Mimicry and society: the dreams of the Bogotano society.

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In this paper I would like to clarify a historical situation through a cultural approach based on the premise established by Braudel of the permanence of old ways of thinking in long-lived structures in the absence of all logic. In particular, I intend to clarify how in Colombia and especially in Bogota, the old habits of a seigniorial mentality remain alive in the midst of a supposedly rational mentality. Old ways of thinking and of acting, dressed up in contemporary clothing, create a farce of politics, culture and society. What are those old habits that remain and how are they disguised? Did Braudel leave clear how those old structures became modified?

Taking up the ideas of Professor Gutierrez Girardot in his work "Estratificacion Social, Cultura y Violencia en Colombia" (1999) wherein he quotes Braudel's ideas of "longue durii", I will make reference to the social and cultural structure and the reminiscences of colonial cultural structure that they still safeguard in the 20th century. I will continually refer to Dr. Gutierrez Girardot's text in two ways: first, manifesting the overlay of the seigniorial mentality on a new rational mentality in 1942. And second, I will refer to the inevitability of progress - in this case creative progress. Here we have the absence of progress or in its place the inhibition of it, represented in very deep and ancient structures as Gutierrez Girardot says, as in the case of the continual copying of models imported from abroad. In the case of Colombia, this copying began with the Spanish cultural model during the colony and then after 1850 the colonial model was replaced by others imported from modern Europe, that is, the French and English models. Even later, in the 20th century, there was the introduction of North American cultural models and forms that gradually replaced the European ones. This substitution of cultural models results in denying the country's own progress and construction of an authentic cultural personality. This process leads, necessarily to imitation, to the representation of stereotyped cultural forms and therefore the representation of a sacred social mimicry or non-authentic public behavior. Moreover, admitting that international cultural leaders have transformed the dreams and cultural ideals of Latin America and Colombia, the social and cultural structures of the Bogotano society have remained, one replacing another, and now the old colonial structures have become tangled up in modern and supposedly more rational forms.

My interest is to see the social and cultural structures that have remained over time, the social and cultural cosmos that has continued even if time, fashion and dreams of the Bogotano society have changed. Continuity, above and beyond historical-social changes, as Dr. Gutierrez Girardot has clarified, from colonial adulation and imitation of the foreign has led to a denial of self-progress, that is, to an inhibition of progress. Awareness of this phenomenon of denial, existed already during the times of Jose Marma Vergara y Vergara (1831-1872), who in his chronicles of the "Tres Tazas" explains the already manifest phenomenon in the society and culture of 19th century
Bogota. In this portrait of Bogotano customs each invitation to one of the three cups offers a different international influence: the invitation to a cup of hot chocolate (1813) in the Spanish tradition, the cup of coffee (1848) and the cup of tea (1966) to the modernizing British and French influences. Furthermore, as Gutierrez Girardot's text narrates it, each picture is represented by different social groups, some that are beginning up the social ladder and others that are more traditional. In conclusion, the invitation to have a cup of something remains, but the process of substitution and continual denial of one custom in favor of another inhibits the progress of development and the formation and consolidation of a unique culture. As German Arciniegos said in 1937, as he noticed again the persistence of this problem, "We are inclined to take from England the greatest collection of new customs, with which to offend the Spanish tradition of the "Chapetones". The velvet longcoats, flowing lace and broad-brimmed hats were exchanged for English cut suits, the tuxedo and jacket. We went from bull-fighting to jockeys at the race tracks " (Arciniegas, 1982).

With the help of the sociological methodology offered by Content Analysis methodology, I would like to point out the way remaining structures of deep cultural patterns in the "longue durie" are shown through pictures illustrated by Cromos Magazine in 1942.

Methodological Design

This paper will establish the deep structure shown in the message issued by the Bogotano elite through the pictures taken and displayed by Cromos magazine in 1942 during the Second World War (1939-1945). Since we are dealing with a process of mass communication, I will use the sociological method known as Content Analysis specially designed for this kind of source.

Bernard Berelson defines this method as, "a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication. "The content analysis," which will deal with photos in this case study, "is understood as a technique for the classification of sign-vehicles, a process which relies solely upon the judgments of the analyst or the scientific observer." (Berelson, 1948:2). In any 'content analysis' the task is to make inferences from data to certain aspects of their context and to justify these inferences in terms of the knowledge about the stable factors in the system of interest (Krippendorff, 27).

