Representation of Latin America in Pan American Airways: Decolonial Feminism on a Multi-national

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Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to my grandmother Rina, who taught me that with love and patience you can achieve anything.

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Abstract

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The field of management and organisation studies (MOS) adopted intersectionality framework from women-of-colour feminists to explain exclusion from power domains, according to gender, race, and class. A criticism of intersectionality is a lack of application to empirical research (Davis, 2011), and infrequent accounting of race, gender, and class as social constructs situated in history (Acker, 2006; Collins, 2000). This thesis applies an intersectionality lens onto the US Pan American Airways (PAA), dominant in Latin America at the beginning of the 20th century. Social contextualisation of the construction of race, gender, and nation is conducted with a grand narrative and antenarrative method (Boje, 2001). Decolonial and a 'women-of-colour' thinking in a theoretical framework is applied to three questions: How did the socio-historical context influence PAA narratives regarding Latin America?; What grand narratives regarding Latin Americans were prominent in PAA's ephemera?; How do representations of Latin Americans explore ideas of race, gender, and nationality?

PAA's three grand narratives: i) the good neighbour, ii) natural wealth, and iii) cultural difference, and the emerging antenarratives (countering the official storytelling of PAA) reveal the production of colonial dualities based on nation-race identities, influenced by socio-political relations between the US and Latin America. An intersectionality method applied to tourist ephemera reveals that PAA highlights or ignores elements of intersectionality in different contexts; created historical portraits of Latin-men and Latin-women during the first part of the 20th century, and enabled the transformation of Latin Americans into a 'museum object' (Barthes, 2000) for the Anglo-Saxon audience whose knowledge of the region was superfluous.

As a case study, PAA contributes to theoretical and practical considerations in five different but related directions: i) theoretical contribution to MOS decolonial feminism; ii) understanding of the role of multi-nationals and corporations in the development of postcoloniality; iii) a study of the under-researched issues of gender in post and decolonialist organisational studies; iv) a contribution to postcoloniality and decoloniality theories; v) the application of intersectionality to a case, over time.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

"I believe that lack of knowledge about other cultures is one of the bases for cultural oppression. I don't hold any individual American woman responsible for the roots of this ignorance about other cultures; it is encouraged and supported by the American educational and political system, and by the American media. I do hold every woman responsible for the transformation of this ignorance." (Moschkivich, 1983, p. 42)

1.1 Overall Focus of the Thesis

Purpose of this Study

In the last two decades, a growing number of feminists in the field of management and organisation studies have adopted the intersectionality framework to explain people's exclusion from power domains according to their gender, race, and class. The use of intersectionality became popular, as it served to show the need to take account not only of gender, race and class problems but the interrelationship between them. Nevertheless, the notion of intersectionality has been criticised for seldom being applied to empirical research (Davis, 2011) or rarely taking into account race, gender and class as social constructs situated in history (Acker, 2006; Collins, 2000). The lack of a contextual analysis in the study of diversity management, for instance, avoids explaining how different national contexts intersect with the practices of naming and non-naming (Hearn

& Louvrier, 2015). The historical analysis of the construction of different intersectionalities over time is incipient (Weigand, Webb, Mills, & Helms Mills, 2014) and necessary in order to move forward the field of intersectional studies and its implications in theorising non-Western cultures through history and in different contexts.

In this thesis, I am undertaking a case study of a multi-national company over a period of time to reveal how context informs particular configurations of intersectionality at any given point. Through the use of archival material, I draw on Pan American Airways (PAA), a US company dominant in Latin America during the first part of the 20th century. The airline arguably pursued imperialist practices over the region in a particular context of international affairs, helped by US interests into Latin American politics. The study of PAA is relevant to understand the influence of multi-national enterprises on international business (Wilkins, 1974) but also to consider the multi-national's impact in the process of knowledge creation regarding other cultures. To this end, I focus largely on the airline's attempts to sell 'the idea of Latin America' (Mignolo, 2005b) through its advertising ephemera to middle-class, Anglo-Saxon travellers, and, in the process, develop representations of Latin America, and historical portraits of Latin-men (Latinos) and Latin-women (Latinas).

Building the Case for an Intersectionality Inquiry on PAA

The focus of this thesis is primarily on PAA newsletters, tourist brochures, flight maps, and other internal documents (e.g., memoranda). I focus on the period of 1927 to 1960 because of the strong political and economic relationship between Latin America and PAA during these years.

Founded in 1927, the company inaugurated the first regular passenger flight to Latin America, Key West to Havana, in 1928. The relationship between Latin America and PAA was strengthened during the following three decades in which PAA acquired affiliated airlines throughout Latin America. As a consequence, PAA produced a great number of promotional ephemera, targeting the US traveller to vacation in the region and became the storyteller regarding the Latin American culture. This changed gradually by 1960, when each Latin American country planned the nationalisation of their former airlines, for example Compania Cubana in 1954, Aeronaves de Mexico in 1959, and Panair do Brasil in 1961 (Daley, 1980). By 1960, PAA was no longer in control of the Latin American routes, and, consequently, their power to speak about Latin America dissipated.

Six reasons make the case study of the US-based company Pan American Airways (PAA) suitable to study intersectionality in Latin America.

First, PAA was, since its inception, one of the world's largest international airlines, with a powerful influence on many of the economies of the countries in which it operated (Bender & Altschul, 1982; Daley, 1980).

Second, PAA development and growth as an airline began with services to Cuba and then Mexico, before spreading its activities throughout much of the rest of South America (Josephson, 1944).

Third, as 'the chosen instrument' of US State Department policy (Bender & Altschul, 1982), PAA was given space to play a powerful socio-political role throughout the region.

Fourth is the airline's influence on popular culture throughout the region (Hudson & Pettifer, 1979)—North and South America (Pendo, 1985).

Fifth, PAA was part of the era of the *Good Neighbour Policy* initiated by President Franklin D. Roosevelt, where cooperation and trade with Latin America was developed to improve and maintain US influence on the region against growing concerns about the incursions of German interests in South America before and during World War II (WWII) (Daley, 1980).

Sixth, an important legacy of the airline is a rich and varied archive of materials and ephemera, housed in the Otto Richter Library of the University of Miami, making it possible to trace many of the events, internal documents, and policies of PAA from its inception in 1927 to its demise in 1991.

Justification for this Study

There are two reasons to study intersectionality in organisations: one academic and another personal.

In the first place, the field of management and organisation studies (MOS) has had few studies that combine transnational (postcolonial) feminist theories and intersectionality (Acker, 2004; Calás, Smircich, & Holvino, 2014). More so, according to Rodriguez, Holvino, Fletcher, and Nkomo (2016) the research on intersectionality can be further developed in the field of work and organisation studies. Among those few works, the study of Hispanic/Latino women (Barragan, Mills, & Runté, 2011; Calás, 1992; Paludi & Helms Mills, 2013; Rodriguez, 2010; Undurraga, 2012) rarely use postcolonial theories or problematise the intersection of gender, race, and class across nations. Even

fewer theorists have applied a postcolonial feminist lens (Golnaraghi & Mills, 2013). In responding to the call for more intersectional-transnational feminist analysis (Calás et al., 2014) this thesis will contribute to the intersectionality debate by understanding how a multi-national company contributes to the construction of multiple and intersecting social identities, in particular, the portrayal of the people of the so-called Latin American countries.

The second reason to pursue this study is personal, which is nonetheless legitimate (Van Maanen, 1991). I find the images of Latinas in PAA tourist ephemera misleading and problematic. From a 'situated knowledge' perspective (Haraway, 1988), and as a woman from South America, my gendered representations conflict with the symbols behind Latina's body-image in PAA advertisements. On the contrary, my representations of Latin Americans are more aligned with two female presidents (Fernandez de Kirchner in Argentina, and Bachelet in Chile), two female Nobel prize winners (Rigoberta Menchu and Gabriela Mistral), together with artists (Frida Kalo) and writers (Isabel Allende, Alfonsina Storni, Silvina Ocampo, Violeta Parra), and singers (Mercedes Sosa, Lila Downs, Chavela Vargas) as Latin-women. In other words, images of the Latin American man or woman are largely social constructions—interpretive choices that people make that can vary widely across people and organisations. My upbringing in a middle-class family of intellectuals provided me with numerous examples of women that have transformed, improved, and contributed to the history of Latin America and the world. Unfortunately, in a consumer society, images more than experiences rule the way we perceive others. This imaging of the past remains accessible to a small group of intellectuals and educated people; whereas, popular culture remains influenced by the US

media, who perpetuates images of Latin Americans as servants, poor, illegal immigrants, dark-skin, and patriotic. The issue I will address in PAA is the influence of power (e.g., the socio-political power of the multi-national versus that of the individual Latina) on which images are more dominant and widespread, according to the circumstances (context) and PAA's own situation (as an influential US airline).

1.2 Literature Review

Intersectionality studies can be grouped in three realms: 1) the application of intersectional analysis to research, 2) the development of the theory and methodology of intersectionality, and 3) the use of intersectionality for political intervention (Cho, Crenshaw, & McCall, 2013). In the past thirty years, a vast majority of studies have been focused on the discussion around theoretical and methodological implication of intersectional research, such as literature reviews (Carbin & Edenheim, 2013; Greeg, 2012; McCall, 2005; Mercer, Paludi, Helms Mills, & Mills, 2015; Shields, 2008); the theoretical and methodological discussion of intersectionality (Acker, 2012; Calás et al., 2014; Choo & Ferree, 2010; Davis, 2011; Erel, Haritaworn, Gutierrez Rodriguez, & Klesse, 2011; Ferree, 2009; Ferree, 2011; Holvino, 2010; Knapp, 2011; Lykke, 2010, 2011; Puar, 2012; Sanches-Hucles, Dryden, & Winstead, 2012; Yuval-Davis, 2011; Zander, Zander, Gaffney, & Olsson, 2010); intersectionality theories related to diversity management and the importance of context (Hearn & Louvrier, 2015; Riad & Jones, 2013; Styhre & Eriksson-Zetterquist, 2008); and equality policies (Bagilhole, 2010; Özbilgin, Beauregard, Tatli, & Bell, 2011; Verloo, 2006). The use of intersectionality for political intervention ranges from studies on sustainable democracy (Naples, 2013), social

inequality and power inequality (Collins, 2012; Simien, 2007), citizenship (Yuval-Davis, 2007), inequality regimes (Acker, 2006), and black women's oppression (Collins, 2000; Crenshaw, 1989; Crenshaw, 1991, 2011; hooks, 1981). A smaller number of studies apply intersectionality to empirical studies centred on indigenous communities (Maclean, 2014; Radcliffe & Pequeño, 2010), immigrant women (Essers & Benschop, 2009; Essers & Tedmanson, 2014; Greeg, 2012; Riaño, 2011; Shu-Ju Ada, 2013), transnational management (Calás, Ou, & Smircich, 2013; Paludi & Helms Mills, 2013; Poster, 2008; Rodriguez, 2013), and inequality regimes in context (Adib & Guerrier, 2003; Healy, Bradley, & Forson, 2011; Siltanen & Doucet, 2008; Tatli & Özbilgin, 2012).

Since 1990, the study of intersectionality involved postpositivist traditions from radical, postmodern, poststructuralist, existentialist, to postcolonial and transnational (Prasad, 2005). The group of women of colour, which includes black feminists, Latinas, Chicanas, native women and Asian women (Collins, 2012) are working with an "unnamed intersectionality" (p. 450), reflected in the inquiry of the oppression of race, gender, class, nationality, and sexuality in regions such as the US, Canada, India, Latin America, Middle East, and so forth.

On another note, during past decades the number of studies applying postcolonial approaches or that reflect on postcolonialism within the field of MOS has grown (Banerjee & Prasad, 2008; Cooke, 2003; Hartt, Mills, Helms Mills, & Durepos, 2012; Ibarra-Colado, 2006, 2008; Ibarra-Colado, Faria, & Lucia Guedes, 2010; Prasad, 2003; Prasad & Prasad, 2002; Priyadharshini, 2003; Wanderley & Faria, 2012). Most of these studies are focused in regions, such as India, Africa, China, and Europe (see, for example, Benerjee & Prasad, 2008) and use theoretical frameworks based on Said's work (1978) in

combination with poststructural scholars, such as Foucault (1979). Nevertheless, the privileged position of the North American academy, within the field of postcolonialism, is contested by a group of scholars known as Voices from the South (Mills & Misoczky, 2014) and decolonialist theorists who encourage alternative theories and the use of thinkers from other global locations, such as South America. As a consequence, this group's main contribution has been to gain an understanding of the making of the 'idea of Latin America' (Mignolo, 2005b) from the perspectives of the peoples of the 'region' itself (Ibarra-Colado, 2006, 2008; Ibarra-Colado et al., 2010; Misoczky, 2011; Wanderley & Faria, 2012). My study engages with this latter group through decolonial theories (a step forward from the postcolonial critique) from Latin American scholar, Mignolo (2005b, 2011). My study relates to these theories by enabling a critical assessment of Western hegemony in Latin American contexts and addressing the historical gap on colonial studies in Latin America. In other words, I build on decolonial theories to decolonize the official history of the big corporation, a seemingly well-intended, modern, and prosperous PAA that carefully selects its use of stories to serve a backward, inferior, and primitive view of the Latin American nations, while obfuscating (or even hiding) aspects of its own past (Durepos, Mills, & Helms Mills, 2008c).

Arguably, the current global context requires a feminist inquiry to those ideas of gender, while considering the intersections of sex, race, class, and power dynamics within North-South relationships (Calás et al., 2014). Intersectionality, which has recently become the core of feminist scholarship, is an approach that recognizes different levels of discrimination and oppression of women, worldwide (Davis, 2011). Consider, for example, the case of black women who experience both gender and race discrimination

(Crenshaw, 2011). The importance of intersectionality is revealed as central to African American women studies, but also to Latinas, Latinos, Asian, and Indians, in terms of racial and gendered intersections in the context of postcolonialism, nationalism, and capitalism. The classic study of Acker (2004) reflects on how globalisation and the system of capitalism has an impact on gender, and the production of hegemonic masculinities (as well as the creation of elite womanhood), including the use of poor women's labour as a resource to gain capital. The influence of critical race studies is found in Nkomo's (1992) critique of Eurocentrism in the field of organisations, suggests Afrocentric or an Asian-centred theory of management as alternatives. Some examples of research using postcolonial feminist lenses could be found in the study of Maori women managers in organisations within New Zealand (Henry & Pringle, 1996), the impact of Quebec policies on Muslim woman in Canada (Golnaraghi & Mills, 2013), or Muslim-Turkish migrant entrepreneurs in the Netherlands (Essers & Tedmanson, 2014). These works respond to different conversations on gender, global issues, postcolonialism, and feminism. But few combine the role of intersectionality in Latin America.

When looking at the combination of gender and Latin America, only a few works focus on Latinas. For example, one such study of transnational work focuses on Afro-Barbadian women workers in the offshore information industry and addresses themes like labour, identity, production, and consumption, where global/local tensions intersect in the creation of a new worker in the global context (Freeman, 2000). Another study focuses on individual narratives of female managers in Mexico (Barragan et al., 2011). Those who study the organisation and the impact of their policies found that the rhetoric of gender and diversity from multinationals has conflicting implications in non-US subsidiaries

(Paludi & Helms Mills, 2015; Poster, 2008). It is my contention that the absence of a theoretical framework focussed on the intersectionality of women of colour in Latin America from a Latin American perspective, continues to be missing from MOS.

1.3 Theoretical Framework and Methodology

In this thesis, I use a theoretical framework combining both decolonial (Mignolo, 2011) and a women of colour thinking (Anzaldúa, 2007) in order to unpack intersectionality in Latin America over time, by exploring those images and texts that relates to notions of race, gender, and class, in material collected from PAA archives, such as posters, newsletters and advertisement, from 1927 until 1960.

Postcolonialism

Postcolonial has become "the latest catchall term to dazzle the academic mind" (Jacoby, 1995, p. 30). Postcolonialism does not follow colonialism; rather, it is a critique of the history of colonial domination (Loomba, 1998). The heterogeneity of this history made within the postcolonial tradition an eclectic group of scholars studying power relationships in locations such as India, Africa, Eastern Europe, and Latin America, among others. Today, *postcolonialism* is often referred to as the cultural, political, and economic domination of the West, particularly countries with former colonies, and, in particular, the US since WWII, and *the new world order*, where Western ideas became universal.

PAA may be thought of as a postcolonial corporation because of the ways that it influenced Latin America. First, it impacted Latin American businesses through mergers and takeovers of several local airlines in the region (see Mills, 2006). Second, PAA had a

political presence in Latin America: it was "the American flag, for all practical purposes an extension of the United States Government. In many places, it was the only symbol of America besides the embassy" (Bender & Altschul, 1982, p. 477). Third, PAA carried out the political project of the US government called *Pan-Americanism*, an ideology where US supremacy infused the production of knowledge, information, and representations of the South American cultures for the North American audience (Salvatore, 1998).

Decolonialism: A Contested History of Latin America and the US

The problem with modernity, Mignolo (2011) argues, is that we only know half of the story so far. Those studying postcolonialism focus on the issues arising from modernity; e.g., imperialism, capitalism, and the racialisation of other cultures. Meanwhile, turning to decolonialism or decoloniality implies taking those critiques and moving beyond by interrupting current world history, and re-writing and exposing alternative histories of those racialised, oppressed, disadvantaged, and silenced. In other words, decolonial theories aim to provide a radical and alternative way of knowledge about our society, but, instead of focusing on studies about non-Western cultures (e.g., the study of Latin American woman entrepreneur), study *with* and *from* a non-Western perspective (e.g., the application of *Sumak Kawsay* or good living theories from the indigenous traditions that pretends balancing nature and human needs). Until today, we know PAA's version of Latin America, but I aim to change this by telling the other half of the story as a critique of those representations.

Walter Mignolo (2005b) pursues a critical reading of the Latin-Anglo American relationship through history. As an expert in Latin America, he goes back as far as the

Spanish conquerors in South and Central America in the 15th century. His work provides three important insights on the relationship between PAA and Latin America. First, he addresses the distinction between North (Anglo) and South (Latin) America, from a historical perspective by connecting 'North' America and the British and French settlers, both rising empires, in contrast with 'Latin' America, that was colonised by the Spanish and Portuguese, two empires in decay.

Second, Mignolo's work mostly focuses on Spanish imperialism across Latin and Central America and looks at the intersections of what was happening historically in Latin America while the imperial countries were pursuing a global expansion. The rhetoric of modernity (aka globalisation) in Mignolo's work acts as a contextual framework to understand the relationship that tied PAA to the US and Latin America during the 20th century.

Finally, Mignolo (2009) questions the separation between a North (Anglo) America as a creator of knowledge and a Latin America that has only its culture to offer to the world. I find it relevant to connect this idea with the notion of authorship gained by the US to represent Latin America, the major consequence of which has been the creation of knowledge about the Latin American culture during the expansion of mass consumption in Anglo America (aka US). The work of Salvatore explains this further. At the beginning of the 20th century, the US was Latin America's "representational machine," releasing communicational ephemera, such as traveller's narratives, maps, and museum expositions about the region. As result, this South-America accessibility to the Anglos turned into the creation of stereotypes and distortion through images of Latins. Through archival research, I will show how, for example, PAA brochures served as early

co-creators of a non-Western characterisation of the trope of Latin American woman and a supposed exposed Latina's infatuation with certain forms of sexuality and sexual display. Mignolo's theories provide a frame to make sense of the past and its influence in the construction of racial differences between Anglo and Latin Americans.

A Feminist Response to Postcolonial Legacies

During feminism's 'third wave,' postcolonial inquiry opened debate on the contribution of non-Western feminist scholars on racism, sexism, and colourism (Sanches-Hucles et al., 2012). Disregarding geographical location, non-Western feminists have three common elements:

1. A critique to the notion of a *universal woman*, which assumes women's world experience is the same and independent of context. As Spivak's (1988) summarises,

   > If you are poor, black and female you get it [discrimination] in three ways. If, however, this formulation is moved from the first-world context into the postcolonial…context, the description 'black' or 'poor' loses persuasive significance" (p. 90).

2. A belief that disadvantages among women should be explained within the historical processes of colonisation, globalisation, and capitalism.
3. A critique of Western feminists scholars in the creation of a 'Third World Woman' category (Code, 2000; Mohanty, 2003), which perpetuates stereotyped portrayals of women of colour as poor, uneducated, and rural.

By 1977, a group named *women of colour* was formed, melding black feminist scholars with other non-Western groups of Asian, Latinas, Indians, etc. The work of

Gloria Anzaldúa (2007), for example, contributes to the study of non-Western women, particularly Latinas. Her mestiza theory presents an alternative to race studies. More so, it brings to this study a feminist lens to understand representations of Latin Americans compared to Anglo Saxons. As she expresses in the preface of her book:

> I am a border woman. I grew up between two cultures, the Mexican (with a heavy Indian influence) and the Anglo (as a member of a colonised people in our own territory). I have been straddling that Texas-Mexican border, and others, all my life. It's not a comfortable territory to live in…However, there have been compensations for this mestiza…" (Anzaldúa, 2007, p. 19).

I use Anzaldúa and other women-of-colour literature to analyse intersectionality in PAA promotional ephemera, in combination with a decolonial approach to Western history, via PAA.

Methodology

In this thesis, a qualitative data analysis of newsletters, tourist brochures, flight maps and confidential documents retrieved from the archive of PAA is performed. How PAA represented Latin Americans and created Latinas' portrait, in particular between the years 1927 and 1960, in a context of new economic, commercial, and cultural relationships between the US and Latin America is traced. A narrative analysis (Boje, 2001, 2008a), together with an intersectionality lens (Anzaldúa, 2007; Matsuda, 1991; Sandoval, 1990), is used to unite decoloniality and feminism, and to deconstruct the binary oppositions and hierarchy disclosed in pointing out differences between Latin American and Anglo Saxon cultures.

As mentioned above, a scepticism was maintained while researching and studying PAA material, which resulted in a surprise encounter of Latinas' depiction: certain body-type image that glorified while sexualised their identity. As a consequence, a reflection on Anglo/Latin women/men portraits within the contemporary context, 1927-1960, was initiated, as well as a consideration of a historiography (Durepos & Mills, 2012; White, 2009) of Latin American history to highlight economic, political, and social events that configured US-Latin American power matrix.

The study of archival data in this thesis arises out of a larger research project conducted by Professors Jean Helms Mills and Albert J. Mills, funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (# 435-2013-0483). As part of this larger project, I spent two weeks at the PAA archive at the Otto Richter Library in Miami, Florida during April 2014. I collected numerous material: letters between PAA's Latin American division and US headquarters, tourist brochures, magazines, flight maps, as well as pictures of landscapes and people from the Latin American region. I also drew on a wealth of materials collected over several years by a research team, consisting of the principle investigators and a number of research student assistants.

The readings of postcolonialism and decoloniality and women-of-colour literature influenced my focus towards visual material, which show images of Latin Americans as objects. I am interested in the way PAA textualised and imaged the Latin American as 'the other': those far-away people down South of the continent. In examining PAA tourist brochures, a common portrayal of Latin American women appeared (e.g., characterisation of a woman as exotic, dark-skinned, sexual, and a dancer). These kinds of images conflicted with my own experience as a Latin American woman, where 30 years living in

Argentina told me otherwise. This led to a search for documents created by PAA with images of Latin American women, with a view to ask how gender, ethnicity, and race are represented in PAA images.

The use of intersectionality among feminist is widely accepted as a theoretical framework, combined with other methodologies and theories, mostly qualitative (McCall, 2005; Mercer et al., 2015) within postpositivist traditions (Prasad, 2005). In this thesis, I use intersectionality as a method to analyse aspects of gender, race, class, and nationality, according to feminist and decolonial theories. The use of narrative analysis reveals how PAA stories highlight or ignore different intersectional points in different contexts. I will undertake a grand narrative approach of PAA written material to look for plausible stories of Latin America, their people, and their culture. This approach seeks to consider these stories as formal narratives over time. Narratives that will determine popular knowledge about Latin Americans identities. For example, in the context of the good-neighbour grand narrative, one that stress the need to shift bad politics between the US and Latin American governments, PAA effort to display positive and attractive images turned into the creation of several images: the Caribbean woman sexuality, the Anglo Saxon masculinity in South America, or the indigenous look in Central America.

The image of PAA as 'The' Anglo American corporation was mastered in great detail by narrating their identity through internal newsletters, like *The Clipper*, or public relations document releases, marketing campaigns, memorabilia, etc. As such, the expansion towards the Latin American region has two sides. One, political, establishing offices, agencies, and investing in infrastructure, such as new airports where PAA could fly their Clipper airplanes. The other, PAA's expansion and incorporation of Latin

America into their identity—as the other America—while constructing Latinos identity over time.

1.4 PAA as a Case Study

The beginning of US commercial aviation is usually ascribed to PAA and its founder, Juan Trippe (Daley, 1980). The official PAA narrative describes PAA as a symbol of Americanism (Mercer, Paludi, Mills, & Helms Mills, 2014) and the incipient Anglo American corporation. At the same time, critical studies point out alternative narratives (Hartt et al., 2012; Weigand et al., 2014). One says PAA official narratives privileged some actors (who were, I argue, Anglo-men) over others. For others, PAA worked hand-in-hand with the US government, which influenced business and politics in Latin America and other regions (Bender & Altschul, 1982).

Durepos et al. (2008c) use ANTi-History to show PAA history as socially constructed, and "black-boxed" (i.e., fixed in time as if a given set of concrete facts) (Durepos et al., 2008c, p. 75; Whitley, 1972), hiding some voices and privileging others (Durepos & Mills, 2012; Josephson, 1944). By developing an ANTi-History, which arises out of Actor Network Theory (ANT) (Latour, 2005), these scholars reveal a process by which the company history was created, negotiated, and interpreted among a group of actors, such as PAA managers, employees, pilots, writers, journalists, etc. (Durepos, Helms Mills, & Mills, 2008a; Durepos & Mills, 2012).

Studies of PAA explore the socio-political influence in the relationship between the company and Latin America (Durepos et al., 2008a; Durepos, Helms Mills, & Mills Albert, 2008b; Durepos et al., 2008c; Hartt et al., 2012). More so, dictatorship regimes in

Latin America, such as Trujillo's in Dominican Republic, were also part of this socio-politics linking Latin America with PAA. PAA airplanes were the icon of grandiosity and power in Trujillo's regime, and during his *coup d'état*, the company offered to build the regime an airport (Roorda, 1998).

Studies on the airline industry and PAA address the gendering of the airline over time (Dye & Mills, 2011; Dye & Mills, 2012; Parsons, Sanderson, Helms Mills, & Mills, 2012; Sanderson, Boone Parsons, Helms Mills, & Mills, 2010), the idea of Latin America (Hartt et al., 2012), and intersectionality perspectives (Weigand et al., 2014). My study is different because it applies intersectionality combined with decoloniality, focusing on PAA representations of Latin Americans. I go beyond gendering PAA through the problematisation of the social construction of race, class, nation, and sexuality. I contest colonialism by assessing the historiography of PAA's narrative of Latinos. And finally, I provide and in-depth analysis of the imaginary of Latinas in tourist brochures.

1.5 Research Design and Strategy

The analysis here is primarily based on archival research at PAA archives. A compare and contrast different corporate material found in PAA's archives, such as previous research on the airline history, and printed documents; e.g., minutes, travelogues, company narratives, annual reports, magazines, tourist advertisement, and the personal diary of Betty Trippe (wife of PAA president for most of the period of study), form of data triangulation (Denzin, 1970). My assumption is that the (PAA) archive provides—through textual and visual documentation—a plurality of stories influenced and created from a Western perspective (Decker, 2013). Because the

"researcher/author always has a story to tell about his or her data" (Bryman, Bell, Mills, & Yue, 2011, p. 420), I recognize myself as the storyteller, with the caveat that other researchers may be led by different stories from the same data collection. My story is framed within the purpose of this research, creating a coherent plot for the reader.

Thus, documents from the PAA archive are analysed using Boje's (2001) narrative approach on grand narrative. With it, I assemble the coexistence of narratives, elaborated by managers representing the Western ideology (grand narrative, or official story), but also an emergent counter narrative (a hidden story) that would question those narratives (antenarrative), a thread of which is how PAA constructs narrations on Latin America and why PAA narrates in this way. A simple question of what was going on at that time in world history, and how PAA made sense of it, guided me through the archive to see the stories in context. Then, I focussed on historical facts (context), while doing a critical reading of this history, relating it to the PAA archive. I touch upon narratives and visual-image analysis from Barthes (2000) to carry on the images analysis. The image management strategy taken by PAA styled the image-making of Latin America by using Latinas to attract upper and middle-class Anglos to buy flights to a "new" foreign land.

1.6 Contribution of this Study

This thesis contributes to several discussions taking place in the MOS field. Using PAA as a case study, I aim to move forward theoretical and practical considerations in five different but related directions. The combination of feminism with decolonial theories contributes to the understanding of gender and race in a historical context. Studying multi-nationals as producers of gender narratives contributes to the study of

MNC (multi-national corporations) as creators of gendered knowledge. Lastly, the application of intersectionality as a method of analysis contributes to the use of feminist theories in practical ways. Below is an expansion of the explanation of these contributions.

Theoretical contribution to Decolonial feminism in MOS

The first contribution of this thesis is to combine feminism (Anzaldúa, 2007) and decolonial perspectives (Mignolo, 2005b, 2011) in a Latin America context. Feminist theory developed by Anzaldúa is widely used in fields such as philosophy, race studies, cultural studies, and queer studies, and recently was acknowledged by some feminist organisational scholars (Calás et al., 2013). Anzaldúa's work sheds light on three aspects of this thesis, in particular: 1) the study of Latinas' identity; 2) the theorisation of the intersections of race, class, gender, and nation; and 3) the comparison of a Latin American perspective with an Anglo Saxon one, to understand the US-Latin American encounter. Conversely, decolonial organisational scholars (like Alcadipani and Faria (2014) use the work of Mignolo (2005b, 2011) to incorporate a Latin American perspective. Mignolo provides a critical reading of Latin America history since the Spanish conquest in the 15th century until the 20th century and US hegemony in the region. Both Mignolo and Anzaldúa share a perspective from Latin America; I also argue that their work complements each other, creating a feminist and decolonial understanding of MOS.

Study of the under-researched issues of gender in post and decolonialist organisational studies

The second contribution responds to the feminist call for more research on gender inequality, in transnationalism—postcolonialism (Calás et al., 2014) work within MOS. Since the release of the first issue of the journal, *Organisation*, in 1994, the use of postcolonial theories within MOS is slow but steady (see Mir & Mir, 2013) . Postcolonial scholars called for a 'decolonial turn' in order to change the inequalities between people and communities from the Global North and the Global South (Ibarra-Colado et al., 2010). Nevertheless, this call and postcolonial organisational studies are still blind to the particular situation of women: an example of the scarce research on gender in postcolonial milieus are evident in recent debates within critical management (see Banerjee & Prasad, 2008 and Ibarra-Colado, Faria, & Lucia Guedes, 2010). By studying gender in postcolonial organisational studies, this thesis contributes to the understanding of the gendering of the organisational discourse focused on multi-nationals. Finally, "gendering the discourse of globalisation will help to develop a better understanding of globalisation processes and their consequences for women and men" (Acker, 2004, p.17).

A contribution to the study of postcoloniality and decoloniality

This thesis is a contribution to postcoloniality, through the commitment to the critique to the history of colonial domination, and current cultural imperialism, and to decoloniality by surfacing alternative interpretations of the history of the Western corporation.

The US-Latin American encounter sets the context for the production of postcolonial representations of non-Western people. Postcoloniality in Latin America is

complemented with other research conducted in Africa, India, and the Arab world. The distinction arises when the image of the 'other' is influenced by the geo-political history and the colonial past of each region. Mignolo (2005b) distinguishes the recent process of India's independence during the 20th century, and most Latin American countries whose independence from Spain and Portugal happened more than 100 years before. Nowadays, Latin American countries carry the old colonial stereotypes, e.g., irresponsibility and cruelty, ascribed to their colonizers, Spain and Portugal. This thesis makes those connections and contributes by showing how old colonial stereotypes infused the cultural imperialism of the US by putting down other races because of their Latin roots, and how those ideas of race have been a construction from the West.

Application of intersectionality to a case over time

As recent studies conclude, applying the lens of intersectionality is highly complex and lends itself to multiple interpretations (Davis, 2011; Mercer, Paludi, Mills, & Helms Mills, 2015).

Intersectionality is usually discussed as ahistorical, although the differences among individuals and groups (e.g., ethnicity, race, gender, etc.) respond to temporal and spacial dimensions (Acker, 2006; Collins, 2000). Intersectionality is rarely applied to an empirical study and has been accused of being used as a buzzword (Davis, 2011) or a black-box within critical feminist scholars (Lykke, 2011). This thesis addresses these limitations mentioned before by using intersectionality as a method of analysis in an empirical case on Latin American cultures, considering the implications of the historical context of the 1920s, 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s.

These four contributions outlined share a postpositivist philosophy (Prasad, 2005), a qualitative approach to research, and the umbrella of critical theories. In this sense, four main assumptions are the foundation of critical theories expressed by Prasad and Caproni (1997) and this thesis as well: (a) reality is socially constructed, (b) the influence of power and ideology in the theories, (c) the organisational phenomenon situated in the historical context, and (d) the importance of praxis.

1.7 Overview of the Chapters

The dissertation has seven chapters, including an introduction (chapter 1). Below is a lay out of the thesis with a summary of each chapter.

Chapter 2: Theoretical influence: Intersectionality from a Women-of-Colour Feminism and Decoloniality from a Latin American Perspective

This chapter contains a literature review of the two main theories that built the theoretical framework, feminism (women-of-colour) and decolonialism.

I begin by introducing the debate among women of colour to highlight the focus on women from the so called Third World countries. I will discuss the works done in regions, such as Asia and India, North America, and then South/Latin America, to problematise the scarce attention of the study of decolonial feminism in Latin America and from a Latin American point of view. I continue with the discussion of postcolonial and decolonial theories. The case of PAA evidences how the 1920s, 30s, 40s, and 50s were a particular historical context in the relationship Latin America-US in which Latin American's became represented.

Chapter 3: Methodology

In chapter three, intersectionality is introduced as a method to the study of race, gender, nation, and sexualised images, over time. I approach the archival data collected from PAA through a narrative approach. I explain the reason behind the use of the grand narrative approach (Boje, 2001). This method of analysis enhances my research in two ways. On the one hand, by showing the official narratives from PAA as orchestrated where Latin America is the good neighbour, and a counter-narrative that reveals regional conflicts, suspicion, and a racialised portrait of Latin America. Finally, a critical historiography is laid out as a frame to the interpretation of the images and practices over time.

Chapter 4: PAA in Latin America

An overview of the history of PAA in the region of Latin America from its beginning (1927), with a focus on the periods of 1930, 1940, and 1950 is provided, including governmental support from the US government to then problematise historically PAA's influence on the aspects of Latin American cultures. This sets up the case for intersectional diversity over time.

Chapter 5: PAA Storytelling of Latin America

This chapter focuses on putting together the historiography of Latin America and PAA as the creator of grand narratives of Latin American cultures, politics and economics, supported by Mignolo's history of Latin America, and a summary of the history of colonialism to reveal the stereotypes regarding Latin Americans that continue, including the Black Legend (Juderías, 1914), created by the English empire, that built the

stereotyped image of a backward, cruel, and irresponsible Spanish Empire, to the Manifest Destiny, a part of the US rhetoric about political, social, and racial superiority showing how this rhetoric resemble the imagery of Latin Americans by PAA, the multi-national. Included is an analysis of grand narrative as the organizing principle of intersectionality across time.

Chapter 6: Cultural Portraits of Latin Americans in Tourist Material

This chapter focuses on the representation of difference among nationalities and its intersections with ideas of race, gender, and sexuality. As a consequence, I will suggest that PAA creates different portraits of Latin Americans that entangles Western notions of race, gender, sexuality, and class while reproduces the Anglo Saxon man and woman's superiority.

Chapter 7: Conclusion and Contributions

The final chapter provides a summary of lessons learned by studying intersectionality in the case study of PAA and explores the importance of contextualizing intersectional studies. I reflect on the implications for organisational studies. I also discuss the limitations of doing a case study using intersectionality which is mainly focused on representations. Finally, I include a discussion of future research and empirical research on intersectionality, women-of-colour, and decolonialism.

Chapter 2: Theoretical influence: Intersectionality from a Women-of-Colour Feminism and Decoloniality from a Latin American Perspective

The work of mestiza consciousness is to break down the subject/object duality that keeps her prisoner and to show in the flesh and through the images in her work how duality is transcended. The answer to the problem between the white race and the colored, between males and females, lies in healing the split that originates in the very foundation of our lives, our culture, our languages, our thoughts.

(Anzaldúa, 2007, p.102)

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I pursue a theoretical discussion of theories that influence this study in order to address intersectionality, over time. First is an explanation of why my archival research reinforced the necessity to conduct a study on intersectionality. Second is a focus on the theoretical debates regarding intersectionality approaches. Third is an elaboration of the origins of the women-of-colour feminism, as a response to white-feminist ethnocentrism, and the gap scholars cover by putting together race, gender, and nation. The final section brings theories on decolonialism from a Latin American perspective to contextualise intersectionality research and to develop a decolonial-feminist approach.

2.2 At the Archives

While looking at tourist guides, magazines, advertisement material and flight maps at the archive, I kept an open-minded view, in order to allow the research narrative to emerge, while attempting to not impose a narrative on the data. I gradually became interested in how Latin America was represented by PAA. As a consequence, this question arose: Between 1920 and 1960, how did the relationship between the US and Latin America influence the portrayals of Latin America in PAA promotional ephemera? My curiosity went beyond a geographical analysis, and I became intrigued by PAA's flight maps and tourist brochures that drew a picture of the Latin American culture in a childlike way. For instance, they used cultural artefacts (Geertz, 1973), such as tropical fruits, local beverages (e.g., mate), and animals (e.g., Lamas and pigs), as the central images of primarily agricultural or small-town settings. The reproduction of Latin America as a rural region, and the way PAA portrayed Latin Americans and their customs: images of indigenous peoples, dancing couples, and bullfighters also caught my attention. It is evident that, directly or indirectly, PAA designed this dominant perspective or image of Latin America, its culture, and its people: a picture of the "other Americas" in PAA's word (Pan American Airways, 1943d). PAA business expansion toward the region fosters an *idea* of Latin America (Mignolo, 2005b) when selling the region to tourists, stressing homogeneity of the people throughout the region, and the complicity of US corporations in the "re-discovery" of South America at the beginning of the 20th century (Salvatore, 2006, p. 11).

In further archival research, I began to notice the constructed illustrations of women on the front page of tourist brochures. My discomfort with these repeated images

came as they contradicted my perception and knowledge of the region of Latin America and its women. From a feminist approach to research (Harding, 1986), I recognize how my experience growing up as a woman in Argentina shaped my subjectivity as a researcher; thus, my view of public material created by PAA was, for me, an uncomfortable representation of Latin America and its women.

PAA tourist brochures advertise the Caribbean through images of brown-skinned men and women, portrayed as dancers and entertainers. The same advertising material shows Anglo Saxons as white, as tourists, and as consumers (Pan American Airways, 1958a). The ethnic representations of Latin Americans compared to the white, Anglo-Saxon portrait, should be interpreted in the context of the first fifty decades of the 20th century, during which race and racism in US society was shaped by white domination and resistance by people of colour, where race was still attached to biological differences dividing blackness from whiteness (Omi & Winant, 2015). In particular, PAA was challenged by the social notions of racism in US society and responded in ways that commodified the ethnic value of Latin Americans, by showing them as exotic objects. Thus, a comparison displays the postcolonial hierarchy among Anglos and Latins. Anglo's consumer power is enacted in the consumption of Latin America as a cultural commodity. Needless to say, the context influenced the creation of an attractive, gendered Latin America for Anglo tourists, as the US government was particularly interested in teaching Anglos about the Latin-American culture (Moreno, 2003).

2.3 Theoretical Debates on Intersectionality

The last few years have seen an increased interest in reviewing literature on intersectionality (Erel et al., 2011; McCall, 2005; Mercer et al., 2015; Sanches-Hucles et al., 2012). In short, intersectionality is often seen as a theoretical framework or an analytical approach to study social stratifications (Yuval-Davis, 2011), or as a political intervention (Cho et al., 2013). The idea of analysing social groups or categories, such as race, class, or gender, has been criticised because it presupposes categories fixed a priori, without contemplating the political and social context (Lykke, 2011; McCall, 2005). Understanding race and gender in context is important, as, in the words of Yuval-Davis,

> The meaning of gender inequality is not simply different across countries or contexts but is anchored in a history in which the boundaries and entitlements of racialised nationhood, the power of organised class interests to use the state and the intersection of both of these with the definition of women as reproducers has been part of politics all along. (1990, p.62)

US history, for example, illuminates how "race-centred attributions of personal inferiority" legitimatizes exclusion (Ferree, 2009, p. 61).

Women-of-colour feminism addresses gender and race in a global context. For example, "the modern-colonial system of gender," as referred to by Lugones (2008, p. 77), sees gender through the global power of capitalism. In the same path, Lange (2000) uses Mohanty's analysis of Third World women and Dussel's philosophical approach to colonialism, showing how postcolonialism partially explains different hierarchies among women around the globe, revealing that middle upper class women of European origin are more privileged than men and women from third-world countries.

