de Cultura Negra

Con asistencia de delegados de varios municipios, se instalará este fin de semana el primer congreso de la cultura negra de las Américas, bajo la organización de la Fundación de Estudios y Estudios de la Universidad de la Habana. Los debates se desarrollarán en el Hotel Nacional.

El congreso fue convocado por la Confederación Iberoamericana de Organizaciones de la Cultura Negra. El programa de hoy incluye la inauguración de debates de la tarde en la sede de la Cámara de Comercio. A las 2.30 habrá una recepción de prensa y presentación de propaganda.

En horas de la noche comenzará el primer congreso de la cultura negra de las Américas. El primer congreso de la cultura negra de las Américas se celebrará en el Hotel Nacional de la Habana. El programa de hoy incluye la inauguración de debates de la tarde en la sede de la Cámara de Comercio. A las 2.30 habrá una recepción de prensa y presentación de propaganda.

# López irá a EE.UU.

BOGOTÁ, Agosto 23 (AP).— Los mandatarios de Andrés Bello fueron invitados por el presidente Jimmy Carter de los Estados Unidos y el jefe del gobierno de Panamá, General Omar Torrijos, a visitar el mes próximo en Washington el Tratado del Canal de Panamá, el primer tratado de cooperación económica de América Latina con los Estados Unidos.

El presidente Alfonso López Caballero ha aceptado la invitación, dijo el ministro de Relaciones Exteriores, Carlos Lleras, quien será acompañado por el vicepresidente Alfonso López y el ministro de Comercio Exterior, Carlos Lleras.

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## Alcalde cita otro Concejo

El alcalde de Buenavista, Mario Ochoa, citó al anterior concejo municipal para que se reúna el próximo día 30 de agosto en el salón de sesiones de la municipalidad.

La "alcaldía", un organismo que se creó en 1976 para reemplazar al anterior concejo municipal, se reunirá el próximo día 30 de agosto en el salón de sesiones de la municipalidad.

### Fugitivo

BOGOTÁ, Agosto 23 (AP).— El representante de la Unión de Agricultores de la zona de Bogotá, Miguel Ángel Rodríguez, fue capturado por la policía de Bogotá.

## Carta de Pastrana al registrador Ayerbe Ch.

BOGOTÁ, Agosto 23 (CEP).— El representante de la Unión de Agricultores de la zona de Bogotá, Miguel Ángel Rodríguez, fue capturado por la policía de Bogotá.

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## Millonaria pérdida en Universidad

Se dos millones de pesos fueron robados de la Universidad de los Andes en Bogotá.

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## Exceso de velocidad

El exceso de velocidad es una de las causas más comunes de accidentes de tránsito en Bogotá.

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## Indupalma pondrá fin a conflicto

BOGOTÁ, Agosto 23 (AP).— El sindicato de Indupalma pondrá fin al conflicto que se ha desarrollado en la empresa.

El sindicato de Indupalma pondrá fin al conflicto que se ha desarrollado en la empresa.

## Undeteo veta la plaza de toros de Cali

La plaza de toros de Cali será vetada por Undeteo.

La plaza de toros de Cali será vetada por Undeteo.

## Gobernador de Maryland en la cárcel

El gobernador de Maryland fue encarcelado por un delito.

El gobernador de Maryland fue encarcelado por un delito.

## En Venezuela

En Venezuela se celebró un evento importante.

En Venezuela se celebró un evento importante.

**DIRECTORIO CONSERVADOR DEL VALLE DEL CAUCA**  
PROGRAMA DE VISITA  
Jueves 29 7 pm Florida  
Viernes 30 7 pm El Corralito  
Sábado 31 7 pm Medellín

**SE COMPRAN CERTIFICADOS DE CAMBIO**  
LLAMAR AL TEL. 8001. SR. DELANO BEDOYA

**MECANICOS PARA OFICINAS**  
Vendemos distintos tipos de mecánicas para oficinas, talleres, etc.



Figure 5  
El País, Aug 26, 1977

Reclame hoy la revista "Viernes Cultural" - Valor de esta edición: \$4.00

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**EL PAÍS**

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48 PAGINAS

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Las leyes de la contienda, aunque los atribuyamos a los militares, proceden en realidad de la costumbre.