Since this method deals with what is said in the content, and not the motives or appeals of the sources, we are going to proceed as the method indicates to us: 1. Assembling the data as it is communicated, 2. Classifying and/or quantifying in order to find the ruling guide 3. Examining the pattern, interrelationship, and context of the data 4. Interpreting the findings. The inferences in order to find the 'longue durie' cultural structures are going to be linked to a broader historic and social context of the city and the country.
The History of Cromos Magazine

The Magazine's history covers three main periods. The first one led by two men from Popayan, that I will call the Payanes period from 1916 to 1918; the second one, when leadership and ownership came to Joaquín Tamayo, called the Tamayo period from 1918 to 1953; and then, the third one, the Restrepo Suarez period from 1953 to 1970s. The magazine continues to be published today, but has often changed hands since 1970.

The history of the magazine began with the two Payanis men named Abelardo Arboleda (1875-) and Miguel Santiago Valencia (1885-1957), who founded Cromos in 1916 as a social and informative magazine. The former was a well-known printer in Popayan, who wanted to reside in Bogota, moved by the illusion of the capital. I have to comment that even though Valencia was a good white Payanes man, Cromos (3556) described him as a man that was born in Bolivar, Department of Cauca in a humble house that was used as a cock-fighting ring. When he was a child, his family moved to Popayan, where he went to school and after graduation, he opened a bookstore called 'Librerma Moderna' and founded a newspaper known as 'La Linterna'. Valencia had high illusions concerning his future; he wanted to travel throughout the world and to become a nationally known journalist.

With this background Valencia joined a printer named Abelardo Arboleda and founded Cromos as a national enterprise some years later. Arboleda and Valencia met when they were leaving Popayan on their way to Bogota in 1910. They instantly became friends and they remained so until the end of their lives.

Bogota, at the time they first arrived, was a town of two hundred thousand people. However, they easily gained the heart of the capital dwellers, as Cromos itself said about them in 1970. Soon after they had installed themselves in the city, Arboleda founded a publishing house, while Valencia went to Paris. It was in Paris where the idea of founding a magazine was born in his mind. In Paris, Valencia got in touch with the Bohemian Parisian life and met many writers like Ramsn del Valle-Inclan, Ruben Dario, and Gabriela Mistral. Back in the Colombian capital, he convinced his old friend Abelardo Arboleda to create a magazine like the ones he had read in Europe, full of photos, pictures, and with ample information on current events of the country and the world. The magazine should cover political, cultural, social and economic aspects as well.

After planning the publication, Cromos appeared for the first time on January 15, 1916 with 2500 copies at the time (Cromos, 3556, 17). The publication, since the beginning organized its information by sections as follows: international, national beauties and social life, culture, and short stories. Since the initial issues, satiric cartoons were relevant in the publication. The publication has preserved this original plan, with only slight variations, until today. The magazine during this time was very highly influenced by Parisian culture; Paris was the dream shown in the magazine. In 1918, when the magazine issued its number 146, Luis and Joaquín Tamayo took over the direction.
and ownership of the editorial enterprise. Joaquín Tamayo (1892-1941) was a liberal writer and historian who wrote about President Nuñez, and belonged to a traditional Bogotano family. And, Luis had worked in some traditional Bogotano bookstores known as 'Librería Colombia' and 'Librería Camacho Roldán'. He was related to business circles, and had been Minister of Defense as well. They directed the magazine from 1918 until early 1953. During this time many Colombian and South American writers like German Arciniegas, Antonio Gómez Restrepo, Josué Umaña Bernal, Max Grillo, Tomás Rueda Vargas and Baldomero Sanmín Cano, among others, joined the magazine. Due to that affluence of intellectuals during that time, Cromos was considered, according to the magazine in 1970, a cultural house. It is well known, that in 1948 when Jorge Elieser Gaitán was murdered, Cromos' buildings were set on fire and with it 30,000 of that week's issues.