Another example, in the women-of-colour literature is a four-part model, built on intersections of gender and race. This frame of reference used by women-of-colour in 1980 explains their unequal situation within US universities (Sandoval, 1990). Different scholars agree that slave, indigenous, dark-skinned, lower-class women are at the bottom of the social pyramid, whereas white men remain at the top (Anzaldúa, 2007; Wade, 2010). Since the "discovery" of America, the dark-skinned women are "colonised by the Spaniard, the Anglo, by her own people" (Anzaldúa, 2007, p. 45). Feminists of colour worked to make clear the invisibility of "those who are dominated and victimised by the category "woman" and the racial categories of "Black," "Hispanic," "Asian," "Native American," "Chicana," women-of-colour" (Lugones, 2008, pp. 81-82).

According to Sandoval (1990), society is structured into a hierarchical system, allocated according race, gender, and class. This hierarchical system is named *the four-part model* in reference to four main categories of difference. At the top is the dominant group, *white, rich men*. The second category is represented by *white women*. They are objectified and oppressed but still are able to "experience the will-to power" (Sandoval, 1990, p. 64). The third category is *men of colour*. The paradox here is that, despite race and class, they can benefit from being part of the *men* category (like the white men). In the fourth category are *women of colour*. They are at the bottom of this model, occupying the place of the "final 'other' in a complex of power moves" (Sandoval, 1990, p. 64), who become objectified by *men of colour*, *white women*, and *white rich men*. As for other races, such as indigenous, mestizos (indigenous + white people), and others, their exclusion from this model is in part due to the lack of understanding of differences among peoples' origins[i].

Women-of-Colour Feminism: An Intrinsic Intersectionality

The intersectionality approach was mainstreamed in the last decade (Yuval-Davis, 2011). Before law professor Kimberlee Crenshaw (1991) introduced the term *intersectionality*, postcolonial feminists, women-of-colour, and third-world feminist scholars had already produced a great number of critical analyses regarding the situation of non-white women (Collins, 2012; Davis, 2011). Intersectionality, as a notion, was first acknowledged when women-of-colour activist in the US and UK (1970-80) said "all the women are white and all the blacks are men" (Hull, Bell Scott, & Smith, 1982). In other words, the women-of-colour group was excluded from both categories: race and gender, therefore, their experiences, and their voices were silenced. Afterwards, the intersections of capitalism, colonialism, imperialism, and feminism by the critique of class, race, ethnicity, and gender became key features of the intersectionality agenda. An early example of an intrinsic intersectionality in women-of-colour theorising is the work of Gloria Anzaldúa in 1987, who, already discussing as an old tradition, the idea of multiple oppressions (Erel et al., 2011). Needless to say, her work like, Mohanty's (to be address in the following sections), is different than Crenshaw, whose work focuses on Black Anglo women's situation only, as they (Anzaldúa and Mohanty) consider the impact of nation, race, and gender to understand transnational relations and the differences in the power dynamics that comes from economics, politics, and culture, among nations (Lykke, 2011). Finally, an intersectionality approach from women-of-colour feminists, in combination with decolonial theories, contributes to the addition of a historical context (Holvino, 2010).

Filling the Gap of Gender and Race Studies by Women-of-colour Scholars

According to Collins (2000), it is ironic that Western feminists have silenced the Black women's situation, and "constructed a homogenous, global feminist 'we'" (Lykke, 2010). By the same token, outside the Western world, feminists in regions like Latin America also conducted a silent revolution to change society and politics. The year 1910, for instance, was important for Argentine feminism, as this was the year of the *Primer Congreso Patriótico de mujeres* (First patriotic congress of women) (Barrancos, 2007, pp. 132-133). The magazine, *Mujeres de América* (1930), is an example of the atmosphere of the time, where discussions regarding civil rights extended to topics, such as literature, health, and peace, while uniting the voices of feminists from the Latin American region (Barrancos, 2007, p. 172). Also, during 1920 and 1930, Argentine society was debating civil rights, and the women's right to vote. Compared to the context of PAA's narrative of Latin America women, sexualised as exotic dancers, this ran counter to the reality and experience of women in Argentina and Latin America.

Tracing the history of women-of-colour feminism is a way to expose parallel histories (border thinking), erased discursively among scholars, but also by corporate organisations. More so, main contributions to intersectional studies on gender, race, and coloniality are part of the group of women-of-colour.

In the next section, I discuss three theories developed since the 1980s by Mohanty, Spivak, and Anzaldúa.

Third World Woman Discourse: Gender and Race at the Intersections

The work of Chandra Talpade Mohanty (1984, 1991, 2003, 2008), Gloria Anzaldúa, and other scholars have disrupted the white-feminist "sameness" (Sanches-Hucles et al., 2012, p. 103). The main impact of Mohanty in the field is to disclose Western-feminist colonialism. This could be unpacked into four main contributions. First and foremost, feminism from the Western world "discursively colonize" the history and diversity of women's experiences from third-world countries by creating a monolithic representation, called "Third World Woman" (Mohanty, 1984, p. 333). Second, this singular approach focuses on a universal understanding of gender, creating the image of the "average Third World woman," regardless of culture, nation or ideology.

Third, a Third World woman's theory created a broader understanding of different representations of women, crystallised into a binary between third-world and first-world women. Hence, the Third World woman is seen as uneducated, ignorant, poor, domestic, tradition-bound, family-oriented, the victim, etc. (Mohanty, 1984, p. 337). In contrast, the unstated, self-representation of the Western woman describes her as modern, educated, and able to control her body and sexuality, as well as also her freedom. Other studies expand this list, finding contrasts between reason and emotion and social value, mind and body, culture and nature, self and others, and knowing and being (Harding, 1986, p. 165) (Table 1). As a result, Western feminism, arguably, objectified Third World women by representing them with certain images; e.g., the veiled woman, chaste virgin, etc. (Mohanty, 1984, p. 353).

The fourth contribution is to the analysis of intersectionality of race and sexuality of colonised people. Previously, the feminist movement was influenced by the idea of

Simone de Beauvoir (1988), that one becomes a woman and is not born as one. In contrast, women-of-colour discard this universalistic perspective as "ideologies of womanhood have as much to do with class and race as they have to do with sex." (Mohanty, 1991, p. 10). For Mohanty, reflecting the danger of the unawareness of intersectionality in some aspects of feminist inquiry "to define feminism purely in gendered terms assumes that our consciousness of being a "woman" has nothing to do with race, class, nation, or sexuality, just with gender" (1991, p.12).

On a final note, Mohanty (1991, 2008) raises the question of agency among those represented (Spivak also does this by asking, 'Can the subaltern speak?'). The debate is about who is being studied within the field (Czarniawska, 1998), and who owns the story of Third World women (Essers, 2009; Essers & Tedmanson, 2014). The role of the other or the researcher in constructing the narrative remains part of the research process in qualitative investigations. The benefit of self-reflectivity is to be transparent regarding power struggles when representing others in our research.

Table 1: A feminist view of the hierarchical system of colonial binaries

Western Feminism	Women-of-colour Feminism
First World Woman	Third World Woman
Educated	Uneducated
Modern	Ignorant
Control over body	Poor
Control over sexuality	Domestic
Free	Tradition-bound
	Family-oriented
	Victimised
Subjects	Objects
Reason	Emotion/social value
Mind	Body
Culture	Nature
Self	Other
Knowing	Being

Source: Based on Harding, 1986 and Mohanty, 1984.

The work of Mohanty will be applied to the PAA case to understand the image-making of Third World women; in this case, Latinas, and its racialisation through US history, as reminds by Mohanty, Russo, and Torres (1991), "in the contemporary United States, race is one of the central axes of understanding the world" (p. 23). The fact that PAA is a symbol of US culture speaks greatly to the influence that race has in the representation, description, and classification of Latin American people.

Third World Woman: Gender, Race, and Class

Spivak's (1988) critique of the Western world comes from a *subaltern*[ii] perspective, which means a shift in focus to those outside of the hegemonic power, those in an inferior position versus those elite groups in the society. Like Mohanty, the study of women from third-world countries problematizes race and class issues; however, Spivak stresses the class component, by calling the non-Western by the name *subaltern* (see Gramsci's thinking in *Prison Notebooks*[iii]).

Spivak accuses Western intellectuals of being aligned with international economic interests, and, when reflecting about how elite groups construct a subaltern subject, she points out to the multiple oppressions of the subaltern woman. Her argument discloses the epistemological concern of understanding and analysing Third World women's issues outside of the first-world women's frame-of-reference. In her work, the intersectionality of the situation is referred to as a "*double* displacement" (Spivak, 1988, p. 90) of class and race. Scholars, such as Mohanty and Spivak, are of great contribution to the study of postcolonial feminism of non-Western women from India. Additionally, both problematize the agency of third-world women and the possibility of resistance.

The next section highlights the work of Anzaldúa (2007), as a contribution to the understanding of non-Western women's oppression in the history of Latin America; I also introduce a theory to go beyond the postcolonial critique linked with decolonialism.

Third World Woman: Gender, Race, Class and Nation

To this point, discussed are how different streams within feminism address the representation of women from third-world countries. These approaches add theoretical

value to my research but present a major limitation. The main shortcoming relates to the historical context of the research, which lead me to Anzaldúa's work, who addresses the complexity of Third World women, understood within the historical and political context of Latin America.

The work of Gloria Anzaldúa's "*Borderland/La Frontera: The new mestiza*" (2007) is a great contribution to "contemporary themes" and "contemporary intersectionality" (Collins, 2012, p. 450). The originality of Anzaldúa's work stays in the self-reflection on her life in Rio Grande, located on the border between the US and Mexico. That life in the physical and spiritual borderland of the Anglo-Latin America encourages her to write about the unease of living with multiple identities, such as Mexican, Chicana, and lesbian, while reflecting on important topics like globalisation, colonialism, gender, race, nation, and sexuality. The work of Anzaldúa brings three relevant elements to this thesis.

Borderlands/fronteras

The first element is the notion of borderland, since PAA's growth over time was to create geographical and symbolic borders: divisions (Latin American division; Eastern division); regions (Caribbean, Central, and South America); countries (Panama, Mexico, and Argentina); cities (Havana, Miami, and Buenos Aires); and identities (Indians, whites, porteños, tourists, and natives). According to its definition, a borderland is an "unnatural boundary" (Anzaldúa, 2007, p. 25), a dividing line that defines a safe and an unsafe space; the separation between us from them. This boundary legitimizes some people to live within such boundaries, such as those in power, and the white and the elites

aligned with them. Outside these boundaries are those on the margins, those outside of the norm, who live in the borderland, the "atravesados," the troublesome, the crossover, the *mulato*, those living in a Third World.

Coloniality, Gender, and Latin America

Secondly, Anzaldúa conducts a historical analysis of gender roles in Mexican society since colonial time. This enhances the in-between-the-lines reading (Boje, 2008b) of PAA material. PAA's description of Mexico, as the next-door neighbour, helped by the US to develop its wealth (Pan American Airways, 1943d, p. 6), hides the story of the US-Mexican War in 1846 or the 1915 Anglo-vigilante groups, called Texas Rangers, that lynched Chicanos from Texas (Anzaldúa, 2007, p.30). Hence, Anzaldúa's study combines the historical change of gender roles in Latin America in contrast with the Anglo-American ideology. Women's roles in the context of Mexico, Anzaldúa argues, is limited to a nun, a prostitute, a mother, or a self-autonomous human being. Is important to consider the historical constructions of gender roles and nation, as representations of gender happen to be different regarding each national identity. According to Anzaldúa, the colonialism brought to Mexican society provided a classification of people, mostly by dichotomies like victim/strong, virgin/prostitute, rich/poor, Spanish/Indio, white/ Chicano, rationality/superstition, body/spirit, pagan/Christian, and individual/communal. These dualities allow me to see how PAA material reproduces some of these dichotomies and the point of intersection when they represent a national identity. For example, photographs and narratives of Guatemala and Mexico often describe the population as brown-skinned indigenous. In comparison, Argentines and Colombians are represented as

a subtype of Latin Americans, one that is whiter because of the prevalence of European blood, and how this becomes an important element in the depicting of their identity in the eyes of PAA.

In this matter, the work of Analzdúa debunks the faulty conception of homogeneity across Latin America. History shows the multiplicity of identities united by their proximity and colonial heritage but differentiated by their culture, rituals, language, dialects, dances, beliefs, etc. Thus,

> Each one of us must know basic facts about Nicaragua, Chile, and the rest of Latin America…Awareness of our situation must come before inner changes, which in turn comes before changes in society. (Anzaldúa, 2007, p.109)

The New Mestiza: Towards a Decolonial Feminism

A third element in Anzaldúas work is summarised in the *new mestiza* (a woman mestiza) theory, the archetype of someone that cannot be categorised or classified in one identity. A *new mestiza* is part of a cosmic race, which has hybrid progeny and consciousness of the borderlands. In opposition to the Western mode, that is goal-oriented and has convergent thinking that enforces exclusion, the new mestiza is characterised by a divergent thinking, a holistic approach to humanity, and encouraging inclusion instead of exclusion. This idea of a new mestiza, that is, a woman in-between different worlds (e.g., male, female, Anglo, Latin, Spanish, English, Christian, Protestant, etc.), has similarities with other postmodern theories, such as the cyborg of Haraway (1991) and those who study hybridity theories, such as Bhabha (1990), García Canclini (2005), and Nandy (1983). The difference is that a new mestiza goes beyond the modern critique and the

usual postcolonial critique that centres on analytical dichotomies to understand identity binaries, like women/men, colonised/colonizer, modern/archaic (Prasad, 1997), and shows different ways of living intersected with conflicted identities and ambiguities in a specific context. Anzaldúa explains that, in order to solve the problem between white and coloured people, male and female need to heal the split in which our lives, culture, language, and thinking have been conceived. The creation of this archetype, a "feminist architecture," could be reached by following three steps named in the new *mestiza* (a female consciousness). First, we need to revise the history and identify the lies and the unfairness from different worlds (Anglo, Latin, and Indigenous) and our participation as a race, as women within the history. Second, we need to go through a consciousness path in which to create filters and disarticulate those negative oppressions from all cultures and all religions and document this process. Finally, we should create new symbols for the reinterpretation of history and the creation of new myths. This theory of the new mestiza (she, a woman) adopts a new perspective towards the dark-skinned, the women, and the queer.

I argue that this last element of a new mestiza consciousness is the step forward to the decolonialisation of non-Western cultures. It is what Mignolo (2011) argues that which will take us beyond postcolonialism and the critique to the colonial past. As expressed by Anzaldúa, decolonizing Latin America, their women, and their men implies two things. First, to see through the representations of white hegemony embedded in a grand narrative of the Anglo/white man discourse. Second, see our "true faces" (Anzaldúa, 2007, p. 109), beyond the false racial personality that was imposed on us and that we have given to ourselves (Cameron, 1983).

Today, the new mestiza theory is especially relevant because of the process of globalisation and the advancement in technology that brings people together, both physically and virtually in faster ways. We see this in multi-nationals, global organisations, in the private and public sector; we see this by noticing the flow of women's migration to countries like US, Spain, Canada, Australia, etc.[iv] The heterogeneity of the world population becomes evident, which is the same as saying that the *mestizaje* (mixture) is becoming inevitable.

The use of the new mestiza theories to understand intersectionality within PAA when traveling to South America will be complemented by a historiography of Latin America by the decolonialist scholar, Mignolo (2005b, 2011).

2.4 Towards a Decolonial Feminism

The need to apply a decolonial feminist perspective to the case study of PAA comes from the ahistorical limitation of intersectional theories and the importance of context to reinterpret Western history from a Latin American perspective.

Classification of people into races has been the cornerstone of colonial domination (Quijano, 2000a). In Latin America, the idea of race legitimised the domination of Spanish and Portuguese conquerors. All over the world, European colonialism meant a Eurocentric view of knowledge, and a theory of racism based on historical practices of superiority and inferiority, which naturalised the domination of Europeans over non-Europeans.

The postcolonial tradition, popularised since Edward Said's ground-breaking work, *Orientalism* (1978), is a contemporary field of study, interested in the critique to

the social construction of the concept of race created by Europe and the Western world. For instance, Said warns of the misrepresentation of the Orient by the Western world, whose portrait reproduces an image of backward and primitive people, historically frozen in time and space. Nevertheless, the field of postcolonial research exceeds the work of Said. For instance, the classification of Espinosa Miñoso and Castelli (2011, p. 196) explains two contributions in the postcolonial tradition regarding two major groups. On the one hand, the subaltern—a group of scholars from South Asia critiquing the hegemony and domination of the West—and the postcolonial studies group doing research on French and English colonies in Africa, the Caribbean and India, from Fanon, Guha, Spivak, and Mohanty. On the other hand, a group of critical scholars from Latin America, since the 1950s, such as Frank, Quijano, Amin, Dos Santos, Dussel, and more recently also a group of decolonial scholars such as Mignolo, Fernandez Retamas, Montero, Rodriguez, Castro Gomez, Mendietta, Grosfoguel and Rivera Cusicanuqui.

The classification of Espinosa Miñoso (2011) though, sheds light on the problem of a gender blindess within postcolonial theories. By focusing on the issues of race and colonial domination, postcolonialism fails to consider that gender was also socially constructed in the context of colonial domination, as Spivak and Mohanty consider. As a consequence, the combination of postcolonial and feminist theories grasps the interplay of gender and race to illuminate the representations of Latin Americans by the West (PAA).

Postcolonial literature is mainly a critique of the power dimension within the classification of the world population in regards the notion of race, since the colonial epoch (Quijano, 2000a). In a recent work, Mignolo (2011) claims that the term *postcolonialism* has historical roots in the period of decolonisation of British India, and is

discursively attributed to Said's work, *Orientalism* (Mignolo, 1993). Beyond Said's work, postcolonialism is a field that contains different scholars from around the word trying to think from or about the postcolonial legacy. Mignolo (2011) argues a move beyond Said's postcolonialism, that entails a displacement, a change, a move from postcolonial (after colonial) towards de-colonial (beyond colonial) (Mignolo & Tlostanova, 2006, p. 206). This implies, also, a commitment to an alternative understanding of the world dynamic in which non-Western intellectuals have a voice, a way of thinking, and creating theories to contribute to the realm of knowledge. As Mignolo (1993) early on concluded, colonial and postcolonial studies run the risk of being just a field of study instead of space where intellectuals generate theories and reflect on their own history and culture. This thesis commits to this challenge, as I go through a history of an early 20th century North American multi-national in light of the theories of Mignolo— a Latin American scholar— with the intention of creating an alternative narrative of PAA.

The Contribution of Decoloniality to this Thesis

The decolonial theory developed by Mignolo (2005b) is different from Orientalism (Said, 1978) for a historical reason: the expansion of the Western world created an idea of America three centuries before Orientalism came into being. Mignolo (2000) claims that the two colonisation processes were different: "China and Japan, for their part, were never colonised in the way the Americas and India were" (p. 44). Thus, Mignolo (2005b) unpacks the history of the Americas and the impact of the separation between an Anglo and a Latin America. In PAA material, the separation is implicit, but Anglo America (the US specifically) is associated with progress, industrialisation, and

development (as the British Empire) and Latin America (as the Spanish Empire) with backwardness, domesticity, and underdevelopment. Once more, Mignolo's (2005a, 2011) contribution to this thesis is by giving a historical context in which to interpret the representations of Latin Americans generally, the women more specifically, and to reflect on the different images at play in PAA material.

The main ideas highlighted in this thesis could be summarised in three main points. First, in the 18th century, "Latin" Americans were identified as non-Anglo and non-European. Second, the economic and political crisis that hit "Latin" America in 1950 reinforced the sense of inferiority and finished any expectation —for a very long time— of becoming a rising region. Third, the empires that colonised the Americas influenced the process of colonisation in itself. North America was colonised by two rising empires at that time: British and French, while South America was colonised by the Spanish and Portuguese, two empires in decline.

Also important has been the legitimisation of the Western knowledge above all others roots of knowledge. Mignolo (2009) argues that the First World has been a knowledge creator in contrast with the representation of a Third World as a cultural object. This suggests that culture and wisdom from Latin Americans and particularly from indigenous populations are of a second-order as related to Western knowledge and science. This translates into the expansion of a cultural homogeneity, and the overvalued Western identity. With this in mind, a call for decolonial projects has been made in response to Western centrality.

Colonialism and decolonial theories have implications on the notion of human identity by creating a discourse of race. For Fanon (1967), "the word has been spoken, it

must be remembered-white or black, that is the question" (p. 45). Consequently, there is a clear-cut distinction between non-rational races seen as inferior from rational ones seen as superior (Wade, 2010). In this regard, in *The Darker Side of Western Modernity*, Mignolo (2011) explains,

> Native Americans have never been red nor South American and Latinos and Latinas brown before Western racial classification…what they have in common is that they fill the spectrum between white and black, reflecting a process that in the sixteenth century mapped slavery with darkness and master (sic) with whiteness. (p. 45)

In connection with PAA, I am considering the separation between Anglo-Latin America for the creation of specific images of Latinos(as) to advertise Latin America as a destination. Additionally, PAA archives contain a great number of examples where Latin Americans have been described based on their skin colour (*negros*) and, through colonial language, called, among other things, "natives," contributing to the racialisation of Latin America. For instance, PAA tourist guides introduce each country with a section on population based on these racial concepts: Martinique is described as 4000 whites and the rest coloured; Trinidad and Tobago has one-third East Indians. Photographs of geographical locations found at the archive are examples of PAA stressing the race classification. A photo of three young girls from Guatemala, titled "Where would you be to meet such people?," makes reference to a Spanish-Indian land with an Indian population; "four centuries of white man's rule" and Indians speaking "only" their dialects (Pan American Airways, n.d.). PAA marketing of Latin America unfolds as a creator of racial boundaries, and racial identities of Latinos.

The last theme in the work of Mignolo (2000, 2002, 2007) I will mention is the development of a "border thinking," based on Gloria Anzaldúa's book, *Borderlands/La Frontera* (2007). For Mignolo, border thinking entitles an alternative to the Western thinking, whereby, science, art, culture, politics, and society are non-Western, anti-Western, or other than Western. According to Mignolo, a border thinking is needed to crack the superiority/hegemony of the Western knowledge where a centre and a periphery will disappear. Through a border thinking, we go beyond the postcolonial critique and move towards the decoloniality of knowledge that gets rid of the colonial legacy. My purpose is to create the plurality of knowledge by showing alternative stories of the Latin nations. Then, we will reach "diversality as a universal project," which means that people and communities have the right to be different precisely because "we" are all equals (Mignolo, 2000, p. 311).

Trajectories Towards Decolonialism

In the previous section, I discussed the importance of a *border thinking*. In the third book of his trilogy (see also *The Darker Side of the Renaissance* (1995) and *Local Histories/Global Designs* (2000)), Mignolo (2011) compiles his ideas into five trajectories towards the creation of a border thinking or decoloniality. These represent alternative futures in which society might be directed. In this section, I discuss only three trajectories that focus on economics and discard those related to politics and spirituality. I bring Mignolo's frame to contextualise the US role in the process of cultural colonialism and to make a parallelism with PAA expansionism during the same period.

The three trajectories are rewesternisation, dewesternisation, and decolonialism. *Rewesternisation* is the transition from Europe's Western hegemony to that of the US, after WWII. *Dewesternisation* is the critique of the Western ideology and its implications. Finally, *decolonialism* is the process where alternative ideologies confront and live together with the Western lifestyle; e.g., the Amerindian culture.

The first trajectory, rewesternisation, is situated in the past where the US have taken the centripetal role in the world regarding three aspects: economy (expanding the capitalist system); leadership in international affairs; and creation of knowledge in science, technology, and development, focusing on the corporate world. PAA, more than any other corporation, took the lead in the development of businesses across the continent with a particular interest in Latin America's natural resources, especially after 1937 and Nelson Rockefeller's travels to the subsidiary of the Standard Oil in Venezuela. It became the archetype of the US corporation expanding the capitalist model and the business agenda. Mignolo does not emphasize enough the role of the US in creating cultural knowledge. Since WWI, government and business men of North America created manuals, guides, and books that exhibit Latin America as a market full of opportunities (Salvatore, 2005); around this time, and after its creation in 1927, PAA become a manufacturer of this machinery, producing knowledge about Latin America.

During the dewesternisation stage, the world will "catch up" through the critique of the West representational machine and the racialisation of the other. It is not an "anti-West" project (Mignolo, 2011, p. 46), but more of a self-affirmation (hearing the expression and misunderstandings of other cultures through history) by offering an "end of history of Western hegemony" (p. 48). The Caribbean writer, Fanon (1967), expresses

the same pledge, "I am not a prisoner of history. I should not seek there for the meaning of my destiny" (p. 229). This trajectory of dewesternisation fosters the deracialisation of society in Western terms. Mignolo's theoretical discussion does not address the question of how to pursue this. This is why I lean into Anzaldúa's critique on borders that create race and gender classifications.

The third trajectory, decolonialism, aims to re-order the world through pluralism (not multiculturalism or diversity management). Following this trajectory, we can ask questions, such as "why the rhetoric of sameness prevails over that of a difference?" This thesis incarnates the decolonial trajectory and is my voice, both as a researcher born and raised in Latin America, and the one disrupting the discourse of sameness in my own field of study, MOS.

Decolonialism: Knowledge from Latin America

Creating knowledge from the periphery (Appadurai, 1986) has been thought of as an alternative to modern knowledge and its legitimacy. Latin-American thinking emerges from Latin American intellectuals and creates knowledge from Latin Americans, about Latin Americans (Ibarra-Colado, 2006). This Latin-American thinking counters Anglo-Saxon and European thinking, and reveals the way of life, the culture, and the ideology of Latin Americans, where the native people in America—by this I mean indigenous populations and mestizos—are also included in the narrative about Latin Americans. For Kusch (1999), the problem with the West is that "there is a type of obsession regarding rationality, that forbids any other possibility" (p. 9). Here is the first great difference between the Western world and its rational thinking (which comes from the Era of

Modernity) and a Latin American (*o pensamiento Americano*) thinking, which is non-rational, mystic, and local. In a similar vein is the "sentipensante" (feeling-thinking) of Galeano (1992), which articulates reason and spirit among humans.

Latin American thinking condemns the political elite and the middle class in Latin America as well, as they reproduce the Western ideology first mercantilism (Spain) and then capitalism (the US). This is explained in Kusch's (1990) account of the history of the urbanisation of Latin America in 1900, when the cities of Lima, Rio de Janeiro, Sao Paulo, and Buenos Aires were the emulations of European and US cities. In this process where Latin America wants to become "someone" important (like Europe), "the creation of a nation resembles the factory" (p. 138). PAA flight map of New York, Rio de Janeiro, and Buenos Aires stresses the comparison of urban centres across the Americas. Rio de Janeiro and Buenos Aires are described as the biggest cosmopolitan centres of South America and Sao Paulo as the "Chicago of South America" (Pan American Airways, 1947). This creation of a familiar frame of reference is how Anglos make sense of Latin American cities is an example of postcoloniality, where the value of the 'other' cities is embedded in the linkage to the Anglo urban city.

2.5 Why a Decolonial Feminism?

In this literature review, I have tried to offer a historical account of the literature of women-of-colour feminism, colonialism, postcolonialism, and decolonialism. These debates centre around the colonial legacy within the American continent while exploring theories of Latin American scholars. Notwithstanding, a limitation, mentioned above, is the hidden assumption of a gender-neutral society (Acker, 2004) by not mentioning

gender at all. There has been acknowledgment inside the postcolonial traditions regarding the absence of a feminist inquiry in their theorising. For example, Mignolo finishes his work *The idea of "Latin" America* by calling for feminist inquiry (2005a, p.160). Also, Quijano (2008) points to the study of gender and race, arguing that both were ways of classifying people during the colonial epoch. In addition, he stresses that gender as an analytical category was created before race. Another example is found in Said (1993), who refers to feminist Middle East scholars who cracked the "totalizing discourses of Orientalism and Middle East (overwhelmingly male) nationalism" (p. xxiv).

By the same token, feminist scholars have argued that postcolonialism "leaves out…the gendered and patriarchal nature of the moribund nation state and nationalist politics" (Mendoza, 2002, p. 300). Curiously enough, in addition to the gender issue within the field, I find a paradox in Mignolo's call to feminist scholars. His conceptualisation of the border-thinking approach is based on Anzaldúa's work *Borderlands/La Frontera.* Although, Mignolo (2002) fails to mention the feminist philosophy underpinning Anzaldúa's work.

A decolonial feminism, then, is a theoretical approach that questions the Western (first European and then US/Anglo) philosophy that creates a split between object and subject. It is a postpositivist perspective, but, more importantly, it is a feminist perspective whose starting point is not the structure that needs to be changed, but the individual experience of women-of-colour from Latin American countries and their struggle for the multiple layers of discrimination they suffer as woman, as indigenous, as brown, as poor, etc. As the opening quote of this chapter suggests, we have to break the dualities between female and male, and the white race and the coloured race that were

originated in the foundation of our societies. Decolonial feminists have developed ways of looking at several dualities created by European and US societies, and also the hierarchical system that is formed when multiple dyads—race and gender and class and nation, instead of race or gender or class or nation—are brought together to analyse, for example, how one apparent naïve brochure of a vacation in the Caribbean uncovers a particular ideology from the US which is attached to their geo-historical location.

On account of the fact that post/decolonial theorising has been predominantly a masculine field that dodges the gender question, and the necessity to contextualise intersectionality within Latin American history and politics, the next sections summarised the main theoretical ideas to conduct this thesis.

2.6 Summary of the Main Points of each Theory to Guide my Study

This chapter highlights the intrinsic issues of intersectionality within women-of-colour feminism, and how decolonial theories move the field of postcolonialism beyond the race critique and the legacy of colonialism, to consider how gender and race both were representations of colonial domination. I am aware of my epistemic location and its influence on the selection of the works and scholars to be included. However, I find that this selection responds to the problem at hand of studying the role of intersectionality in a US multi-national in the context of the politics and history of Latin America.

In sum, the articulation of a decolonial feminist perspective to study intersectionality within PAA is built on Anzaldúa's reflections on the different points of crossings between gender, race, class, sexuality, and nationality in the history of the Mexican society, and Mignolo's historiography of Latin America. For example, PAA

newsletters narrate stories of white upper-class US citizens, such as founders, managers, technicians, and pilots, whose expansion/conquest of the air space included the symbolic possession of Latin America's social, geographical, and historical location. It is within the context of the colonial past which separated Anglo (English) from Latin (Spanish) America where these stories mingle together, making PAA narratives about Anglo-Saxon's technological and cultural superiority in relation to the representation of Latinos as primitive and folk.

Chapter 3: Methodology

"It is only my teasing out what is the dominant grand narrative that more local (antenarrative) stories become noticeable. In the interplay between grand and local narrative we can begin to recognise hegemony and posit the dynamics of the relationship...By hegemony, I mean how one voice is privileged in the intertextual dialogue in ways that are taken-for-granted or too subtle to be acknowledged." (Boje, 2001, p. 31)

3.1 Introduction

To pursue a qualitative research study implies that methodological issues cannot be disconnected from theoretical assumptions and the research problem under study (Silverman, 2010). Thus, the study of intersectionality in the representation of Latin Americans in PAA material places upfront the need to unpack the corporate narratives and the image-making of the Latin culture. For this, I use a narrative analysis (Boje, 2001), and intersectionality as a method of inquiry (Matsuda, 1991; Sandoval, 1990) to decolonise PAA stories.

Chapter two discussed feminist, decolonial, and postcolonial postpositivist traditions (Prasad, 2005) and their influence in this study. Here the concept *tradition* is used as an "ensemble of assumptions, worldviews, orientations, procedures, and practices" (Prasad, 2005, p. 8). Postpositivist traditions understand the social phenomenon through a diverse group of approaches; e.g., interpretativism, feminism, critical realism,

poststructuralism, and other critical approaches (Bryman et al., 2011). In this chapter, I outline the approaches and methods I used to analyse the data collected at the archive.

The chapter is organised into four sections. First, I lay out the implications of an archival research and a case-study strategy (Mills & Helms Mills, 2011); the study of the past (Munslow, 2010); and the silent voices of postcolonial issues (Decker, 2013). Second, I discuss my choice of a grand narrative approach and an intersectionality method that reveals how PAA stories highlight or ignore elements of intersectionality in different contexts; e.g., sexuality, gender, and race. Third, I describe the process of data gathering in the archive. Fourth, I explain the process of textual and visual data analysis (Barthes, 2000), and the research questions that guided my work. Finally, I end this chapter with a summary of the methods I will use in the subsequent chapters to analyse the archive.

3.2 Archival Research

Often, the archive is depicted as a site or repository of a history to be uncovered by historians, a relatively fixed idea to understand knowledge. Instead, in this thesis, the archive is understood as a mobile, fluid term (Foucault, 1970); as a useful site for conducting research (Durepos, 2009); as a "number of sites including physically designated archives, which are thought to constitute the traces of a pattern of ideas and practices that influence our understandings of the past" (Mills & Helms Mills, in press, p. 4). This relates also to the storytelling methodology used to study organisations, not because of the stories they have, but because of the stories they tell. The use of storytelling approaches reports that organisations are involved in the creation of meaning

together with researchers and other stakeholders (Boje, 2008b; Peirano-Vejo & Stablein, 2009). Having said that, PAA archive has been approached as a socially constructed institution (Schwartz & Cook, 2002), which provided a bulk of archival data (Gunn, 2014) to study the representation of Latin Americans, over time.

Archival research is useful for conducting a narrative analysis to recover dead stories (Boje, 2008a). There is no one way or method to actually recover these untold stories. In my case, I chose to use PAA archive material to recreate those official narratives the company created from traveling around Latin America, while, simultaneously, I read in-between the lines of texts and images to explore alternative (contradictory) stories that question the official narrative and PAA's single-voice narration.

Crafting the Case Study

"The case study is a research strategy which focuses on understanding dynamics present within single settings" (Eisenhardt, 1989, p. 534). For Yin (2009) a case-study method stresses that a single case study is an empirical inquiry to understand a real-life phenomenon in depth, whereby the context becomes highly important to situate what you are trying to explain. This definition stays in the positivist tradition. Thus, I followed the idea of Mills and Helms Mills (2011) to pursue a case study strategy within postpositivist traditions on archival research. By so doing, I followed Mills and Helms Mills (2011) on the idea that the case study research enforces the use of a rich number of methods such as interviews, textual analysis, and sources, like conversations and documents to study a phenomenon in context. Also, I can recognise the problems within the notion of context

according to positivists, and take an approach in which context is always constructed and crafted by a selection of cues. For instance, by focusing on the period between 1927 and 1960, I address the war years, and how PAA made WWII and the threat of German influence in South America as an important part of what PAA considered its operational context. More so, during this period of time, the company expanded its business across Latin America by affiliating with national airlines. This process ended in 1960 when the Latin American nations regained control over its former airlines, displacing PAA from their strategic management.

PAA is a good case study due to the multiple production of visual and textual material that reported its interest on Latin America before any other US corporation. Its archive provides empirical data with a multiplicity of styles; e.g., images, sketches, drawings, within their corporate material; e.g., travel booklets, newsletters, brochures, advertisement. PAA tourist brochures, in particular, are great sources for a visual analysis, as they use in their covers the image of women to advertise Latin America. Notions of gender, race, and class transmitted in the bodily image of the Latin American woman create a folkloric portrayal of Latinas' image from South and Central America.

The use of tourist material to research the representations of third-world countries is not new. As an example, the studies of Echtner and Prasad (2003) and Echtner (2002) of tourist advertising support the reproduction of postcolonial images to market Latin America. Those images describe the region in terms of a paradisiac place, sensual pleasures, female servers, and welcoming people. In PAA material, a critical look at the route maps of South America conveys the orchestration of images, like the *mate*, a local

beverage in Argentina; the gaucho; the Llama; and the native, brown-skinned woman, all suspiciously creating a multi-style imaging of Latin America.

The Production of History to Study the Past

Pursuing archival research requires addressing recent debates in management and organisational history regarding the past and history, taking into account three major approaches: *modernist*, *postmodernist*, and *amodernist*. Although, in this study, a postmodern approach to the past is applied, I consider it necessary to discuss the other two, for the sake of clarity.

The *modernist approach*, for instance, sees the past as having an ontological base in facts (Mills & Helms Mills, in press), and a methodological search of archival documents makes it possible to trace facts, over time. On the contrary, a *postmodernist approach* views the past as ontologically unavailable (Mills & Helms Mills, in press). This approach does not deny actions of the past; however, the past can be reached only by its representation in the present. Munslow (2010) argues the past is what happened before now and history is the attempt to reproduce the past through narrative (a story of events) or chronicles (a description of events). Modernist historians tend to refer to the archive as "an empirical data corpus" with a physical location (McHoul & Grace, 1993); whereas, postmodernist go beyond examining documents and artefacts from the past, and search for the complex of practices embedded in the collecting and ordering of materials in an archive (Mills & Helms Mills, in press). A third approach, *amodernist*, centres in the social construction of 'knowledge of the past' through the interaction of humans; i.e.,

historians, and non-humans (e.g., archives) creating a sense of history (Durepos & Mills, 2012).

Mignolo's historical approach to Latin America (2005b) provides an aware of the problem with history as a concept within my theoretical framework. Yet, his work provides an alternative narrative to mainstream 'history' of Latin America and the US. Because Mignolo challenges US discourse regarding Latin America, his own work becomes a re-presentation (another interpretation) of the past. The past is ontologically unavailable; thus, there is no 'real' history of Latin America. More so, Mignolo's idea of Latin America presents some challenges, as it privileges masculinity and neglects feminist insights on gender issues. Still, I chose Mignolo's work to make sense of PAA documents, by asking: how, why, and who created PAA narratives, and their plausible intentions. As mentioned in chapter two, a decolonial feminist framework will address the gender neutrality in post/decolonial theorist from Latin America.

The Use of Archives in Postcolonial Studies

The use of a postmodernist approach to the past, together with the decolonial feminist framework in this thesis examines the archive and its value to shape our understanding of the past (Mills & Helms Mills, 2011). More so, the archive enables us to look for the limitations, selections, exclusions, and the realities that were accepted in the past (Foucault, 1979). However, the epistemological critique through archive research in business (Schwarzkopf, 2012) states that the process by which an archive gets constituted is already problematic. As Schwarzkop (2012) argues, archival research perpetuates the European bias because the Global North can afford to keep companies records. Also, as

Mills and Helms Mills (in press) point out, the problem with the collection and storage has been acknowledged already by feminists and postcolonialists who complain that women and formerly colonised people had been silenced (excluded or erased) from the archive records.

The use of a decolonial feminist framework will give voice to 'the silence of the archives' (Decker, 2013) by focusing on the image-making of Latinas, a group of women mostly forgotten by organisational scholars. PAA archives offer a way to reach these materials that show PAA creating negative or romantic images of the other. My focus on Latin Americans' cultural representations is one alternative to address Western bias and analyse the potentiality of archives in search for post and decoloniality of corporate material.

Strengths and Limitations of Archival Research

Archival research can present a seemingly unlimited amount of information, and only a researcher's creativity limits the research process. Another limitation comes from what psychologists call the *experimenter bias*, where the researcher interprets the information in order to probe her own argument (Goodwin, 2009). In terms of its strengths, the archive is particularly relevant to study identity politics. As Schwartz and Cook (2002) argue, archive research has been advancing the study of identity since 1980, examining the formation of national, ethnic, racial, gender, and class identities. However, when archivists create a collective memory by building collections, exclusions occur; e.g., women, gay, lesbians, the under-classes, and prisoners. Thus, objectivity and neutrality are not possible in archive research. A strength of archive research, from a

postmodern perspective, is the ability to integrate marginalised voices into the grand narrative of history and represent more voices than the powerful ones (Schwartz & Cook, 2002). This thesis uses PAA archive to incorporate an alternative reading and interpretation of the representation of women and men from Latin America in advertisement material created during 1920, 1930, 1940, and 1950.

3.3 Narrative Analysis and Organisational Studies

The analysis of narratives (narrative analysis) together with critical discourse analysis (CDA) and critical hermeneutics, are ways to study the past (Bryman et al., 2011). Whereas, in the hermeneutic tradition, I study the past by asking, "what does a text say." Discourse analysis and narrative analysis allows me to move beyond the content of the text, and interrogate the representation and the reality proposed, disrupting the main voices of the text by asking, "how does a text say it" (Collins, 2012; Czarniawska, 2004, pp. 100). More so, narrative analysis has been used to approach intersectionality beyond the rigidity of categorical perspectives {Collins, 2012 #1745) that sees gender, race, and nationality as fixed ideas in time.