Montaigne

# Paro en la refinería de Barranca

**BAHIANCARIBEÑEJA, Agosto 25 (CIEP).** La situación de la refinería de Barranca se agravó ayer cuando más de dos mil obreros de la Refinería de Barranca paralizaron toda clase de actividades a las seis de la mañana y, diez minutos después, la ciudad se teleseñaló silenciosamente.

El paro está a punto de que se realice en Colombia un paro viviente nacional organizado por la Confederación y la Unión de Trabajadores de Colombia.

El paro de actividades tendrá vigencia a las seis de la mañana cuando los trabajadores del más importante complejo petrolero del país se alzararon de la refinería de Barranca para exigir un aumento de los salarios y el pago de los beneficios por la Unidad Simón Bolívar (USB).

Simultáneamente, el alcalde de Barranca, Víctor Manuel Álvarez López, ordenó la autorización de la refinería para evitar posibles sabotajes por parte de simpatizantes de los obreros.

A la huelga se sumaron trescientos trabajadores de la planta de almacenamiento de "Fuel Oil" que tiene su base en el Departamento de Meta.

El personal directivo de Enpetrol se reunió, con el fin de negociar con los obreros, pero a las once de la noche no se había alcanzado un acuerdo de paz. Los obreros se comprometieron a volver a trabajar si se les otorga un aumento del 10 por ciento y el pago de los beneficios por la USB.

**Las reservas de gasolina son normales**

Vladimir Sánchez, gerente del Estado de Barranca, dijo ayer que en esta ciudad, y en el Departamento del Valle, hay combustible suficiente para una semana.

El funcionario destacó que una información de un almacén local, el día anterior, cuando anunció que el transporte del Valle se paralizaría por falta del combustible.

Sánchez sostuvo que las reservas de gasolina corrientes son normales. Reiteró en respuesta de ofrecer el combustible a los consumidores sin ningún problema.

Insistió, de nuevo, que antes de 10 horas antes "bombardeó" desde Barranca una gran cantidad de gasolina extra, de la cual hay un poco de excedente.

Con este suministro, que será asegurado de inmediato al consumirlo, la situación será normal.

Sánchez dijo que el suministro en todos los puntos de venta se venía en buen estado.

**Emprestados para el plan Buenaventura**

Oscar Maza, director ejecutivo de la Corporación Nacional de Crédito, anunció que en el marco de la primera semana viajará a Managua una misión, con el fin de analizar un nuevo empréstito para el plan integral de desarrollo urbano de Buenaventura.

El proyecto ha sido diseñado por el departamento de Vivienda y Urbanismo, que tiene desarrollo dentro de todo el día. Incluye también que se les permitan a los habitantes de Buenaventura un millón de dólares para obras relacionadas con la ejecución del plan integral de desarrollo urbano de Buenaventura.

El empréstito será administrado por el departamento de Vivienda y Urbanismo, que tiene desarrollo dentro de todo el día. Incluye también que se les permitan a los habitantes de Buenaventura un millón de dólares para obras relacionadas con la ejecución del plan integral de desarrollo urbano de Buenaventura.

**Contratada misión especializada en secuestros: López**

BOGOTÁ, Agosto 25 (CIEP). El Presidente de la República, Alfonso López Michángel, respaldó ayer la contratación de una misión especializada en secuestros, que se encargará de investigar y combatir los secuestros en el país.

López Michángel señaló que se contratará una misión internacional especializada en secuestros y que sus recomendaciones se pondrán en ejecución, lo que permitirá al Congreso de la República aprobar un proyecto de ley que, para el efecto, se ha iniciado el trámite legislativo.

**Agudelo se sumaría a Lleras R.**

BOGOTÁ, Agosto 25 (CIEP). El senador Agudelo se sumaría a Lleras R. en la votación de la ley que otorga el derecho de sufragio a las mujeres.

Agudelo dijo que se sumaría a Lleras R. en la votación de la ley que otorga el derecho de sufragio a las mujeres.

**Violento vendaval en Bogotá**

BOGOTÁ, Agosto 25 (CIEP). Un violento vendaval azotó a Bogotá, causando graves daños a las viviendas y a las personas.