After Rojas Pinilla's coup in 1953 the Tamayo family, without any heirs interested in continuing the publication, decided to sell the magazine. A new administration took over the 4th of July of 1953. They were the Restrepo Suarez family: Jaime, Guillermo, Gabriel and Fernando Restrepo Suarez. They were former students of El Gimnasio Moderno, and sons of Fabio Restrepo, who was the manager of the Liberal journal 'El Tiempo'. Jaime Restrepo assumed the direction, continued and renewed the link with writers such as Gonzalo Arango, Hernando Valencia Goekel, and Gabriel García Márquez. This family, directly or indirectly, continued linked to the publication until the late 1970s. Cromos became the first Colombian magazine with a circulation of such magnitude and has remained at the top almost until today.

The Parisian cultural influence during Santiago Valencia's period left its mark on the magazine, especially in the first issues (1916-1918). In these issues entire sentences in French can be found among the photos that interspersed Bogotanos with Parisians, as for example the pictures of "S.E. Raymond Poincare, President of the French Republic" and "His Excellency Don Jose Vicente Concha, President of the Republic of Colombia", who could not be distinguished much, one from the other, in either fashion or stance. Likewise, it was just as hard to distinguish the young ladies of society: "Miss. Lucia Diago of Barranquilla", "Ema Ayerve Castro of Popayan" and "Miss Hortensia Durango Restrepo of Medellín" from the models that illustrated Parisian fashion in the Elegance section (Cromos, No. 27). Furthermore, local pictures mixed not only foreign and local figures in the same pictures, but also Spanish and French language in their captions: "Nuevas creaciones de las más refinadas casas de modas! Le genre chic, de grand fon et de bon gout!" (Cromos No. 1). Likewise, the Elegance section defines its content as of the very first volume as follows, "I propose above all, to entertain you with all the details of feminine toiletry - in every detail -- in the touches that make the Parisian woman truly elegant and that each and every one of you should adopt in your style of beauty" (Cromos No. 1).

This Parisian influence changed over time and during the Tamayos' leadership (1918-1953) we can see a progressive Anglo-Saxonization of the magazine. During the initial stage of the Restrepo Suarez period (1953-1979) British ideals begin to predominate, along with the American. For example, in Cromos No. 1865 published in 1953 there
are captions, such as the one here quoted, "Este ensemble de Coleman de California es de Jersey de Orlon". This fashion is presented by Californian models. And at the same time, "guests with styles a la Grace Kelly at a year end party at the Country Club". And in number 1866 dated January, 1953 they speak of "Miss Cheesecake", Miss Vanessa Brown, the screen and stage star who appears in a bathing suit. There are innumerable examples clearly marking the change of model. Whereas early numbers displayed Parisian styles, by mid century it was far more Americanized, having gone through a phase of strong British influence. In any case, the important thing to highlight is that local pictures are mixed with the foreign ones, keeping to the pattern, just as the French pattern was respected early in the century.

The families that founded and directed the magazine lived in two of the cities with the most noticeable colonial influence and heritage: Popayan and Bogota. These publishing entrepreneurs were whites of Spanish lineage, that is to say, heirs to Hispanic cultural tradition. It is well to highlight the success the magazine enjoyed nationwide and on a large-scale basis since its very founding.

Data Collection

We have processed 16 numbers of the magazine from 1942. In order to take advantage of the sources, we have developed a questionnaire that allowed us to establish a quantitative pattern in order to find the ruling guide, and to interpret sources qualitatively. Since 1942 issues do not have a systematic organization of sections, one section may be broken into different parts and each part placed in different locations of the magazine. We have, therefore, classified the pictures in two main groups: local photos and international or foreign ones. Local photos were divided as well, into photos taken of Bogotanos and of 'provincials'. In addition, local pictures were classified into admitted persons and the marginal population, then others: houses, animals, etc.

The basic themes into which the magazine is divided (War, Movies, Colombian lands, Beauty-Women, Colonial chronicles, Sports, Home issues, The international week, The national week, Social life, Children's page, Colombian history in cartoons, cartoons and short stories) allowed us to successfully implement the Content Analysis methodology and direct it to our Bogotano social and historic 'longue durie' purpose. The questionnaire showed the following information base.

Quantitative Analysis

This quantitative analysis takes into account 1287 photos without ads. These photos appeared in 16 issues of 1942. All the pictures total an average of 1.3 photos per page.

Who are the heroes? 100%

Men 20.3%
Men and Women in groups 14.76%
Single woman 9.94%
Women 5.74%
Single men 5.67%
Couples 4.35%
Various* 39.24%

*Various include pictures of World War II, landscapes, cities, masses, political demonstration, religious manifestations and objects.