During the 'linguistic turn' in the 1970s and 1980s, and the 'literary turn' in the 1990s (Czarniawska, 1999), language became the focus to understand social science research. The focus on language was taken further by narrative and discourse approaches. The former is commonly associated with Foucault's work, who sees language as the sediment of common sense and looks for its contradictions, over time (Jacques, 2010). Narrative approaches analyse language with a temporal sense, stressing the role of people as tellers of stories. Through the years, different traditions, such as structuralism,

poststructuralism, deconstruction, and interruption, have developed further a narrative analysis (Czarniawska, 2004). The main breakthrough happened in the transition of structuralism to poststructuralism. As Czarniawska (2004) argues, this meant the ability to abandon the search for a deep understanding of the language structure in a text and accepting the messiness of the use of the language in both writer and reader. It meant to go from the work of Vladimir Propp (1968), who studies scientifically how fairy tales were composed, and the behaviour of characters within tales, to the work of Derrida or Foucault, who sees narratives as ideological devices created by one storyteller being the "authoritarian centre" (Boje, 2001, p. 91).

Within the field of organisation studies, the works of Martin (1990) and Van Maanen (1988) in the 1980s legitimised the use of narratives (Czarniawska, 1999). The "narrative turn," and its focus on linguistics, inspired organisational scholars (Dudek, 2016) in three different trajectories seen through the works of Czarniawska, (1997, 1998, 2004), Gabriel (2000), and Boje (2001, 2008b). Nevertheless, these scholars and their studies are not mutually exclusive (Boje, 2011), but they are in dialogue with each other.

Organisational narratives used to be seen as crystallised artefacts, as the reality of the organisation waiting to be collected (Czarniawska, 1998, p. 15). This view shadows a positivist approach to organisations, assuming narratives are pieces of the 'reality' of the organisation, instead of a socially constructed 'reality' to be understood by the researcher. If this were the case, my reading of PAA documents in 1940, where PAA suspects a German threat in South America, would be taken at face value.

Since its entrance in the management field, the use of narratives has shifted from a focus on the individual, and his/her life history, to the understanding of the process of

'organisational sensemaking' (Bryman et al., 2011, p. 420), that privileges the inclusion of many stories, many voices, and many meanings within the organisational narrative. According to Czarniawska (1998, pp. 13-14), narratives and organisational studies could be found in four ways: 1) organisational research written as a story; 2) the collection of organisational stories; 3) organisational life as story making (storytelling organisation), and organisational theory as story reading; and 4) disciplinary reflections like a literary critique.

As reflected by the previous categorisation, the field has experienced a "narrative turn" (Fenton & Langley, 2011, p. 109) that departs from positivist to postpositivist approaches of narratives. Narrative analysis in the postpositivist tradition emphasises narrativity, pluralism, relativism, and subjectivity (Lieblich, Tuval-Mashiach, & Zilber, 1998, p. 2). *Narrativity* is the instrument that allows imaginary and facts be resolved in a discourse (White, 2009). For instance, PAA narrativity conjugate the fact of a WWII (US versus Germany) and the US self-image of superiority among other nations and races to 'save' other nations from Germany. Also, PAA provides plural, relative, and subjective narratives, suggesting not one version of a history of PAA, but many stories (e.g., pioneering of the air, sexual discrimination, racial discrimination, technology development, the other America, etc.) written by many individuals, (employees, CEO, pilots, presidents, and Mad men) in governments, newspapers, and media. Those stories might diverge, interrupting the linearity of positivist approaches, nonetheless, postpositivists argue this is narrative knowledge (Czarniawska, 2004).

An in-depth look at postpositivist approaches expose the differences in style, onto-epistemologies, and research methodologies (Boje, 2001). For example, for

poststructuralists, like Derrida, Fairclough, or Foucault, (archaeology) narratives are ideological devices with political consequences, and deconstructivism is one of the methods to be employed to this end. On the other hand, for postmodern intellectuals, such as Lyotard, Baudrillard, Deleuze, and Guattari, whose interest is in visual and cultural hyperreal critiques of late capitalism, a narrative analysis requires the use of a polyphonic (multivoiced) and juxtaposed (overlap) reading and writing of different narratives. Despite the contributions of these approaches to narrative analysis, the field continues analysing only the grand narratives, avoiding the exploration of those emergent stories in the organisation (Boje, 2001, p. 6); thus, postpositivist agenda still fails to produce a change in the modern capitalist society as they have claimed (Boje, 2006).

Narrative Analysis in PAA Archives: A Grand Narrative Approach

The concept of grand narrative is originally in Lyotard's work to describe dominant discourses of the last centuries. Examples of grand narratives are modernism, renaissance, Marxism, or feminism. Two main ideas developed by Lyotard are relevant in my analysis of grand narratives. The first idea is that any narrative responds to different discourses (WWII, for example, is a discourse) which set rules for legitimisation of statements in any society. These discourses are defined as *language games*, entitled to move and change according to each society (e.g., German's are the enemy during WWII, according to the US). The second idea is that grand narratives (narratives of a higher order) set boundaries, and they organise different narratives and language games (Malpas, 2003).

Boje's (2001) early work brought the notion of grand narratives to study how organisations create dominant (hegemonic) narratives. Thus, Boje took the concept of grand narratives or metanarratives from Lyotard to study *organisations' grand narratives*. Like myself, Boje takes from Lyotard some of his insights, but resituate a grand narrative analysis by:

> asserting that there are grand narratives that local stories resist in various ways, and that from an antenarrative view what is important is to see how grand narratives emerge, self-destruct and are resisted in webs of less dominant stories. (Boje, 2001, p. 31)

As the opening quote of this chapter suggests, by teasing out PAA dominant narratives in relation to Latin America, I can bring forward the antenarratives or stories about the region that give alternative contexts to PAA hegemonic (privilege) voice. For instance, a PAA official story has been made with the ideological content that situates the company as the Anglo American empire, created by the pioneering spirit of one man, Juan Trippe (Daley, 1980). Nonetheless, Boje's framework goes further (in-depth) to find the grand narrative's opposite, the "pluralistic construction of a multiplicity of stories" (Boje, 2001, p. 44). The narratives of Betty Trippe, PAA newspapers (during the period of study), government reports, and my own voice will be part of my analysis to grasp the plurality in the storytelling of PAA. The purpose of using the grand narrative analysis in organisations is to resist (disagree with) dominant narratives; however, a first step requires their restoration (Boje, 2001). To do this, PAA's official story on progress, modernity, and imperialism is examined, and, through this process, I can then look for emergent stories, antenarratives, or pluriversality within the narratives. Importantly, the

existence of dominant narratives (Linde, 2001) or grand narratives does not mean that I, as the researcher, subscribes to these (Devault, 1990).

As I mentioned above, the grand narrative coexists with other narratives (from a lower order) that usually are not obvious. This ideas is well captured by the concept of antenarrative (Boje, 2011), defined as an "improper storytelling" (Boje, 2001). Although it sounds similar to other notions (e.g., emergent story, local story, counter story), antenarrative qualities are fragmented, non-linear, incoherent, collective, unplotted, and pre-narrative speculation. For Gabriel (2000), the antenarrative is the 'photo-stories'; e.g., pseudo-stories, micro-facts, or opinions (Gabriel, 2011). I argue that antenarratives and emergent stories are conceptual devices to consciously search for those people (individual or organisational identities (Linde, 2001)), ideas, or concepts erased in dominant narratives. More importantly, this thesis uses the theory of antenarratives as a way to recapture pieces of narratives, pieces of the past, and pieces of history that do not fit the corporate discourse of the multi-national. PAA annual reports and newsletters use texts and images (airplanes, maps, travellers) to portray the idea of a company that is industrious, developed, and cutting edge. Reading in between the lines, PAA reproduces an imperial culture where Latinos are depicted as primitive, underdeveloped, and exotic.

The notion of antenarrative that Boje (2001) develops is in the interplay of both a grand narrative and local stories. According to Boje's definition, antenarrative "is before-beneath-bets-becoming of storytelling itself" (Boje, n.d.). For instance, PAA tells the official story of the airline that connects good neighbours, Latin and Anglo America, but simultaneously the emergent story tells that PAA was suspicious of Latin nations, due to dictatorships taking over governments, as well as anti-Anglo American propaganda, due,

in part, to the influence of Germans in Latin America. In sum, the intersection between the grand narrative and non-official story of an organisation implies telling two sides of the story within a context, albeit, we have to "let bloom a thousand stories" (Boje, 2001, p.44).

The contribution of a grand-narrative analysis is in the organisation of the different discourses of the US regarding Latin America, as well as in the narratives of PAA, in terms of politics, economics, and culture. Grand narratives applied to the study of PAA in consideration of three acts: PAA material

1) Acts as a hegemonic voice in the representation of Latin America for the traveller;
2) Creates universal believes that influenced popular culture on Latin America and on Latin-men and Latin-women; and
3) Becomes narrative knowledge from the past (which is still relevant in the present), created within international politics and in dialogue with the US and the Latin American governments.

To lay out corporate grand narratives alone is not sufficient in the context of a feminist, decolonial framework, which suggest the *deconstruction* of dominant narratives (Anzaldúa, 2007) in order to uncover a centred point -of-view, an ideology, privilege and exclusion (who is talking, which ideology underpins, and whose being privileged with these narratives). Because of this, I lean into the analysis of antenarratives as "deconstruction is antenarrative in action" (Boje, 2001, p. 19).

Antenarratives applied to the case of PAA look at denying the grand narratives to follow other plots that are not agreed upon (and that bring other stories about Latin

America that PAA did not tell us). Problematic with antenarrative research is in generalizing findings to other contexts (Rosile, Boje, Carlon, Downs, & Saylors, 2013). Also, antenarrative analysis are complicated objects to capture and study (Vaara & Tienari, 2011), and it is difficult to place them in the broader context and identify patterns (Boje, 2001). This said, these bring two contributions to the analysis of PAA. First, these allow to focus on organisational narratives that are usually absent from formal storytelling. Second, it presents the changing dynamics of antenarratives over time, which cannot be grasped with static discourse-cultural approaches (Vaara & Tienari, 2011).

Narrative Analysis: Critiques and Contributions

The use of a narrative analysis method has received many critiques. Two main ideas summarise the reluctance of using a narrative analysis. First, narrative research has been criticised for the lack of a scientific method in order to conduct research (Lyotard, 1987). Narratives have been considered a kind of art (Rhodes & Brown, 2005a, p. 168), not a form of knowledge, and a lack of validity in the research process is contested. This argument is based on the distinction between narratives and scientific knowledge. In this sense, scholars suggest a middle point where stories and science complement each other to create knowledge in organisations (Czarniawska, 1998; Rhodes & Brown, 2005b). Second, the use of a narrative analysis has limitations because of the use of large amount of data. A study of this kind, then, requires a detailed description of the context in which the narrative has been produced: the social discourse that shapes what is said and what cannot be said (Riessman, 1993). Still, there are elements of the historical context or the data collection in itself that might remain at the margin of the analysis.

Regardless of the critiques, the contribution of narrative analysis is wide spread. I consider that this approach greatly benefits an analysis of PAA. First, a narrative analysis is based on the creation of meaning, through time. Also, this focus on time and the past fits the discussion of feminist decolonial issues; e.g., the changing nature of Latina's bodies according to PAA. Second, a narrative analysis is open to the exploration of multiple voices, various meanings, stories and storytellers (Rhodes & Brown, 2005a) in contrast with traditional perspectives that are single voiced, monolingual, and reflect the writer's viewpoint only. I will search for silence audiences and narrators within PAA storytelling in order to dismantle the official narrative. Third, a narrative analysis benefits my study by using a great number of texts as field material and its focus on language. Fourth, a narrative analysis allows the use of different genres in the writing process (Czarniawska, 2004).

The Application of Intersectionality

According to McCall (2005), feminists pursuing intersectionality from a qualitative perspective of research use the case study method as a way to "identify a new or invisible group-at the intersection of multiple categories" (p.1782). As I mentioned in chapter two, gender, race, and nationality are particularly of interests to uncover how PAA represents Latin Americans.

The use of the intersectionality method remains complex and challenging, particularly in qualitative analysis (Mercer et al., 2015). In the literature of women of colour, I found two methods to be used in the study of PAA that juxtaposes Anzaldúa (2007) critique to the separation among Anglos, Latins, and Indigenous. In a first stage I

follow a description, whereby representations can be located in a hierarchy of race-gender categories for which I use the four-part model (Sandoval, 1990) as a methodological tool. This model follows a structure where the Anglo-men are at the top of the pyramid, followed by the Anglo-woman, then the Latino, and, at the bottom, the Latina, categories I use to map the narratives and images of PAA in tourist brochures, diaries, newsletters, and flight maps. Then, I continue with a stage in which I disrupt (Anzaldúa, 2007) those categories (gender, race) to disclose how intersectionality gets displayed. In this stage, I use Matsuda's (1991, p. 16) method to "ask the other question," a straightforward guideline, for those relationships of domination that remain hidden. Thus, this method works by focussing the questions on all the plausible identities. Below are the questions that will guide my analysis:

- Does this look racist?
- Where is the patriarchy in this?
- Does this look sexist?
- Where is the heterosexism in this?
- Does this look homophobic?
- Where is the class interest in this?

When looking at PAA brochures advertising Latin America, I focused on the imaging of men and women and particularly on the different representations between third-world and first-world countries in the context of the 1920s, 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s. Through a gender-race comparison between Anglo and Latina women, the brown-skinned, tropical, and sexy Latina portrait was founded together with PAA creation of postcoloniality of the Latin American region.

Reflexivity: Mariana Paludi as a Storyteller

In narrative analysis, a most striking feature is the role of the researcher in the writing process (Hatch, 1996). In this regard, the use of my reflexivity as a researcher introduces three elements to the research development. In the first place, reflexivity brings the possibility to situate my voice historically and geographically (Alvesson, Hardy, & Harley, 2008). Also, it adds another layer of context by positioning me as the narrator in the narrative act (Tsoukas & Hatch, 2001). Finally, it provides the awareness needed to reach good quality research (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2009).

The discussion regarding reflexivity within a narrative approach, in particular, is laid out as follows. On one hand, reflexivity means the inclusion of my own voice among other voices in the conversation (Boje & Rosile, 1994). Boje (2008b) explains that "reflexive storying is that stories are about who I am, who I ought to be…and my relation to many other people" (p.7). This definition, emphasises the multi-voicing aspect of reflexivity, which addresses the questioning of me (as researcher), as the authority to write about the other (Latin Americans) (Alvesson et al., 2008). On the other hand, story reflexivity enhances our future understanding by allowing a "more reflexive relationship to the present by creating an alternative memory, which is for the benefit of the time to come" (Boje & Rosile, 2010, p. 899). Additionally, a reflexive storytelling study not only recognises my role as the storyteller behind the story (Tsoukas & Hatch, 2001) but promotes its manifestation. For this reason, in the final section of the analysis chapters, I include a self-reflexivity section (Rhodes & Brown, 2005a, 2005b; Tsoukas & Hatch, 2001), which accounts for my own involvement in the process of building the story of PAA. By the same token, undertaking self-reflexivity within this thesis provides

transparency of my own complexity and imperfections when shaping PAA narratives, while unveiling "the relationship between "knowledge" and the "way of doing knowledge"(Calás & Smircich, 1992, p. 240).

As a final note, I am committed to reflecting on the ethic of writing a postpositivist (Prasad, 2005) piece of work. Following Rhodes and Brown (2005b), the ethical writing of this thesis entails the acceptance of my decisions in the writing process instead of the "decidable application of particular methods and techniques for the true" (p.480). Along with nonpositivist assumptions, I acknowledge that my story of PAA is influenced by my ideology, the theories I select, and my subjective interpretation (Alvesson et al., 2008; Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2009); notwithstanding, narrations are also forms of knowledge (Lyotard, 1987) that compare to scientific knowledge—Western, positivist, and legitimated by a set of language rules. They grasp the plurality of voices and languages (Lyotard, 1987) within the social science research.

3.4 Method of Data Gathering

The PAA archive has an extensive collection housed in the Otto Richter Library of the University of Miami. The material covers many events, such as personnel and policies of PAA, public relations material, newsletter, magazines, advertising material, etc. since its inception in 1927 to its demise in 1991.

I visited the archive with other three scholars during April 2014. I photographed all documents and combined them in PDF files, gathering 214 PDF files in total, including documents and file notes. I also collected material that was in the Spanish language, my mother tongue, which I translated while maintaining the meaning over a

literal translation; e.g., an interview granted by Colonel Perón, president of Argentina, to a North American journalist.

When pursuing archival research, the large amount of data to manage can be challenging (Corbett-Etchevers & Mounoud, 2011). An effective analysis of qualitative data requires a limited body of documents to work with (Silverman, 2010). By using a purposive sample approach (Haley & Boje, 2014; Silverman, 2010), I focus on specific materials: tourist brochures, flight maps, and magazines, with texts and images representing Latin America.

At the archive, I began by looking at documents and images in which Latin America was mentioned, until my encounter with several tourist brochures and flight maps advertising Latin America as a travel destination. Mostly, they show constructed images of the Latin American woman. This is the stage of "reducing uncertainty and ambiguity" after the "ill-defined research interests" (Zhou, 2008, p. 493). The use of a "flexible and opportunistic data collection method" (Eisenhardt, 1989) allowed me to focus exclusively on images of women from Latin America, since what I founded. Additional text documents, such as the personal diary of Betty Trippe, wife of PAA's founder, previous historical studies on PAA's history, previous documents retrieved for a larger project on PAA, and printed documents (e.g., annual reports and magazines) are used as a form of data triangulation (Denzin, 1970). Betty Trippe wrote her travel journal between 1925 and 1968, where she kept a chronology of her trips with her husband, Juan Trippe, since the beginning of PAA as an airline. Betty Trippe's diary was published in 1991, but in the archives, I could access to its draft version which provided me with a unique perspective of the time.

For practical purposes, I divided the data into texts and visual material. The text material was used in the creation of PAA's grand narrative and antenarrative to analyse the influence of the context in the creation of visual material, and its intersected representation of the Latin Americans.

3.5 Data Analysis: Combining Methods

Textual Analysis

I follow a combination of qualitative methods influenced by Boje's work on grand narrative analysis (Boje, 2001), and intersectionality methods from the women of colour literature to make sense of the data I retrieved and used.

I began by doing a critical, thematic categorisation of the material at a surface level as recommended for archival research studies (Riessman, 2008). The extensive amount of data was analysed, categorised, and coded with the software Atlas.ti. I pursue a preliminary categorisation of three grand narratives and at least ten antenarratives. Then this process was redone manually, where I establish the main grand narratives and six antenarratives.

The grand narrative analysis is used for the in-depth analysis of PAA material in the unfolding of a grand narrative and antenarratives. Since the beginning of the process, the research design has followed a flexible approach regarding the manipulation of the empirical material and the theories at hand, shifting back and forth between the primary data and different theories (Riessman, 2008). The material was printed to be able to compare different documents searching for themes across them, and depict connections

between visual material and written text, until reaching theoretical saturation (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). I established three main research questions for this study:

1. How did the socio-historical context between 1927 and 1960 influence PAA narratives regarding Latin America?
2. What grand narratives regarding Latin Americans were prominent in PAA material between 1927 and 1960?
3. How do representations of Latin Americans explore ideas of race, gender, and nationality?

Visual Analysis

According to Gabriel (2011), narratives in organisations take several forms, including brochures, reports, stories (official and unofficial), advertisements, etc. One characteristic of these types of data is that they provide visual images. In PAA case, I analysed photographs and sketched drawings appearing in tourist guides and brochures.

For the first stage of the visual analysis, I described the image, and then proceeded to "place it in a genre, and finally setting it in a wider context – both spatial and temporal." (Czarniawska, 2014, pp. 129-130). Here, what matters most was to decide what is more important, the persons, the objects, the places, and/or the events. After, it is important to relate to the form while not forgetting to conduct a comparison with other images (e.g., Latinos versus Anglos).

The work of Barthes *Camera Lucida* (2000) provides the frame to conduct an analysis of photographs: the art of photography is the transformation of subjects into objects, creating a "museum object" (p. 13). I relate Barthes work to the decolonisation of

the history between the US and Latin (South) America. One way to represent South America in terms of cultural colonialism is by creating museum exhibitions, and fairs (Salvatore, 2005, 2006), whereby, the region and its people are objectified. I see the photograph as an alternative device to expose postcolonial representations from the past.

There are three elements worth noticing when analysing photography. First, the presence of an operator, the photographer (in this case PAA), and the spectator in PAA case viz. the North American traveller. Second, a photograph has spectrum or spectacle, which is the targeted person or thing (what it is being represented). According to this perspective, the photo has to create emotion through the use of a discontinuity, a break in the equilibrium, an unbalance, which comes from the representation of dualities. For example, in PAA brochures tourists are usually Anglo Saxon, and the (South American) locals (working class) are Latinos. Some images represent only one thing: Anglos or Latinos having no duality, which Barthes accuses of being banal.

Third, each photograph portrays a stadium, when the spectator encounters the photographer's intention, understands it, and allow herself to be educated by it. This process is represented by PAA in the creation of myths to portray Latinas and Latinos. The functions are many: to inform, to represent, to surprise, or provoke desire. In this case, tourist materials make use of many of these functionalities, as Latin America was new for the North American audience, thus they have to inform US citizens, then represent Latinos and Latinas, and, ultimately, create the desire in the North American audience to travel to the region. I argue that PAA brochures reflect Barthes idea that photography is the art of the person, the "body's formality" (Barthes, 2000, p. 79) as the

bodies of Latinos and Latinas, not the landscape of Latin America, were central in the photographs.

Barthes (2000) work is a complementation between the text analysis from narrative approaches and the visual interpretation of photography analysis. Whereas, text is language and this is fictional, the photograph ratifies what is represented, is "authentication itself" (Barthes, 2000, p. 87). Finally, the photograph becomes false in terms of perception, but true on the level of time, and its reflection of the past.

3.6 Combining the Theoretical Framework with the Research Methods

The theoretical framework of *Decolonial feminism* highlights the material and symbolic imbalance of power between Western and non-Western women throughout Western history and how this difference configured a hierarchy in which the former are in multiple disadvantage as women and non-Western (Latinas, Asian, Indians, etc.). In this work, I combine, as sketched below (Figure 1), three methods of analysis to achieve what are the main elements of a decolonial framework: 1) revise history; 2) look for hierarchy, power and coloniality; and 3) lay out how gender, race and nation are played out through history. The revision of PAA material will use a *grand narrative* analysis to explain how the company produced dominant stories about Latin America and an *antenarrative* analysis to deconstruct those stories and show contradictions, gaps, and untold stories. *Intersectionality* is a theoretical approach embedded in decolonial theories, but here I use it as a method of inquiry (for example I will ask where is gender?, or how is race performed) to show dynamics (gender, race, and nation change depending on the narrative), complexity (gender, race, and nation are interlocked in texts and images) and

the relevance of context (power, hierarchy, and coloniality are shaped differently in time and space) in the multiple representations of Latin Americans.

Latinas and Latinos representations in PAA are in accordance to certain time and space and respond to the dominant narratives that structure different cultures. Between 1927 and 1960, PAA was the first US multi-national airline that expanded its business into the Latin American market. This monopoly of the air and the geopolitics between the US government and Latin American nations influenced and were influenced by PAA. G*rand narratives* and *antenarratives* capture this transformation by linking the production of corporate material from PAA about Latin America to the overall context of US politics/economics/culture. In particularly, grand narratives achieve two things at the same: 1) sets the context as a social construction between organisation and society, and 2) recognises the dominant narratives from PAA in the representation of Latin America. Simultaneously, *antenarratives* deconstruct grand narratives, the official narrative produced by PAA by explaining how power supressed alternative narratives, ideologies, stories, events, etc. that create new contexts, understandings and meanings about Latin Americans.

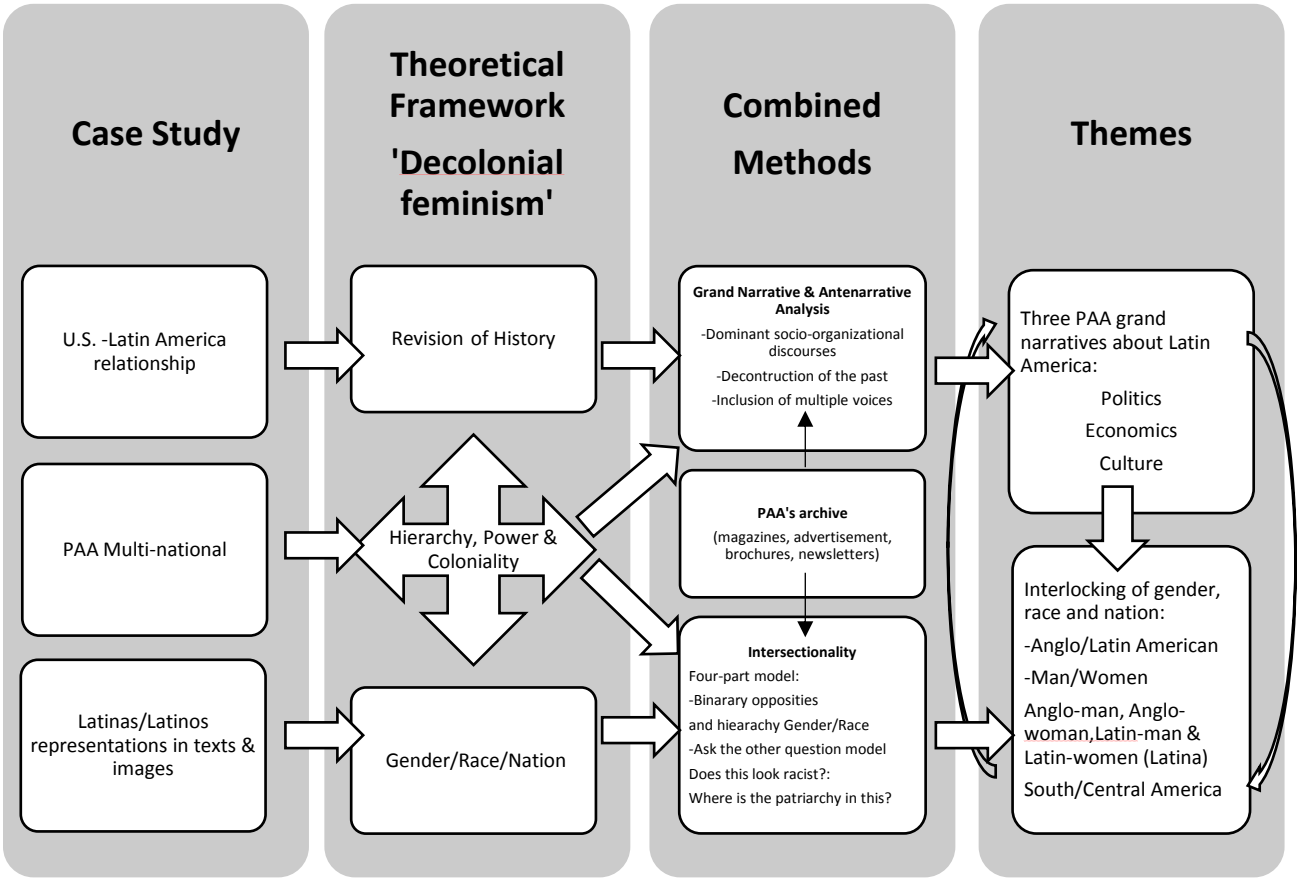

Figure 1: Combining the theoretical framework and methods of analysis in PAA's case study

For the purpose of this study, *intersectionality* is the correct tool to study the relationship of hierarchy, power, coloniality, and gender as elements of decolonial feminist theories. More so, intersectionality provides a heuristic devise (Anthias, 2012) to analyse texts and images about Latinos/Latinas representations beyond the study of gender, by looking also notions of race, nation, and how they intersect altogether in time and space. After I lay out the case study of PAA (Chapter 4), I explain three grand narratives produced by PAA and several antenarratives that they supress, (Chapter 5) and

how they influenced specific portrayals of Latinas and Latinos compared to Anglo women and men (Chapter 6).

3.7 Summary

In this chapter, I have discussed my approach to the PAA archive by using a narrative analysis approach and an intersectionality method. These methodologies are in accordance with the theoretical framework, discussed in Chapter 2, on women-of-colour feminist and decolonialism. Thus, this chapter provides tools to take on a decolonial-feminist framework in which PAA material is analysed by looking at the construction of language/narratives as the context and organizing principle to ideas of race, gender, and nationality in the representations of Latin Americans.

Narrative analysis gives access to an "ample bag of tricks" (Czarniawska, 2004, p.136). In this "ample bag of tricks," I found in the concepts of Boje—such as grand narrative analysis and antenarrative—a philosophy that resonates with my approach to researching PAA, whereby I can create meaning from the data. PAA is the storytelling organisation that created its own official narrative. In parallel, other stories were developed, other actors where speaking, and other postcolonial identities were created. Following the narrative tradition and accepting my work as a decolonial thesis within MOS, I assume the role of the storyteller and take the responsibility to be the authoritative voice (Essers, 2009), which reflects a historical misrepresentation of Latinos and Latinas. Through a self-reflexive exercise, I problematised my own feminist voice, as a Latina woman myself.

Also, I explained why PAA is a good case for the study of Latin American representations. The company benefited from the environment and created the context in a way that no other airline did with the US government's help.

The use of the archives was challenging in terms of the amount of data to be analysed, and the problem regarding its socially constructed nature. Nevertheless, I argue that narrative approaches are compatible with archives material review, as both seek to create knowledge from the past (in the present).

The data collected in the archives helps me study the political, economic, and social influence on the company's corporate material and their colonial way of representing Latin Americans.

In the next chapter, I undertake an overview of PAA and make the case for studying Latin American representations within the multi-national. I explain the political influence from the US government in PAA flights to the region of Latin America, and the indirect influence with cultural representations of Latinos and Latinas over time.

Chapter 4: PAA in Latin America

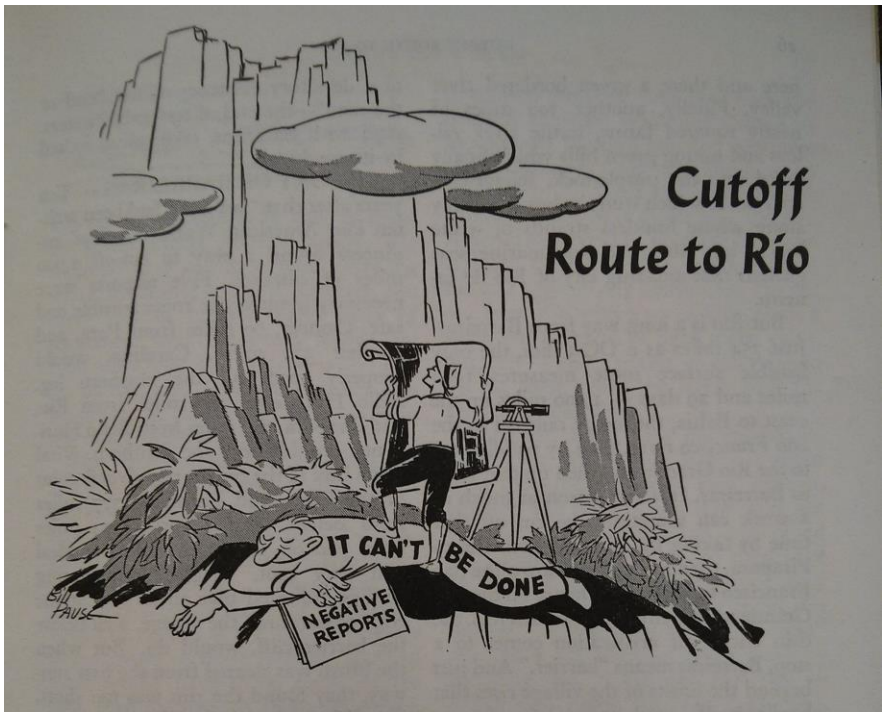

Figure 2: Story of Domination, Race, and Masculinity (Pan American Airways, 1945a)

4.1 Introduction

The previous chapter laid out the use of a case study method, with a narrative analysis and intersectionality methodologies to study PAA archival material. In this chapter, I undertake an overview of PAA to explain what makes this multi-national a good case study to understand cultural representations of Latin Americans between 1927 and 1960.

In this chapter, I analyse the relationship between PAA and the US government, the evolution of business ties with the Latin American region, and I explain how this influenced the creation of cultural representations of Latin America since the origins of the company in 1927.

4.2 "PAA in Context"

Working with archives has required an iterative process moving back and forth between the analysis of the organisation and the socio-historical context (Mills & Helms Mills, 2011). PAA narratives about Latin America were co-created (Boje, 2008b) together with the US government. My choice to look at PAA material during 1927 until the 1960s, relates to the political interests that the US gained in the region of Latin America. In the next chapter, I will expand on this, but briefly speaking, different events such as the Good Neighbour policy of Franklin D. Roosevelt Administration's attempt to improve relations with Latin America; the creation of a 'German Threat' inside South American airlines in the 1930s and into WWII; the Cold War; and popular revolts in Mexico and Cuba (Holden & Zolov, 2011), demonstrate the deepening of US and Latin America affaires during those years. Meanwhile, the expansion of PAA towards the South of the continent—Mexico, Cuba, and Colombia at the beginning—establishing offices, agencies, and investing in infrastructure supported the presence of the US government inside the Latin American nations (Bender & Altschul, 1982). In parallel, an intensified production of cultural representations of Latin American people in different enclaves surfaced as a consequence of the discourse of Pan-Americanism, relative to US regional unification vis-à-vis Latin America. An example of its impression was a US initiative that created the Office for Coordination of Commercial and Cultural Relations (OCCIA) among the Americas. By choosing 1927 as the starting point of this study, I am able to illustrate how the company started to gain a foothold in Latin America in the first three years of its existence; and I limited the study to the 1960s because of the lesser interest by

the US in the region at this period (Schoultz, 1998) and due to Latin American republics regaining control of many of their airlines once given to PAA to be managed.

PAA was a US commercial aviation company that flew internationally from the US, from 1927 to 1991, when it went into bankruptcy. The company was created as an economic venture but also, in part, as a political project in 1927 to inhibit the ability of South American airlines—especially the Colombian airline, SCADTA (Sociedad Colombo Alemana de Tranportes Aereos), seen as owned and operated by Germans (Bender & Altschul, 1982, p. 477)—to develop services to North America that would involve flying over the Panama Canal.

The newly established PAA began with flights from Miami to Havana, then expanded to Mexico by taking over a Mexican airline before going on to (secretly) purchase SCADTA. One of the founders of PAA was Juan Trippe, an Anglo-Saxon man who, curiously had a Hispanic first name, although he dismissed any suggestion of a Hispanic heritage then wanted to be called by his middle name – Terry. He could not speak Spanish and hired a bilingual male secretary to exchange letters with South American presidents and dictators in Spanish (Daley, 1980).

The story of PAA since its creation in 1927 has been the story of the acquisition of a variety of national airlines in Latin America and across the world. Table 2 shows the airlines PAA acquired, until its bankruptcy in 1991, as an example of the global scope of its business and its imperial power in the first 25 years of life.

Table 2: The Founding of Pan American Airways and its Acquisitions, 1927–91

Year	The formation of Pan American Airways, Inc. and the Aviation Corps of the Americas
1927	Pan American Airways Inc. (Pan Am) (established by the Bevier group) Atlantic, Gulf and Caribbean Air Lines (AGCAL) (holding company –established by the Hoyt group; buys out Pan Am) Aviation Corp of America (ACA) (holding company – established by the Trippe group; acquires 52% of Pan Am) West Indian Aerial Express (WIAE) (airline – established by Basil Rowe) Juan Trippe named president and general manager of Pan Am.
1928	Aviation Corps of the Americas (ACOAS) (holding company formed from merged assets of the ACA and AGCAL. Acquires WIAE).
	Companies developed or acquired by PAA
1929	Compania Mexicana de Aviacion (CMAM) (interest relinquished in 1968) Huff-Darland Dusters – renamed Peruvian Airways Chilean Airways Pan American–Grace Airways (Panagra) (established 50/50 by Pan Am and Grace Co., partnership dissolved in 1966)
1930	Colombo–German Aerial Transport Company (SCADTA) (secretly acquired by Pan Am) New York, Rio, Buenos Aires Lines [NYRBA] New York Airways Inc. (NYA) (formed by Pan Am as part of the Bermuda agreement with IAL) Panair do Brasil (interest relinquished in 1961)
1932	Aerovias Centrales (Mexico) (absorbed by CMAM in 1935) Pacific Alaska Airways Uraba, Medellin and Central Airways (54% holding; company dissolved in 1961) Compania Cubana de Aviacion (interest relinquished in 1954)
1933	China National Aviation Corp (CNAC) (45% holding; nationalized by the Chinese in 1949)
1940	Aeronaves de Mexico (40% holding; nationalized in 1959) Aerovias de Guatemala (40% holding; interest dissolved in 1945)

1943	Aerovias Venezolanas (30.1% holding) Bahamas Airways (45% holding; interest dissolved in 1948)
1944	Compania Panamena de Aviacion (40% holding; interest dissolved in 1971) Compania Dominicana de Aviacion (40% holding; interest dissolved in 1957) Lineas Aereas de Nigaragua (40% holding) Servicio Aereo de Honduras (40% holding; interest dissolved in 1970)
1945	Lineas Areas Costarricenses (40% holding; interest dissolved in 1970)
1949	Middle East Airlines (36% holding; interest dissolved in 1955)
1953	Guided Missile Range Division formed
1957	Philippine Air Lines (20% holding; interest dissolved in 1968)
1973	Intercontinental Hotels Group established.
1980	National Airlines (merged with Pan Am).
1981	Pan Am sells of Inter-Continental Hotels Group. Pan Am sells of Inter-Continental Hotels Group.
1985	Pan Am sells Pacific Division to UAL.
1991	Pan Am folds.

Mills, 2006, p. 17-18.

For the longest time, PAA was the first US airline to provide foreign service (Bender & Altschul, 1982). More so, it became the symbol of popular culture in America during the 1930s with its famous Clipper airplane (Bender & Altschul, 1982). The relationship between PAA and Latin America was set at the founding of the airline in 1927, when PAA did its first trip delivering US mail from Key West, Florida to Havana, Cuba. Also, the expansion of PAA towards South America (Figure 3) and its relationship with the supposedly German-owned airline, SCADTA, symbolizes the intertwining of politics and economics among Anglo and Latin Americans. The relationship PAA (US)-SCADTA (Colombia) was particularly problematic, from the beginning. In 1925,

SCADTA was denied permission to fly over and land on the Panama Canal Zone. In consequence, PAA was denied access to Colombian airspace. By 1930, PAA bought a controlling share in the German/Colombian airline to have access to Colombian territory. This access was essential for expansion PAA plans towards South America because the location of Colombia would allow PAA a place to land and refuel before continuing south of the continent (Durepos, 2009).

Figure 3: PAA routes across South America, 1927-1932 (Bender & Altschul, 1982)[1]

The claimed German origins of SCADTA—in fact, its owner was Austrian and many of its German pilots were naturalized Columbian citizens—were used as a political weapon by PAA to carryout anti-German propaganda in Latin America in order to garner political support from the US State Department to facilitate PAA expansion in South

[1] With thanks to the Pan American Airways Historical Foundation and the Otto Richter Library at the University of Miami's Pan American Airways Collection, 34.

America. This was prior to the rise and consolidation of Adolf Hitler's power and in the face of the fact that PAA secretly purchased SCADTA in 1930 (Durepos et al., 2008a). Eventually, despite his controlling interest in SCADA, Trippe went on to work with the US government to stage the forced removal of all German employees from SCADTA in 1941 in an action that was termed the de-Germanisation (and arguably the [North] Americanisation) of SCADTA (Durepos et al., 2008a).

PAA's official narrative emphasizes the "pioneering character of the airline and of its leader" (Hartt, Mills, Helms Mills, & Durepos, 2009), crafting over time the myth of PAA's 'pioneering spirit' (Durepos et al., 2008b). Nevertheless, the pre-existence of an industry of airspace in Latin America before PAA highlights the idea of PAA's history as carefully crafted. Since its creation, PAA storytelling justifies political, economic, and social intromissions in Latin American nations supported by a network that involved the US government, PAA business goals, and the help of some Latin American governments. Before PAA, SCADTA flew in Colombia, SEDTA (Sociedad Ecuatoriana de Transportes Aereos) in Ecuador, and the NYRBA Line which flew between Uruguay, Argentina, and Brazil. Commercial aviation in Argentina, in 1919, as an example, the *Compañía Franco Argentina de Transportes Aéreos* had, with French capital, established the first experimental air travel between Buenos Aires and Montevideo. In 1920, the River Plate Aviation Co. and in 1927 Aeroposta Argentina S.A. were created, and finally NYRBA in 1929 until 1930, when PAA absorbed the company. Early acquisition of national airlines from Latin American countries between 1927 and 1944 helped PAA to gain concessions and operating rights and contracts in the region, creating a PAA monopoly in Latin America (Durepos et al., 2008a), as well as building an imperial diplomacy (Bender &

Altschul, 1982), which, I argue, worked together with the creation of imperial grand narratives of Latin America, as the other America (non-Anglo). Figure 4 lays out the main events that worked as context for PAA, while creating its flying business throughout Latin America and the world, between 1927 and 1960.