El viento alcanzó velocidades de hasta 100 kilómetros por hora, causando graves daños a las viviendas y a las personas.

**Patrulleras**

BOGOTÁ, Agosto 25 (CIEP). Se iniciaron las patrulleras de la Policía Nacional en Bogotá, para combatir el delito de robo.

Las patrulleras se iniciaron en Bogotá, para combatir el delito de robo.

**El certificado de cambio a 836.75**

BOGOTÁ, Agosto 25 (CIEP). El certificado de cambio se vendió a 836.75.

El certificado de cambio se vendió a 836.75.

**SE COMPRAN CERTIFICADOS DE CAMBIO**

**EL COMANDO FEMENINO DEPARTAMENTAL CONSERVADOR**

EXAMENES DE ADMISIÓN A



**Congreso de negritudes**  
Agosto de la inauguración del Primer Congreso de la Cultura Negra de los Andinos y el Caribe en el salón de sesiones del Palacio de Cali. Agradeciendo de izquierda a derecha, María de Jesús, Wanda, Albaladejo, de Nigeria, Talía, Bernard, Manuel Zapata Olivella, presidente del congreso, y Jorge Franco Maza, secretario. (Foto EL PAÍS-UPP). Ver página 14.



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**La boda de Carolina**  
BOGOTÁ, Agosto 25 (CIEP). La boda de Carolina, hija de la señora María de Jesús, se celebró en el salón de sesiones del Palacio de Justicia.

**\$2.200 millones para planes de vivienda: ICT**

BOGOTÁ, Agosto 25 (CIEP). El Instituto Colombiano de Crédito y Vivienda (ICT) anunció que se han asignado \$2.200 millones para planes de vivienda.

El ICT anunció que se han asignado \$2.200 millones para planes de vivienda.

**SE COMPRAN CERTIFICADOS DE CAMBIO**

**EL COMANDO FEMENINO DEPARTAMENTAL CONSERVADOR**





Figure 7



Figure 8

Translation for Carlos Caicedo's piece in *El Tiempo*, June 19, 1973.

Good morning, esteemed readers. For today, there is the issue of the kidnapping of the Vuelta a Colombia by a multitude of boisterous morochitos from Puerto Tejada. This is of course a disastrous precedent, from now on, Mr. reader, the inhabitants of many towns will be able to stop the maximum competition for all kinds of problems. For example: if they have no sewer, if the glass of the schools are broken, if Mrs. Polita, illustrious matron and trunk of rancid family is sick and the distressed inhabitants force the bicycle caravan to visit her because in her delirium she exclaimed and asked to bring the competition to her bed of sickness... Or also because there is a beauty pageant in the town and the candidate in a feature of intelligence, proposes that her followers go to the road and kidnap the Vuelta so that its runners take a dance and then continue so joyously. We beg to San Caralampio, the lawyer of the *pen* ... and the pedal riders, that this does not happen again.



**Figure 9**  
El País, June 20, 1973



En Puerto Tejada - Estas dos fotografías fueron tomadas en esta localidad caucana, cuando la XXIII Vuelta Colombia en bicicleta fue detenida en protesta por la demora en la pavimentación de la carretera que

conduce a Cali. Gentes de todas las edades hicieron detener a los 105 ciclistas que minutos antes habían partido de Popayán hacia la capital del Valle. A la derecha, uno de los dirigentes del movimiento, que

se identificó como presidente de una Junta Comunal, da explicaciones a varios integrantes de la caravana. (Fotos EL PAIS, Mancilla).

**Figure 10**  
El País, June 20, 1973



El sabotaje en el puerto de Cali, que detiene a los 105 ciclistas que minutos antes habían partido de Popayán hacia la capital del Valle, es el resultado de una protesta por la demora en la pavimentación de la carretera que conduce a Cali. Gentes de todas las edades hicieron detener a los 105 ciclistas que minutos antes habían partido de Popayán hacia la capital del Valle. A la derecha, uno de los dirigentes del movimiento, que se identificó como presidente de una Junta Comunal, da explicaciones a varios integrantes de la caravana. (Fotos EL PAIS, Mancilla).

como un momento de prestigio y brillantez, dando el patrimonio provincial ejemplo con un evento de jerarquía y prestigio internacional que se desarrolla anualmente con la supervisión de la Federación Colombiana de Ciclismo. Las mejoras y la movilización de la zona fuerza a no pocas personas a su patria y quienes desearían el normal desarrollo de un acontecimiento de la magnitud colombiana y se lleva adelante a miles y miles de fanáticos, que siguen la Vuelta a Colombia en Bicicleta.