Origin of the Heroes 100%

Local Pictures 56 %
Foreign Pictures 43%
Undefinable 1 %

Origin of Local Heroes 56%

Local (Bogotanos) 69.6%
Provincials 29.5%
Locals pictured out of the country 0.9 %

Age of the Heroes*

Men and Women between 15 and 40 years old 90%
Men and Women between 41 and 60 years old 6.2%
Children 2.87%
Elderly men or women 0.93%

*This statistic comes from personal appreciation. This table does not include pictures, which do not contain persons.

Race of the Heroes*

White 94.5%
Indian 2.7%
Black 1.19%
Mestizo 1.61 %

* This statistic comes from personal appreciation. This table does not include pictures, which do not contain persons.

Origin of local Heroes* 56%
(Origin of the surnames)
Spanish: 78.8%
English: 9.6 %
French 1.9%
Indian 1.84%
Other 7.86%

*Table related to last names of local and provincial pictures.

Principal Activities represented by Foreigners’ Pictures 43%

War 58.6%
Show business & Gossip 41.4%

Social Focus of Local Pictures 56%
Admitted Heroes 60.8%
The Marginal 12.3%
Various* 26.9%

*Houses, objects, masses, political demonstration....

Principal Activities Represented by locals and Provincial pictures of Admitted Heroes

Weddings and Engagements 25.8%
Leisure 22.1%
Sports 21.4%
Protocol Activities 17.4%
Labor 5.8%
Obituaries & Illnesses 4.1%
Art and Culture 1.7%
Beauty parlors 1.7%
Scientific Activities 0
Show business 0

Marginal population

Ecuadorian Indians 18.1%
USA Blacks 12.5%
Poor people in Bogota 11.3%
Guambiano Indians 10.2%
Imprisoned People in Bogota 7.9%
Muleteers 1.3%
Fishermen 1.3%
Marginal Places
Amazon River 7.9 %
Orinoco River 7.9 %
Landscapes in Putumayo 7.9 %
Landscape in Mitu 6.8%
Tota Lagoon 5.6%
Market in Capitanejo 1.3%

Principal Professions of Admitted Local and Provincial Heroes *

State Officials 29.4%
Private Entrepreneurs 6.8%
Intellectuals 10.8%
Lawyers 2.3%
Artists 24.1%
Land Owners 2.3%
Clergy 11.3% (10.3% men and 1% women)
Military men 13 % **
Scientific Activities 0

*These professions are taken from the captions to the pictures. Most captions only mention job title, but omit profession or source of income, therefore private entrepreneurs, lawyers and landowners are hard to distinguish if they play a second role as state official, as is frequently the case.

**Military activity and war pictures represent 25% of the total of pictures, due to World War II pictures.

Sociological Analysis

As statistics show, we could synthesize in a phrase what we have observed in the pictures. The majority of the pictures show: young white Bogotano men getting married to young pretty Bogotano women, both men and women having fun at dances, dinner parties, cocktails, picnics or playing golf and riding horses. Last names of these figures were preponderantly of Spanish background, and they were essentially state officials. If either war or violence was mentioned, it was that far off war, a phenomenon that is mentioned only when it involves Europe. Might it not be that the following quote from Jose Maria Samper (1828-1888) was still a reality for the type of mentality that Cromos wanted to reflect in 1942?: "In the Confederation, as in Mexico the best elements of civilization have grouped together in the central zone of the country, where the purest races can be found, so that the process has taken place from the inside toward the periphery... Civilization claims racial purity, wealth, opulence, beauty, refinement, nobility, education, values, splendor, the worthy of Europe, the superior classes of society. Barbary claims the racially impure, the ugly, poor, sickly, terrible, stupid and unworthy" (Samper, 1948, 3-4).
In fact the statistics from Cromos 1942 show that Jose Maria Samper understands civilized to be: of white race, beautiful, noble, refined, educated, worthy of Europe, peaceful, opulent and wealthy. We will now take a detailed look at these statistics in order to corroborate whether the echo of Jose Maria Samper’s ideas about civilization remained visible. Among the historical duties of Hispanicized Bogota, a colonial legacy nourished by medieval Spain, it is evident that the majority of the pictures (20.3%) are of men alone, since the photos refer to political activity which was a male domain. Likewise, the photos on the reelection and inauguration of President Alfonso Lopez Pumarejo are 100% male with the exception of a few photos in which they pose with their wives. Obviously, wives played an important role in acts of protocol, although the majority of the events in honor of President Lopez and exPresident Santos were offered by professional groups - lawyers, bankers, etc.-- wherein men alone accounted for 100% of the pictures. An explanation of the continuity of the situation is not difficult to find given that medieval Spanish society was phallocratic. And since there had been no significant changes in the role of women in Bogotano society as of 1942 it could be expected that in historical perspective the "longue durie" structure would represent masculine predominance in the photos.