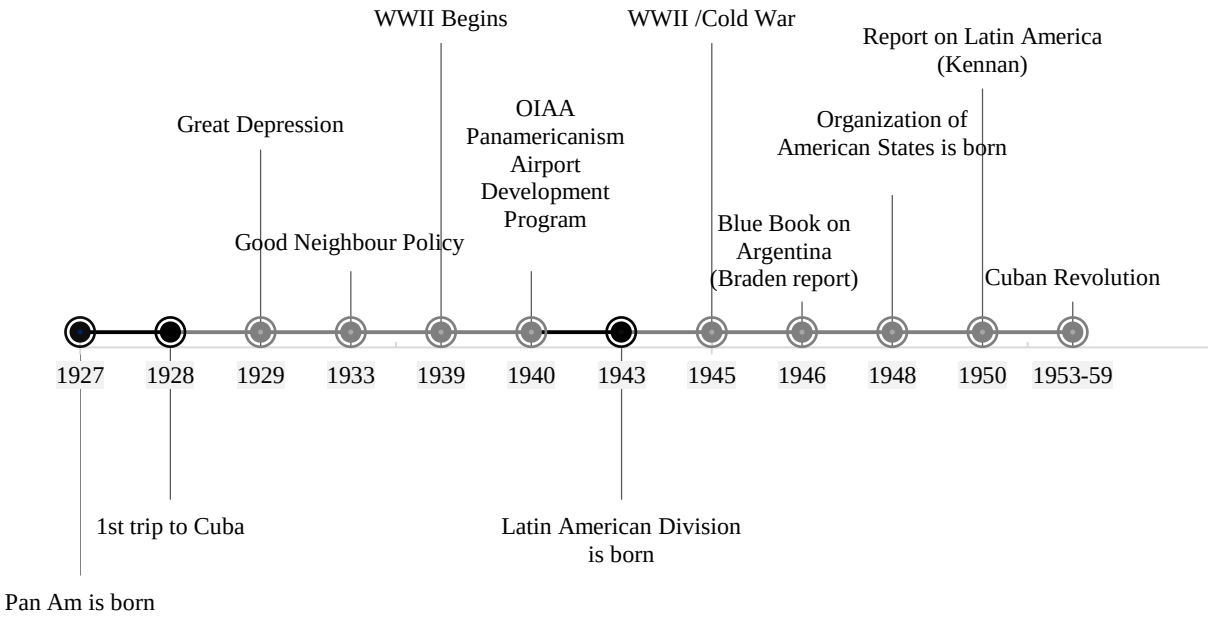

Figure 4: Socio-historical context that influenced PAA Grand Narratives between 1927 and 1960.

The next sections will connect the different political, economic, and social events occurring in the US and world-wide, with PAA expansion to the Latin American market.

4.3 PAA and the US Government: the Airport Development Program in Latin America

The years between 1927 and 1960 were a stepping-stone for PAA presence—and the US government—in Latin America. The multi-national developed and acquired twenty local airlines with the support of the US government who favoured PAA and its affiliates (Wilkins, 1974). The US used air routes as political tools to gain regional superiority over Latin America, to develop US trade and to confront European monopolies (Wilkins, 1974). By 1940 during the war years, US businesses, including PAA, continued growing internationally by investing in new services. The expansion of new travel routes in South America and the world were of interest to both PAA president, Juan Trippe, and the US government (Daley, 1980). In the context of WWII and the fear of an Axis attack in the Western hemisphere, the US government funded PAA to build new airports in Latin America (Wilkins, 1974), through the Airport Development Program during F.D. Roosevelt's presidency. For Trippe, the political context was to his advantage, as it allowed for the expansion of the business towards his vision of PAA as a global company. Meanwhile, PAA gained more access to the Latin American region, increased its market share, and displayed an exclusive position as the North American carrier outside the US and Canada (Wilkins, 1974).

More so, PAA business expansion was possible because of its involvement with Latin American dictator's activities and their connections to influential local people in the region (Bender & Altschul, 1982). This involvement created PAA's reputation as a company associated with military ventures in Latin America (Wilkins, 1974). During the

first flights to Latin America, it was Trippe who secured exclusive landing rights from the Cuban president, himself (Wilkins, 1974). Also, during Trujillo's dictatorship in the Dominican Republic, in 1942, PAA responded to Trujllo's support against the Axis by building two modern airports with unpublicised funding by the US government (Roorda, 1998). Thus, PAA itself had a direct relationship with Latin American politics, beyond the interests of the US government.

The pressure of WWII, and the threat of an Axis attack in the Western hemisphere, made president F.D. Roosevelt entrust PAA with the task of expanding commercial airfields in Latin America and building new civilian airports to provide a group of military bases for the US under the *airport development program* (Brady, 2012). Although the plan was supposed to be secret, a Washington newspaper, in 1940, made explicit the rationale behind Roosevelt's choice to use emergency funds for airport buildings and delegate to PAA what the government itself could not accomplish, for the great amount of diplomatic negotiations it would have taken (Brady, 2012).

The airport development program cost the US government $120 million and involved PAA in designing, constructing, and maintaining 48 airports, seaplane bases, and Navy balloons bases in 14 countries located on three continents (Brady, 2012). Within the Latin American region, Trippe and the US government discussed the militarisation of Central and South America (Brady, 2012). Particularly, Brazil became a key enclave as it was a likely landing point in the Western hemisphere, and the creation, in 1940, of the Barreiras airfield in Brazil's interior, was the first public announcement of the aviation development program in Latin America. PAA route Belem-to-Rio not only enhanced the travel time between Brazil and the rest of the region, but revealed the

creation of advertisement material, like brochures, where PAA disclose cultural representations of Brazilians and Latin Americans.

The airport development program was meant to be for the defence of the American hemisphere; however, this program had greater implications in the intimated relationship between the US government, PAA, and Latin American nations. First, it was the enactment of a business-government cooperation model (Brady, 2012), led by two male representatives of the Anglo-Saxon culture, Roosevelt and Trippe, involving presidents and dictators in Latin America, as well. Second, this program had an influence on the representation of several nationalities and their role as Allies or enemies in the context of WWII. The narratives of US citizens, English or French people, for instance, contrasted those of Japanese and, particularly, Germans, who were depicted as Nazis.

PAA saw Latin Americans as both a threat and an opportunity; an opportunity for business and military defence like Cuba, Puerto Rico, and Haiti—those Caribbean islands, which created a bulwark for the US tranquillity (Brady, 2012). The government of Argentina, in constrast, revealed the resistance and dangers of Latin nation's opposition. Although Argentina and the US government distrusted each other, especially because Argentina was seen as pro-Fascist (Montes de Oca, 2013), PAA advertisements portrayed a positive image of the country and its people (because of their perceived European heritage). In sum, the airport development program had been at the intersections between nationalities and gender representations. The project of military enclaves in Latin America and the business expansion impacted the imagery of the Anglo-Saxon masculinity that propelled power and control of other territories and subjectivities too.

4.4 The Latin American Division: PAA's growing business

PAA 'history' is linked to Latin America and what it came to call its Latin American Division. "For a long time, in fact, the history of PAA was the history of the Latin American Division alone" (Pan American Airways, 1956a, pp. 42-43). By 1934, the company had expanded to new territories and was structured in four divisions: Pacific, Caribbean, Western, and Brazilian (Table 3). Following the notion of borderlands (Anzaldúa, 2007) the configuration of the Latin American Division has been an artificial structuring of an array of heterogeneous nationalities forced to correspond to a market driven strategy by PAA. The logic of a geographical proximity misunderstood the complexity of the Latin American cultural diversity.

Table 3: Evolution of PAA Divisions

Year	Divisions			
1930				Caribbean Mexican (Sub) Canal Zone Brazilian Argentina
1934		Western		Caribbean Brazilian
1935	Pacific	Western	Eastern	
1937	Pacific	Western	Eastern	Atlantic
1943	Pacific		Latin America	

Based on (Kivijarvi, Mills, & Helms Mills, 2017, p.14) and Hartt et al. 2012, p. 23

A story from the PAA archive, explaining the creation of the Eastern Division—from 1927 until 1942—equates the "old-time explorer, the bloody conquistadores" with "the Americans of 1927…who pushes the pioneering inter-American airline from Florida

south." The Eastern Division, later renamed the Latin American Division, exemplifies how a new imperialism is embedded in PAA storytelling. The narrative of pioneering blurs the hidden message of a re-conquest of the Americas by air, with PAA the modern explorers and conquistadores. Tracing back the evolution of the PAA divisions, their formation was a consequence of PAA expansion on the continent and the new routes across the region, also contingent to the political and technological changes before and after WWII. During a one-year period, new routes down to the South of the continent saw the Caribbean and the Brazilian Divisions merged into the new Eastern Division (including Puerto Rico, Guianas, Amazon region, and Brazil Coastal cities). By 1935, Colombia was part of the Pacific Division, whereas Ecuador and Lima were included in the Western Division. In the following year, the Atlantic Division was in charge of all routes to European countries.

During the war years, a programme conducted by PAA and Latin American governments replaced 30,000 miles of "Axis-controlled air service in South America" (Pan American Airways, 1942, p. 36). The European presence in the American continent, (i.e., around 1928 a route between Buenos Aires-Paris was developed), especially the German presence in Colombia, which worried the US as they were drawn into WWII, that the Germans would seize the Panama Canal, influenced PAA diversification and new contracts of routes in the Latin American territory (Bender & Altschul, 1982). Also, the replacement of land-type aircraft for flying boats made possible the merger of the Eastern and Western Divisions into a single operating unit called the "Latin American Division" (Pan American Airways, 1943a). The process of building a division named Latin America

reflects how artificial borders (Anzaldúa, 2007) came into being by PAA homogenisation of the diversity of South, Central, and North America (Mexico).

Passengers transported by PAA increased from a few in 1927 to more than a million by 1950 (Figure 5). This was reflected in the increase of air traffic between PAA and the Latin American nations, in particular, Central America (Figure 6).

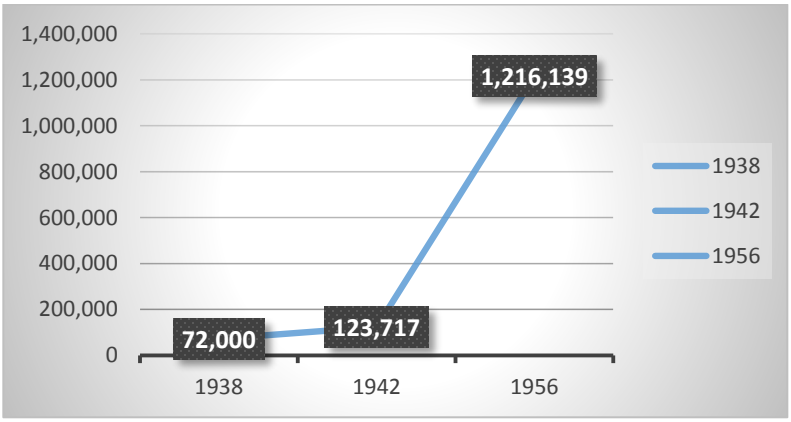

Figure 5: Evolution of Annual Passengers in LAD 1938-1956 (Pan American Airways, 1957b) (Pan American Airways, 1942)

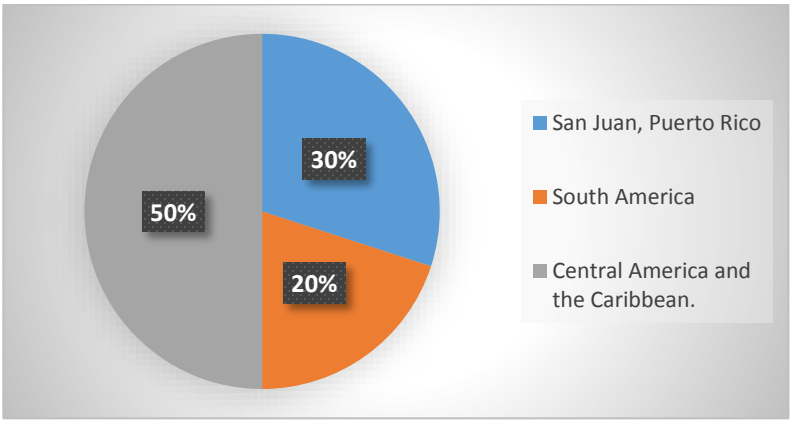

Figure 6: Latin American Division Annual Business (1957) (PAA Plans Latin American Expansion, (Pan American Airways, 1956a, p.42-43).

Increased routes to Central America and the Caribbean makes sense in the context of the US military strategy to protect the continent from the attack of Axis nations.

The following sections begin to tease out the influence of PAA business expansion into the production of images and texts that represent the culture of Latin American nations.

4.5 The Business of Flying and its Influence on Cultural Representations of Latin America

In his essay, Joseph (1998) argues for a new cultural history of US-Latin American relationships. Today, efforts to intersect culture, power, and the social construction of political life arise new questions about the nature of the foreign-local encounter (Joseph, 1998). In this line, I pose this question: *How did images and texts contribute to the metanarratives of US expansionism and the North American cultural imperialism over South American nations?* Different institutions, including business organisations, represented South America for a North American audience through devices like travel narratives, geographic handbooks, and maps (Salvatore, 1998). According to Salvatore (1998), these representations of South America can be grouped according to three functions: 1) present to North American visitors a coherent interpretation of what visitors could do in South America. Here, the North American presence is legitimatized by images and stories of a North American self-portrait of peace, modernity, commerce, and masculinity; 2) present the nature of South America through sketches, painting, and photography that translate perceptions of the region's natural resources, inhabitants, customs, institutions, and beliefs into simplified expressions and texts about the meaning

of “South America”; and 3) present texts and images of South America to a North American audience through illustrated magazines, travel books, maps, and handbooks.

Between 1890 and 1930, the US increased its investment in South America using technologies of representation characteristic of the age of mass-produced commodities, like photography, product advertising, and illustrated magazines (Salvatore, 1998). In the context of the new ideology of Pan-Americanism (1910-1915) put forward by the US to engage all American states, and cultural interventions like the creation of the publications of the Pan American Union (PAU) or business groups tours to see South America, the quantity and qualitative knowledge regarding Latin America grew without precedent (Salvatore, 1998).

In the beginning of the 20thcentury, three main perceptions regarding South America transformed the new relationship between the US and the region: the childish political character of the region, their racial mixture, and their economic backwardness (Salvatore, 1998). First, a distinction between Argentina and Brazil, two nations that created commercial, cultural, and political ties with the US were conceived as mature nations in comparison with Peru, Ecuador, Bolivia (sometimes Chile), which were seen as premodern, feudal, and infected by landlordism. Second, the discourse of racial diversity associated with racial degeneration was transformed and some positive aspects were identified in the national diversity (Indians, Africans, and Spaniards) and new European immigration to South America that influenced the region’s economics, culture, and politics. Third, North Americans acknowledge some signs of modernity in parts of South America, particularly urban metropolises, like Buenos Aires or Rio de Janeiro. The stereotype of an economic backwardness was transformed, due also to the influence from

foreign companies who created new conceptions of social progress through branch offices, and management practices. Still, a contrast between modern cities versus antique nations, e.g., Peru, Ecuador, and Bolivia, are represented as part of South American diversity.

Connection between business and knowledge since US business expansion, in the 1920s, reached a great interdependency (Salvatore, 1998). Ties between the US government and PAA in the following decades had shown how the airport development program in the context of the US military defence also had an impact on technological innovations (meteorology, airspace routes, and economics) (Brady, 2012) that consequently expanded the knowledge of geopolitics of Latin American nations. Considering that before WWII, PAA was the chosen instrument of the US government (Bender & Altschul, 1982) with exclusivity over all Latin American airspace, its influence beyond business has to be taken seriously. PAA tourist material before and after WWII provides a relevant example of multi-national representational power on Latin American nations and non-Anglo cultures, in general. I will use an educational magazine and a flight map as illustration, focusing on the intersection of nation with aspects of race and gender in the representations of Latin Americans.

A booklet, "Flying Clippers in the Southern Americas," organized the first eighteen years of "news and history" of PAA operation in the region in seventeen newsletter articles. Here, the purpose of PAA Educational Service was to educate teachers with "a background of some of the more intimate details of international air transport" in Latin America (Pan American Airways, 1945a, p. 1). These articles, in the scenario of international trade, tell the story of two Americas, North and South, by noticing the

geographical contrast. Latin America was represented as the tropics, and as the exporter of fruits and vegetables, "popular native food" (Pan American Airways, 1945a, p. 25) and minerals; whereas, the US was represented as the cold North, and a great exporter of furs, such as silver fox, red fox, and squirrel. This division ties in with the discourse of *tropicalisation* (Prasad, 2003), in which an artificial boundary is created between temperate and tropical cultures. Hence, the imaging of the Latin American identity reproduces part of this discourse of tropicalisation, where tropical regions are full of exotic flora and fauna, inhabited by tropical natives (exotic and sexually stimulating), but also inferior and undesirable (Prasad, 2003, p. 157).

Construction of the airport of Barreiras in Brazil within the context of the US government airport development program unfolds in "Flying Clippers in the Southern Americas," as a story of masculinity, Anglo-Saxon domination, and native Latin Americans. The description of the unreachability of the geography of Barreiras (which means *barrier* in English), sets the context for the story of a white man, George Konshin, who took the lead, and, using his skills and capabilities, with the help of PAA engineers, became a symbol of the white man's conquest of nature. The following excerpt from the article, *Cutoff Route to Río*, explains this point:

> Until the coming of the airplane, fewer than a handful of white men had ever crossed the wide belt of Brazil's "dark" interiors. Any map of South America showed great blank spaces from Matto Grosso to the Amazon, scarcely a dot showed between the Sao Francisco and the Tocantins…"The Man…" who carved a highway through the stone for a machine to climb had not only made possible one of the most important airports in the new world…he had also helped to open

> up a million square miles of valuable territory (Pan American Airways, 1945a, pp. 15,19).

The image at the beginning of this chapter, a white man holding a map and looking up at the natural wall of the region of Barreiras (Figure 2), while stepping over a legend saying, "it can't be done," reinforces the idea that US enterprises brought to South American nations modernity, civilisation and progress. The explorers are white men; whereas, Latin Americans are black (the quotation marks in the word "dark" interiors appeared in the original version). White male domination over black Latin America appears to be the story's plot. Modern dichotomies of rationality versus nature are symbols of PAA technological efforts to expand their business and transform nature and imprint the human footprint, the white mark, and PAA's imprint.

The story of the Barreiras's airport hinders the representation of Latin Americans as black, uncivilised, underdeveloped, and premodern. PAA's description of Brazilian men as "natives…whose first view of an automobile was that thundering mass of metal that came bounding over the edge of the cliff" (Pan American Airways, 1945a, p. 19), reaffirms that gender and nationality stratify white/men/PAA over dark/men/Brazilian. The language that PAA uses to describe the Brazilians (nationality) as natives reflects the fashion of the 1940s, where racism was greatly embedded in the US culture and the modern explorer's legacy of colonialism insisted upon discovering Latin America.

By 1939, PAA created a Belem-to-Rio Route, secretly founded by the US War Department (Brady, 2012). A flight map of Rio de Janeiro, Buenos Aires, and New York (Figure 7), including the Belem to Rio route, sheds light on the intersection of politics, business, and cultural representations of the Latin American other. On one hand, Belem is

a business enclave, as it has the main shipping port inside the Amazon forest, exporting jungle products, like rubber, Brazilian nuts, fibres, medicinal plants, and snakes. This "unique flight," as PAA describes in its flight map, connecting Belem to cosmopolitan Rio de Janeiro (city, sea and sky blend), I argue, is at the intersection between rural and urban life in Brazil according to PAA. For this, PAA has displayed several images on the map of the Atlantic coast to illustrate what travellers should be ready to see when flying down South America. On the one hand, images, such as toucans, crocodiles, cattle, nuts and minerals, symbolise Brazil's naturalistic essence. Also, the portrait of brown-skinned indigenous people conveys the message of natives from Brazil; through the lenses of gender, the native indigenous image is contrasted with the illustration of a brown-skinned woman, colourfully dressed, with scant clothes, dancing, and wearing a fruit hat below the legend, "Carnival in Rio the annual three day frolic." The body image of the brown woman is fashioned for the amusement of the US traveller, probably a man—an Anglo Saxon man—traveling for pleasure.

Figure 7: The business of flying and the body image of Latinas (Pan American Airways, 1947)

4.6 Summary

The purpose of this chapter is to address PAA's case study and its history, with a critical perspective influenced by decolonial theories. In doing so, I explain how politics and business influenced the representations of nation, gender, and race in the creation of a market out of Latin America, which consequently sets the study of PAA as reproduced of a cultural imperialism in hands of a multi-national.

The chapter began with a critical look at PAA's 'history' and its linkage with Latin America, first, an explanation of the link PAA-US government through the Airport Development Program; second, a focused on PAA business in Latin America and the creation of a Latin American Division in 1943. The chapter concludes with representations of Latin Americans and its culture, using, as examples, a booklet of South

America and a flight map in which PAA depicts images of natives, brown Latinos, and gaudy brown women. When compared with the self-image of PAA as the explorer, the white Anglo man that dares nature, the Amazon jungle, the intersection of gender and race expresses how postcolonial images of the other are produced.

The following chapter begins with a colonial history of Latin America and then an introduction to an analysis of PAA grand narratives in the context of US-Latin American relationships, between 1927 and 1960. The use of this type of approach makes possible the combination of elements of intersectionality (the representations of race, gender, and nation, among Latin and Anglo Americans) in PAA documents, located and influenced by a specific time and geo-historical location.

Chapter 5: PAA Storytelling of Latin America

Figure 8: The Latin Neighbours in PAA's Grand Narrative (Pan American Airways advertisement, 1941)

5.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an explanation of how PAA narrativised and represented Latin America, considering the mutual influence between the multi-national and its context. To do so, I analyse PAA corporate material in terms of grand narratives (Boje, 2001) to establish dominant discourses about Latinos. Based on three themes, e.g., politics, economics and culture, I develop three grand narratives or official stories that I

argue summarise PAA storytelling about Latin America. Following a decolonial feminism, I aim to decontextualise the past and the hegemonic storytelling embedded in PAA grand narratives. The deconstruction of the past involves taking an antenarrative analysis (Boje, 2008a) (*ante* meaning before), in which pieces of stories also relevant to an explanation of what *Latin America* means, is developed to contradict PAA officialised narrative.

This chapter is divided into six sections. The first section introduces the goal of the chapter, while the second section provides a historical background of the colonial process in Latin America during the 15th century, with an explanation of the implications of the shift from Eurocentrism to US cultural imperialism since WWII, as well as a focus on the avoidance of looking at gender in decolonial studies. The third section provides a description of the three grand narratives I crafted from my reading of PAA material focused on Latin America. In so doing, I propose several antenarratives that contradict or uncover fragments of the past and its influence in the relationship between PAA, the US and Latin America. The fourth section is a critical reflexivity of my own voice in the analysis of PAA stories. The fifth section is a discussion of the theoretical contributions of grand narratives and antenarratives to conduct a decolonial study. A summarization the chapter's main points concludes.

5.2 Colonialism in America

The Invention of America

To provide an understanding of Latin America within the realm of a PAA constructed understanding, questioning the Eurocentrism of most historical analysis

(Goody, 2006) is required. Most historical narratives are made from the perspective of a Western rationality, which is uncritical of the white privilege and the implications of colonialism for the colonised people. The same occurs within the discipline of management studies, the study of culture and the past. In relation to PAA, I propose to deconstruct the Western ideology behind the business management in Latin America, and its impact in reproducing old ideas imposed from the European colonisation.

There is growing support for claiming that the understanding of colonisation and postcolonialism cannot be separated from the historical influence of modernity between Europe (old world) and America (new world) (Dussel, 2002; Mignolo, 2007; Quijano, 2000b). The discovery of America, according to Mignolo (2005b) should be addressed as the invention of America, which came from Europe during the Renaissance (14th to 17th century). The word *discovery* assumes that the Americas were not inhabited before Europeans arrived, a factually untrue statement. In contrast, the *invention* of America incorporates the power exercised by Europe on the South (and North) American continents by its authority to write the history of America. As mentioned by Pratt (1992), who examines Alexander von Humboldt's South American writings, South America has been ideologically reinvented after its conquest through narratives of Europeans during the first decades of the 19th century. The historical period called *colonial* (or modernity) emerged around the 16th century, with the discovery/invention of America (Mignolo, 2005b, p. xiii) and marked the beginning of Europe's global hegemony. Given the imperial supremacy of Europe over their colonies, a hierarchical system of colonial binaries was created, where the masculine West is represented as coloniser, modern, superior, and the non-West as colonised, archaic, and inferior (Table 4).

Table 4: The Hierarchical System of Colonial Binaries

West	Non-West
Active	Passive
Center	Margin/periphery
Civilised	Primitive/savage
Coloniser	Colonised
Developed	Backward/undeveloped/underdeveloped/ developing
Fullness/plenitude/completeness	Lack/inadequacy/incompleteness
Historical (people with history)	Ahistorical (people without history)
The liberated	The savable
Masculine	Feminine/effeminate
Modern	Archaic
Nation	Tribe
Occidental	Oriental
Scientific	Superstitious
Secular	Nonsecular
Subject	Object
Superior	Inferior
The vanguard	The led
White	Black/Brown/yellow

(Prasad, 1997, p. 291)

America, as an ideological invention from travel narratives by Europeans, unfolded as the knowledge about (Latin) America that Europeans will accept as truth. Since the time of Christopher Columbus's landing on (what eventually came to be called) the American continent, most legends and stories portrayed people of the new world as

distinct creatures, a hybrid between humans and animals. The images shown in the *Museo de America* (Museum of the Americas in Madrid[v]) documents this distortion regarding Latin American people. For example, the image of a giant woman from Patagonia (now Argentina) being fed by a tiny sailor appears in John Byron book, "Voyage around the World" from 1766. Another example is Louis Feuillee's (explorer, botanist, geographer, and astronomer), "El monstruo de Buenos Aires," who describes a monster in Buenos Aires, in 1714, a monster resembling a child, a horse, and a calf. According to the Museum of the Americas, a symbolic representation of the Americas was born as a consequence of these accounts that historians, researchers, and elite travellers from Europe shared through written and spoken words, as well as through works of art.

Restructuring America into Latin and Anglo

In a postcolonial context where the West has the dominant voice to represent other cultures, an understanding of stereotypical images regarding Latin Americans requires an examination of the history of colonialism, traced back to the relationship among imperial countries. Literature on *The Black Legend* (*La leyenda Negra y la Verdad Historica*) (Juderías, 1914) reveals how the British Empire fabricated the stereotyped image of a backward, cruel, and irresponsible Spanish Empire. These stereotypes were passed to the New World up to contemporary popular cultures, by influencing beliefs that distinguish the North American people as hard workers and developed, in contrast with the Latin American people as laid back and underdeveloped, an example of which is the belief of North American superiority, particularly US superiority, is the notion of *Manifest Destiny,* a part of the United States rhetoric about political, social, and racial superiority.

It postulates, "Anglo Saxons are endowed as a race with innate superiority over other races" (Johnson, 1980, p. 14), which has long been embedded in US history: the idea that the US has a manifest destiny to become a shining light of virtue and social, economic, cultural and political success. This helps to explain why a number of scholars studying race and ethnicity argue that the notion of race is a consequence of modernity and its premises (Wade, 2010), i.e., hierarchies of race and ethnicity can be linked to modernity which, in turn, can be linked to the colonisation of the people of the Americas. PAA superiority is evident when introducing their then famous airplane, the Flying Clipper, as Latin American "renaissance" or industrial awakening (Pan American Airways, 1943d, p. 5).

The *Black Legend*, which portrayed Spaniards as cruel, exploitative, and anti-modern, was constructed by the British Empire during the 17th century, a time when England and Spain disputed the Atlantic economy in the New World. The *Black Legend* had a great impact in the origins of the imperial difference and the creation of "Latin" America (Mignolo, 2005b, p. 55). Yet, a tourist guide of PAA from 1954 (Pan American Airways, 1954) reflects this contrast: the positive representation of the English (British) as virtuous against the negative image of Spaniards as ignorant. England is described as "the closest thing to home you'll find abroad" (home being the US, thus PAA), and the English are described as reserved, friendly, and unfailingly courteous (p. 52). Additionally, the English royalty is perceived as enhancing the dignity of the English people unlike anywhere else. On the other hand, Spain is described as a colourful land, and Spaniards are "unfailingly courteous to strangers, and while they may not always understand you, they will at least make the effort" (p.161).

The idea of the American continent divided into two cultures emerges in the mid-18th century as a consequence of a historical process; Anglo-America was colonised by the English and French and is located in the North, and "Latin" America was colonised by Spanish and Portuguese and is located in the South. The descriptions among tourist guides, like the example aforementioned (Pan American Airways, 1954), reminds that the US is Anglo like England, and that Latin America has its roots in the Spanish conquest. PAA representations are built on the border between the Anglo and the Latin worlds.

Is important to recognise the influence of the imperial history in establishing racial differences among colonisers, as well as among colonised people. This influence, summarised in the *Black Legend*, continued over the decades and permeated US ideology, politics, policies, and international affairs. PAA, as a US company, continued this ideology and conveyed a message of cultural divisions that went beyond language and pushed racial discourse among Anglo and Latin Americans. Through advertisements and brochures, PAA was able to speak to their audience, upper-class Anglos and a growing middle-class that, after WWII, were able to afford international travel.

Spanish colonisation of the other (Latin) America became an important narrative in most travel guides of Latin America to create fundamental differences between Anglo and Latin culture. Interestingly enough, by describing Spanish heritage in Central and South America, PAA could create a hierarchy among Latinos tainted by their ethnic background. I will explorer further in the following sections the division created between Latinos with European background, identified mainly in South America, and Latinos with Indigenous appearance, located in most parts of the Caribbean and Northern-South America.

US Centrism and Latin America

A historical event such as WWII, reconfigured the colonial legacy from the old Empires of Spain, Portugal, France, and England to the new world power: the US. Since 1948, US hegemony gave birth to a Westernisation of the world, distinctively known for its "cultural imperialism." This "cultural imperialism" (Ortiz, 2005) entails the expansionist policy of the US regarding their ideals of freedom and democracy and the consequences it has upon non-US (other) cultures by the "authority of the imperial voice" (Mignolo, 2005b, p. 81) over nonimperial voices like the countries in Latin America.

By the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries, new ways of representing images of Latin America emerged in the encounters of the US and Latin America. Latin America, in caricatures, reflected contemporary historical and political context.

Curiously, and connected to this thesis, is the fact that these representations had a gender connotation. As accounted by Johnson (1980), cartoonists in the US portrayed a feminine Latin America, by displaying three traditional images ascribed to women in society: 1) attractive, 2) defenceless, and 3) physically fragile (p. 73). These images symbolise Latin America as a weak, inadequate, dependent female, implying the inferiority of Latin American nations. Also important was that these images were mostly a reflection of the white, Anglo-Saxon woman, with some exceptions of dark-skinned, aboriginal-looking images. In tourist brochures created by PAA between 1927 and 1960, the portrait of Latin America also displayed femininity mostly in brochure cover-pages, showing exotic, graceful, and sexual brown/dark women.

The collection of interventions, narratives, and descriptions of South America by the US are captured in the concept of the "representational machine" (Salvatore, 2006). Its author describes this process:

> In their multiple interventions, the informal Empire of North America created a variety of representations about South America that circulated in the media (traveller's narratives, maps, museums expositions, commercial press releases, immigration publicity, manuals for missionaries abroad, popular magazines, newspaper articles, theatre plays, etc.) reaching a great audience in North America. Through a process of simplification, adjectives, attribution, allegories and deployment in the United States, South America became accessible to the public, the educated reader, the academic and the expert. (p.27).

This focus on the "representational nature of the postcolonial encounter" (Salvatore, 1998, p. 69) translates into an informal imperialism. The *informal imperialism* is a reconfiguration of the history of military and economic interventions of the US in Latin America. This shift in focus means, for example, that the politics behind the project of Pan-Americanism that was pursued by the US, has equally been developed behind "maps, paintings, geography books, novels, and natural history exhibits" (p. 72). Likewise, PAA production of flight maps, tourist brochures, tourist guides, calendars, and magazines of Latin America was also part of the discourse of Pan-Americanism, during the 1940s. For instance, world-wide travel calendars, in 1947, with the theme, "A world without geographical limits," and the creation of the International hotel corporation to expand the hotel industry in Mexico, Central, and South America are PAA initiatives in this regard (Pan American Airways, 1946b).

The Gender Neutrality in Latin American Colonial Histories

Postcolonial studies have been treated as gender neutral (Acker, 1990, 2006) among scholars. The critique by postcolonial feminist of postcolonial thinkers is for leaving out the patriarchal and gendered nature of the nation-state and the economic exploitation of Third World Women (Mendoza, 2002). A revisionism of the history of colonialism in Latin America should contemplate gender, a category preceding race, together with race, and work as they are entangled in the process of colonialism (Quijano, 2000a).

When colonialism is seen through the nuances of intersectionality, we are able to grasp how the colonial power diminished the role of the brown woman by imposing a white patriarchal model of society (Lugones, 2008). Many centuries later from Spanish colonisation, corporate executives, like those from PAA, were to engage in a similar political manipulation to market a holiday in Mexico by creating a racial femininity of the Latin American woman. International relationships were not immune to the dynamics of gender, race and work, and PAA image-making is a great example of those dynamics. For instance, the Latin woman was pictured as a domestic worker or caregiver, the Anglo woman as a stewardess, and the Anglo-man as company manager or wealthy tourist. The creation of an international division of labour between Latinos and US citizens is linked to gender in the way that PAA distinguishes and classifies the image making of Latinas and Anglo women. Bearing in mind that in 1930/1940, domestic and caregiving activities were not considered work, PAA representation of the brown woman in a domestic and nurturing setting is suspicious when, world-wide, women were entering to the labour market, as a consequence of the war.

The following sections present the grand narratives I created, based on my interpretation of PAA magazines, newsletters, travel journals, and tourist guides in relation to Latin America and guided by a decolonial feminist viewpoint.

5.3 Decolonising Latin America in PAA's storytelling

PAA actions to develop closer ties with the Latin American region can be grouped in three main themes: politics, economics, and culture.

The use of Boje's (2001) grand narrative analysis dismantles the single-voiced narration of Latin America in PAA magazines, booklets, and newsletters. Grand narratives make evident the one-sided discourse of PAA and how it has legitimated knowledge from the past (Lyotard, 1987). Grand narratives are plausible because other histories are being suppressed, hidden, untold, or erased. The point is that restoring past dominant or grand narrative into a "new story" of the future is plausible (Rosile et al., 2013). Thus, Boje introduces the concept of antenarrative (created by him), which means two things: a) *ante* for before the cohesive narrative is created; and b) *bet* for shaping the future that is prospective sensemaking (Rosile et al., 2013). An antenarrative analysis here is used to show fragmented pieces of discourse that were erased from PAA's grand narrative. This analysis brings into practice the decolonial framework, and its critique to the one-sided narratives from the West. Then the antenarrative analysis is used here to "recontextualise or decontextualise" PAA's official story with former political, economic, and cultural histories of Latin American nations. By using Boje (2001, 2008a, 2008b)and thematic analysis, I describe three relevant grand narratives about Latin America that I found recurrent in the material between the years 1927 and 1960. These grand narratives

overlap, over time, as I will show; nevertheless, I present them by following a chronology of socio-political events as junctures (Mills, 2010) that influence the US-Latin America relation. These grand narratives and antenarratives build the frame for the interpretation of tourist brochures and advertisement of Latin America (analysis that follows in the next chapter) because they bring to the analysis the power dynamics in a particular time and space.

The Good Neighbour Grand Narrative

The first half of the 20th century was in turmoil, worldwide. The economic crisis of the Great Depression and two world wars reshaped the world map like never before. The US became the most important player in carving out major political and economic changes and becoming the dominant geopolitical power (alongside the USSR) in the post-WWII era.

The US exercised a dominant role in international politics through several political instruments, which, directly and indirectly, involved Latin American nations. Since 1823, with the establishment of the Monroe Doctrine, the US expressed its fear to Europe's re-colonisation of the American continent. Protection of the Western hemisphere from former European empires made the US government allow military interventions if necessary across American nations, since 1904, with the Corollary of the Monroe Doctrine. This corollary in practice was the justification for US political intervention in Latin American territory. The winds of change in the new 20th century forced the government to change its strategy of military intervention to cooperation and trade with the Latin American nations.

From the beginning of the 1930s, PAA had been promoting a *Good Neighbourism* before Franklin D. Roosevelt (FDR) created the US government's Good Neighbour policy. The *Good Neighbour grand narrative* was born as a way of encouraging air transport as a mean to connect the nations of the Western hemisphere, while growing the US political and economic influence in Latin America (Van Vleck, 2013).

The Good Neighbour policy, launched by the US government in 1933, declares that the US would not implement a military intervention into the Latin American territory, and, instead, enhance good friendship among the nations in the region. The narrative of good relationships with the neighbour nations that later influenced the romantic gaze of Latin Americans is linked to the political distrust between the US and Latin America and can be traced back to the 19th century and the Monroe Doctrine. The Monroe Doctrine of 1823 was supposed to prevent Europeans' effort to colonise the US, and then the rest of the American continent. In 1904, a Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine was created during Theodore Roosevelt's presidency, which represented *the big stick* policy from the US. This Corollary gave the US the right to military interventions to protect US citizens, even where such dangers were anticipated rather than actual activities by any European power. In practice, Washington intervened militarily a dozen times during the first quarter of the 20th century in Latin America (e.g., the interventions to Haiti, 1915-1930, Dominican Republic 1916-1924, Cuba, etc.) (Patel, 2016).

Later on, a new US president, FDR (1933-1945), came into power and was determined to improve the relationship with Central and South America. Although the Good Neighbour policy was not a radical change, it proved to be more than just a

discourse (Patel, 2016). FDR's discourse marked the transitioning from a military interventionist policy (Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine in 19th century) to the good neighbour policy: "All that this country [US] desires is to see the neighbouring countries stable, orderly, and prosperous" and "Any country whose people conduct themselves well can count upon our hearty friendship" (Holden & Zolov, 2011, p. 97). The Good Neighbour policy was launched in 1933, and PAA adopted its discourse in their written material over the following decades.

The influence of the Good Neighbour policy was referenced directly in PAA corporate advertising, after 1933. It was stressed during the inter-war years and strategically during the WWII war years where much of Latin America was suspected by the US of being pro-Axis or at least susceptible to such influence (Bethell & Roxborough, 1988). As the advertisement in the beginning of this chapter shows (Figure 8), PAA identified itself as "The Good Neighbour Who calls Every Day," and tells the reader that the security of the US "depends upon guns and ships and planes" but also "how we (US) rate in friends." More so, in the eyes of the Latin Americans, PAA "not only reflect Uncle Sam; it is Uncle Sam-the chief contact that many of them ever have with this nation." To finish this ad, PAA shares what I call antenarratives or fragmented stories that explain how the good-neighbour grand narrative accommodates to the political plan during WWII against Axis, and, meanwhile, slices in depictions of Latin America as backward, in need, and inferior related to Anglo/North/West/US/PAA. According to the advertisement text,

> Hurdling Latin America's ancient barriers of time, distance, and primitive transportation, PAA has done one thing more. It has turned back the challenge of

competing Axis airlines there; has made thousands of miles on air routes safe for the democratic principles represented by the Stars and Stripes.

During the 40s, the good-neighbour grand narrative was mobilised by the US government by creating programs, legislations, and educational programmes that foster friendship, collaboration, economic help, and experts' advice to the Latin American republics (ICCAR, 1940).

A tourist guide, "A world of Neighbours," creates several images of the region through a multi-styled illustration of cultural artefacts collapsed in half a page, with the legend: 'A portrait of Latin America, the West Indies, and Bermuda, part of A World of Neighbours.' (Pan American Airways, 1946d) (Figure 9).

Figure 9: A portrait of Latin America and its people

This portrait suggests the pastiche of symbolic artefacts in the attempt to represent the cultural diversity of an unknown region for the Anglos. Central in this image are the leaders of the independence from Spain and Portugal, the trace of colonialism. Also,

landmarks, like the ruins in Mexico, volcanoes, beaches and modern buildings, are brought together, creating ambiguity when compared with images of rural men and women working in the fields, in agricultural activities. The masculine portrait of Latin America shows three women and eleven men. PAA postcoloniality is gendered, as Latinas are repeatedly represented in two ways: as domestic (submissive), and as entertainers, performing sensuality through the dance.

Latin America is first described as a vast portion of land to the South of the US. Then, the technical description becomes a representation of a vast region where US tourists can enjoy Latin music, dancing, explore the Amazon, or shop in the big cities, like Rio de Janeiro or Buenos Aires. At this point, the colonial past becomes part of PAA narrative about Latin America and the European colonisation entangles with mysterious tales of conquering, and the comparison with US colonisation. US cultural superiority is embedded in PAA narrative, "routes of Pan American World Airways System can spread out below him [the tourist] the whole panorama of the past, present and indications of the future of these lands" (Pan American Airways, 1946d, p. 20). In this narration, postcoloniality emerges as follow: the air traveller is assumed to be a white/Anglo man (him). Latin America is below him, thus inferior to the Anglo-man. Also, there is a representation of the past and a plausible future, where appears implicit the idea that PAA is the future in the present, as they are pioneers in technology, commercial aviation, and networking routes, across Latin America:

> Caribbean islands, where Columbus's caravels rode the waves and Morgan and Captain Kidd haunt the coral sands. Latin America had been touched by European explorers and treasure-seekers…Much of Latin America had colonies nearly a

century before the first permanent English settlers landed at Plymouth Rock in 1620. (Pan American Airways, 1946d, p. 20)

PAA punctuates the Latin American past in the European conquest, kindly called European 'explorers.' The European narrative of the 'discovery' of America by Columbus becomes PAA's narrative. But the invention of America (Mignolo, 2005b) is a reminder of the existence of pre-Columbian cultures before European settlers. Then, PAA reproduces the colonial narrative and engages in a postcolonial narrative regarding the idea of Latin America.