Para la salida de la carrera la competencia ciclista colombiana se prepara a salir a la ruta que conduce hacia la población de Cali a Popayán. Los habitantes de Cali y que pertenecen al departamento del Cauca, crearon pancartas que fueron colocadas a lo largo de la carretera, donde se expresaban sus sentimientos. "Necesitamos que se cumpla con la carretera que nos lleva a Popayán y a la capital del Valle, a la tranquilidad a los colombianos."

Además que continuó la caravana de la vuelta el público iba tratando de hacer saber a los ciclistas que minutos antes habían partido de Popayán hacia la capital del Valle. A la derecha, uno de los dirigentes del movimiento, que se identificó como presidente de una Junta Comunal, da explicaciones a varios integrantes de la caravana. (Fotos EL PAIS, Mancilla).

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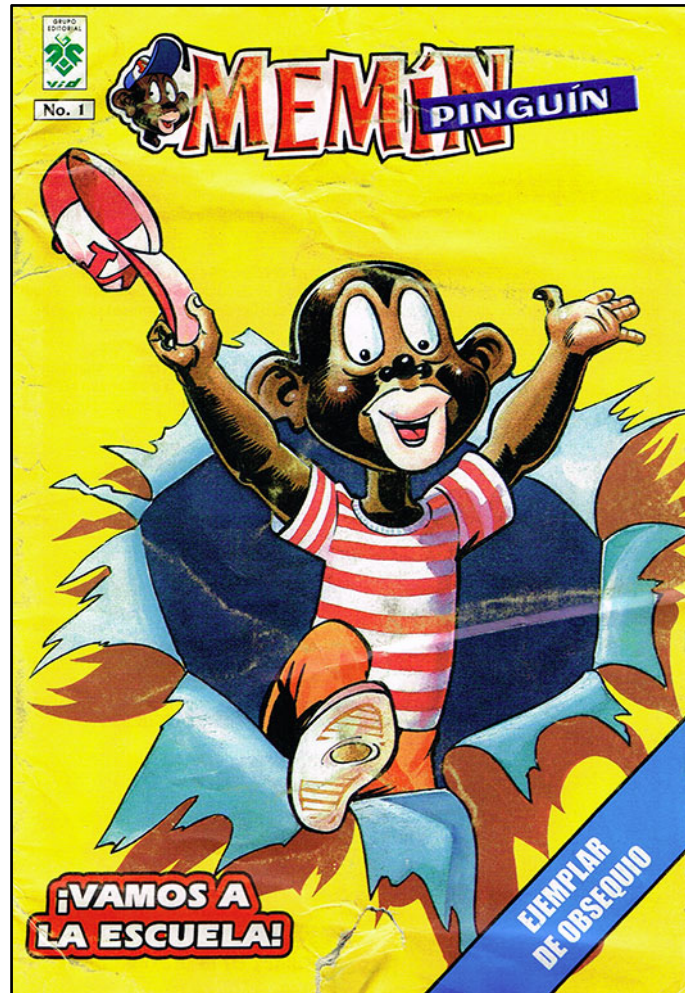
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**Figure 11**

Google Images, retrieved June 2, 2019





**Figure 12**

*El Espectador*, June 20, 1973



### ***Puerto Tejada Bloquea la "Vuelta a Colombia"***

Exhibiendo carteles en los que señalan el motivo de su protesta, estos airados habitantes de Puerto Tejada paralizaron ayer el normal desarrollo de la primera etapa en el comienzo de la XXIII Vuelta a Colombia en bicicleta, obligando a la caravana a desviarse de la

ruta oficial. El tramo debió ser concluido allí con el triunfo de Jairo Diaz, de Cundinamarca. Hoy habrá doble jornada con sede en Cali. (Foto del enviado especial Vladimiro Posada). Ver mayor información en la Sección Deportiva.