On the other hand, the age of the people photographed was rather youthful. An absolute majority fell between the ages of 15 and 40. Why? Since 46% of the pictures were of foreigners of which about 58.6% showed the Second World War, that is soldiers and the civilian population in factories producing uniforms and other war items in London; and another 41.4% were news about Hollywood stars and gossip referring to European nobility, they were pictures of young people. The greatest influence in this display of youth is provided by Hollywood, whose actresses can find their counterparts in the Colombian beauty queens and marriageable age young ladies. Just as in the case of the pictures of the French president Raymond Poincari and the Colombian president Jose Vicente Concha in Cromos of 1916, we can see no apparent difference between the locals and the foreigners. Could we call this express will to blend in, to fuse or juxtapose themselves and a desire for civilization? Or simply as Gutierrez Girardot calls it, inherited desires to eradicate the differences between Creoles and peninsulars?

The Hollywood actresses and beauty queens are shown in the same light: same pose, fashion, hairstyle, as well as the same format and color of the local photos, etc. (See attached photos). The resemblance was, of course, a formal one, one of fashion and, as we would say today, of "look". We might say that the resemblance represented the legitimization needed to belong to the group of heroes. This display of youth is new in the cultural history of Bogota and it evidently originated in the new international cultural trends wherein youth, beauty and vigor become the ideals of the 20th century as contrasted with 19th century respect for wisdom, experience and tradition. If we pursue the indications left by Dr. Gutierrez Girardot, we could say that it is a case of Creole vanity to presume to be equal. In contrast to the story of Jorge Juan y Antonio de Ulloa where vanity is to show genealogies and purity of blood under conditions equal to the Spanish lineages, the vanity evoked by Cromos is new and clearly represented by a show of equal beauty in purebreds, imitating Hollywood.
Just as the locals were confused with the foreigners, the Bogotanos were also confused with the Caleqos, Barranquilleros and other members of Colombian society included in Cromos. If it were not for the text that specifies where the pictures were taken, the visual differences in the "look" of the photographs is minimal. For example, in the June 20th issue, in the pictures taken of the British ambassador with the members of Bogotano society, the local figures are so Europeanized in their style that is not clear which is the British ambassador among the other British diplomats and Bogotanos. Likewise, a picture published on October 10th in the Altamit Club of Sogamoso resembles a picture taken in Bogota. Lineages join, just as they joined in the medieval hierarchies among royal houses, duchies and counties, etc. Cromos of 1942 in its pictures expresses the same cohesive hierarchy which we have placed graphically in the figure called "The Court of the Republican Monarchy" p. 20. This figure shows the institutions that created cohesion between the new Creole nobility of the 20th century and its provincial satellites, just like the centralized medieval monarchies of the 18th century that had their courts in the "provinces": principalities, duchies, counties, etc., and which, as vassalage would have it, kept their loyalty to the royal house. Likewise, Bogota played the role of royal house with satellite cities that followed and seconded their tastes.

Great differences in "look" can, however, be seen between local pictures of women and pictures of foreigners with women in sport clothing. We might point out the case of the famous New York "Rockettes" whose voluptuous figures are generously exhibited, while Colombian women discretely cover their shapes with rather classic international fashions. Almost no local woman exhibits her body openly, either in bathing suit, or in mini-skirt, or even in shorts. Even in the case of evening gowns, high slits in the skirts are almost non-existent and necklines are discreet. In these times, a display of the feminine body was still considered a low class type of behavior. Since the women who appeared in the magazine show the continuity of this class through their marriage alliances, they must not then provoke any doubt as to their dignity.