In the context of mass consumption and advertising, the good-neighbour grand narrative was able to propagate a friendly and attractive image of Latin America. Seducing the Anglo Saxon and European traveller took PAA to craft several narratives of the Latin American nations as good neighbours, whereby exploiting certain images, ideas, and information in themes, such as nature, culture, colonial past, and urban-versus-rural life (Table 5).

Table 5: The Representation of the Latin American Nations

Region	Country/City	Representation
Mexico		"visit timeless Taxco, an exquisite, unspoiled bit of Old Spain, transplanted to Mexico" "Taxco-"untouched"
Central America		"busy garden lands"
South America		"In South America, particularly, many things remain from the days when Spaniards and Portuguese first settled there- beautiful cathedrals housing art masterpieces, the "colonial" cities of

	Brazil's lengthy coast, and ornamental doorways and courtyards, for example"
Peru	"Peru…The dignity of the ages of vanished empires"
Chile	"Chile…is the home of gay and legendary huasos (cowboys), some of the finest wines ever made, and the capital city of Santiago, a bit of Old Madrid transplanted to the Western World."
Argentina	"over the vast pampas you may notice below your herds of thousands of cattle, fattening on the rich green grasses tended by the gauchos, those carefree Argentine cowboys"
Buenos Aires	"entertainment usual enough to thrill the truest Parisian"

From *A world of neighbours* (Pan American Airways, 1946d, pp. 20-22)

Latin America is represented as a land of gauchos, a transplantation of European cities, like Madrid in the new world, and is also depicted as a land of empires (like the Inca) that no longer exist. These representations were elements in the narration of Latin America, which PAA crafted by juggling a sense of time (pre-colonial and colonial past), geography (Madrid/Europe), and the binary similar-different (folk/gauchos). European colonisation was very important towards the construction of the grand narrative of good neighbours, as it gave a sense of entitlement to the South American nations who had more white mixture than Caribbean, more Afro descendent.

One PAA booklet, telling the story of 17 years of experience flying with the Clippers during the years of WWII, is permeated by the grand narrative of the good

neighbour, while perpetuating a subtle sense of entitlement by PAA. In a headline "Our good neighbours to the south," PAA congratulates it associated airlines in Latin American:

> From the very beginning of the company –in 1927 –Pan American has sought not to control the air…but rather to aid and advise our "Good Neighbours" in the formation of their own national airlines. (Pan American Airways, 1945d, p. 13).

The US tradition of paternalism towards Latin American countries (Patel, 2016) underpins their role as advisors and aid-providers. The history of the Mexican-Anglo American war of 1845-48 seemed long forgotten by the US in a PAA description of Mexico, as:

> "The Queen of Cities" A plaza in Mexico City from the air…The capital city of our nearest "Good Neighbours" to the South has two million inhabitants, beautiful boulevards, a truly international atmosphere. (Pan American Airways, 1945d, p. 15)

During the first decades of the 20th century, through the ideology of Pan-Americanism, the production of representations of South America was increased (Salvatore, 1998) and went through several iterations, from threats of danger to the US (Durepos et al., 2008a) to good neighbours, but always as part of the narrative of world beauty, nature, and mystery. PAA influence on shortening routes across geographies became part of another narrative of "Linking North with South America":

> South America is a long continent…Yet, PAA has brought Buenos Aires within 3 1/2 days' travel-time from the US and will cut that time to 21 hours after the war. In addition, through its main trunk lines and its associated companies. PAA has

> linked every country in South America with every other country on that continent and with Central America, the West Indies, North America, and the rest of the world as well. This fact has been of great benefit to South America because that continent was divided, north from south, by the almost impenetrable Amazon jungle and, east from west, by the almost unsalable Andes. Clippers, flying over both obstacles on regular schedules, have made the continent one (Pan American Airways, 1945d, p. 16).

The Amazon forest, as a challenge to unite the continent, becomes a parallel story of PAA in the creation of the Barreiras airport in the middle of Brazilian territory.

Latin America played a crucial role in PAA's first thirty years, which is evident in the airline's advertising, newsletters, and travelogues, narrating its people as "true neighbours out of the world's people" (Pan American Airways, 1957a, p. 2). Counter narratives that arise as alternative stories to the grand narrative of PAA emerge, though. First, one that reveals Latin America as a business for PAA, "a vast area two and a half times the size of the continental US and the home of 130,000,000 Good Neighbours." (Pan American Airways, 1946b). Reading in-between the lines is the opportunity of a vast market for PAA business expansion. According to an article in PAA's magazine 'How "friendly commerce" with neighbours helps save US taxpayers money,' Latin America is a market that represents an economic benefit for the US citizens after WWII,

> PAA's ties with Latin American airlines pinpoint the way an airline which co-operates with other airlines can lighten the subsidy burden on [Anglo] American taxpayers. Back in the 20s, PAA developed routes in Latin America where none existed…Today, PAA shares operating bases with other airlines…has received

> $10 million from affiliated airlines in the form of commissions, feeds, dividends, and interests. In addition, this "friendly commerce" has fostered the growth of these Latin American carriers to such an extent that they are now feeders of traffic into PAA's air network. All these points mean less subsidy…and a saving to the [Anglo] American taxpayer (Pan American Airways, 1958b)

Another counter narrative is hidden behind PAA's need to "make true neighbours" of countries from South America, like Argentina, who had a history of confrontations with the US. This narrative of goodwill intends to mask the previous military interventions in Latin American territory, and also the diplomatic tensions between the US and some Latin American nations.

De-Germanisation of Latin American routes Antenarrative

The good-neighbour grand narrative shields several antenarratives or opposite stories to PAA's official narration. The narrative of goodwill and friendship overlaps with the US stories of rivalry, war, the atomic bomb, and world domination. WWII is the point in history in which the world reconfigured from the colonial legacy of the old imperial countries (Spain, Portugal, France and England) to US cultural imperialism (Mignolo, 2005b; Ortiz, 2005). During the war years, the US was concerned with totalitarian regimes in Europe expanding within Latin America and, eventually, the US (United States Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs & Rowland, 1947).

Also important was the political aspect of aviation in Latin America, which became a concern for the US government regarding the presence of Axis countries (viz. Japan, Italy, and Germany), with a particular concern for Nazi Germany and its influence

on German-owned companies in the South American continent. By 1939, most of the air routes in Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, Brazil, Argentina and Uruguay, were controlled by German companies (Lockwood & Smith Luther, 1941). SCADTA, the main airline in Colombia, was operated by Germans, but secretly owned by PAA. As stated above, Juan Trippe, the President of PAA and, as such, a man with a large control of SCADTA since 1930, staged a quasi-military action in 1941 to appear to take over and de-Germanise the airline (Bender & Altschul, 1982). Behind the excuse of a 'German threat' (Durepos et al., 2008a), PAA was involved in replacing most of the Latin American airlines expanding their imperial project towards the region of Latin America (Bender & Altschul, 1982; Roorda, 1998). With the collaboration of the Civil Aeronautics Board, a process of Anglo American expansion within Latin American air routes was initiated. In 1940, the Civil Aeronautics Board granted a certificate of public necessity allowing Panagra (Pan American-Grace Air Lines) to travel around Ecuador, removing SEDTA (Sociedad Ecuatoriana de Transportes Aereos) from the Ecuatorian territory. The same happened in Bolivia (with LAB airline) and with most of the airlines in the region (Lockwood & Smith Luther, 1941, p. 676).

PAA was also the airline that transported US officials, such as Vice President Wallace, on a mission to understand the "problems and necessities" of Latin American republics. After Wallace's trip, it was clear that the narrative of the good neighbour reinforced the paternalistic perspective of PAA; hence, its creation of a plan to protect the hemisphere from the Axis attack (Pan American Airways, 1943b). PAA took advantage of the context of WWII by looking at Nazis, but also Germans, in general, as the enemy

of the US, and as a danger to world peace, in general. The following extract from the personal diary of Betty Trippe expresses this clearly:

> In 1939, our government was concerned about the safety of the Panama Canal because eighty-five per cent of the employees [of SCADTA, German company later controlled by PAA] were German, with planes with easy access to blow up the Canal. (Pan American Airways, 1996, p. 167)

It is important to pinpoint that an organisational narrative flows, over time, leveraged by a socio-political context and at the same time will influence that context. Before 1900, the US saw Latin America as the child or infant who needed US protection from European imperialism from Spain and Portugal (Johnson, 1980). After independence, North America's narrative regarding South America emphasized its political instability, and writers of that time believed it was a characteristic of "young republics," with political immaturity referring to the new nation-states as children (Salvatore, 1998). This narrative changed with the Good Neighbour policy, and with the US domination of the Western world. During WWII, Eurocentrism lost its meaning, and a new villain was created: Germany.

In an analysis of narratives in social science, Czarniawska (2004) uses the example of structural analysis on fairy-tales developed by Russian Vladimir Propp (1968) who stresses the different elements within a narrative and the function they have. Accordingly, Propp decided that the most important component of a story is the role that each character plays in the story. For example, the role of the villain of the story is to cause harm to a victim; and the role of the hero is to confront the villain, fight him or her and proclaim its victory. The narrative controlled by PAA portrays these three characters.

In the grand narrative of the good neighbour PAA is the self-represented hero: protecting and enhancing Latin American (victim) national airlines. The villain is Germany; according to PAA, the airline German Lufthansa was threatening Latin America and wanted to "control the air." (Pan American Airways, 1945d, p. 13). In this struggle, the US had the victory, as the allies won the war. As Orwell once said, "history is written by the winner" (Orwell, 2000, p. 88); thus, PAA developed a single-voiced story, which became the official story.

The bad neighbour, Argentina Antenarrative

Argentina was number one on the list of pro-Fascist countries to be handled by the US secret service. After WWII, German technicians and engineers who had worked for the war industry escaped from Germany, and Argentina (like other Latin American countries) was the recipient of many of them. Some argued that the US government indirectly participated in the decision that facilitated Argentina receiving escaped Nazis (Montes de Oca, 2013, p. 76). It has been documented, though, that several countries were interested in the incorporation of German scientists for their own interest in the advancement of the local technological industry, especially countries, like the US and the Soviet Union (Ojeda, 1988, p. 6). However, this has not been part of the de-Germanisation discourse of PAA. US Records show that 3,000 Germans immigrated to the Soviet Union, 1,600 to the United States, 800 to France, 120 to Argentina and 27 to Brazil (Artopoulos, 2007, p. 106). This evidence disrupts the US tale of the German threat in South America, as they themselves received a great majority of them.

The inauguration of a new route connecting Buenos Aires and New York covers the antenarrative of a conflicted relation between US-Argentina. The interaction between the president of PAA and Eva Perón (first lady of Argentina during Perón's presidency from 1946 until 1951) shows two things. First, that public affairs and a conflicted relationship with Argentina converge into the discourse of masculinity among Latins and Anglos. Second, that Argentina is an example of a nation fighting to preserve their national identity. Thus, in 1950, Betty Trippe, wife of PAA's president, wrote in her diary about the inauguration of an airplane called "El Presidente" in Buenos Aires. The situation of naming the Clipper "El Presidente" instead of "The Argentine" can be a symbol of the tension between both Argentina and the US. The narrative below reveals the emergence of a counter narrative to this supposedly good relationship among the American nations. What follows is an extract from Betty Trippe's diary:

> When she asked [Eva Perón] the name of the plane, she retorted saying it should be "The Peron" and not "The Friendship." Juan [Trippe] quickly responded that someday PAA would be honoured to call a plane "The Argentine." She snapped back and said, "No", it must be "El Presidente Juan Peron". (p. 244)

In the process of naming the new route, several names were laid out, such as The Perón, The Friendship, The Argentine, and El Presidente. Here, Eva Perón and Juan Trippe display Argentina's and the US's representational power. Furthermore, Eva Perón embodies what Mignolo (2011) calls "epistemic disobedience" (p. 122), by trying to change the terms of the conversation occurring with Juan Trippe, and suggesting to call the Clipper "El Presidente Juan Perón." The use of the Spanish language and the name of a Latin American President in one of PAA's Clipper airplanes might be looked as a loss

for PAA representational power. The resistance from Eva Perón to the imperial discourse overlaps with her engagement in the discourse of the Latin American machismo (Stobbe, 2005) when suggesting "El Presidente Juan Perón" as a name for one of the airplanes. Ultimately, Juan Peron is a symbol of masculinity and military.

The second part of Trippe's dairy narrative, "There is such feeling against Argentina in Brazil, that landing rights would be cancelled if a plane was called "Perón" (p. 244), reflects two stories. Firstly, a potential conflict between Argentina and Brazil, mediated by the US. The later provided Brazil with military equipment, enhancing their military power, but denied military supplies to Argentina, because it remained neutral during most of WWII. Secondly, there was the fear that Argentina would have become the new enemy of the US inside the Western hemisphere. The economic and political tension between Argentina and the US was hidden behind these words and behind military exchanges.

The silent story of aviation and military developments during Peron's presidency in Argentina confronted the good-neighbour grand narrative, although the public discourse of Argentina tells otherwise. The interaction between Juan Trippe and Juan Domingo Perón at the ceremony of inauguration of a new airplane flying to Argentina, went as follows: "Juan Trippe, President Juan Domingo Perón, and the first lady of Argentina, Eva Perón, christened the Clipper Friendship, which according to Trippe was "the newest evidence of the close ties that exists between our country [US] and Argentina." (Pan American Airways, 1950a). An interview granted by Colonel Perón to a North American journalist reveals that PAA (US) and Argentina (LA) were politically

correct in front of each other. The following narratives from President Perón is an example:

> I wish to express my special thanks to Mr. Trippe because I know he is a very good friend of ours…our Minister of Finance has told me how hard he has worked in the cause of our friendship with the United States.
>
> …we naturally want to maintain this permanent link with the United States, because as we do not manufacture large airplanes, the development of our aviation would cease on the day that the United States would not sell us any more planes. (Pan American Airways, 1950c, p. 2)

This extract of interview discloses two things. First, the conflicting relationship between the two countries, hidden by the fact that Argentina had to work hard to be friends of the US. Also, the grand narrative of the good neighbour has been enacted by both Argentina and PAA, while covering a story of aviation in Argentina. The story of Argentina's military developments was part of Perón's plan for a national military industry and explains Perón requested of airplane supply to the PAA president.

I further expand on the case of Argentina, which is relevant for this study, not only as it unfolds into an antenarrative of a conflicted relationship with the US government, but more so because Argentina is represented as the whiter and more European among the South American nations. Beginning in 1943, Argentina became the focus of attention of the political agenda of the US Assistant Secretary of State, Adolf Berle, who mentions in his diary about the military government meeting in Buenos Aires in consultation with Nazi intelligence; also, he mentions the connection between Mussolini and Juan Perón, (president of Argentina in 1946, 1951 and 1973) (Instituto

Nacional Juan Domingo Perón, n.d.). In his diary, he also acknowledges that the Argentines are working close to the Germans (Schoultz, 1998). In addition, during WWII, Argentines were unreliable in US eyes , because they decided to take sides with the Allies only close to the end of the war. President F. D. Roosevelt told the Undersecretary of State, Edward Stettinius, "Ed, you make a face to the Argentineans once a week. You have to treat them like children." (Schoultz, 1998, p.320). Curiously enough, Edward Stettinius was brother of Betty Trippe, the wife of the president of PAA, revealing the network between business and family relationships. The distrust towards Argentina continued with Truman's presidency (1945-1953), in which Ambassador Braden was sent by Truman to reenergize the relationship with Latin America. Nevertheless, he was overtly against President Perón. This position could be seen in the 1945 publication of Time magazine that "placed his face [Braden] on its cover, with a background map of South America and an insect sprayer pointed at a dozen Nazi swastikas dotting Argentina" (Schoultz, 1998, p. 321).

In this context of rivalry between the US and Argentina, PAA's economic interest overlaps the political conflicts, as a booklet during the 40s represents Argentina as a 'Country of natural wealth', attractive for the US market.

> Argentina stands high on the list of Latin American nations both as a market for US exports and a supplier of US needs. Our imports from Argentina during our first full year of war (1942) were 268% greater than during the last full year of peace (1938) (Pan American Airways, 1943d)

Looking at Argentina's portrait (Figure 10), it unfolds the ideas of masculinity and nature. The masculine image of a gaucho, an aggressive and fearless man on a horse, and

a rural lifestyle comes across through the display of mostly cattle, ships, and wheat. However, PAA displays a distinction among Latin nations between those who provide natural resources (cotton, gold, and cattle), and those who are in the southern part of the continent, as more industrialised and 'cultured,' particularly Argentina.

Figure 10: Argentina: masculinity and nature (Pan American Airways, 1943d)

The economic interests of the US in Argentina might explain the emphasis on the arguably cultural similarities between the US and Argentina, based on Argentines' European heritage.

> Argentina, while farthest from the US geographically of any Latin American nations, is perhaps closest to the US in many ways. Her culture and her population steam almost entirely from European sources. In education, in ideals, and to some

> extent economically she is much like our own nation. (Pan American Airways, 1943d)

This narrative mobilises the intersections of postcolonial dualities in the construction of Argentina as the other. Argentina remains in the group of Latin nations, ethnicity. Nevertheless, PAA echoes the Eurocentric ethos over Argentina's European ethnic influence. Then, this colonial past transfers to them the worthiness of being Anglos. By looking at different points of intersection among nation, ethnicity, and race, PAA built disperse narratives regarding Latin Americans.

In the next section, the discussion moves to the economic interests of PAA over the natural resources of the region of Latin America.

Natural Wealth Grand Narrative

After WWII, the expansion of PAA towards the Latin American region reflected two things: new technological advancements; e.g., the jet airplane, and a shift in the commercial trade with Latin America in which Europe lost commercial power and influence against the US. The *natural wealth grand narrative* saw Latin America as a supplier of natural resources for a growing North American market after WWII. The other face of this grand narrative was PAA self-representation as technologically superior to Latins. The good-neighbour grand narrative, still promoting a political friendship with Latin Americans, overlapped and coexisted with stories about Latin America as the source of natural wealth and unlimited resources that will feed the needs of North American buyers. In fact, a good neighbourism helped to recover the economic crisis in the American continent through a 1934 Reciprocal Trade Agreement Act (Argentina

among other nations stood aside) in which US trade with Latin America tripled in dollar value between 1934 and 1941 (Patel, 2016).

Several magazines described the importance of deepen the commercial ties with Latin nations. For example, a promotional calendar, "The Wealth of the Other Americas" (Pan American Airways, 1945c), foresaw the opening of the trade between the US and Latin America, the region that was a "major factor in the expansion of US foreign trade after the war" (Pan American Airways, 1945, p. 4). The expansion of the US was challenged by European competition and the fact that Latin America was the only open market in 1946. Therefore, PAA executed a plan to become the main trader among the Latin American countries creating faster and cheaper flights between New York and the South American metropolis to compete with European cities routes (Pan American Airways, 1946a). An example is in the case of PAA's launch of the 38-hour service between New York and Buenos Aires which became a milestone for international business. The new service aligned with the US narrative of Pan-Americanism that dominated "the interwar" years (Schoultz, 1998, p. 318), and was the juncture where the US restructures the economy, worldwide (Pan American Airways, 1946c), by cracking Argentina's dependency on European trade.

The system of capitalism translates into PAA's narrative of natural wealth in many ways. For example, the Clipper cargo helped local business to sell products ,from baby chicks to deep freeze units, outside of North America (Pan American Airways, 1957b). On the other hand, the commercialization of diamonds from Brazil, the largest producer of diamonds next to South Africa, reflects the involvement of Latin American elites in the construction of the capitalist narrative. Indeed, the Brazilian government

sponsored Panair do Brazil (associated with PAA) to "speed the traffic" of the diamond business (Pan American Airways, 1945a, p. 26). In the meantime, the natural-wealth grand narrative describes a) Latin America as a provider of exotic, native fruits, raw materials (diamonds), and b) North America as an exporter of mostly industrialised products.

The good-neighbour grand narrative complemented the natural-wealth grand narrative in enhancing the trade between the US and Latin America, transforming the global economy in such a way that Brazil became more important than France, and Cuba more relevant than the Netherlands to the United States (Patel, 2016). Through the gaze of postcolonial dualities, Latin America is the colonised, represents the natural world, and their people are natives; contrary to North America, the coloniser, the industrious, and a region with citizens, instead of natives. One of PAA's booklets explains to PAA clients how critical trading with Brazil as a provider of rubber was.

> *Everybody* knows what happened to our rubber supply when the Japs took the East Indies and the Malay peninsula. *Some* people know that the best synthetic rubber tires cannot be made without adding *some* natural rubber. But few people realise that Pan American has been *flying* latex (natural rubber) from Brazil to the United Stated. (Pan American Airways, 1945d, p. 17)

PAA expansion also responded to political arrangements between the US, Latin America, and also Europe. For example, the incorporation of Barbados into PAA's Latin American Division (LAD) required the permission of the United States Civil Aeronautics Board (1948) and the approval of the United Kingdom, as Barbados was a colony of the British Empire, until 1966 (Pan American Airways, 1957b). In the pre-war period, PAA

was able to avoid government interference by negotiating "its own landing contracts in South America" (Pan American Airways, 1946a). During the war years, PAA was directly involved in the construction of airports in the Latin American region. PAA was able to build airports in the jungle of Brazil with military purposes due to secret government contracts, and "by the end of the war, PAA had built fifty airports in fifteen countries" (Pan American Airways, 1996, p. 167).

In the 37-page booklet, "The wealth of the other America," PAA discloses the impact of air travel on the commerce and trade with 20 Latin American nations, as well as with the US. Latin American markets are described as underdeveloped and raw providers but wealthy, too:

> [seaport cities] are separated from each other by great distances of under developed, and in some cases unexplored, areas; they have served simply as hubs of commerce where raw materials from the adjoining agricultural and mining districts could be shipped abroad in exchange for manufactured articles.
>
> When World War II severed the United Nations from their usual sources of raw materials, they looked toward Latin America with its wealth of food, hides, wool and cotton, and its minerals such as copper, oil, chrome, antimony and manganese. (Pan American Airways, 1943d, p. 4)

A commercial co-dependence after WWII in the relationship U.S-Latin America and the fundamental role of PAA in this breakthrough of commercial air travel made the natural wealth grand narrative come to life.

> PAA has helped "break the trail" into this new era in Latin America. With its associated airlines, it has succeeded in surmounting the natural barriers hiding the wealth of the countries. (Pan American Airways, 1943d, p. 5)

Testing technologies in South America Antenarrative

The image of a cutting-edge multi-national technological advancements were the counter-narrative of the natural wealth of Latin America.

Part of PAA's South America expansion was to test new navigation techniques and technologies still unknown for the air industry. Consequently, the company engaged into the position of an Atlantic laboratory (Schwartz, 2004). For instance, since the 1930s, PAA conducted several pilot trips in Jamaica and Argentina. Travels to Jamaica allowed PAA to "pioneer navigation and overwater flying techniques" (Pan American Airways, 1957b, p. 6). Whereas, Argentina was a challenging route, as it was located at the further point South of the continent. Reaching Buenos Aires on November 2, 1931 in a small aircraft after more than a week of travel from the US was an adventure and an experiment for PAA engineers and pilots.

Another example of PAA's pioneering discourse of Latin America is shown in the following excerpt from a newspaper article:

> In pioneering the Latin American air trails, Pan American racked up a substantial number of the many "first" it has written into [Anglo] American transport aviation history. PAA was the first to operate a permanent international air service, first to operate regular foreign airmail service, to utilise radio in air transport, to develop an airways traffic control system, to develop and use instrument flying techniques,

> to develop a complete aviation weather service, to develop and operate four-engine flying boats, operate four engine land planes, operate low economical tourist type air service and many others. (Pan American Airways, 1957b, p. 9)

From a postcolonial perspective, Anglo America is able to bill itself as innovative, prosperous, and industrial because Latin America is the 'other;' somewhere to play around, and experiment, in this case, with technologies on commercial aviation.

The engineers' efforts to cross Brazilian territory with a new route and the new airport of Barreiras developed by PAA, represents the force of men to control nature:

> Ten years after that "last line" had been written PAA' engineers found a way to cut-off 1.000 miles of distance. Five airports were necessary to make the route feasible and safe. (Pan American Airways, 1945a, p. 16)

Sketching coloniality Antenarrative

WWII created challenges as well as business opportunities because it opened up economic opportunities for both the US and PAA. The magazine, "Wealth of the Other Americas" (Pan American Airways, 1943d), is an example of the postcolonial binary superiority-inferiority between the US and Latin America, in the context of the business expansion during the war years. The front page has a world map that shows Mexico down to South America (Figure 11). The narrative tells the story of a prosperous PAA expanding to Latin American territory while recognising the wealth and economic potential of the region. PAA uses an extended number of images, drawing a folk idea of the women and men in Latin America. The US is represented with PAA's Clipper airplane, flying above the map of the region. The juxtaposition of folk Latinos and PAA's

Clipper is a symbol of the domination of the machine over the human body and nature. For example, Mexico is represented with the Maya ruins and a man and a woman, with a folkloric *sombrero* (Mariachi-style hat). On the island of Cuba, a black woman dressed as a peasant is walking with a basket on her head. The northern area of South America is represented by the oil extraction, the burro, the lama, and peasants/gauchos on a horse. Brazil is represented by a couple of folk dancers, with today's emblematic image of a sexy Latina, with a curvilinear body and a fruit hat. The Southern countries (Argentina, Uruguay, and Chile) are described by their natural resources; e.g., water falls, volcano, cows, and wine grapes. Inside the magazine, PAA expands the description regarding the wealth of the Latin American nations. Several maps of each country complete this portrayal of Latinos and Latinas, with a diverse display of natural objects such as corn, sugar, tobacco, coffee, metals, silver, lamas, cattle, sheep, and so forth. These image representations engage in postcolonial dualities distinguishing Latinos from Anglos as archaic, rural and body-objects. Ethnicity and gender get intersected in the representations of the body of the Latinas that evokes nudity, sexuality, and entertainment.

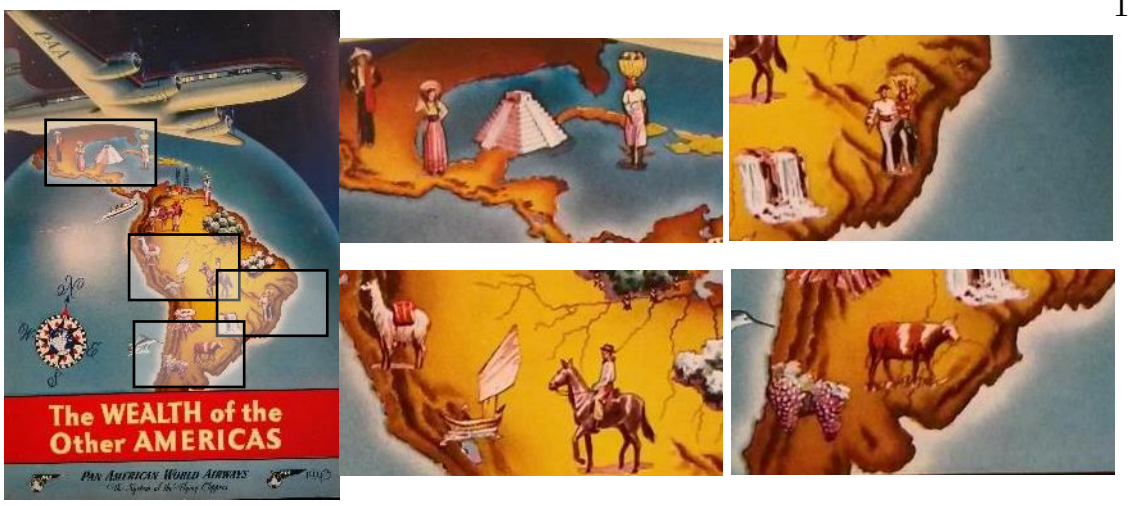

Figure 11: Economic interests in Latin America & colonial imaginary (Pan American Airways, 1943d)

The example of Cuba's portrait is built at the intersections of ethnicity, nation, region, and gender (Figure 12). The Cuban nation is located as a part of Central America whose wealth comes from being a chief sugar exporter—a largely one-product producer. The representation of Cuba as a provider of raw material such as sugar, molasses, and syrups, tobacco among others, fits the narrative of a Cuban-US trade relationship.

Beyond the mineral resources, the representation of humans, and the body follows gender dualisms: the man as a peasant and the woman as a dancer or entertainer. The contrast of a soberly dressed peasant versus the ornamented dress of a brown woman builds a perception of the region to the US travellers and PAA customers. The subsequent years of business expansion across Latin American routes intensified PAA strategy of diversifying the Latin American market based on the perceived national identity. Over the years, PAA printed material leaves the denomination Latin America for Central, South America, and the Caribbean. The comparison of Cuba with Argentina exemplifies the representative nuances among the nations: the Cuban market offers entertainment and

nature, whereas a country like Argentina offers culture and nature, for the more "sophisticated" traveller.

Figure 12: Cuba: ethnicity, nation, region, and gender

This image of a globe map (Figure 13) with each Latin American country' name expands the idea of market diversity disclosing the intersection of economics, nation, ethnicity, and gender. Each globe map stands over the illustrations of raw materials—what makes the wealth of Latin (the other) America—and between the illustration of the figures of men and women wearing custom clothes symbols of each nation's folk culture.

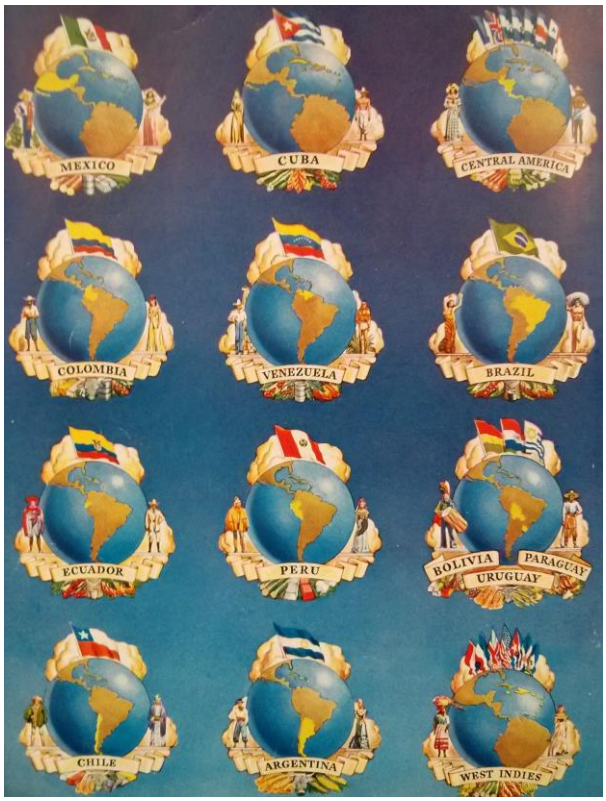

Figure 13: Representing Diversity in Latin America

The following sections focus on PAA's grand narrative that focuses on the distinction between Anglo and Latin cultures.

Cultural Difference Grand Narrative

PAA business in Latin America was tied to the contemporary political consequences of WWII, a world divided between two groups of super alliances: the Axis (Germany, Italy, Japan, Hungary, Romania, and Bulgaria) and the Allies (US, Britain, France, USSR, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, China, Denmark, Greece, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, South Africa, and Yugoslavia). The allies portrayed themselves as those countries with freedom of speech, press, and association, in opposition to the Axis powers, carriers of Nazi and Fascist ideologies. Because PAA was

a US-based company flying worldwide, it became an ally of US foreign affairs during the WWII: “The war was a business especially for Pan Am who had half of the contract with the military in the US and where revenues during the four war years rose by 75%” (Bender & Altschul, 1982, p. 366).

PAA monopoly in Latin America had implications in different industries: one was transportation, where land and sea were replaced by air transport, and another was trade and commercial activities, which experienced tremendous changes due to a more rapid transport of goods brought by the jet airplane. Further, air travel revolutionised the travel industry creating a new identity, the air tourists. The demand for air travel was not a given, and PAA had to create a market from Latin America. PAA, the only airline flying from the US before WWII, became a source of information and a knowledgeable resource regarding the Latin American geography and people. The process that PAA went through to understand historical events and cultural characteristics of Latin American countries is reflected in documentation, for example, “Observations on U.S. Policy towards Latin America,” from PAA’s Latin American Division (Pan American Airways, 1961).

During WWII, the US supported Latin American dictators financially and legally (Schoultz, 1998), a situation that changed with the US’s discourse on democratization. The previous good-neighbour grand narrative towards Latin American nations became the discourse of the democratization of the Latin republics and the zero tolerance to dictators; e.g., Getulio Vargas in Brazil, or Rafael Trujillo in the Dominican Republic (Schoultz, 1998). Argentina, in comparison to other South American nations, was an influential country in the region and also problematic for the US politics. It became important for the US only after the end of the war and because of a military coup in Bolivia (Schoultz,

1998). By 1950s, US representations of Latin Americans as good neighbours overlapped with Latinos' portrait as anti-democratic, chaotic, grandiloquent, and strongly masculine.

The *cultural difference grand narrative* strength the previous idea of a split American continent between Anglos, English speakers, and Latins, Spanish speakers. This grand narrative solidifies as a corporate strategy to diversify the offer of the Latin American market to the newly Anglo audience. This language distinction has been linked to the colonial past, the British and Spanish colonisation of the American continent. However, the division between the Americas in Spanish and English meant also a division between Latin and Anglo cultures. By comparing how PAA describes the British and the Spanish, and then by looking how they do the same with their colonised territories, I am able to pinpoint how colonial language, such as the use of the term *native*, referring to people, music, and products from nations such as Mexico and Peru, interlock with different nation within Latin America (Table 6).

Table 6: National Differences Anglo versus Latin Americans

Ethnicity-Nation	Representation
Anglos	
Britain	"England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales…historic lands of pageantry that will delight you with greenness, graciousness, and age old traditions"
The United States and Alaska	"Alaska stands astride the Arctic circle like a great vigorous Northern giant. Rugged, majestic, unspoiled...its's a sportsman's paradise in any season".
Bermuda & The Bahamas	"Far from home, but reverently loyal to their British heritage, Bermuda and the Bahamas offer peaceful sanctuary from the cares or the everyday world…quiet, unhurried Atlantic islands"
Latins	

Spain	"The music and laughter, the color and gaiety that spice the life in Madrid are typical of Spain…you will be thrilled beyond measures by Madrid's bullfights"
Mexico	"There's much of old Spain in Mexico, yet its charm and color are strictly a native product. It's a land of Aztec ruins and gay fiestas…tamales and tequila…mountains, deserts and balmy beaches. You'll know sun and fun at every turn in Mexico." "True to old Spanish tradition, Mexicans love the thrill of watching the daring movements of a toreador" "Dancing the rhumba to native music" "The pyramid of the Sun, in the pre-Aztec city of Teotihuacan, is just one evidence of Mexico's violent history"
Caribbean	"The romantic islands of the Caribbean sprawl comfortably in a long, lazy semi-circle…" "Cuba is the largest, and its capital city of Havana is one of the gayest. Haiti land of Voodoo" "Trinidad with its calypso singers and ring-nose women" "There are mystery and adventure of every sort in the Caribbean and you'll find excitement everywhere"
Buenos Aires	"When you're not eating steak you'll be doing the Tango or going to the races in busy Buenos Aires. A modern, jubilant, sophisticated city, "B.A." is monumental proof of Argentine progress and if you're a true cosmopolite you won't dare pass it by." "A group of Buenos Aire's folk dancers demonstrate that Argentina is a land of true Spanish music and gaiety"
Peru	"Native dancers…in costumes as weird and colorful as the dancers themselves…rest among the ruins of the Incas at Sacsayhuaman, Peru."

From "It's a Pan American World" (Pan American Airways, 1952).

The legacy of the *Black Legend* (Juderías, 1914) and the stereotypes of backward, cruel, and irresponsible Spanish Empire created by the British Empire, were passed to the new world up to the present, and have become part of the grand narrative of PAA with variations. The image of bullfighting in Mexico carries to the new world the old stereotypes against Spain, e.g., bravery, cruelty, and violence, while erasing other stories of the same kind in which the US was involved, such as the US- Mexican war and the borderland conflicts.

The US and Alaska are described with grandiloquent language, such as vigorous Northern giant, rugged, majestic, and unspoiled. The Atlantic islands of Bermuda and Bahamas stand by their British heritage. On the other hand, Latin American nations, like Mexico, Peru, and Buenos Aires, are described as countries with a Spanish tradition. Similarly to the way Spain gets represented, Latin Americans are seen as lands for laughter, for fun—places full of colour and music. This idea is summarised when PAA describes South America as the playground in the world.

The distinction between the British islands compared with the Caribbean (Latin American nations) is played out in the connotation of the lifestyle found in each group of islands. The language used to talk about the Caribbean refers to the island's laziness, mystery (Voodoo, Black magic), adventure, and excitement; whereas, Bermuda and Bahamas are seen as quiet, un-hurried, and a peaceful sanctuary. This comparison should be viewed through the binary emotion-rationality which has been part of the modern world, of Europe, and of the Western ideology. The Caribbean is emotion and passion, and romance, like Latin Americans are romantic; whereas, Bahamians are calm, rational, are centred, like Anglo Saxons. PAA enacts a romantic view of "them," the others, the Latin Americans. The article titled "air express shipments" from Miami to Caracas, gives an example of this. The shipment of guitar strings is portrayed as part of the "romantic stringed music so dear to the Latin Americans." The following narrative expands the dualist view between us-them, North (Anglo)-South (Latin) America:

> Little will the gay caballero dream, as his fingers strum out the first notes of his beloved national dance or some tender serenade, that the strings he touches have been flown to him from the prosaic life of the ice-bound metropolis of the North

> to become a part of his romantic music under a tropic moon. (Pan American Airways, 1945a, p. 21)

This description constructs the masculine Latin American identity; e.g., caballeros, together with a narrative about romance, tropic and the exotic (prosaic) South, confronted with the routine, cold and city life of the North.

Lastly, the urban life in Latin America gets represented in a portrait of the city of Buenos Aires and its sophistication and cosmopolitan lifestyle. In the following section where the anternarratives emerge as alternative stories, I show how Buenos Aires, together with other cities in Latin America, were part of a narrative of urbanisation and modernity of some nations, especially from South America, seen as more progressive and industrious than those from Central America.

Skin colour Antenarrative

In the skin colour antenarrative, I focus on the most evident distinction made by PAA in the cultural-difference grand narrative: skin colour of Latins in comparison with Anglos. Since the first tourist brochures and travel stories, Latinos and Latinas were darker than Anglos, brown and black. After 1946, some distinctions solidify, for instance, the Caribbean and Central America was represented with images of Indigenous and black people; whereas, South America was whiter, more European, then more Anglo.

The “imperial subjugation” (Mignolo, 2011, p.49) in 1940 mean that the US focused on Latin America by trying to convert Latin American dictatorships in democracies in places like Nicaragua and Argentina. While searching for reasons of this failure of democracy (Schoultz, 1998), officials from the US government devoted a great

amount of time and resources to create a systematic characterization of Latin Americans, together with other regions, worldwide. An era of "othering," the Latin Americas began, as revealed by the number of reports and documents that were created in that period. During WWII, for example, a group of social scientists conducted ethnographic research in different countries to expand the knowledge regarding their national character. Consequently, every US embassy in the region of Latin America had a report analysing "the host nation's national character" (Schoultz, 1998, p. 328). One document on the "Component Elements of Cuban Temperament," produced in 1948, describes Cubans and Latin Americans, in general, with a "magnified sense of honour" and "ridiculous vanity" consequence of the Spanish degenerated legacy (Schoultz, 1998, p.329), where the Spanish conquerors are to blame for Latin Americas' arrogant spirit, is in accordance with the *Black Legend*, in which British saw Spaniards as an inferior race, described as backward and irresponsible, influencing US thinking regarding Spanish-America.

Some of the descriptions found in the document reveal a judgemental and dogmatic perception regarding Latin Americans. For example, "Cubans laugh at everything, not with mature scepticism but with the light-heartedness of escapism." Also, Cubans and other Latin Americans are described by their "vanity, use of indirection, personal courage, music consciousness, indiscipline and nervousness" (Schoultz, 1998, p.330). Looking at gender, Cuban women were to blame for children's lack of discipline as a consequence of their excess of "tenderness."

Later on, in 1950, a judgemental and opinionated report from George Kennan, became the narrative of dictatorships and populist governments of Latin American nations. His character-based explanation of people's behaviour described Latinos as self-

centred, egoists, with "a pathetic urge to create the illusion of desperate courage, supreme cleverness, and a limitless virility where the most constructive virtues are so conspicuously lacking" (Schoultz, 1998, p.330).

The following exert from Betty Trippe's diary, written in 1940 on a trip to Dutch Guyana, situates the context of the time, and the race and class stratification of society in the US,

> It was hard to believe we were in a small colony on the edge of a jungle. The colour line is ignored completely. There was a number of Negro guests at dinner, all very intelligent, sophisticated, well-educated, and beautifully groomed with perfect manners. Meeting this calibre of Negroes, I am amazed that at home, Negroes do not attend the same churches as whites, are not cared for in the same hospitals, not accepted in hotels and restaurants. (Pan American Airways, 1996, p. 35)

One fundamental distinction in the Latin and Anglo dislocation, besides national character, language, and European heritage, has been skin colour. At the beginning, it was Europe and then the Western world who systematically categorised the world and its people in terms skin colour and created a continuum of superiority-inferiority, from whiteness to blackness. PAA official material displays race mainly by the use of language, particularly using the adjective *native* when referring to Latin Americans, and by the use of images of dark-skinned women and men. PAA narrative resembles those tales from the first European conquerors; for example, tales of discovery, fascination, racial difference, and extraneous cultures. Those first trips of PAA outside of the US solidify North American constructions of narratives regarding Latin American ethnicity

establishing the image-making of brown Latinos. Betty Trippe's narrative describing a visit to the Caribbean in 1953 reflects a genuine racial representation of the time during her first encounters with Latin Americans:

> Morris de Castes and his wife had a big reception- - half Negro, half Jewish, not the most intelligent or attractive of either race. The saving grace of the party were some US Naval officers in starched white uniforms from an American submarine based at St. Thomas. (Pan American Airways, 1996, p. 307)[2]

The characterization of Latin Americans and the adjectives used by the US in government reports during the war years, well-infused the process of othering, and representing Latin Americans. PAA' process of "othering" during the 1950s was mainly a narrative on race, e.g., Negro, Jewish, or Latin Americans. Visual cues were the main descriptors. Another example to illustrate my argument can be found in a brochure promoting the Caribbean islands, describing Haiti as "exotic, unforgettable. Land of voodoo, jungle drums, quaint shops, fine hotels and singing natives carrying baskets on their heads…Port au Prince is unique…a capital where the sophisticated and primitive go hand in hand" (Pan American Airways, 1958a, p. 5).

Apart from Betty Trippe's journal, Latino's skin colour, all shades of brown and black, were evident in brochures since the 1940s, which will be analyzed in the next

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[2] It is worth mentioning that these narratives became embedded in the contemporary racial discourse. It would be another decade for Martin Luther King, Jr. to raise consciousness about racial segregation held by the white supremacy of the American ideology.

chapter. Visual cues stressing the colour of the skin were complemented with the descriptions of people's behaviour, culture, and attributions:

> We stopped the next day at Guadeloupe, a dirty, unattractive French island with rusty, tin roofed shacks and shocking poverty. Martinique, on the other hand, appeared to be much more progressive and the people more industrious, although there is also much poverty. (Pan American Airways, 1996, p. 307).

Distinctions between the same Latin Americans emerge in this narrative. Guadeloupe and Martinique are both described as poor nations, nonetheless, the first one is portrayed as primitive and grotesque, and the former as industrious and modern. The same could be said about their people: there will be first-class and second-class Latinos.

The representation of a poor Latin America is problematic. Poverty serves as a "unit of consumption for the stereotypical consumption of Latin America" (Castillo-Duarte, 1997, p. 65); whereas, Betty Trippe's representation of the islands of Martinique and Guadeloupe recast them as commodities, 'market of frozen images' (p.65).

Poverty here does not display as an abstract labelling, but a social construction, established by a centre-periphery relationship (de Gialdino, 2006), where the West is located at the centre of the capitalist model by creating the rules of and industrial economy, and Latin America stays at the periphery as a natural resources supplier. Betty Trippe's description of the poverty in the Caribbean islands has to be understood within Western values of social categorizations: rich-poor, educated-uneducated, capitalist-worker, etc. The capitalist mode of production and distribution is characterised by a) a capitalist cosmogony; b) the recognition of differences stemming from what people possess; and c) the equation of identity with its existential component (de Gialdino,

2006). The materiality of Western capitalism pervades Trippe's depiction of the islands, embedded in the description of the unattractive and dirty Guadeloupe.

The representation of Latin Americans' skin colour also emerged by its contrast with the representation of Anglo Saxons' as the white tourists. Whereas Anglo Americans are citizens, and Russians white, most Latinos and Latinas are black, negroes, or in between (Table 7).

Table 7: Latin Americans' Skin Colour

Nation	Race Representation
Cuba	Negro
Haiti	Well educated Negro
	Lighted-skinned mulatto
	Varying shades of black
Antigua	Black boys
Trinidad	Blacks
	Negro "calypso" singers
Dutch Guyana	Negro women
	Intelligent Dutch
	Coal black Negroes
	Native dances of various races
	"Bush niggers"
	East Indians
	Red Indians
Colombia	White Indians
Panama	Americans
	Negroes
	Chinese
	Mixture of races
Uruguay	Fine looking people
Chile	Fine looking

(Betty Trippe diary around South America and the Caribbean, 1930-1950 p. 24-52; 237-300).

It is worth noticing that race as a representation of Latinos has been more important in the Caribbean and northern South America than in southern of South

America, where countries like Chile or Uruguay are not categorised based on skin colour. Latin Americans from these countries are seen as sophisticated and modern, like the self-identified Anglo Saxons. Thus, South America had a veneer of superiority among the Latins because of a greater European blood. They are represented with a lighter skin colour, as more sophisticated, and as urban; whereas, Central America remained more African and Indigenous, darker, and more primitive and rural.

Cosmopolitanism in South America Antenarrative

Cosmopolitanism in South America becomes the antenarrative that contradicts the cultural-difference grand narrative. The phenomenon of cities across the American continent blurs the distinction drawn by PAA between the geo-historical location of North and South. Cities are strategic urban sites that disrupt the idea of the nation-state, evidence the power of large corporations and the establishment of a network system for their business, and expand the mobilization across nations connecting specific group of cities (Sassen, 2012). For instance, the opening of the Buenos Aires-New York jet route, entails the juxtaposition of space and time, border and unity, and finally the unnatural boundaries of borderlands. The geographical location and the fact that both cities are part of Argentina and the US are not important. One public relations letter describes the new route, "Moving the two Americas twice as close as they have ever been before, the jet route is expected to spur both business and pleasure travel between the two areas (Pan American Airways, 1959b, p. 1)." Reading in-between the lines explains symbolic division of the two Americas, the Anglo and the Latin, beyond its geographical distance. However, PAA narration entails the apparent oxymoron, "split to connect." Hence, the

symbolic separation South-North, and Latin-Anglo America is the foundation of the story of connectedness. For example, the following narrative explains this apparent contradiction:

> This PAA jet route, a brand new one for a commercial airline, splits the continent of South America to connect the largest cities of the two Americas, the third and eighth largest in the world, in linking Buenos Aires and New York. (Pan American Airways, 1957a, p. 2)

The narrative "split to connect" intersects with the modern narrative of the Latin American city that starts at the beginning of the 20th century. Moreover, the process of urbanisation conducted by elite groups—white European descendants (Mignolo, 2011)—was conceived of in order to make Latin American cities "someone" important, like European (Kusch, 1999). The process of industrialization and the involvement of the Latin American elites made the cities of Lima, Rio de Janeiro, Sao Paulo, and Buenos Aires a copy of European and US cities (Kusch, 1999). In this scenario, the *sketching coloniality antenarrative* of a Latin America inhabited by native people, and described as a mostly domestic and a non-industrial region, is intersected with the antenarrative of cosmopolitanism. PAA tourist guides exemplify this, as they advertise Latin American cities in comparison with Europe, "Bogota, the capital, is frequently called the "Athens of America" because it is a cultural centre" (Pan American Airways, 1954, p. 396); and elevate their status by referring to its sophistication: "Sophisticated Buenos Aires is a city with a personality all its own" (Pan American Airways, 1959c, p. 2). Therefore, the antenarrative of cosmopolitanism in South America was mobilised by PAA to expand

their business empire, integrating as many geographical locations as possible to their flight routes.

5.4 Reflective Comments

The "political is personal" was a feminist motto for second wave feminists. My involvement with the historical encounter between PAA and Latin America reflects my belief that critical management scholars know little regarding Latin American society and politics. This is where I begin to disclose my feelings and thoughts in the process of writing this chapter. The use of archival data, contrary to an interview where interviewees are able to "speak for themselves," requires that my "situated knowledge" gets included in the narratives regarding Latin Americans. In the first place, I admit that "I am where I do and I think" (Mignolo, 2011, p.92). 'Being' here does not mean I am in my apartment in Halifax, Canada, but I am located in the modern/colonial ideology, which shapes our world and PAA narratives. I am writing as a female scholar born and raised in Argentina, and working on race and gender in a Canadian school of business. I was brought up within a Western epistemology, permeated by intellectuals and scholars from Europe, mostly. For most of my life, I had identified myself as *porteña* (people from Buenos Aires) and Argentine. Until I came to Canada at the age of 29, where I became aware of new identities people ascribed to people like me: Latin American, Latina, and brown. Since then, I started looking at myself as a Latin American through the eyes of North Americans, while reflecting on my authentic self. Recently, I have noticed two things: 1) stereotypes come from ignorance, and North Americans (even Latinos themselves)

reproduce false images of Latin Americans; and 2) Latin Americans are responsible for the process to change this misrepresentation by critically assessing who we are.

The process to select three grand narratives came from a long and iterative reading of PAA material. Choosing the grand narrative of the good neighbour, for instance, came naturally through my readings, as I kept a healthy scepticism regarding the good relationship between South and North America. The political discourse in Argentina has been anti-Anglo America, since Peron's presidency in 1945, and people from the US are called 'Yankees' in a despicable way. This experience made me drawn several examples of antenarratives uncovering politics in Argentina. From a feminist and decolonial viewpoint, the story of Argentina serves to contrast or unbalance the Western and self-serving narrative of PAA.

The antenarrative regarding the German presence in South America was political and personal. Political in the sense that the US government, together with the media, and Hollywood movies, replicated a picture of German Nazis that escape to the South of the continent. Although some Germans arrived in Argentina after WWII, during the war years, PAA constructed negative propaganda of German employees in national airlines in order to take their control and expand PAA business through the region. Particularly PAA did not have evidence of Nazis in SCADTA; nonetheless, Juan Trippe secretly bought the company following the US government de-Germanisation propaganda. As evidence in this study, the strategy was to accelerate PAA expansion towards the south of the continent, and Colombia was a key enclave for it. This grand narrative has been personal because whenever I tell people I am from Argentina, they ask about the Germans living in

Argentina. I believe that the US propaganda of Germans/Nazis/Fascist in South America continues and undermines the diverse population of Argentina and Latin Americans.

I was cautious not to glorify Latin American nations, although I might have committed mistakes along the way. It was only because of my personal knowledge of the Argentine context that I was able to read in between the lines of some of the PAA documents. If this dissertation was written by an Afro-Caribbean male, the stories might be different. I was brought up in a culture of Anti-Anglo Americanism (Galeano, 1971). Would I have had chosen Panama or Mexico for antenarratives, I would not have a story to tell. Politics have intersected the stories I chose in my thesis.

The cultural-difference grand narrative was particularly troublesome for me. The ideological division is rooted in the colonial past, and the Spanish and British empires. I began to ask questions suggested by Anzalzúa (2007): what is inherited among Latinos? What is obtained? And what was imposed to Latinos? Latin Americans are described as an inferior 'ethnicity,' unable to maintain a democracy or a conservative behaviour. I wonder about our (my) own identity? Not only do I feel I have to defend Latin Americans, but I have felt I need to claim back our own American identity. The label 'Americans' is seen, worldwide, as a representation of US citizens. But in 1930, 1940, and 1950, several Latin American writers (Kusch in Argentina, or Jose de Vasconcelos in Mexico, and others) reflect what was called *el pensamiento Americano* (the American thinking). This American thinking (*pensamiento Americano*) related to the land of the indigenous population and their culture, thinking and philosophy of life. It is not my duty to claim back my Americanism, but, at least, I have to acknowledge that there is another

America, which is not just Latin as PAA represents, but one that first was indigenous and today is mestiza (Indigenous and Spanish blood).

5.5 Discussion

This chapter brought together the study of the past, archival research, and the study of history as a social construction. The study of Latin America was taken under two main postpositivist assumptions: 1) the past, in archival research, remains ontologically unavailable (Mills & Helms Mills, in press); and 2) history is the attempt to reproduce the past through narratives or chronicles (descriptions of events). In other words, the data I collected served to make an interpretation of the past and to represent (deconstruct and reconstruct) history one more time. Thus, I addressed PAA's archive as a site where I was able to make one plausible representation of the past. This creation of knowledge from the past is influenced by the contributions of women-of-colour theories (Anzaldúa, 2007), historiography (White, 2009), narrative analysis (Boje, 2001, 2008a), and narrative knowledge (Lyotard, 1987). Unlike Marxist historical materialism that puts the structural conditions of the class struggle as an a priori situation to understand history, my commitment to decolonial feminism shifts the focus from the class struggle to the history of colonialism and women from Latin America. Also, my ontological positioning on the poststructural realm saw colonialism, gender, race, and nationality as social constructions that change over time.

The use of grand narratives implied the revision and questioning of 'the truth' and its meaning within the world history, and the acknowledgment that we know so far "half of the story" (Mignolo, 2011, p.182). With a grand narrative analysis, I was able to revise

and capture those dominant discourses that created 'the truth' about Latin America. Needless to say, historical revisionism is far from easy because it is difficult to distinguish between our heritage (*lo heredado*), what we acquired (*lo adquirido*), and what has been imposed on us (*lo impuesto*) (Anzaldúa, 2007). Hence, in order to decolonise history, we need to deconstruct or decontextualise the narratives that carry that history and identify the power dynamics (whose narrative is being imposed?). In other words, we need to ask who is/are telling the story, and who benefited from these stories.

By using an antenarrative analysis, I was able to ask these questions and explore the other "half of the story." Antenarratives challenge the grand narrative or organisational storytelling, which control organisational events and its meaning (Vaara & Tienari, 2011) by introducing new actors (e.g., Argentina); fragmented stories (e.g., testing technologies in South America); and plausible storylines (e.g., cosmopolitanism in South America). The concept of discourse and narrative tend to overlap, and usually scholars use them interchangeably. Nonetheless, is important to study narratives instead of discourses, as they allow to explore the temporal sense of organisations and construct a sense of the past, present and/or future (Czarniawska, 2004). Over time, PAA storytelling of Latin America forced a good political relationship, commercial ties, and cultural differences, while expanded its own wealth, commodified the image of Latinos, and contributed to the division between third-world countries as suppliers of goods, natural resources, and cultural objects and first world countries as suppliers of industrialised products, technologies, and scientific knowledge.

5.6 Summary

In this chapter, I use a grand narrative/antenarrative analysis (Boje, 2001) to analyse PAA storytelling. PAA as a case study shows what Boje (2008b) defines as "various modes of expressing organisation image in interplay with forces of narrative control" (p. 123). I used Boje's (2001, 2008a,b) method to structure PAA material into three grand narratives regarding Latin America –political, economic, and cultural–and several antenarratives, or untold stories.

I organise this chapter into three grand narratives that emerged about Latin America (Figure 14), and several antenarratives that reveal hidden stories of enemies, technologies, and race. Reading PAA data through a decolonial lens shows that the historical context, since 1927 to 1960, like the creation of a good neighbour grand narrative, influenced PAA to orchestrate a modern narrative on neighbourhood and friendship; however, emergent stories were hidden: the long term enmity between the US and Argentina, and the German/Nazi threat. The grand narrative of the good neighbours' emphasized ideals of nation and race to create linkages and liaisons with Latin Americans, while creating distance from undesirable enemies, such as the Germans. The good neighbour is part of the patriarchal and masculine discourse of PAA which patronises Latin American nations. Also engrained are elements of gender as PAA displays imaginary of masculinity; e.g., the gaucho and the brown peasant, and femininity (e.g., the brown Caribbean dancer). Interest in Latin America's natural wealth instead of friendship is revealed in the natural-wealth grand narrative and how technology was a great motivator for PAA expansion, while travel maps and other documents express coloniality in the way Latin American women and men were depicted. The cultural-

difference grand narrative unfolds into two antenarratives in which the racialised images and descriptions of Latin Americans together with urbanisation in South America reinforce differences and similarities between Anglo and Latin America.

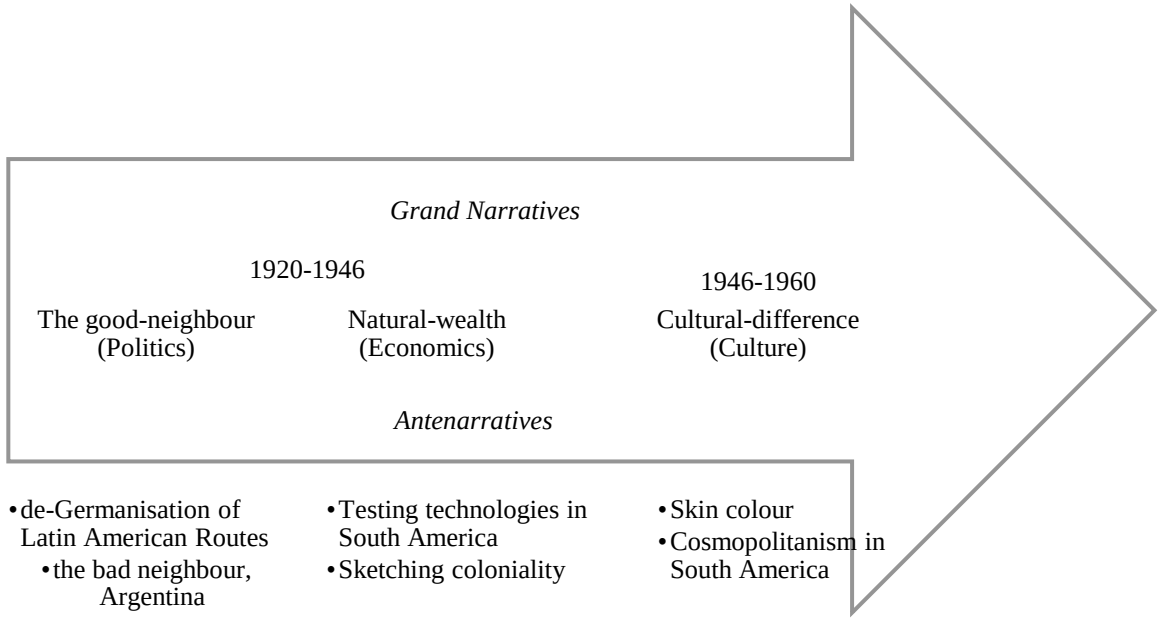


Figure 14: Grand Narratives & Antenarratives in Context, 1927-1960

Now that I laid out three grand narratives from PAA during 1927-1960, I am able to bring them as frameworks to explain the interplay of diverse intersectionalities in the portrait of Latin Americans. The next chapter analyses the intersectionality of race, class, nation, and gender by looking at tourist brochures and guides, marketing campaigns, magazines, and travel journals. To doing this, I will study and compare different portraits where intersectionality comes into play: the Anglo-men, the Anglo-woman, the Latin-men, and the Latin-women. By using a decolonial feminist theorising, I am able to

discuss how power and hierarchy influence the symbolic location of those portraits and particularly how they undermine the image of Latinas.

Chapter 6: Cultural Portraits of Latin Americans in Tourist Material

Figure 15: The Native Latin-men Meet the Anglo-American Tourist (Pan American World Airways, 1950)

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I deconstruct gender and coloniality intersected in the representations of PAA brochures, magazines, guides and flight maps. In chapter five, I dismantle the dominant narratives PAA produced about Latin Americans between 1927 and 1960 and the antenarratives that countered those stories of good neighbours, natural wealth, and cultural differences. This analysis sets the context to an unfolding of intersectionalities, over time. Grand narratives and antenarratives provide the means for making temporal sense of race, gender, nation, etc. Grand narratives, antenarratives, and intersectionality illuminate the transformation of power and hierarchy in the representation of different cultures.

Here, my focus is on the deconstruction of the binary opposites (race-gender) and hierarchies in the images of Anglo-men, Anglo-women, Latin-men and Latin-women. I

will apply the intersectionality method by women-of-colour (Sandoval, 1990), questioning the presence of nuances of intersectionalities in visual material. I have divided this chapter into eight sections. The first section provides an explanation of the connection of this chapter to the rest of this thesis. The second provides an explanation of the transformations in commercial aviation and its influence in advertising. The third provides examples of the colonial representations of Latin America. The fourth provides an explanation of the Anglo-Latin Women portraits as the gender-race intersection. Section five provides an explanation of the linkages among race-nation-gender in the portrait of Latinos and Latinas. Section six provides a reflection of my involvement in the process of applying an intersectionality method. Section seven lays out the theoretical contributions of intersectionality in conjunction with a narrative analysis for pursuing a decolonial-feminist research study. In section eight, I summarise the main points addressed in this chapter.

6.2 Mass Air Travel and Advertising Latin America

Like other corporations, PAA was able to connect their brand to a "geographical point of origin" (Under the Influence, 2015). The growth of mass air travel in parallel to the development of the tourist industry leveraged the branding of Latin America as a tourist destination. Nevertheless, this process unfolded as a series of imagery that interlocks ideas of geography, people, races, and nations. Juan Trippe's points out,

> Mass travel by air may prove to be more significant to world destiny than the atom bomb. For there can be no atom bomb potentially more powerful than the air tourist, charged with curiosity, enthusiasm, and goodwill, who can roam the four

> corners of the world, meeting in friendship and understanding the people of the other nations and other races. (Pan American Airways, 1959b)

PAA good-neighbour grand narrative of Latin and Anglo Americans friendship helped to the promotion of commercial flights across Latin America.

Commercial aviation and the tourist industry created a demand for advertising and mass marketing. PAA had their own department, Pan American Advertising, whose purpose was to analyse statistics of tourism around the world, and to create marketing campaigns promoting tourist destinies to the masses. More so, PAA had referred to those engage in "a vigorous tourist promotion program" the "tourist-conscious countries" (Pan American Airways, 1960a, p. 4). The document, *"Invisible Industry" Produces revenue*, is an example of the blooming of corporate marketing:

> A well-planned and vigorous campaign of publicity and advertising probably is more important in the travel field than any other enterprise. The desire to "get away from it all" on a vacation trip is one which must be aroused psychologically. A person is not obliged to travel, as he is to buy groceries, pay the rent, purchase clothing or visit his doctor. (Pan American Airways, 1960a, p. 5)

The excerpt above shows the early development of modern marketing. PAA acknowledged the importance of desirability in order to attract customers, and the use of tangible and intangible elements in their ads. The use of "geography in branding is so powerful…[by] evocative associations in our minds" (Under the Influence, 2015). Early on, PAA travel guides and brochures moved away from representations of the experience of flying and created a need to discover new territories, cultures and other races. The dominant narrative of good neighbours from the 1920s and 1930s slowly overlapped with

the cultural difference grand narrative in the 1940s and 1950s, and the comparison between Anglos and Latins was intensified for the tourist consumption.

Nation and Representation

According to Anzaldúa (2007), culture "is made by those in power—men" (p. 38) and supported by the culture those in power transmit as dominant paradigms that predefined concepts which are difficult to change. By 1940, the Office of Inter-American Affairs (OIAA) was in charge of producing cultural knowledge regarding Latin America. Through their Motion Picture Division and together with important studios in Hollywood, like Disney, aligned film production to the Good Neighbour policy in its objective of defending the Western hemisphere (Cramer & Prutsch, 2006, p. 795). Examples can be found in Hollywood movies from that time such as "Saludos Amigos" (Figure 16)[vi] or "Down Argentine Way[vii]" (Figure 17). Brazilian actress, Carmen Miranda, represented the "exaggerated folkloric" (Holden & Zolov, 2011, p.153) idea of the Latina with the stereotypical fruit hat. Hollywood, like PAA, was simultaneously creating commodified representations that would shape the perceptions of people regarding women from Latin America.

During FDR's presidency, several movies from Hollywood studios displayed the intersection between popular culture and public policy from the time (Schwartz, 2004). In 1933, a romantic musical, *Flying Down to Rio*, released by RKO (a Hollywood studio), recounts a visit from North Americans to Brazil via PAA. In FDR's administration, the US government became interested in Hollywood films, as they portrayed a positive image of the US as a good neighbour of Latin American republics. At the same time, PAA's

good relationships with Latin American governments and dictators were necessary to the republican government of the US in order to change their negative image to Latin American nations (Schwartz, 2004).

Figure 16: A 1942 Disney Short from the Good Neighbour Policy

Figure 17: Hollywood during the Good Neighbour Policy: Advertising Travel to South America (1940)

The motion picture Division of the OIAA was inclined to marketing Pan-Americanism by focusing on building closer ties between Hollywood and the film industry in Brazil and Mexico (Holden & Zolov, 2011). The main purpose was the production of material that refers to a Latin American theme as revealed by the release of 30 feature pictures about Latin America between 1940 and 1943, in addition to 24 shorts for theatrical release and travelogues in the hands of film companies by 1941 (Holden &

Zolov, 2011). Titles of OIAA's requested shorts in 1943: "Viva Mexico," "Highway to Friendship," "Gaucho Sports," "Madero of Mexico," "Der Fuehrer's Face," "Cuba, Land of Romance and Adventure," and "Price of Victory." These cartoon films tied to the grand narratives of friendship among the Americas and the antenarrative of hatred towards Nazi Germany.

This process of creating themes about nations from Latin America was part of the "representational machine" of US imperialism (Salvatore, 2006). Films, images, cartoons, and tourist booklets, all were elements produced by US companies and governments to gain proximity with Latin America. Sketching coloniality and cosmopolitanism in South America were the two antenarratives that revealed the corporate interested of PAA in the differentiation of the Latin American countries into nations that offer a variety of cultural experiences: gauchos in Argentina, gay life in Mexico, or romance in Cuba.

By 1930, PAA brochures strengthened the cultural difference between Latin and Anglo Americans, revealing narratives of the colonial past (Table 8) during 1940 and 1950. Latin America is constructed as the other, and PAA as the imperial multi-national (Pan American Airways, 1930): "The world's greatest air transportation system" (p.1); "An [Anglo] American institution serving the international field" (p.5); and, "South of the States it's Pan American" (p.6).

The creation of a market based on the Latin American region created ideas attached to the region regarding rural life, ancestry, and romance, in contrast to the self-representation of PAA, as the grandiloquent Anglo American multi-national. More so, PAA disclosed their imperial ideology embedded in the geographical appropriation expressed in their phrase "South of the States is Pan American."

Table 8: The Representation of the Latin American Nations

Year	Theme	Nation/Region	Representation
1930	Ancient	Jamaica, Panama Central America and West Coast South America	"Scenes of America's Ancient History'
	Romance	Mexico City and Central America	"Lands of Sunshine and Romance"
1946	Romance/Dance/ European city	Latin America, West Indies & Bermuda	"the lands of romance, where flashing eyes and twinkling toes keep time to scintillating rhythms…travelers can…"do" the big cities – mingle with the Cariocas of romantic Rio de Janeiro, "Paris of the new world"
	Spanish heritage	South America	"In South America, particularly, many things remain from the days when Spaniards and Portuguese first settled there- beautiful cathedrals housing art masterpieces, the "colonial" cities of Brazil's lengthy coast, and ornamental doorways and courtyards, for example"
	Spanish heritage/rural/ City	Chile	"Chile…is the home of gay and legendary huasos (cowboys), some of the finest wines ever made, and the capital city of Santiago, a bit of Old Madrid transplanted to the Western World."
	European city	Buenos Aires	"entertainment usual enough to thrill the truest Parisian"
	Ancient	Peru	"Peru…The dignity of the ages of vanished empires"

1954	Spanish heritage/colour	Mexico	"Mexico, land of the ancient Aztecs…modern cities flavoured with the charm of Old Spain…thrilling bullfights, colorful fiestas"
	Spanish heritage	Colombia	"Colombia is perhaps the most purely Spanish of all South American countries…"
	Native/Skin colour	Martinique and Guadeloupe	"the natives are friendly toward tourists and will do their best to be helpful" "Population: 4,000 are white and the rest colored." "former colony"
	Skin Colour	Trinidad and Tobago	"Here you may see and East Indian woman in a sari with a ring in her nose, Hindus in traditional dress, calypso-singing Negroes, Portuguese, Africans and Chinese."
	Charm	Netherlands West Indies	"Curacao has the quaint fairy-tale charm of The Netherlands itself."

(Pan American Airways, 1930; 1946d, pp. 20-22; 1954)

The representation of Latin America in tourist material during 1930 and 1940 fitted into the themes of ancestry, romance, dance, European city, Spanish heritage, rural life, city life, and native skin colour. Each of these themes intersects with national identities, for instance, the theme, *European city in South America*, with Paris as an example, used to describe Buenos Aires, as well as Rio de Janeiro. The representation of the colour of the skin and the use of the term *native* echoes the idea of indigenous ethnicity and tribal lifestyle regarding Latinos. This is more obvious through an image analysis that illustrates Latin-men, and, particularly, Latin-women bodily figure. The regions of South and Central America have been equally linked to the Spanish

colonisation mainly through architecture, but, in some cases, through cultural legacies, like bullfighting in Mexico or European manners among Argentines.

PAA representations of Latin Americans in comparison with Europeans, assumes some of the postcolonial dualities that separated nation from tribal, embedded in the comparison of local Europeans versus native Latins. For example, the French are portrayed as locals, whereas, in Martinique, they are natives. In a photograph of Paris, tourists and Parisians (locals) look alike, white people (Figure 18). In comparison, a photo of Guatemala with the legend, "In the background, Indians burn incense" (p. 333) (Figure 19), creates a rupture between tourists and indigenous people from Guatemala. Portraying the Indian difference in the photo of a brown-man produces a race duality with the white tourists. The use of a language for natives or Indians and the images of brown-skinned people stresses the non-European roots of Latin Americans and enhances the construction of a narrative of dark-skinned Latin-men and Latin-women.

Figure 18: Parisians Portrayed as Locals (Pan American Airways, 1954, p. 79)

Figure 19: Guatemalans Portrayed as Indigenous (Pan American Airways, 1954, p. 333)

Representing Latin America: Past-present-future

The production of brochures of travel to Latin America evidences changing representations of Latin America, over time (Figure 20).

Figure 20: Changes in Latin America's representation, 1928 to 1958

From deserted islands illustrations to the image of dancing people from the Caribbean, tourist brochures transformed the way to exhibit Latin America. Changes that were transformed by and also an influence of the grand narrative of the good neighbour (geographical and political proximity) to the cultural difference produced to sell Latinos as the other, the dark skinned Americans, the colourful Americans. The body image of brown-skinned men and women was inserted gradually in the front page of travel brochures advertising Latin America.

One of the first tourist brochures from 1928 (Figure 20a) (Pan American Airways, 1928) shows Cuba as a dessert beach reached by PAA airplanes. Inside the brochure, of the route Key West to Havana, the accomplishment of commercial aviation, the comfort

of the airplane, and the efficiency of traveling by air are the main narratives. PAA brochure to Havana Cuba in 1928 explains:

> On January 16, 1928, regular passenger service was inaugurated in accordance with the schedule shown below. The great saving in time means the best part of two days gained in the round trip to Cuba…The U.S. Department of Commerce has licensed all the pilots, as well as the large eight passengers Tri-motor Fokkers which are in use between Key West and Havana (Pan American Airways, 1928).

Changes in tourist brochures in 1940 and 1950 carried the influence of PAA's process of internationalisation between 1927 and 1940 (Kivijarvi et al., 2017), and the branding of the idea of Latin America (Mignolo, 2005b) to the North American traveller. In brochures from 1940 (Figure 20b), PAA, the operator, the authority to represent the other, is self-represented in one of its airplanes flying above the region of South America. The spectrum (Barthes, 2000) of the image refers to the grandiosity of the geography of Latin America, and cultural artefacts as portraits of Latin America. PAA's symbolic power is showed by overlapping the airplane figure over a map of the continent, creating a surprising representation of opposites in the image of the airplane, a machine, and humans' bodies, symbol of nature. The image is built on the juxtaposition between progresses, the machine, the Anglo' rationality over nature, lack of development, and brown Latin bodies. Postcolonial dualities become evident in many ways. The illustrations of the gaucho, indigenous people with ponchos, lamas, donkeys, cactus, palm trees, and fishes are symbols of masculinity and nature. Postcoloniality is not gender neutral, as these representations include the illustration of women's bodies. More so, dualities discussed by women-of-colour feminist are evident in PAA construction of Latin

America and the Latin-woman compared to the Anglo-woman. Dualities begin when stressing skin colour and class difference.

The Anglo-woman in the brochure is white and sporty, wearing a bathing suit, and playing sports. As a tourist, she symbolises luxury and leisure time, as part of the modern capitalist society. In opposition, the Latin-woman is brown-skinned, a dancer, and the object of entertainment. Brownness has been always compared to whiteness where the brown is usually degrading (Canaan, 1983). Over time, the Latinas' body becomes the body politics in which a multi-national, like PAA, is able to control our perceptions of Latin-women. A brochure from 1946 (Figure 20b) has implications to the postcolonial narrative of the Third World woman by exhibiting Latin-women doing traditional labour, acting domestic, and dancing to an Anglo-tourist audience. At the intersection of gender and race, lays the Western feminist assumption of a Third World woman category. By looking at the intersection race-gender, the brown-skinned woman becomes object, and her body the entertainment within a rising travel industry that commodifies cultures and bodies.

A 1958 brochure from the Caribbean (Figure 20c) moves away from the geography of Latin America and dividing into differences among regions and its people. Dance, music, and colour are the main themes among tourist guides. The myth of exoticism found in the Orient (Barthes, 1972) occurs in the representation of the Caribbean as excessively flashy and "gaudily coloured" (Barthes, 1972). The same representation of the black couple dancing which historical trace cannot be found, is a way to deny the existence of the Caribbean. The primitive 'folklore' showed by the West in order to illustrate the 'nature' of Latin America (Barthes, 1972) through cultural

artifacts without a particular historical order makes the image of gay, dancing, colourful Latins becomes an eternal condition for the representations of the Caribbean-man, and the portrait of the Latin-man.

6.3 Colonial Representations: Romantic and Colourful Latin America

At the beginning of the 20th century, the presidency of Theodore Roosevelt reshaped the old way of practicing US imperialism. The US government saw in the Great Depression (1929) and the political challenges of WWII an opportunity to expand capitalism to the rest of the continent and "raise the standard of living among Latin Americans in order to create a pool of consumers that would allow Anglo American capitalist expansion" (Moreno, 2003, p.48). During the natural-wealth grand narrative, corporations played an important role with their early presence in the region, "Even before there was Coca-Cola in some places, there was PAA." (Bender & Altschul, 1982, p. 477). PAA's early development of the Latin America market influenced the way Anglo Americans perceived Latin Americas.

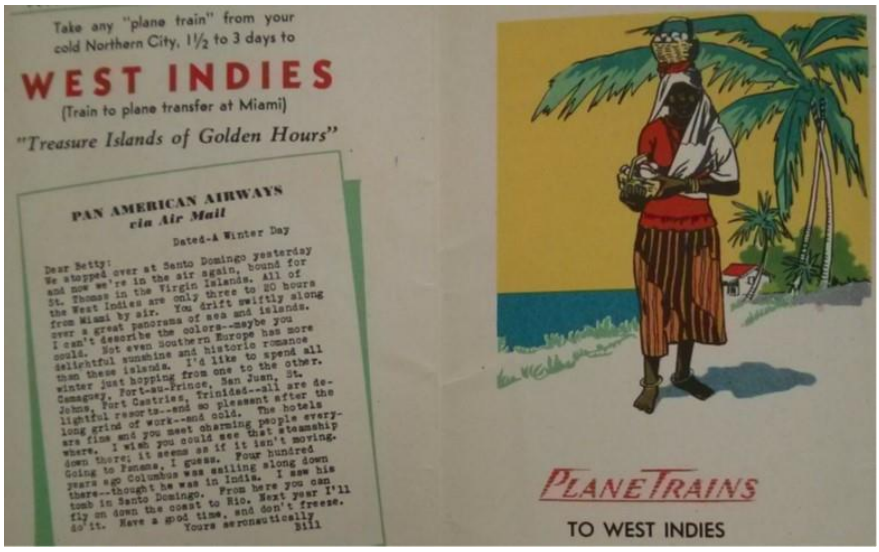


Figure 21: Portrait of the Black Latin-woman from West Indies (Pan American Airways, 1930)

Tourist testimonials flying in PAA airplanes describe Latin America as romantic and colourful, "I can't describe the colours—maybe you could. Not even Southern Europe has more delightful sunshine and historic romance than these islands" (Pan American Airways, 1930, p. 5). These descriptions complement the gaudy portrait of the black Latin-woman dressed in colours, walking barefoot, and with a fruit hat (Figure 21). Printed brochures exploit the commodification of the racial difference in Latin America, enabling the sketching of coloniality through the skin colour antenarrative. During the great depression and later on, during WWII, a commodity kitsch was possible because of PAA's mass marketing of images and attitudes of Latin Americans (McClintock, 1995).

The representation of the Latin-man as a bullfighter (Figure 22) contrasts the image of the black Latin-woman (Figure 21). In his book, *Death in the afternoon*, Ernest Hemingway (1932) describes bullfighting as "the only art in which the artist is in danger of death and in which the degree of brilliance in the performance is left to the fighter's

honour." (p. 91). The sketch of the bullfighter, symbol of courage, honour, and skills creates a perception of the Latin-man's masculinity. At the intersection of race-gender the Latin-woman' femininity remains passive and primitive.

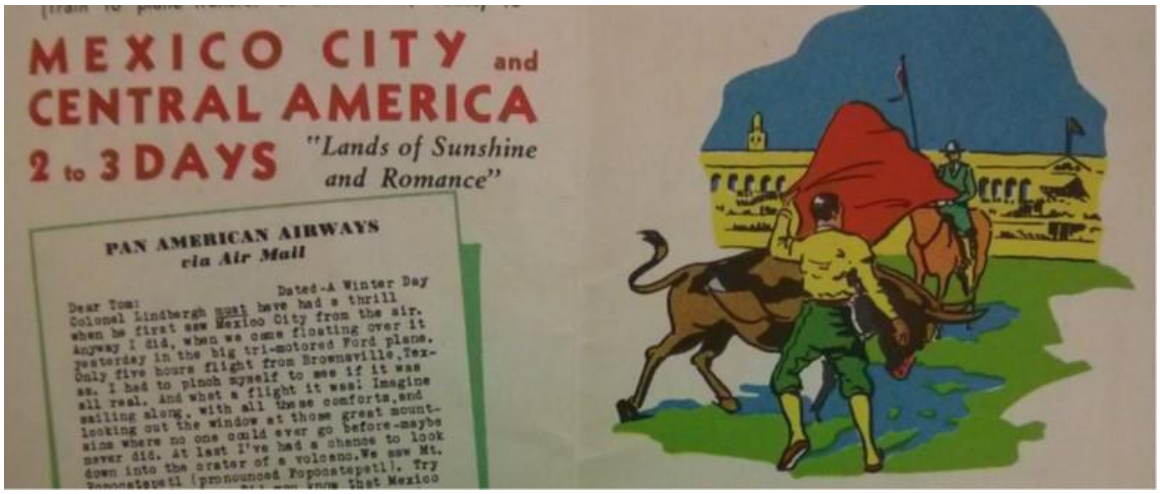


Figure 22: Portrait of the Latin-man bullfighter from Mexico (Pan American Airways, 1930)

PAA marketing of Mexico and Central America connects three representational aspects: nation (Mexico), masculinity (bullfighter), and coloniality (Spanish colonisation). Bullfighting was brought to the continent by Spanish conquerors during the 15th century. A portrait of Mexico that emphasizes the colonial legacy and erases the indigenous past of Azteca and Maya civilisations, on one had. On the other hand, the representation of the West Indies reveals gender, race, and coloniality through the image of a black primitive native woman walking on a dessert beach.

During the 1930s, PAA displayed its representational machinery (Salvatore, 2006), creating flight maps of different destinations across the American continent

(Figure 23). A large map portraying Latin America with exhaustive amounts of texts and images describing places, resources, and people sketches an overwhelming imagery of Latin America.

Figure 23: Imagery of Latin Americans on a Flying Route Map (Pan American Airways, 1939)

This map, conceived in the context of the good-neighbour grand narrative, brings forward the idea linkages of North and South America. The portrait of Latinos and Latinas is meant to inform and attract the North American traveller to visit the 'Southern' nations. In the context of the emergence of a grand narrative about the natural wealth of Latin America, this flight map exhibits natural resources, e.g., cotton, oil, sugar, chicle (natural gum), bananas, and gold, to be found in the region. Nevertheless, this

representation of wealth in Latin America translates into gendered illustrations of Latinos and Latinas (Table 9).