The predominance of the white race is overwhelming. Alongside such whiteness, 13.36% of the surnames of local pictures are not of Hispanic origin, complementing the touch of whitening. Of the non-Hispanic surnames, about 10% are of British origin. This whiteness is directly related to the quote made by Gutierrez Girardot about Jorge Juan y Antonio de Ulloa about the instant acceptance of any foreigner, based solely on his whiteness of skin. Likewise, Augusto Le Moyne in the narration he makes of his visits to these lands in 1828 and 1839 stated, "The Bogotano women, except for those of the common classes and the maids are Creoles, and all or almost all of them pretend to descend from Spanish families, without any mixture of blood, that came to Colombia in the years following the conquest, a presumption that could be impugned? in many cases, given the cross breeding that undoubtedly took place since the very arrival of the conquerors and other Europeans, among them and the indigenous peoples (Le Moyne, 146). Thus such an assumption of no mixing of races generated a rejection of non-white mestizos and of Blacks and Indians, as can be seen in the particular way that Cromos treated them.
Differences between these marginated groups and the accepted ones and the consequent exclusion of the former from society’s life are evident. Cromos included in a very particular way, pictures of what I call the marginated. They were placed in different sections, separate from society pages, were colored differently, as if they lived far away or in different continents. The exclusion or denial of surrounding reality could be noticed in the following details: the colors used in photos of the marginated are strong and dark. Second, these pictures are taken outdoors framed within natural and wild landscapes, as opposed to the closed indoor areas where the majority of the society pictures are taken. The interiors make up part of the background and paraphernalia that equates these new Creoles of the 20th century with the new peninsulars. Third, marginated peoples are not named, for instance, a reporter went to take pictures of Guambian Indians. While several of them were shown, none of them furnishes the names of the Indians. The subtext simply states "Guambian Indian" or Guambian Squaw", but if there is a white man among them in the picture he is then named as follows: "Mr. Gabriel Ospina recording Guambian music". Finally, by excluding 98% of the Colombian population from Cromos, since only 6.88% of the pictures in the magazine are of marginated peoples, the small percentage that are shown are of a caricaturesque nature. For example, while the black population is represented by two Black Colombians, a fisherman and a demented individual - the other photos of Blacks are of Black Americans. And the poor are show in characterizations for nativity scenes, for example on January 10th they show the Bogotanos: "el chivas, el bobo y el pompilio" - people of the street, in a caricaturesque way. Mestizos are obviously few, they are shown only as prisoners or soldiers, while the generals, bishops and other representatives of the public sector are all whitened.

Another way in which class differences are shown, in addition to the race, is to show their places of residence -- English style homes -- in the display of international fashion -- fur coats, silk dresses, decorative items -- French tapestries Czech crystal, Queen Anne furniture etc. and above all the use of horses, of golf as a type of entertainment, socializing and competing. All of these characteristics are well represented in the following events: the Puyana Cup golf tournament, Monserrate Golf Cup, the Hipodromo Race Track, The Arango Golf Cup and the Country Club, the Harrison Cup Polo tournament at the Polo Club and the Paper Chase rides, Etc.

By excluding or ignoring immediate reality as shown, not only by the exclusion of marginal members of society, but also of traditional violence, since the only war shown was the Second World War, it proves as Gutierrez Girardot called it the construction of a simulation that represents a fictitious society, one that pretended to be civilized without having worked for it. It was a fiction of civilization in the midst of socially exclusive stratification, and a fiction of civilization that had replaced the colonial reality with another dependence that prolonged the cultural vacuum and prevented the forging of an identity based on the concrete surrounding reality. It prevented the construction of a society based on modern civilization including and integrating the entire nation.

It must be made clear that the systematic exclusion of 98% of the society was promoted and furthered by some solid institutions that lent cohesion to the group of the accepted
with certain links of solidarity. These institutions were the social clubs, the elite schools and universities. It was membership in these institutions that gave recognition and social acceptance. Legitimization given by clubs was basic to playing a role, not only in the social world, but in the political and labor worlds as well. Government positions were assigned among the members of the clubs, the ex alumni of the elite schools and universities. Clubs offered the perfect place to socialize, making marital alliances possible and thus preserving the stability of the group. On the other hand, the club provided entertainment for its members through its sports, parties, banquets etc. Furthermore, they created a bond between members in the capital and members of the clubs in provincial seats. There were ties between these clubs, and in both cases the members had to have flawless pedigrees to be accepted.