Table 9: Imagery of Latin Americans on a Flight Map

Race-Gender	Colonial Binaries	Representation
Latin-women	Dark-skinned	woman over the Gulf of Mexico (Figure 17a)
	Sensual dancers	woman below Hermosillo Mexico and Havana Cuba (Figure 17b)
	Earthy	women wearing long skirts with a fruit/food hat on their head, in Martinique, or Port Au Prince Haiti (Figure 17c)
	Savage	bare chest woman next to Georgetown (Figure 17d)
Latin-men	Layback	man over the Gulf of Mexico sleeping laying on the ground next to a cotton field (Figure 17e)
	Romantic	man plying the guitar over Mexico and Cuba (Figure 17f)
	Parochial	men drinking yerba mate in Argentina and men drinking wine in Chile (Figure 17g)
	Rural labourer	men on a donkey over Veracruz Mexico, or man over Brazil carrying on his back a long piece of material with the legend 'to Grand Rapids Mich.' (Figure 17h)

(Pan American Airways, 1939)

Gender representations of Latin Americans are intersected with ethnicity and nationality. The savage, brown-skinned, and earthy Latin-woman, for instance, is mostly represented in Central America. The difference between men and women representations centres on the romantic view of Latinos and the sensuality and exoticism of Latinas dark

body. In the next section, I will continue analysing the intersection of gender-race that created a symbolic hierarchy between Latin and Anglo women during 1940 (Sandoval, 1990).

6.4 Gender-Race in the Anglo-Latin Women Portrait

The natural-wealth grand narrative covered a power relationship between Latin America, the world's supplier of natural resources, and the US, the biggest customer during the 1950s of its products, e.g., bananas (Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras), coffee (Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras), Cane sugar (Cuba), and Wool (Argentina, Uruguay). The consumer power of US citizens, the role of the corporation as producer and marketing expert, and the new Latin American market set the context for the creation of colonial advertisement of Latin Americans. The next section unfolds the image making of women according to race, (Latin versus Anglos), nation, and class. In light of the four-part model of women-of-colour feminist (Sandoval, 1990) and the hierarchical system of colonial binaries (chapter 2), I am able to discuss the dynamics of power, hierarchy, and coloniality that locate the Latin-woman at the bottom of a classist society, below the Latin-man, the Anglo-woman, and the Anglo-man.

Anglo-woman as modern

The context of the WWII and PAA's expansion of routes in the Caribbean, Central, and South America left space for the Anglo-women to take part of the labour force in PAA. WWII production dramatically changed women's relationship to the labour market, as men had to go to war, and war production created a quick economic expansion. The shortages of male labour impacted the hiring of women, redefining the meaning of

war jobs to suit the social stereotype regarding women. For instance in an airplane plant, management seem to favour women's work as welder, who were seen as better workers than men. Manufacturing as an occupation was most affected during the war (Milkman, 1987). In 1940, 20 % of factory workers in textile and clothing industries were women. Between 1940 and 1944, manufacturing employment for women increased 140 %, and in the war industries, such as metal-working, chemical, and rubber, it rose to 460 % (Milkman, 1987).

The Anglo-woman is represented as a worker of the modern war industry; she is a subject as an employee of PAA. The article, "Girls Guide 125,000 Riders On PAA's Aerial Routes" (Pan American Airways, 1943c), from Clipper magazine is an example of the Anglo-woman access to the labour market and also of the feminisation of a male dominated field:

> With the aid of a new and revolutionary card control system, girls have taken over the work of men in Pan American Airways' central reservations control office in Miami. Feminine hands, for the most part, now handle…routes through the Caribbean, Central and South America.…The force of experts in this never centre of the company's Eastern division traffic department has been organised from among "graduates" of a highly specialised course in instruction instituted early last year by Division Traffic Manager H.C. Dobbs to provide a reserve of trained personnel for rapidly-expanded wartime operations. (p. 6)

This edition of the Clipper magazine's cover is a picture of an Anglo white woman holding an electric screwdriver, as a symbol of her entrance in a male-dominated sector (Figure 24).

Figure 24: Portrait of the Anglo-woman Worker (Pan American Airways, 1943c)

The representation of the Anglo-woman in brochures of Bermuda portrays an upper-class tourist lifestyle. Released at the end of WWII, "Now-Bermuda by Clipper" (Pan American Airways, 1945b), advertises the island as a destination for the sporty woman. The illustration on the front page of the brochure of an upper-class white tourist (Figure 25) together with images of Anglo couples playing golf, bicycling, and horseback riding in luxurious resorts, displays an imagery of a luxurious Bermuda in contrast to the images of the black waiter, a reminder that a server role is fulfilled by the Latin-man.

Bermuda's brochures are built on the difference Latin-Anglo. Bermuda is British territory and part of Anglo-America; as such, PAA's representation evokes the Anglo experience, illustrating white upper-class North Americans. Additionally, the narrative of WWII and allied nations, England and US, was also a part of Bermuda's brochures. "US military based was carefully designed to harmonize perfectly with the surrounding terrain and architecture. America will be pleased to see the outstanding example of Anglo-

American cooperation." The reference to the Anglo-American cooperation recalls the Spanish-Latin American colonial linkages.

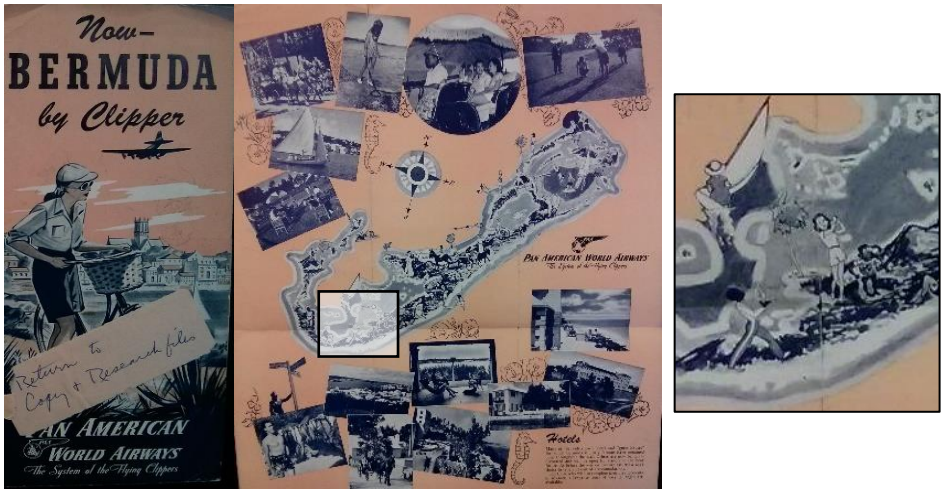


Figure 25: Portrait of the Anglo-woman Tourist (Pan American Airways, 1945b)

In sum, by 1945 when mass tourism was beginning to take off, a race-class intersection in the representation of the Anglo-woman by PAA, conceived a portrait of white upper-class tourist and white middle-class workers.

Next, I analyse in detail the portrait of the Latin-woman and compare it with the representations of the Anglo-women.

Latin-woman as traditional

The airline, *Compañía Mexicana de Aviación*, a member of PAA beginning in 1929, was involved in a campaign to enforce the use of a traditional Mexican scarf called *el rebozo*. This fashion textile that looks like a long scarf, brought by Spanish conquerors, became part of the aboriginal culture in Mexico. Mexican women of all social classes wore *el rebozo* during the colonial period. This article promoting the internationalisation of *el rebozo* as a fashionable item presents another portrait of Latin-woman, the white

Latina. The photographs of Mexican women posing are followed by a two-page section describing this piece of clothing as part of the Mexican tradition and identity (

Figure 26). Behind is a historical narrative on class, gender, race, and nation.

The intersection of race and class in the same Mexican society is revealed when the production of *el rebozo* is said it will demand more labour of "brown hands" (Pan American Airways, 1943b, p. 16). The representation of gender is subtler and hides behind the meaning of *el rebozo* itself. The Mexican culture—read: Latin-man culture—used *el rebozo* as a symbol of protection from the public eye, decency, and privacy of the woman, who, according to the Christian ethos, needed protection, as they represented animals and the undivine (Anzaldúa, 2007, p. 39). As such, *el rebozo* could be seen as part of the Latin-man culture, who covers women's head and imprisoned them in the role of the other, at least during the 16th century.

The image of the Latin-woman goes through a triple othering: 1) by the Latin-men, whose patriarchal culture gives meaning to *el rebozo* to symbolize women's weakness; 2) by the Anglo-men, who holds the authority to internationalize a crafted femininity of the Latin-woman; and 3) by the Anglo culture, which links traditional life style to the Latin-woman and modern life style to the Anglo-woman.

Figure 26: Portrait of the Latin-women Traditional (Pan American Airways, 1943b)

During the 1940s, representations of women from Latin America reveal a fascination for viewing Latin-women as ritualistic and superstitious. The magazine, *Caminos del Aire*, a Spanish periodical from PAA, dedicated a section to Haiti, the "only black republic in the west hemisphere, with an extraordinary mixed of African and French blood" (Pan American Airways, 1943b, p. 6). Two photos of Latin-women performing a dance ritual creates the association between Latinas and tradition-bound, archaic, superstitious, and tribe (Figure 27). Following Barthes (2000) analysis in *Camera Lucida*, and Boje (2008a) antenarrative approach, PAA's intentionality is twofold. PAA narrative is built to surprise, by showing photos of black women performing rare, odd, and extraneous dances (from an Anglo standpoint). A legend that follows the photo of two black women dancing reflects the skin colour antenarrative that hides the story of black's racial inferiority, a narrative of native and exotic Latin-women, "poses by an extraneous sensation, a female native delivered herself in a frenzy, to exotic rituals, followed by the sound of the raucous drums of the natives."

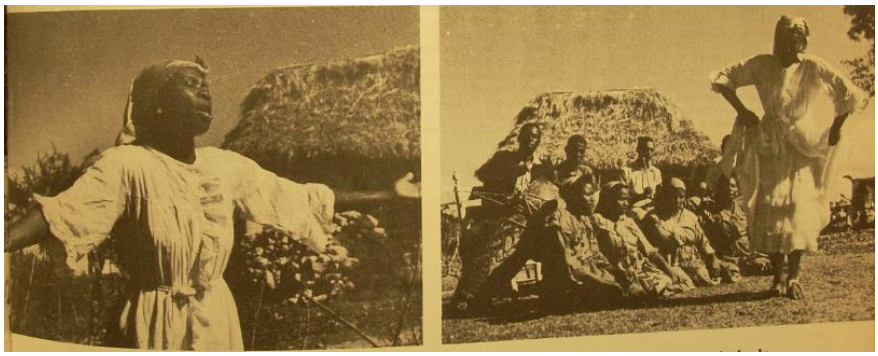


Figure 27: Portrait of the Latin-woman as Superstitious (Pan American Airways, 1943b, p. 7)

Images of black women in Haiti reflect what Barthes (2000) describes as the subjects who are transformed into a "museum object" (p. 13) within the grand narrative of cultural differences between Anglo and Latin America. Sense of time is banned from the photo, as rituals are timeless artefacts of cultural customs. The setting plays an important role in the making of the Latin-woman. The rural setting, the mountains, and the precarious houses leave the audience to interpret Haiti and its provincial way of living. PAA's representations envision feminist postcolonial dualities in the image making of Latinas as a-modern, irrational "poses" and underdeveloped "peasants." To echo Anzaldúa's thinking, these photos reflect Western ignorance for two reasons. First, historical studies on the Haitian culture reveal the intersection of religion—the Voodoo beliefs—dance, and the body and their creation of symbolisms and the embodiment. As such, dance in the Haitian culture compels the integration of body, mind, and spirit. Second, local ceremonies in Haiti are deeply rooted in a philosophy of human kind that includes equally men and women in ritual possessions. According to studies on the Haitian culture the gender is "not a pointed issue…as cross-gender possession is common" (Martin, 1995, p. 110).

PAA's portrait of the Latin-woman during the 1940s perpetuated the bodily experience and the dance across the Latin American nations. The portrait of the Latin-woman dancer (Figure 28) with the following legend advertises entertainment in Cuba:

> The nightlife in the Cuban capital is one of the most animated in the world. The bustle of its music, the rhythm of its music and the rhythm of its dances made from La Habana an unforgettable place for the travellers who visit. (Pan American Airways, 1943b)

Figure 28: Portrait of the Latin-woman Dancer (Pan American Airways, 1943b)

Sensuality, entertainment, and dancing are embodied in the corporeality of a Cuban woman at a Havana nightclub. The combination of an extravagant costume evoking a tropical nation together with the nudity of the dancer creates the idea of the Latin-women's *hetero-sexuality*, the body figure evokes desirability and exoticism both elements of the Anglo masculinity of the time. More so, the duality between the dancer and a conservative and, presumably, white consumer transforms the scene into a spectacle

where PAA commodifies art and dancing from the Cuban culture, revealed by the image of a Latin-woman's body for the amusement of the Anglo spectator.

Anglo versus Latin-women

Comparing two editions of the magazine, *Caminos del Aire*, published in 1943, I am able to contrast the representation of the Anglo-woman (Figure 29a) versus the Latin-woman (Figure 29b). At first glance, gender seems to be equally represented in women's pictures, as the stewardess and the waiter are both servers in the travel industry.

a) 

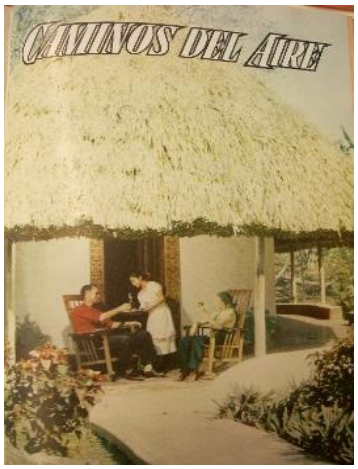
b) 

Figure 29: Different Portraits of Anglo and Latin Woman (Pan American Airways, 1943b)

Nonetheless, these two photos, explained by feminist colonial dualities, are intersected by notions of race and class, which creates a Latin-woman object compared to the Anglo-woman as the subject.

The image of a PAA stewardess serving a tourist on a Clipper airplane makes sense in the context of the natural-wealth grand narrative where PAA draw itself as the

modern, multi-national icon of the North American culture. By 1943, PAA had the first stewardesses—before, the stewardess profession was a masculine endeavour, which included Hispanic males—which job description was visibly narrowed to a certain ethnicity (white) and class (middle-upper). This ideal PAA stewardess was blue-eyed, brown hair, sporty, high-school graduated, and had a training in business, an archetypal representation of the Anglo-woman for years to come regardless that, by 1946, PAA added the first flying crew of South American women. Meanwhile, the representation of the Latin-woman remained limited to the spectacle aesthetics entangled with domesticity and race.

Using Barthes' language (2000), PAA, as the operator, represents the white stewardess (Figure 29a) through the gaze of the ideal stewardess impression, with the purpose of creating familiarity with the spectator—white Anglo Saxons. This familiarity is implicit in the natural-wealth grand narrative, and PAA narratives of the airplane age, modernity, fanciness, and technical advancements. Gender roles in the context of modernity are intersected by race in the image of the white Anglo-man tourist and the white Anglo-woman stewardess. The Anglo-woman's outfit is an icon of a PAA's stewardess job.

Officially, the first stewardess was a nurse (Ellen Church) who could not become a pilot, and, instead, influenced the executives at Boeing Air Transport to let her fly and assist the passengers that were afraid of the new experience of air transportation (Smithsonian National Air and Space Museum, 2007). By 1943, the stewardess job became a modern endeavour for the Anglo-women attached to its feminine mystic. Even cigarettes advertisement (Figure 30) portray PAA stewardess's femininity as the legend

point outs: “proud and satisfied of “her” who has put a nice note, the feminine charm in the daily flight” (Pan American Airways, 1943b). Desirability and gender together elevated the stewardess profession, and in consequence the Anglo-women social status.

Figure 30: Portrait of the Anglo-woman Modern (Pan American Airways, 1943b)

Books from PAA stewardesses, and also a TV show,[viii] have become part of the popular culture, like memorabilia, such as dolls and bags. Previous studies on PAA have seen the image of PAA stewardess as an objectification of (the Anglo) woman based on its attractiveness and sexual appeal (Mills, 2006). Through an analysis that intersects gender, class, race, and coloniality, the representation of the Anglo-woman never becomes the “museum-object”; thus, she keeps her agency, and her subjectivity. The job of the Anglo-woman as a stewardess is associated with the public sphere—outside of the home—and is for an upper-class woman. Opposite to the Anglo-stewardess is the image of a domestic Latin-woman (Figure 29b) who grabs the traveller’s attention (Barthes, 2000), by juxtaposing the image of the white traveller to the brown-native server –doing housework.

The split tourist-native ideal is built on the grand narrative of the difference between Anglos and Latins. The setting of this picture is precarious and rural. Class and race both intersect in the picture: the Latin-woman is the server, is brown-skinned, and portraits an indigenous (native) look on Latin Americans. Through feminist colonial binaries, the representation of the Latin-woman as domestic, traditional, and archaic, oppose the Anglo-woman's portrait as a white tourist, middle-upper class, and modern woman. In sum, the tourist material that PAA made during the 1930s and 1940s shaped a perception regarding the Latin-woman that conforms to the notion of a Third World woman who is poor, coloured, and Southern, while eternalised an opposite configuration of the Anglo-woman as a first world citizen who is upper-class, white-skinned, and Northern.

6.5 Interlocking Race-Nation-Gender

The economic recovery of the US during WWII meant the expansion of the mass consumer market (Cohen, 2004). Business leaders, unions, government, mass media, and advertisers spread the message that consumerism was not a personal business, but a "civic responsibility" for the prosperity of the country (Cohen, 2004, p.236). In *A Consumer's Republic*, Cohen (2004) uses the consumer's republic metaphor to express the process the US went through in the 1940s and 1950s, and which took mass markets to become the discourse of US prosperity and growth.

Mass marketing of the imperial nations was not a new phenomenon. During the Victorian era of British history, for example, grotesque racial images of African people were deployed in advertising material conforming to what McClintock (1995) describes

as a “commodity kitsch” (p. 211), package and marketing racism to large populations. Nonetheless, British racial differentiation strategy diminished the Africans, contrary to PAA (US), whose good-neighbour grand narrative influenced the construction of a romantic view of Latin Americans. The romantic gaze of the other was an element of the control narrative (Boje, 2008b), which PAA designed in order to increase air travel to Latin America. As a consequence, printed material about the geography and the culture in Latin America spread through mass marketing campaigns.

In the period after WWII and until 1960, the three grand narratives: the good neighbour, the natural wealth and the cultural differences between Anglo and Latin America have influenced differently the creation of tourist material that will enhance the binary view of Anglo and Latin cultures, creating a stereotyped imagery of the white blond tourist observing a native brown-skinned Latin American.

Race-Gender in the Anglo and Latin-men portrait

Advertisement of South America based on the separation between the Anglo-tourist and the Latin-native convey what Debord (1994) calls the spectacle of mass society: “The society that brings the spectacle into being does not dominate underdeveloped regions solely through the exercise of economic hegemony. It also dominates them in its capacity as the society of the spectacle.” (Debord, 1994, p. 16).

Betty Trippe, PAA president’s wife, kept a personal diary (Trippe, 1996), writing about her trips around South America, among other places, accompanying her husband, beginning with PAA’s first trial flight in 1928. A draft (unpublished) version of this diary is in PAA archives, providing uncensored racial slurs, which speak openly of a historical

period in the US regarding racial issues. In a visit to Colombia in 1951, Betty describes her experience as follow,

> The market was picturesque with natives squatting in front of their wares of pottery bowls, wooden bowls, ponchos, sandals, tropical fruits and sacks of potatoes…We rushed back from this scene of dirty, smelly, illiterate people to dress to go to the Foreign Office, the home of Bolivar, the idolised patriot of Colombia. (p.287)

Most brochures depict images of handcraft souvenirs within "native markets," particularly in the region of Central America (Figure 31).

Figure 31: Central America's Nativity

Betty Trippe's experience of Bogota was positive, like the description of the market reveals. She expressed, at one point, how they were treated as "royalty." In contrast, the experience of the market disrupts this narrative when she describes "natives" in a despicable way. The inferiority of Colombians is only possible when "dirty, smelly, and illiterate" identities are in a dualistic relationship with fancy, dressy, and alphabetize self-identified Anglo Americans.

Argentine writer, Rodolfo Kush (1999), unpacks this idea of the notion of a smell attributed to people and places beyond the Anglo ideology by explaining the smell of *América*, the Indigenous America outside of the US geo-historical location, "outside of the parameters of modernity" (Streck, 2011, p. 52). He critically reflects on the smell of *América* that we encounter in Cuzco, and in the rest of the American continent among the places he visited and the people he encountered. According to him, this smell makes people feel uncomfortable because of the tacit believe of Anglo American and Europeans as neat and townsman. This unpleasant feeling towards natives should be understood through Kush's insight of smell of the non-Anglo America.

Regarding postcolonial dualisms, the West assumes a completeness in their character, and, as a default, those outside of the West are defined as incomplete or lacking personal attributions. For instance, a 1958 narrative, Betty Trippe describes their stay in Havana, Cuba, "The whole atmosphere at Havana was unpleasant—the Cubans we met had no sophistication and overindulged themselves in food and drink" (p. 346). As explained in previous chapters, the fashion of the US government to categorize the national identities of Latin Americans was materialised in several government reports based on ethnographic research such as the Kennan report (1950):

> it seems unlikely that there could be any other region of the earth in which nature and human behaviour could have combined to produce a more unhappy and hopeless background for the conduct of human life than in Latin America (Schoultz, 1998, p.331).

Thus, Betty's narrative regarding Cubans makes sense within the context of US politics studying Latin Americans as objects. The following narrative of their visit to Peru, in

1958, reflects other dualisms in the representation of primitive Latin America versus a civilised Anglo-America. “The soil is rich and in the fields around Cuzco, we saw very primitive farming…We saw many llamas, the beast of burden of Peru.” (Pan American Airways, 1996, p. 346) (Figure 32). The view of Peruvians as primitive encompasses its culture and its dance rituals, which surprise the Anglo Saxon traveller (Figure 33). The construction of native Latin Americas is contextualised by picturing a primitive lifestyle, combined with traditional rituals in which dressing and dance astonish the Anglo-tourist and its peripheral understanding of the culture of the Latin nations (Figure 34).

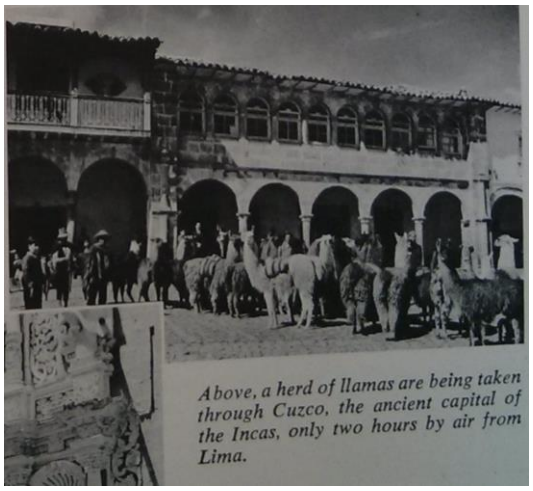


Figure 32: Picturing a Primitive Latin America

Figure 33: Native Dancers of Peru

Figure 34: Native Tribal Costume in Guatemala

The idea of primitive farming hides the story of the expansion of the city of Lima as an important metropolis, like New York. The region of Latin America conformed to those ideas of nature and animals in the Anglo's perspective. Many PAA brochures, guides, and flight maps depict Latin America with the image of llamas and other animals, recreating the distinction between nature and culture among nations. Llamas have a historical value as animals, domesticated by Peruvians to enhance local economy

(Romero, 2006). Instead, the narrative of difference develops a picturing of the other as foreign and traditional evolving into a spectacle based on separation (Debord, 1994) between the spectator, Anglos, and the objects, Latins.

Representations of natives from South America become banal by creating ahistorical commodities of classists and racialised Latin-masculinities. As the image at the beginning of this chapter reveals, a brochure of South America from 1950 (Figure 15), the white tourist versus the brown-skinned gauchos encapsulates the commodity kitsch in the grotesque portrait of gaucho men with ponchos and big *sombreros*, opposite to the illustration of the white tourist couple, modern dressed, civilised, Western, cultured, and worldly. This brochure shows the engagement of the Anglos, a wealthy white couple (class-race) in primitive behaviour (eating stake by hand) with two dark-skinned Latin-men with a rural looking. Primitiveness only makes sense when compared with modern items considered fashionable in 1950.

The image of a Mexican boy with a Macaw imprisoned in a cage interacting with an Anglo Saxon couple at the airport (Figure 35) might contradict the Latin-masculinity associated to the South American gauchos. Nevertheless, a pattern in the representations of Latin-man repeats in the embodiment of a child that looks native, poor, and traditional. In the context of PAA narrative about Latin America been a "child of the air age," the sketch of a Mexican boy selling a wild bird to Anglo Americans converge with the narrative of inferiority and dependency of the Latin nations.

Figure 35: The Mexican Child meets the Anglo American Tourist (Pan American Airways, 1956d)

During the 1950s, the notion of gender in the mass consumption society took a particular twist. Women were often a symbol of mass consumption embedded in the "discourse of [Anglo] Americanisation and modernisation" (Rosenberg, 1999, p. 480), representing the "embodiment of consumer lifestyles" (497). Through the gaze of race and class, the portrait of the "consumer" was filled out by the image of an Anglo-woman, and the Latin-woman became an object, a commodity of international tourism (Figure 36), embodied in the brown-woman's bodily image. Tourist brochures of Mexico and Central America during 1950 became part of the society of spectacle using the brown-skinned woman image as an object of Anglo Saxons' photography (Figure 37). The Anglo-woman photographing a brown Latina carrying a child on her back evidence a relationship subject-object, observer-thing observed. The representation of the Anglo-woman as a subject, as white, as the traveller, the wealthy, the modern, the technological,

gives her a superiority over the presence of the Latin-woman's portrait as the body, the poor, the archaic, and the family-oriented and domestic Latina.

Figure 36: Black Latin-woman Object (Pan American Airways, 1956b)

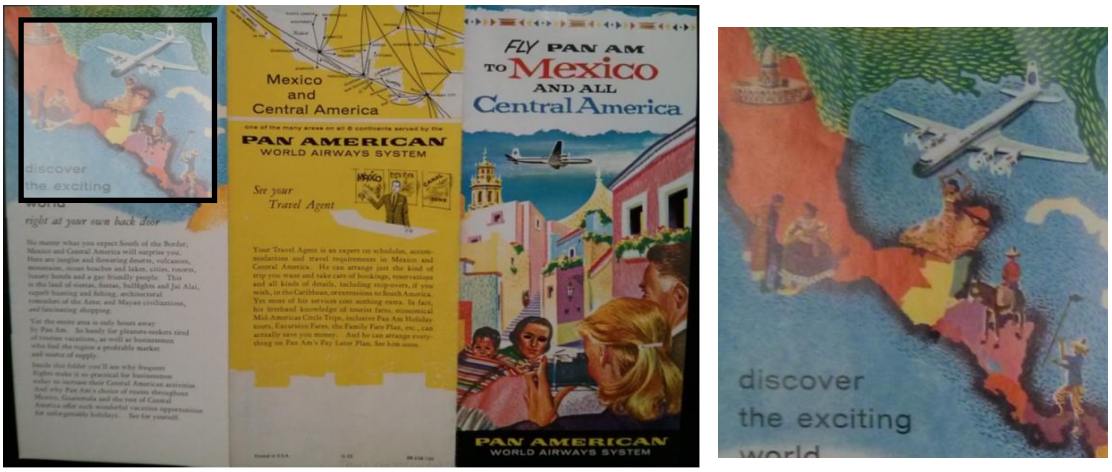


Figure 37: Brown Latin-woman becoming 'Museum Object' (Pan American Airways, 1950b)

On the back of the brochure (Figure 37), PAA's narrative of Central America and Mexico, as the exciting and exotic other, is reinforced by images and texts: "discover the exiting world right at your own back door."

> No matter what you expect south of the border, Mexico and Central America will surprise you. Here are jungles and flowering deserts, volcanoes, mountains, ocean beaches and lakes, cities, resorts, luxury hotels and gay friendly people. This is the land of siesta, fiestas, bullfights, Jai Alai, superb hunting and fishing, architectural reminders of the Aztec and Mayan civilisations and fascinating shopping. (Pan American Airways, 1950b)

According to Barthes (1967), "language is never innocent." Latinos and Latin America are represented as the object of entertainment and amusement (e.g., fiesta), as layback (e.g., siesta), and as savages (e.g., jungle). PAA created a postcolonial storytelling based on the distinction of modern-old, tourist-native, subject-object in which race, gender, and nation intersect in the brown women's body configuring a "museum-object" (Barthes, 2000) out of Latin America. At the back of the brochure, a couple dancing with colourful customs, a brown woman dancing with a folk dress, a man riding a donkey, a fisherman, and the iconic Mexican sombrero are the artefacts that complete the postcolonial narrative of exotic Latinos and excitement in Latin America.

Latin-man as Folk

Under the drawing of coloniality antenarrative, a poster of South America from the 1950's (Figure 38) conveys images of femininity and masculinity outlining a Gaucho on a bucking horse as the archetype of the Latin-man, and a girly white-woman illustrating the South American woman. PAA narrativised the Latin-Anglo difference into the hybrid nation-race intersectionality that pictures white-Latins in South America as opposed to indigenous in Central America. In the background of the poster, PAA self-

representation through the Boeing 377 Stratocruiser flying across the sun, imprints the superiority of modernity over a rustic South America. The intersection of race and gender creates a disparity between women and men's portrait. A traditional view of the Latin-woman as feminine, girly and delicate, contrasts the toughness (horse), aggressiveness (leash), and domination that symbolizes the Latin-gaucho. These traditional portraits were in opposition to trends of the political reality of South American during 1950, as most countries had already established women's right to vote. Also, the representation of rural lifestyle in South America denies those technological advancements occurring in parallel to the US, for instance, the project of president Perón on a National Aviation program in Argentina, which explain why the US considered Argentina a bad neighbour.

Figure 38: Poster South America 1950s (Pan American World Airways, 1950)

Tourist material during 1950 was built with the strategy to market South America as an encounter between tourists and locals, or, as I have been arguing, Anglos and Latins. Several stories of cultural difference conflicted with racial distinctions and rural-city life style to be found in Latin America. The image of the gaucho as the eternal condition of the Latin-man of South America (Figure 39) encourages a type of

masculinity among Latin-men. This Latin-masculinity was distinguished from the Anglo-masculinity attached to the US cowboy, in PAA narrative, "South American gauchos and their music are as fascinating and distinctive as our Western cowboys." By 1957 the photography of South America (Figure 39 & Figure 40) continued displaying the image of rural life, ranches, and *estancias*, for the amusement of Anglo Americans. Oppositions are reflected in the photographs with the white tourist couple who is introduced to the folk, traditional couples from Southern *estancias* perpetuating the 'museum object' (Barthes, 2000) in which Latin Americans are objectified based on their dress (*bombachas*) and the music (*guitars*). Illustrations and photography of dark-skinned locals in the traditional rural life context has been part of most of the 1950s tourist material.

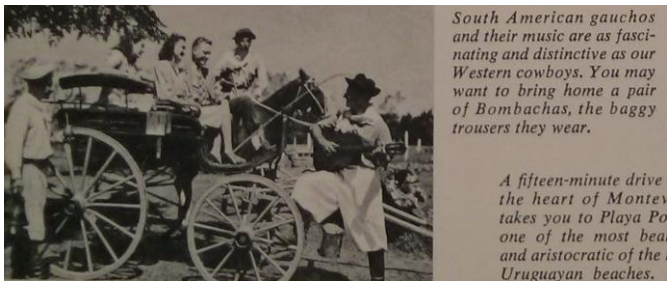


Figure 39: South American Gauchos versus Western Cowboys

Figure 40: South America' Rural Lifestyle (Pan American Airways, 1957a)

Anglo-man as Modern

Natural-wealth grand narrative influences the use of images of airplanes as a symbol of technology and modernity within the Anglo masculinity construct, opposite to the reproduction of natural and animalistic views on Latin America. The concept of modernity refers to a historical process in which America begun to be a continent, a new space and time, and a new materiality and subjectivity, were Europe was the hegemonic centre (Quijano, 2000a). Mignolo (2005a) suggests, though, that using colonial lenses instead of modernism makes us think about the history of the US and its imperialism after WWII. Therefore, a colonial perspective evidence PAA modernity or imperialism represented in the narrative of a technological superiority, which downplays Latin Americans. The following extract belongs to an article called "Latin America Is Child of Air Age,"

> Modern civilisation in the broad sense came to Latin America on caravels during the Golden Age of Explorers -Columbus, Cortes, Pizarro … but it really took the air age to unlock the rich storehouse that daring had discovered. A popular and

> colourful catchphrase has it that quite a few Latin American lands turned in transportation, directly from the burro to the airplane. Unlike many colourful phrases, this one is exactly true." "Before the air age…Europe actually was closer to South America than was the United States" "The airplane has undoubtedly been a major factor in the economic development of Latin America, and the improvement of our relations with Latin America. And it was United States flag airline, PAA, that did much of the aerial pioneering to establish a sound and constantly expanding two-way trade between the Americas (Pan American Airways, 1957b, p. 9).

Looking at this narrative through the colonial binaries, PAA represents itself as modern, civilised, dominant, conqueror, and a machine (Figure 41). In opposition, Latin American nations have been described as passive, lead, and colonised by Europeans. PAA created a linkage between the colonisation process (15th century) of Latin America and PAA corporate expansion in the 20th century, a modern project, whose symbol was the Clipper airplane. "From the burro to the airplane" is the metaphor that better encompasses a cultural imperialism from the US and the naturalisation of the cultural domination over nature.

Figure 41: PAA Superiority Represented in the Clipper Airplane

Since the European conquest, the narrative of modernity continued by creating the myth of "the idea of a state of nature" (Quijano, 2000a, p. 202) among the colonies. In this sense, the eloquent depiction of Latin America in the images of the llama, the horse, the cattle, and the burro, pinpoint an animalistic and natural view of Latinos. Haraway (1991) argues that "nature" as a category has been conceived by a functionalist scientific view of society, which assumes a split between nature and culture. In this split, animals represent the natural objects that explain to people their "pre-rational, pre-management, pre-cultural essence" (p. 11). This mythical split between nature and culture naturalizes the domination of one over the other: the machine over nature. Tourist guides and flight maps from PAA reproduce the imagery of Latin America as nature drawing an array of animals from flamingos, macaws, and toucans in the north of South America, to cows and horses in the south of the continent, a reification of a state of nature in Latin America.

Modernity as a project is not gender neutral; on the contrary, technological advancements become part of an Anglo men's narrative on masculinity. The article "Launching each PAA flight like launching a debutante" (Figure 42) is an article that explains PAA process of preparing for a flight:

> two men refuelling the gas tanks, one checking oil, two polishing windows from the outside, and three hooking up a ground power unit to test radios, run fans and start the engines…the flight engineer has joined the party…his trained eye spots…The pilot makes sure his propellers farther automatically…the station manager…his office…It takes more grooming to launch a PAA flight than it does to launch a debutante—and lots more planning. (Pan American Airways, 1957b, p. 17)

Here, masculinity is performed by the managerial and technical jobs done by men. Also, masculinity arises when comparing the launching of the flight to the launching of a debutante, which definition is "a young upper-class woman who has begun going to special parties where she will meet and be seen by other people from the upper class."[ix] PAA narrative of launching a flight evokes the role of upper-class woman in society, as dependants, and as passive as they wait for male/society's approval. In this context, the debutant ceremony acts as a metaphor of gender, class, and race engrained in US society.

Figure 42: Anglo Masculinity in the Anglo-woman's Portrait

The gender difference among Anglos is built on the higher status of the Anglo-men as pilots and engineers of PAA planes with the lower status of the stewardess. Building on the previous section, the representation of the Latin-woman remains in a lower status as traditional, domestic and object.

In the next section, I analyse how PAA configures the category of 'native' through language and images in light of the grand narrative of the cultural difference and the antenarrative of the skin-colour relationship in Latin America.

Gender, Race, Nation, and Body

"Gender in Latin America is often represented as a visual spectacle on the national political stage. Moreover, the accoutrements of gender—cosmetics, dress, and pose—are treated as commodities to be bought and sold in the image-making service of the nation." (Masiello, 1997, p. 220).

The distinction among Latin Americans between Central-South America, black-white, non- European-European, and rural-urban lifestyle intersected in brochures and advertisement from the 1940s and 1950s. An example is an advertisement of Buenos Aires from 1948 (Figure 43), which portrays images of a white Latin-woman. The ad spots a dance show in the figure of a local couple. The white-skin Latina of this ad is European-like (slim figure) and is soberly dressed; displays sensual/femininity through its movements, dancing, and dressing. The image of masculinity is intersected by the manly making of the gaucho. The stereotype of the Latin *macho* (Stevens, 1973) hides within the image in the gaucho's horsewhip around the woman's waist.

Figure 43: Portrait of the South American White Woman (Pan American World Airways, 1948)

The representation of the white South American nations is reinforced by the high proportion of the European mix among certain regions. The following exert from a press release by Juan Trippe, is another example of Argentines' perceived similarity with US citizens.

> Although still unknown to most US tourists, Argentina is a land where, as those who had lived here will testify our countryman feels more at home. Like the United States, Argentina is a product of European immigration. And like us you have fused old world culture with New World progress. (Pan American Airways, 1950a, p. 3)

A 1954 tourist guide from Buenos Aires evidences how the notions of nation and race are intertwined in the portrait of Latinos.

> "B.A." (Buenos Aires) is a modern city as cosmopolitan as any in the world… Argentineans, and particularly the Porteños, as residents of Buenos Aires are called, are sophisticated people not in any sense to be considered or treated as "natives." (Pan American Airways, 1954, p. 26)

The representation of Argentines goes beyond postcolonial dualities in which the other is constructed as the native. People from Buenos Aires are perceived similar to Europeans, and to Anglos, and the perception of sophistication is what makes Argentines be a closer 'other' than for instance women from Martinique seen as natives and traditional (Figure 47).

Photographs of Latin American's dress and costumes have been part of PAA narrative on natives. Native dresses and traditional costumes became a fundamental part of the portrayal of Latin American women when crafting each national tradition; for example, in Mexico (Figure 44) and Perú (Figure 45). The descriptive text "you'll see people everywhere wearing those traditional costumes" (Pan American Airways, 1951, p. 100), encompasses the idea of one Mexico as traditional and dismisses the possibility of encountering any traces of modernity in Mexico. Costumes and dance in the image of a 'feather dancer' from Mexico (Figure 46) displays an alternative type of masculinity than the one of the 1930s brochure showing a bullfighter in Mexico. The Spanish heritage among the Latin American nations reframed the European colonisation into a positive asset of some Latin American countries; for instance, Colombia has been described as the more purely Spanish country of South America and implicit stands the possibility of a piece of Europe within Colombia.

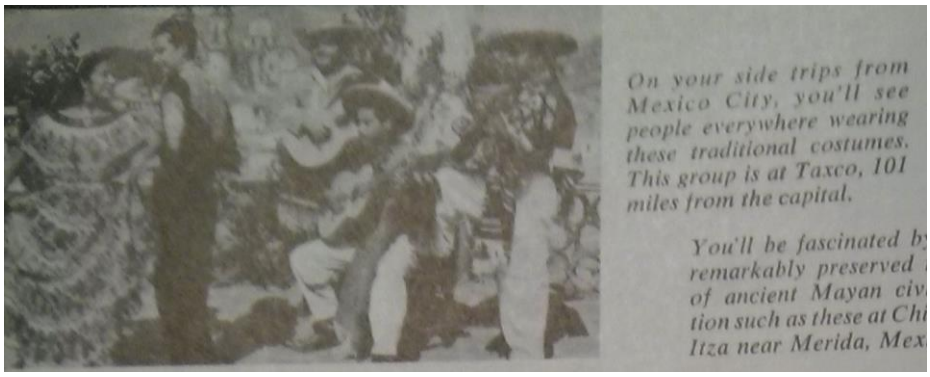


Figure 44: Mexico's Traditional Costumes

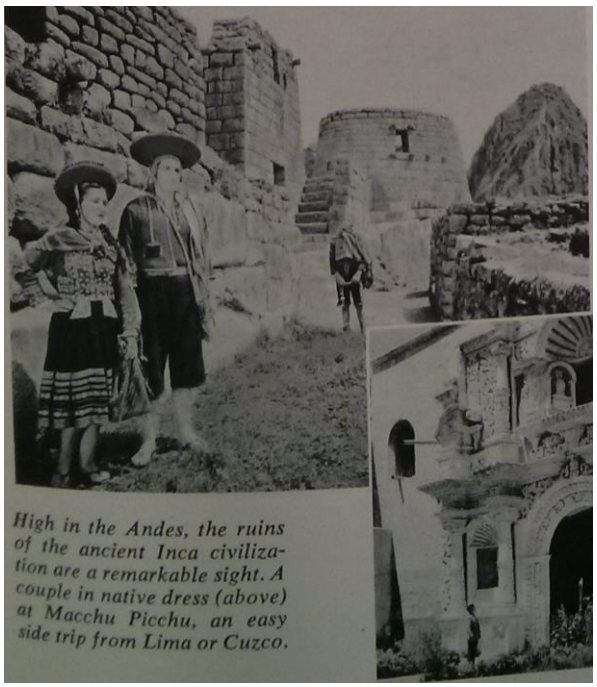


Figure 45: Native Dress in Perú

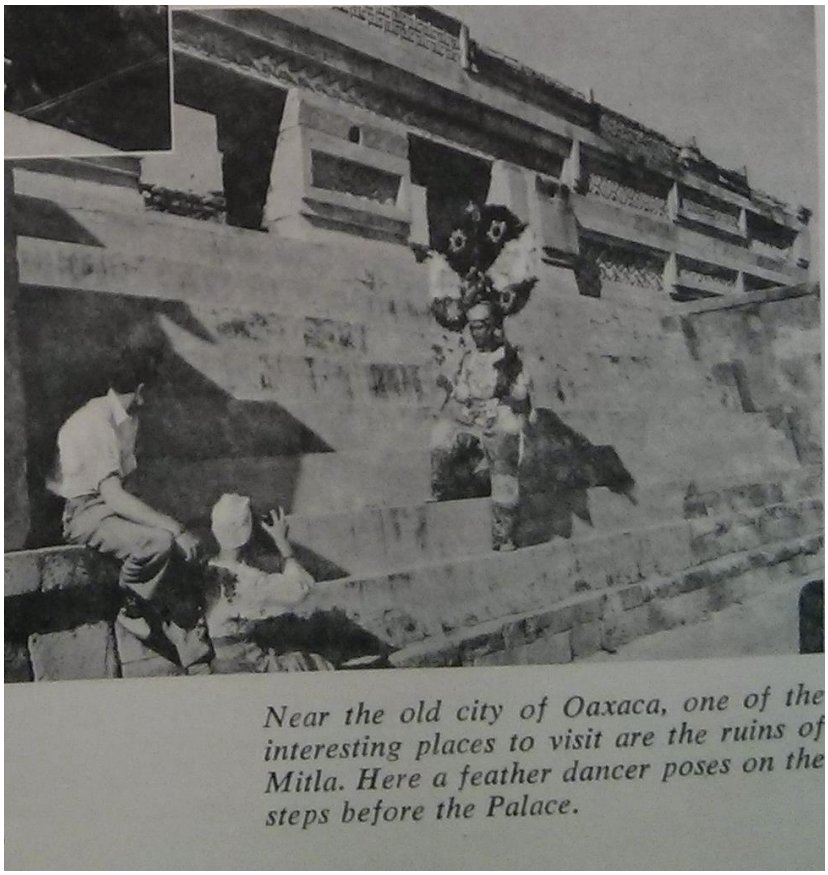


Figure 46: Custom and Dance in a Mexican Man's Portrait

The portrait of Martinique 'native girls' (Figure 47) is intersected by gender, race, and nation. The magazine, *New Horizons,* a popular tourist guide, described Martinique as "fascinating as you've always imagine and still hasn't been discovered by too many people. Native girls here dress in full costume for visitors" (Pan American Airways, 1954, p. 283). The photo recalls what Barthes (2000) describes in photography as the art of the person, or the "body's formality" (Barthes, 2000, p.79).

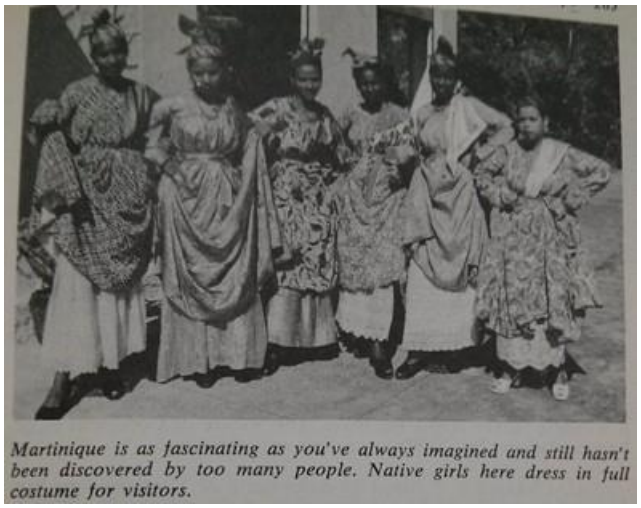


Figure 47: Portrait of Martinique 'Native Girls' in Costume (Pan American Airways, 1954, p. 283)

This photograph of Martinique island women references the formal body, giving credibility or "authentication" (Barthes, 2000, p.87) to the nativity of the "native girls." Here, the spectrum are the natives from Martinique creating both a "museum of objects" (Barthes, 2000) for travellers and also a spectacle out of women's image. In this sense, the educational purpose of the photo, its studium (state) seems to be the representation of Martinique, which unfolds in a portrait of women from Martinique. PAA's narrative is supposed to be informative of the destination, Martinique, but cannot convey its purpose. Their codification of nation, gender, and dressing is superfluous, and we do not get a deep understanding of the history of those women, those dresses, and its meaning. On the other hand, the photo of a woman from Panamá posing in her "typical costume" (Figure 48) for an Anglo couple who takes her picture, remains in the dualities of Latin-woman as native, object, and tradition like, compare to the tourist, subject, and vanguard Anglo Saxon couple. The dress of the woman from Panama has imprinted the tradition of the Spanish

colonisation that marks “the influence of Panama’s old Spanish culture” (Pan American Airways, 1951, p. 110).

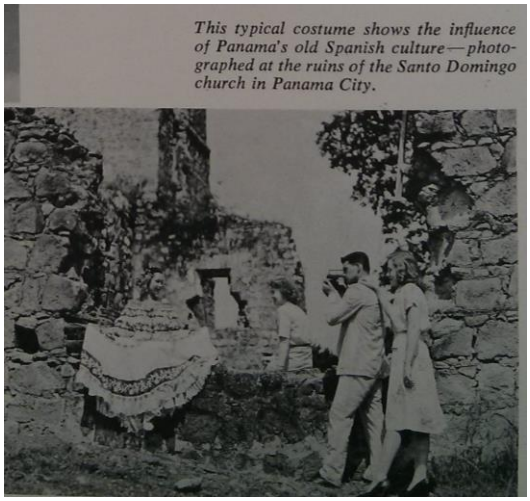


Figure 48: Panama Woman Wearing a Costume of Old Spanish Culture

According to Enloe (1989), “Power infuses all international relationships” (p. 2) and the tourism industry is also a space for pleasure and power. Thus, the choice of a vacation in Bermuda instead of Granada is a political act instead of a mere cultural choice. Touristic brochures from Bermuda reflect this point (Figure 49). This British island in the Caribbean Sea is described as “unforgettable, bright, British, glamourous.” (Pan American Airways, 1956c). Bermuda’s identity is British and female, “you’ll love her climate and semitropical foliage, her customs, and picture-postcard scenery.” Also, Bermuda’s ad welcomes visitors mostly from the US, a former British colony. The brochure targets US visitors who have free entry as US citizens. Following PAA’s pattern of representations, the Anglo-woman in Bermuda’s brochure is white, sophisticated, and modern. More so, she embodies the subject, the consumer of the mass consumption society and the worker (e.g., stewardess, or a technician during WWII).

Figure 49: Bermuda: Portrait of the Anglo Saxon Traveller (Pan American Airways, 1956a)

The analysis of Bermuda's brochure, together with a brochure of the Caribbean (Figure 50) from the 1950s, sheds light to a binary representation of body and mind at the intersection of race and nation. Through distinctions between brown-white, curvilinear-slim, and dull-fashionable clothing, PAA solidified a different portrait of the Latin-Anglo women.

Figure 50: The Caribbean: Portrait of a Black Dancer Latin-woman (Pan American Airways, 1959a)

Central in the brochure of the Caribbean is the image of a black woman. This image represents the portrait of the Caribbean women, vis-à-vis Latinas, one intersected

by elements of gender and sexuality, and contextualised by the antenarratives of colonial representations and skin colour (race), between 1946 and 1960. Race is represented in her blackness and is reinforced by wearing a dull and extravagant long dress. The body image is created from the juxtaposition of the stereotypical African woman silhouette, voluptuous ties and a slim waist, and the stereotype of tropical women's dresses. The style of dressing to represent Latin American's sexuality (Masiello, 1997) is exposed in the intertwined between the Caribbean woman's silhouette, her costume, and her posture. The narrative of music and romance among Latin Americans holds in the background through guitars and maracas played by two black hands.

The creation of a portrait of Latinas began in 1930, but its consolidation responded to the growth of a consumer society after 1945. By then, PAA influence the production of cultural stereotypes that stills resonates in the 21st century in popular culture. The black-skinned Latina, with an extravagant fruit-hat on her head, dancing, and who resemblances her African descendant was part of PAA brochures in the 50s (Figure 51).

a)  b) 

Figure 51: Portrait of the Black Caribbean Woman (a) and Men (b) (Pan American Airways, 1958a)

The racialised image of the Latin-woman was evident in the travel journal of Betty Trippe when visiting Cuba in 1958. Her observations regarding Cubans are examples of the thoughts of the time on race, colour, and culture. The idea of slavery, laziness, and women's unashamed behaviour was part of Betty Trippe's narrative, influenced by her own temporality, but, at the same time, it could be said that will influence the perceptions regarding Latinas and Latinos (when going back to the US to her fellow citizens).

> On the streets, the Cubans gave the impression of being sloppy and lazy. The women were in very short, very tight skirts, emphasising their fat rear end."
>
> "During the slave trade days, Cuba was an important stop before they were taken on to America. Many were sold in Cuba, so the people range from Black to White. (Pan American Airways, 1996, p. 345)

> We went to a nightclub where it was a treat to hear Nat King Cole, the [Anglo] American negro, sing. There was a show of practically nude Cuban girls

> dancing—they were every colour from black to tan. (Pan American Airways, 1996, pp. 345-346)

When describing women in Dutch Guyana, “negro women on the shore in bright calico dresses with great bustles, danced ‘round and ‘round, as a welcome. The welcome was warmer and more primitively enthusiastic here than anywhere we’ve been” (p. 34).

By the 1960s, the expansion of new flights to Central and South America reveal a inadequate representation of the Latin-woman (Figure 52). The picturesque portray of a white-skinned woman dressed as a Spanish dancer ties the region to the Spanish conquest and its cultural influence. Folk and fancy dressing in the representations of women from Latin America during the 1960s continued referencing the colonialism from the past while creating postcolonial images in the present.

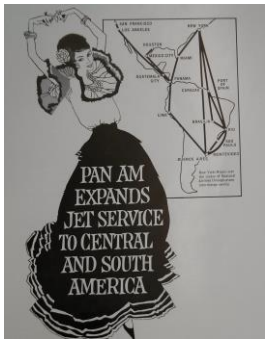


Figure 52: A Portrait of the Latin-woman in 1960 (Pan American Airways, 1960b)

6.6 Reflective Comments

Since the beginning of my analysis of PAA's portrayal of images, I was aware not to impose the creation of what I perceived was the main finding in PAA's study: a Latin-woman' portrait. One of the reasons this made me hesitate to focus on the representation of the 'Latin-women', or 'Latina's portrait' (which seems to be a categorical definition) was that PAA written material has rarely used a denomination, such as 'Latinas' or even refer to 'women in Latin America.' Then, the Latin-woman portrait was an emergent category (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) that came up during an iterative process of intersectional inquiry of PAA photographs, images, and sketches. By following a theoretical sensitivity (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), I was able to combine my readings on decolonialism, and feminism with my experience as a woman from Latin America. My multiple experiences had informed me about the way that Anglo Saxons perceive Latin Americans. The story that follows is an example. This happened when I began dancing salsa in Canada. I have been learning different dance styles for almost fifteen years, including salsa. A couple of times other dancers assumed I was a good dancer because I looked like a Latina, meaning brunet and brown-skinned, saying, many times, 'you are Latina. You people grew up dancing.' Although I told them that I was from Argentina, and most of the people do not even know how to do the tango, they did not seem to care. This experience haunted me through my analysis until I found many images reproducing a pattern of Latinas: brown-skinned, colourful, and performing some kind of dancing. My upbringing in the city of Buenos Aires, with its diversity –European, indigenous, white, brown, mestizos, etc., permeated my perception of my own identity as Latin American, which conflicted with the stereotype of the black Caribbean woman in PAA brochures.

Those images did not resonate with me whatsoever. The southern woman of America has been identified with PAA narratives of the Caribbean woman. This has been problematic for me, as I had to question myself in different realms: is there a Caribbean woman? Are Latinas brown? Is the South American woman whiter? Are we, Latinas, born with natural rhythm? I realised that those questions are a consequence of my intellectual location embedded in the modern ideology. I caught up myself using those same essentialist assumptions on race, gender, and nationality behind PAA's representations. Finally, I came to the conclusion that although it is difficult to scope out these categorisations, I need to expose them first, and deconstruct them later. PAA universalisation of Latinas and Latinos jeopardizes the plurality among Latin Americans. I believe in commonalities among humans; however, I also see the simplicity and injustice when a multi-national makes a unique representation of the rich diversity of human kind.

6.7 Discussion

The study of intersectionality has been criticised for rarely taking into account race, gender, and class as social constructs situated in history (Acker, 2006; Collins, 2000). However, historical analysis of intersectionality remains new to this field of study (Weigand et al., 2014). Also, the issue of its application has been of great debate among feminist as how to "overcome the disciplinary boundaries based on the use of different methods in order to embrace multiple approaches to the study of intersectionality" (McCall, 2005, p. 1795). To make it more complicated, the field has seen a great variability in the way of theorising intersectionality, from the classic works of Crenshaw

(1991), Collins (2000), and Anthias and Yuval-Davis (1983), to this day, making it difficult to understand the theory of intersectionality, as a whole.

In this thesis, I drew on multiple methods of data analysis under the umbrella of postpositivist traditions. The use of narratives addressed the context of intersectionality by studying the past and the power of certain narratives over others. As a first step, I revised PAA history, its dominant storytelling, and the alternative antenarratives who break the storyline and open up the interpretation to the unsaid. This analysis establishes a temporal context where to organize my exploration of intersectionality in PAA visual material. Below, I summarize three main theoretical contributions from the application of intersectionality as a method of analysis.

Social constitution of intersectionality

Intersectionality has been called a buzzword, a method, a theory, a framework, a philosophy, a perspective, and so on. In using intersectionality as a method of analysis, I am able to reflect on its empirical and theoretical contributions and to add to previous discussions regarding the complexity of a study of intersectionality.

Tracing back the origins of this concept, I can signal as a point of departure the 19th century. Intersectionality emerged in the performative acts (practice) of black slaves in the US and disrupted the constitution of gender in US society. As an example, Sojourner Truth, slave, black and female, spoke in the second annual convention of women's rights in Ohio in 1852 to claim the womanhood that white females already had, in a US society that saw black women synonym of animals (hooks, 1981). In 1980, Gloria Anzaldúa wrote about her experiences with exclusion as a Chicana (Mexicana), Latina,

brown, and Lesbian. The context was the geographical and symbolic borders between Mexico and the US, and the confined roles that women had in the Mexican society and Mexicans had in US society. More so, Anzaldúa's (2007) analysis of the women-of-colour, the mestiza from Mexico, is an exploration of the patriarchal culture that confines the coloured women to rigid roles in society, e.g., prostitute or mother; prostitute versus virgin. Also, men are trapped into a culture of Latin American machismo; thus, masculinity needs to be recreated, like femininity. Overall, the fictional white supremacy provides a "false racial personality" (Anzaldúa, 2007, p. 109) over men and women in Latin America.

Intersectionality, then, is temporal, fluid, and historically situated. Theoretically and empirically, intersectionality contributes to social historicism, and temporality in the study of cultures.

The use of categories

Among intersectionality research, an intracategorical analysis uses strategically categories of intersection in a constant background comparison and contrast, e.g., Latin-woman versus Anglo-woman. On the other hand, an anticategorical analysis rejects any a priori category of analysis by deconstructing them with the aim of freeing individuals and groups from the normative rules of society (McCall, 2005).

My research lies in between the intracategorical and the anticategorical methods. Although I went through a process of deconstruction of grand narratives, I consider it important to begin with categories of analysis. I was interested in gender, race, and nation because of my research objective. However, I avoid any type of definition and began a

process by which I deconstructed the meanings behind gender, race, and nation by looking at its performativity in a socio-historical context. By rejecting the categories of analysis from the start point of a study, we might be avoiding dealing with the existent dominant discourses in society, and, also, we might miss where power and hegemony is located for those who are trapped and excluded from the norm. Thus, I recommend the application of intersectionality in two stages: first, using strategically those categories that we think are relevant for our object of study, and second, deconstruct those categories by situating them in the political, economic and cultural context.

The heuristic of an intersectional analysis

The study of intersectionality has been focused on the interaction of group identities of class, gender, ethnicity, race, and so on. Through its application to this PAA case study, I agree with Anthias (2012) in the argument that intersectionality should be seen as a process. Intersectionality as a process has two implications for its application. To begin with, it distinguishes between the "structures on the one hand (broader economic and political institutional frameworks) and the processes on the other hand (broader social relations in all their complexity including discourses and representations)" (Anthias, 2012, p. 7). This distinction serves the process of looking at the fluidity of race, class, and nation, its connecting among them, with the broader context, and more importantly, it makes visible the differences that build advantage and disadvantages groups in society and how inferior positions (hierarchies) come in to being. As shown in this thesis, the inferior location of domestic-brown-Latin-traditional woman versus

modern-white-Anglo-stewardess woman makes sense in the structure of mass consumerism in the US after WWII.

On the other hand, intersectionality as a process exhibits the importance of seeing an analysis as a heuristic. Once race and nation are taken as additions heuristically to gender, then the issue becomes one of tracing mobilities within a gender, as well as between genders, and extend the scope of the area of study. For instance, I begin by looking within woman comparing Latinas and Anglos and then extended my analysis to the comparison within men, Anglos versus Latinos, and between Anglo and Latin men and woman.

Intersectionality as a process is fruitful because it remains flexible, iterative, and open to heuristics or additions of categories that where not established as the goals of the study. For instance, the notions of sexuality and the body of Latinas were emergent during the analysis of gender and race. I had to iterate between the images of Latinas and how the Western society saw sexual relations and the idea of body and non-body. Then I was able to expand the understanding of the coloniality of gender (bodies of Latinas represented from the dominant view of Anglos' system of sexuality and patriarchy). This coloniality of gender emerges in Latina' body images, and its connection to the history of Christianity, which originated the separation between reason-subject and body-object. Since then and until WWII, non-European bodies, e.g.; blacks, Africans, indigenous, were objects of knowledge and domination (Quijano, 2000a), and commonly associated to the animal world. Particularly, this dualism had implications in gender terms, and stereotypes of women of inferior races were created together with their bodies, and the more inferior its race was, the closer to nature the woman body will be.

I began this section with the story of a black slave, Sojourner Truth, who was seen as an animal, and not a woman. This story gives an example of the linkages between the ideas we have about race or gender in a given time, and the importance of tracing back how and why those ideas transform, over time, and who benefits from those transformations.

6.8 Summary

In this chapter, I analysed the portrait of Latin Americans in tourist material in the context of the three grand narratives. Within the good-neighbour grand narrative, Latin Americans' images reflect romanticism, and colour in the context of the Spanish colonial legacy. Within the natural-wealth grand narrative, the economic relevance of Latin America for its resources after WWII further entrenched the creation of a developed Anglo America and an underdeveloped Latin America, reflected in images of primitive dances, burros, and llamas. In parallel, the cultural-difference (between Latin and Anglo Americans) grand narrative reproduces the perception of cultural differences that distinguished natives from Latin America from tourist of Anglo America.

While analysing PAA documents, I was able to identify alternative portraits, e.g., Anglo-woman tourist, Latin-woman traditional, Latin-man gaucho, and Anglo-man developed. All of which reveal not only the power of representing the other, but the methodological implications of adding layers of intersectionality to my analysis. The intersectionality method enhances the understanding of gender, race, and sexuality when comparing Anglos and Latinos. By using the four part model (Sandoval, 1990), I was able to frame the symbols of superiority among Anglo men and women, and the symbols that

made Latin-man and Latin-woman be seen as inferior. The feminist view of the hierarchical system of colonial binaries revealed the Anglo woman's superiority in images that represent them as modern, tourist, white and subject; in contrast with Latinas who were represented as domestic, locals, coloured and objects. Finally, I unpacked the images of the Latin-women to look at the intersections of gender, race and sexuality over time. I was able to conclude that they become the 'museum object' (Barthes, 2000) in which their bodies, infused by notions of race and gender, are the spectacle of the Anglo-woman as much as the Anglo-man.

Chapter 7: Conclusion and Contributions

Figure 53: A socio-historical construction of Latinas' femininity (Cardwell, 1930)

7.1 Introduction

In this dissertation, I research PAA material to study intersectionality in the representation of Latin Americans over a four-decades context, between 1920 and 1960. My stated goals for exploring the role of multi-nationals framed in decolonial feminist theories and applying intersectionality as a feminist strategy address the representations of race, gender, and nationality. I combine narrative analysis and intersectionality as a method to analyse PAA's archives. The use of a narrative analysis allowed me to establish grand narratives, vis-à-vis dominant discourses, from texts and images of PAA and the US government representing Latin America. The identification of grand narratives comes from the back and forth between PAA storytelling regarding Latins, and

the politics, economics, and cultural context that fuelled those creations. I deconstruct these grand narratives by analysing antenarratives or fragmented stories untold by PAA. With a historical context and PAA storytelling laid out, I look at the intersections of race, gender, and nation in tourist visual material, over time. I expose, through feminist colonial binaries (Harding, 1986; Mohanty, 1984) and a four-part model of Anglos and Latins (Sandoval, 1990), how Latin American's were represented in images, and the reproduction of colonial hierarchies based on racial and gendered differences. Below are my concluding thoughts on the use of decolonial feminism in the study of multi-nationals, including the contributions and limitations of this dissertations, and future research directions in the field of MOS.

7.2 Main Findings of this Dissertation

The main findings are chapter specific and are summarised within the respective empirical chapters. This section synthesises the empirical findings to answer the study's three main questions:

1. How did the socio-historical context between 1927 and 1960 influence PAA narratives regarding Latin America?

I identify three aspects of the socio-historical context, which influence the development of three PAA grand narratives: politics, economics, and culture. During the 1920s, US focus on international affairs has been one cited as 'protecting' the American continent from Europe, who still had historical ties with the region. In this context, the Good Neighbour policy launched in 1933 by the US government was a friendly continuation of previous political interventionist tools to circumscribe Latin American

nations within the US scope. The influence of this policy on PAA was evident in the documentation of the company whose language and images convey the message of Latinos as good neighbours of the US viz. PAA. Shifting politics transformed the economy during 1940. As a consequence of WWII, the US economy and discourse on mass consumption began a process of market expansion across the world. US commercial interest in Latin America entailed breaking the trade between Europe and Latin America. Culturally, PAA photographs objectify Latin American subjects, turning them into 'museum objects.' The museum object is a testimony of the past of Latin America, created through the representations of natives, races, and the unspoiled nature.

Consequently, both tourists and Latin Americans were racialised by PAA, and the split of white Anglo tourists as subjects or consumers versus brown Latinos as objects was a theme reproduced over time. This cultural influence permeated the understanding of cultural differences in PAA tourist material. Since the creation of the Office of Inter-American Affairs in 1940 and PAA's Latin American Division in 1943, the creation of knowledge regarding Latin cultures emphasised a distinction between Latin and Anglo American cultures, beyond language difference. I provide evidence that the cultural differences among the Latin American nations was racialised by PAA representing the Caribbean as black and natives, and South Americans as white European from the new continent. Over time, postcoloniality in Latin America meant the creation of Latin's portrayal of the stereotype of the brown (sometimes white) Latin-woman dancer (Figure 53), which still remains in popular culture.

2. What grand narratives regarding Latin Americans were prominent in PAA material between 1927 and 1960?

I identify three grand narratives that coexist in PAA between 1927 and 1960, based on three aspects: politics, economics, and culture. The good-neighbour grand narrative began earlier than the launching, in 1933, of the US government's Good Neighbour Policy, which continued over the following two decades. In the mid-1940s, the grand narrative of the natural wealth (of Latin America) overlapped with the good neighbour narrative, in the context of WWII and North American economic growth in the post-war years.

The cultural-difference grand narrative divided Anglo and Latin American cultures. Although it can be traced to as early as the 1930s when PAA first travelled to the Caribbean and South America, its solidified during the 1940s and 1950s in parallel with the growing mass consumption of entertainment and culture as commodities in US society. These narratives were intensified during the 1940s and 1950s, a time where PAA created the Latin American Division (1943). Parallel to each grand narrative, I discuss two antenarratives that casted doubt on PAA storytelling about Latin America. Only then I was able to disclose how those narratives have been socially constructed.

3. How do representations of Latin Americans explore ideas of race, gender, and nationality?

PAA material provided evidence of producing postcolonility in the dualistic view of Latinos in comparison with Anglos. The Anglo narrative of progress, pioneering, and the new age of air travel, disclosed a racialisation of Latins. Also noted was the construction of gender biases across Anglos and Latins. In the beginning, PAA emphasises Latinos versus Latinas images, initially: laidback, romantic, parochial, then dark-skinned, dancer, and primitive. Subsequently, the mass marketing of Latin America

exposed the over-sexualisation of Latinas in comparison with Anglo women revealing the intersectionality of gender and race identities. This over-sexualisation is symbolically represented in the body of Latinas: curvilinear, gracious, brown as molasses. Women from Anglo America are represented as white tourists, are sophisticatedly dressed, modern and in control of their own body. In contrast, women from Latin America or *Latinas*, have been represented consistently in traditional and domestic contexts: native, brown-skinned, and performing folk rituals and dances.

Over time, PAA created a portrait of Latinas at the juxtaposition of gender, race, nationality, and hetero-sexuality in the process of developing new markets primarily for the North American male traveller. I believe that women have been objects of tourism propaganda (Enloe, 1989) in a process of cultural colonisation making plausible the narratives of brownness and femininity synthesised in the body of women from Latin America. The body silhouette and the skin colour of women from Latin America reflect notions about race and sexuality from an Anglo-Saxon perception. It is also the case that several brochures reproduce multiple portraits of Latinas, like a bricolage, sometimes exotic (sexual), gaudy, almost burlesque, and at other times, more primitive (inferior, low class), domestic, and traditional.

7.3 Contributions and Implications

Theoretical Contribution to Decolonial Feminism

In an attempt to tease out the explicit connection between the use of grand narratives, antenarratives, and intersectionality, these methods expand while connecting

different levels of analysis (individual-organisation-society) through the power of the narrative in the construction of cultural hierarchies or differences among women.

Different methods are good for a *history revision*, but grand narratives and antenarratives are a good contribution because they contemplate the relationship between the organisation and the broader social context subsumed in the specifics of time and space. Then, instead of focusing on the organisation and or its context, these methods are relevant to see the dynamics among organisation-society, and the double-loop influence of them. Simultaneously, this approach illuminates how *hierarchy and power* are created, by identifying which narratives are legitimised, who favours from these narratives, and who are neglected, silenced, or misrepresented by these narratives. Grand narratives and antenarratives illuminate the enactment of power in the organisation-society relationship, and because *power is linked to coloniality* ('coloniality of power') (Mignolo & Tlostanova, 2006), created in the difference between colonised and colonisers; these narrative methods are useful to understand how coloniality looks like in an organisational setting. Decolonial feminist, unlike decolonial scholars, focus on the impact of power, hierarchy, and colonialism among women, where intersectionality emerged as the inevitable interlocking of multiple exclusionary practices committed in the name of universalism (Figure 1)

In this dissertation, I have proposed the use of decolonial feminist (DF) theories to study the representation of Latin America through lenses of intersectionality. Decolonial feminism has the potentiality to question the complexity of thinking about postcolonialism in terms of gender, race, sexuality, and class. Decolonial feminism allows us to understand the creation of other identities by putting upfront the patriarchal

narrative embedded in the colonial past and the postcolonial present. Research scholars in organisations can benefit from decolonial feminism application in three aspects. First, DF assumes the construction of the individual, group or organisational identities as illusive borders by those in power. Then, we can reveal the influence of organisations' grand narratives engaged in notions of gender and race to show which and how different identities have been excluded or legitimised. For instance, the Latin-woman portrait as domestic and family-oriented gets excluded as a worker, while the Anglo-woman is represented in the stewardess job. Second, DF enhances our understanding of the present by conducting a revision of the historical past. Thus, the study of DF in organisations implies knowing basic facts of historical events, seeing the influence of the process of colonisation today, and seeing the fluidity of gender and race issues over time. Third, DF looks for a change in organisations by creating a new organisational architecture where divisions and dualities, like Latin versus Anglo or brown versus white, are replaced by an emerging ambiguity, or *mestizaje*, which challenges the integration of the perceived opposites and embrace coherence within those opposites.

Understanding of the Role of Multi-nationals and other Corporations on the Development of Postcoloniality

Five hundred years ago, the process of colonisation was preceded by Imperialism, where domination required conquest of new territories. Domination today took a different trajectory, where corporations and markets are the protagonists of the 'corporate stage' (Mignolo, 2011, p.14).

Multi-nationals are criticised for producing arbitrary results (Chatterjee, 2014) with negative implications among employees, managers, branches, etc. Control mechanisms are displayed through media and advertisement campaigns. The need for historical analysis on the development of capitalism and the modern corporation remains in the agenda of MOS (Booth & Rowlinson, 2006). Likewise, the production of sexual, race, and ethnic identities by organisations remains under-studied (Prasad & Prasad, 2002). More so, psychological approaches are abundant; whereas, organisational level analysis of postcoloniality remains relatively under researched (Prasad & Prasad, 2002).

This thesis contributes to expand the study of multi-nationals and their role in the creation of postcoloniality, using printed documents of PAA displaying gender, race, and sexual identities. The understanding of multi-nationals through decolonial lenses allows the historical contextualisation of multi-nationals, and the acknowledgment of their role in perpetuating colonial/imperial legacies, and cultural imperialism today.

Theoretical Contribution to the Study of Gender in Postcolonial Organisational Studies

This dissertation responds to the feminist call for more studies focusing on gender and non-Western women in management and organisation studies (Calás et al., 2014). This thesis sees the representation of gender at the intersection with other social identities such as race, sexuality, and nationality. By so doing, I demonstrate two things: first, gender cannot be studied isolated from other social identities, and, two, postcoloniality has never been gender-neutral (Acker, 2004). The process of coloniality and global organisations today, continues to create non-Western women's images in a hierarchy that

situates them in the lower-levels of power or as inferior human beings. When the construction of natives is gendered, the bodily image takes the central stage; thus, they (native women) are objectified threefold, as natives (race), as women (gender), and as Haitians (nation).

Theoretical Contribution to the Study of Postcolonialism and Decoloniality

This dissertation studied decoloniality in Latin America, and contributes to the discussion of colonialism and cultural imperialism from a Latin American thinking (Mignolo, 2011). My contribution is to the understanding of postcolonialism in other parts of the world, and to move from the studies of Said (1978) or Spivak (1988) focus on Orientalism and India, and engage critical management scholars into alternative theories of postcolonialsm, which are called, instead, decoloniality.

I believe in the importance of decolonizing postcolonial studies in MOS and exploring the heterogeneity of the 'other.' I showed in my work the impact of a geo-historical understanding of the relationship between Latin America and the US (Anglo America) in the representation of decoloniality. The racial stereotypes of Latinos and Latinas convey the colonial legacy of Spanish and Portuguese identifications versus British settlers in North America, in which Spanish were negatively seen as cruel and irresponsible. I show how PAA enacted a cultural imperialism which split natives into two categories: natives are black, or dark-skinned, rural and primitive, mostly those that inhabit Central America; in comparison with sophisticated Latinos, who are lighter skinned, urban and cultured, who are identified close to Europeans, to US citizen and who are located in South America.

My contribution to postcolonial studies includes an example that demonstrates how the 'historic turn' in management and organisation theory (Booth & Rowlinson, 2006) can explain organisations as (re)producers of colonialiality in the present, by representing images, texts, and identities of the Latin American other as a second class American (viz. Latin). More so, I believe my research contributes to the distinction between postcolonial theories that focus on Asian colonies and the critique to old imperialism; and decoloniality as a field of study that focuses on the socio-historical context of Latin American colonies and the interest in the creation of alternative knowledge from outside of the US.

Contribution to the Application of Intersectionality Over time

The application of an intersectionality framework has challenged the complexity embedded in the process of social labelling itself. This dissertation contributes to the use of intersectionality as a method to analyse the construction of race, gender, and sexuality informed by a decolonial-feminist lens. The use of intersectionality as a buzzword (Davis, 2008) has scholars of critical management studies unable to commit to organisational change, as qualitative methods for intersectionality are not widespread. My study demonstrates that women-of-colour literature (Anzaldúa, 2007; Matsuda, 1991; Sandoval, 1990) provides an alternate guiding tool to understand the process of image making among Western representations.

By combining different theories, I follow three stages. The first stage requires a critical historiography and an understanding of societal-context relationships in the way gender and race are thought about. The second stage examines the intersection of race and

gender in a hierarchical identity pyramid that describes the dualities between Latin and Anglo identities. The third stage disrupts and deconstructs those categories identified before. For instance, I focus on the image making of Latinas in order to question the occurrence of racism, patriarchy, and sexism in the images. This will help other scholars in MOS to find inequalities at the intersections and finally show that some identities; in this case, Latinas are represented through a multi-layered inferiority.

7.4 Limitations and Future Research Directions

This dissertation presents two limitations. In the first place, the use of archival data had three main limitations. The understanding of archives as socially constructed sites by archivist and stakeholders is a limitation in itself, as political decisions informed the preselected information that is kept in the archive. Secondly, the use of one archive only is a limitation, as further repositories of PAA documents, as commented by others (Durepos, 2009), are held in other locations. I had accessed only to the archives in the Otto Richter Library in Miami, the largest one, but I found two other external resources, the *Smithsonian Air and Space Museum Archival Collections* and the *History of Aviation Collection, University of Texas Special Collections,* which have advertising material with significant meaning as mass communication propaganda from PAA. The third limitation is encountered when doing an empirical analysis of a single case study. Especially in a study like mine in which the context to interpret PAA is important, I would have strengthened my analysis on narratives and intersectional representations if I added the cases of other airlines. During my analysis of brochures and tourist material, I did find posters, from the period between 1930-1960, from other airlines, e.g., Delta, American

Airlines, BOAC, Lufthansa, and so forth, which had similar folk, gaudy, and colourful representations of Latin America. Having said that, due to the importance of the context itself, the interpretations required a deep understanding of the politics and economics of each airline from a critical historiographical approach. This would have been time consuming and would have delayed the completion this dissertation in the scope required for a PhD work. I see this as an opportunity for further research.

The second limitation is the use of decolonial feminism instead of poststructural theories, which have been used by feminist scholars with great enthusiasm, particularly Foucault (Diamond & Quinby, 1988) and Derrida. The study of gender in society from a poststructural feminist thinking has focused on power relations in society and the idea of resistance (also taken by Said, (1978) to study Orientalism), and the idea of the power of language and the need for deconstructivism. One critique placed to Foucault's work is that he, as a writer, represents the coloniser view, the West, who resists (Hardstock, 1990), and his advocacy for resistance dismisses pursuing real transformation in society. Although Foucault's ideas have been fashionable for feminist studying gender and power, and Derrrida for the study of gender and deconstructivism, I suggest the use of decolonial feminist lenses, as they understand power at the intersections of colonialism and patriarchy, and has the potentiality, as I demonstrated in this thesis, to be applied at the organisation level.

I invite other scholars in MOS to enter to this conversation and conduct qualitative studies using Anzaldúa (2007) and Mignolo (2005b, 2011) to study power in the context of Latin America or focus on the interplay of race and gender in the representations of Latin American subjects within the organisation (using grand narratives and

antenarratives). I would like to continue exploring the use of a DF framework in other case studies within the airline industry. By so doing, research may go beyond the study of postcolonial binaries, challenging them with theories of *mestizaje* and hybridity. The main contribution will be to create new symbols, as well as new organisational designs that respond to the local context, and reframe the way we see diversity management today.

Future directions is needed towards decolonial studies in MOS. I argue that by creating my own story of the multi-national historical representation of Latinos and Latinas, I am involved in a decolonial dissertation, as my voice (Latina, woman) manifests the unpleasant feeling when ignorance and misrepresentations about Latin America emerge within MOS and the society, as well.

In order to continue a trajectory of decolonialism (Mignolo, 2011), we need to study the integration of difference among identities and cultures, instead of focusing on sameness, and assume heterogeneity over homogeneity. Scholars should continue with a critical assessment of multiculturalism and diversity management in order to transform society into pluralism and pluriversality. This means that organisations should have their power dynamics disrupted, questioning power, narratives, and hierarchy at a global level.

Finally, we need to see further studies applying intersectionality as a qualitative method of analysis, as well as further studies in MOS, which disclose the limitation of not pursuing an intersectional approach to study race and gender, for example, in the study of immigrants in Canada (Krysa, 2016), or in the health sector in Canada (Hankivsky et al., 2010). Drawbacks of missing the location of intersected identities are the invisibilisation of those groups that do not represent the norm; e.g., lesbians, bisexuals, aboriginal

women, sex workers, women with disabilities, etc. I believe this happens because of the complexity to pursue a study of this kind. An imperative exists to acknowledge the urgency of understanding the multiplicity and fluidity of identities, because current globalisation is constantly transforming and mobilizing identities beyond borders: refugees, migrants, citizens, Latinos, Latinas, extremists or/and fundamentalists, aboriginal women, leaders, entrepreneurs, and so forth. To make sense of these and to expect a social transformation for an inclusive society, we need to conduct holistic and experimental research to understand the construction of artificial boundaries around us, so called *social identities*, in order to review how the process of classification itself is problematic as power intersects and marginalize what a society sees as the non-'desirable' identities.

7.5 Final Thoughts

This thesis as a political act where my feminist, Latin American womanhood is able to subvert multi-nationals imaging of Latinas. As the storyteller within this dissertation, I feel inspired by Anzaldúa (2007) and her approach to feminism and colonialism, which lead my dissertation along the path of a decolonial consciousness. In other words, this dissertation is decolonial in the field of MOS, as it raises critical issues on race and gender while allowing my voice, a woman from Argentina, a *mestiza*, to be included as the narrator. Also, decolonialism comes with the suggestion of using theories of postcolonialism and decoloniality in the field of management and organisation studies. I see the potentiality of *border thinking* (Mignolo, 2000) and a *mestiza* consciousness

(Anzaldúa, 2007) to rethink the organisation and change the way we study organisational phenomenon in qualitative research.

Throughout history, the racial discourse of white supremacy and the superiority of the Anglo Saxon "race" had been the justification for US imperialism in the 20th century (Mignolo, 2000). By the 21st century, the US corporation became the storyteller of the grand narrative of economic prosperity, political diplomacy, and cultural superiority. The example of PAA gave evidence of the impact of a multi-national that produces cultural knowledge of other identities, in this case, Latin Americans. A feminist-look at these representations unfolds a particular phenomenon of mass-consumption societies in an early stage of their development: the production of gaudy images of women in advertising as commodities. Back in 1940, unlike today's accepted discourse that "sex sells," advertisement shifted people's view on sexuality in a massive scale. The capitalist model in that time was expanding, and the US hegemony became subtler in creating a cultural imperialism. As a consequence, a dislocation between the representation of gender and the body of women was possible and the image of a racialised Latina was created. In consequence, the ownership of the image of the woman in Latin America and its body went to the authoritative voice that represented her, the multi-national. The brown women's body was normalised in brochures and tourist material of Latin America, particularly Central America. The brown-skinned Latina, dancing, almost nude, colourful, and gay was the main narrative for the first 30 decades of PAA existence.

In this study, I have been challenging the notion of a universal woman carried out by Western feminists for so long. Continuing with the Western perspective on gender issues is a shortcoming for the creation of gender justice in any form. We are equal in our

difference, and each group of women, whether Latin American, Indian, Pakistani, Saudi, etc., should know better how to debunk injustices prevailing in their own location. Fortunately, we are working collaboratively now, the Anglo and the Latina, to debunk these misrepresentations and de-commodify our society.

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Notes

[i] I believe this limitation does not reflect the author's perspective on the genealogy of races, but instead a US perspective that continues the old Eurocentric dualism that divided human existence into white/coloured people and men/female.

[ii] Term adopted by Antonio Gramsci.

[iii] Gramsci, A. (1992). Prison notebooks. New York: New York: Columbia University Press.

[iv] By looking the International Migration Database at the website http://stats.oecd.org/Index.aspx?DataSetCode=MIG#, retrieved 19 August 2014, the ten countries that received the biggest flow of migrant women from 2007 to 2011 are: U.S, Germany, United Kingdom, Spain, Korea, Canada, Australia, Switzerland, Belgium and Netherlands.

[v] Data analysis from pictures and notes taken in a trip to Madrid in January 2014.
[vi] Access, 29 June 2016 http://www.disneyinyourday.com/2014/11/24/thoughts-on-saludos-amigos/
[vii] Access, 29 June 2016 http://www.impawards.com/1940/down_argentine_way.html
[viii] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pan_Am_(TV_series)

[ix] Debutante. (n.d.) In Merriam-Webster online. Retrieved from http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/debutante