The institutions that created solidarity groups among the inhabitants of Bogota and between the former and residents of the provinces were:

1. Clubs (in descending order from the most frequently cited to the least.)

In Bogota
Country Club
Jockey Club
Polo Club
Club Hípico
Anglo American Club
American Sport Club
Gun Club

In Cali

Club Colombia
Club Campestre
Club Cali

In Medellin

Club Campestre
Club Unisn

In Barranquilla

Country Club
Club Barranquilla
Club Riomar

In Popayan
Club Cauca
In Palmira
Club Cauca de Palmira

In Bucaramanga
Club Campestre

In Cucuta
Club del Comercio

In Barrancabermeja
Club Miramar y Tropical

In Sogamoso
Club Altamit

2. Schools

In Bogota
Gimnasio Moderno (for men)
Gimnasio Femenino (for women)
Colegio Salesiano
Instituto La Salle
Colegio de la Presentacion de Chapinero.

3. Universities (only in Bogota)

Instituto Mayor de Nuestra Sehora del Rosario
Universidad Javeriana
Escuela Militar

The majority of these clubs and schools, except for the universities, which had already been playing the role of cohesive agent since the times of the colony, were founded at the beginning of the century, when airs of modernity could lead to a prediction of a rupture of traditional society and its possible disappearance. These institutions would come to serve as an anchor that helped maintain privileges and traditions, impeding any profound change in society and therefore in culture and mentality.

In the way of conclusions:

Overlay of seigniorial mentality on rational mentality.

What motivates the evident demonstration of possession of wealth as we have seen in the magazine? Is it to provoke emulation? To provoke envy by comparison? Or simply to maintain the colonial structure, the edifice that differentiated the Creole from the Peninsular?
Is it not perhaps that the "longue durie" structure repeats itself, just as the hero Camilo Torres, who struggled in favor of equality and humanism with the help of enlightenment philosophy against the distinction between Creoles and Peninsulars, but upon attaining power and having to define their relationships with artisans, indigenous peoples and Grenadine peasants ignoring the entire drama of his people" (Lievano Aguirre, 1996, 1985).

Exclusion of the most typical and generally the most popular shows disdain. Is this not the same disdain suffered by the Creoles during the era of the Spanish? And is not the urge to emulate everything foreign as shown in Cromos of 1942, the same as the Creoles emulating the peninsulars during the colony in order to resemble the representatives of the Crown, in hopes of gaining access to political positions of command? (Gutierrez Girardot 1999, 9)

As shown in the figure below, the metropolis afar was in fact replaced -- as Lievano Aguirre said -- by an inside metropolis governed by an elite that continued to venerate old colonial customs: a foreignizing emulation, aristocratizing desires, strict and exclusive Medieval hierarchies, affected language and ways that evoked ancient structures, all in the midst of apparently modern institutions that were in fact very much colonial.

The evocation of old structures through affected language is clearly seen in the beauty pageants where the desire for a court is discernable. The queen of the Barranquilla carnival is called, "Her Majesty Doqa Lola I" and beneath another picture it says, "The Queen Lola I, accompanied by her ladies in waiting, makes a triumphant entrance at the Club Riomar in Barranquilla". On the other hand, if the person is a foreigner, they are not given any title and if it is an indigenous person they are not named at all. Another custom of Medieval flavor is shown by the protocol of granting titles and honors to those individuals of high society, as for example, the Order of Francisco Miranda and the Cross of Boyaca which are the most frequently mentioned.

Terms and titles that designated respect and hierarchy.

Don
Doqa
Dr.
Gentlemen
Ladies
Distinguished gentleman
Distinguished lady
His excellency the President of the Republic
Members of our High Society
Outstanding figures of our social world
Job title: Mayor, President, General, Dean...
The magazine makes very little mention in its photo captions of the relationship of the figures to production, and there is no predominant productive activity. 5.8% of the photos shown in the picture entitled, "Principal Activities Represented by locals and provincial pictures of admitted heroes" can be noted for the relative frequency of allusion to journalistic activity, in particular, the directors of the daily "El Tiempo", as well as national and foreign officers of the National Citibank. There are very few references made to production. The magazine does, on the other hand, highlight entertainment activities, which when added to sports are shown in the table to account for 43% of the total of activities represented. Is this omission of productive activity a direct allusion to the persistence of an economy based on rent? Such a rental income economy shared space with small niches of a capitalist economy, as for example the banks mentioned or a few agricultural industries, such as an industrial sugar plant in Tolima. This Medieval rent economy can be seen through the mention of a majority of families that preserved their haciendas, the most important of which were Mercedes Sierra, showing again the persistence of a traditional economy in the midst of supposedly democratic and modern institutions.

In the table entitled, "Principal professions of the admitted local and provincial heroes", the activities accounted for by members of the executive branch total 24.9%, while the modern legislative branch is not mentioned at all, although the clergy still accounts for 11.3%. The judicial branch is non-existent per se, although lawyers are mentioned as graduates or in celebrating events and they account for 2.3% of the pictures in this grouping. If we relate this appearance of the modern public powers shown in the magazine with the interpretation Gutierrez Girardot has given to the 19th century town, in reference to Jose Maria Samper, we can see the so-called triumvirate - the "gamonal" as the executive, the parish priest as the legislature and the pettifogger as the judiciary -, in 1942 there persists a similar situation. "The gamonal is the "owner or holder of the most valuable lands, a kind of feudal lord of the Republican parish", who "has a vested interest in there being the poor and miserable of the town..." (Gutierrez Girardot, 1999,7). We could then assert that the situation of the 19th century town enlarges to a cosmos that is national at mid 20th century.

The following diagram shows the relationship of the Bogotano "court" with its colonies, as it is openly referred to in the magazine in reference to people from the province living in Bogota; and with the provincial cities. These ties are preserved through such solidarity institutions as the clubs, schools and universities. The Bogotano "court" sets standards for fashion that are international norms and these are repeated in the provinces, successive mirror reflections as they are reflected from one to the other. What is the true reality, an ignored reality that makes cultural construction a fictitious entity? Culture, as a dream ultimately becomes an ornament.

This succession of simulations suggests an evasion of immediate reality and an idealization of foreign realities. This evasive simulation necessarily inhibits creativity, frustrating the inevitable progress of history. I will take two pictures as an example of this simulation of evasion and simulation: both in Cali. One shows the use of fur coats on a tropical night and the second is a costume party. The former shows some very
elegant Caleqa women who are outfitted in expensive minks and fox furs in the Valle del Cauca nights. The second refers to a costume party that is called "Tropical Night". The Caleqos don costumes to live their own immediate tropical reality which they then experience with coats intended for winter nights in London. The evasion consists of not admitting that they live in a hot, tropical and very different environment. If we remember the ideal of civilization that Jose Maria Samper had, we see that he even went as far as associating civilization with cold weather, the white race and other characteristics mentioned, while hot weather and impure race were associated with barbarism, etc. Rejection of local reality in favor of the foreign reaches its extreme at the social events celebrated to benefit British institutions: In Medellin, "Bundles of Britain" (Cromos, November 7) and in Bogota, Conference on behalf of the French Red Cross (Cromos, October 31) and lastly scenes from the Operetta The Bat by John Strauss that was to open on November 7th at the Colon Theater on behalf of the Allied Red Cross. Is this presumption or wealth? Or does the lack of commitment with the margined population and rejection of the truth of a plural and poor country destroy their ability to see themselves as they were: poor, mestizo, etc...

Just as the Caleqos dressed up as Bogotanos, the Bogotanos dressed up as Londoners. And if they in the end drop their costumes, what is left? Are we left with some strange hybrids, as Menendez y Pelayo observed about Nuqez, ex president of Colombia, "who wrote English poetry in Spanish?" (Aristizabal, Luis H, 71).

Inhibition of Creativity

As stated above, Jose Maria Vergara y Vergara's customs story "Las tres tazas" shows not only the foreignizing tendency of Bogotano society, but also their aristocratizing urge that had been formed during the colonial times. The Cromos magazine of 1942 shows that these tendencies have not disappeared, but have changed shape, as Nelly Richard would say, "Model and Copy: The First World Ceremony".

The consequences of the fact that a historical personality such as the one described that develops in a situation full of discrepancy between "repressed realities and dominant fictitious constructions, between the republican face of political order and colonial or monarchic political and social practice, between empty cultural ostentation and precarious real culture" only produces as Professor Gutierrez Girardot would say "a network of indignant provocations in whose nets nests a disposition toward violence", a violence that is reinforced by seeing progress and creativity inhibited since for the sake of "The First World Ceremony" authentic accomplishments are disregarded and a new start must be made every day.
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