

# TUCLA

## IX Annual Tulane Undergraduate Conference on Latin America

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Saturday, December 3, 2011

Jones Hall 102 and 108



Sponsored by



# TUCLA

## IX Annual Tulane Undergraduate Conference on Latin America

Saturday Dec. 3, 2011  
Jones Hall 102 and 108



Sponsored by the Stone Center for Latin American Studies

The Stone Center's annual TUCLA conference is an interdisciplinary undergraduate symposium in which seniors from the Latin American Studies core seminar present their individual research projects. TUCLA was formally launched in Fall of 2003 as a means to provide Latin American Studies undergraduates with an opportunity to present papers in the style and atmosphere of an academic conference. The conference is designed to enlist all of Tulane's LAST seniors in a shared discussion of the region, its society and its cultures.

## Schedule

- Coffee and Welcome 8:30-9:00 -

- Session I 9:00-10:45 -

### PANEL 1: LAND (JONES 102)

#### Selling the Sacred? Culture and Commerce in Contemporary Indigenous Society

Madison Asher, "Shamans and the City: Healing Rituals of the Concrete Jungle"

Paxson Sterling, "Clearcutting the Past: Deforestation, Environmental Policy and Mapuche Culture in South-Central Chile"

Ashleigh Heffernan, "Protecting Machu Picchu: Ecotourism and Peru"

*Discussant: Dr. Meredith E. Dudley, Payson Center for International Development/Environmental Studies*

### PANEL 2: PEOPLE (JONES 108)

#### Critique by Creation: New Approaches to Democracy, Media and Civil Society in Latin America

Jill Neitzel, "Chilean Youth and Social Media: Legacies of Dictatorship and Democracy"

Nora Murphy, "Olympic Preparation in Rio de Janeiro: Uniting a Nation, Dividing a City"

Lacey Gutierrez, "'The Pictures in Our Heads': Portrayal of *Paco* in the Argentine Media and Political Narrative"

*Discussant: Dr. Jennifer Ashley, Department of Communication*

- Session II 11:00-12:30 -

### PANEL 3: ENCOUNTER (JONES 102)

#### Left, Right and Center? Rethinking Labels, Actions and Identities in Twenty-First-Century Latin America

Cristina Roe-Guerra, "Mauricio in the Middle: El Salvador's First FMLN Presidency and the Question of New Political Categories"

Joseph Steed, "Like Father, like Daughter? Dynastic Politics in the 2011 Peruvian Presidential Election"

Laura Meagher, "*La liberación nacional es un símbolo de nuestra época: Anti-Americanism, Anxiety and Internationalism and Shifting Panamanian Identity (1964-2011)*"

*Discussant Dr. Martín Mendoza-Botelho, Payson Center for International Development/Political Science*

- Session II 11:00-12:30 –  
(Continued)

PANEL 4: NATION (JONES 108)

Mapping Change on Changing Maps: Networks, Community and Citizenship  
in a Globalizing Economy

Callie Wise, “Associação Comunitária Monte Azul: Enhancing Social Cohesion in São Paulo’s Favelas”

Ashley Casper, “Digging in the Deep: Argentine *Cartoneros*’ Pride ”

Caroline Gabriel, “Human Rights for the Right Price: Argentina’s Migration Law of 2004 and Its Economic Implication on Citizenship”

Robbie Dean, “Storm-Chasers: How Household Structure Helps Characterize the Mexican Migrant Rapid Response Labor Force”

*Discussant: Dr. Justin Wolfe, Department of History*

- Lunch (Greenleaf Conference Room) 12:30-1:15-  
(By Invitation Only)

- Session III 1:15-2:30 -

PANEL 5: EXCHANGE (JONES 102)

*Dicendo tal y como es: Critiquing Recent Latin American Policy across Time  
and Space*

Sam Tabory, “Study Abroad on Steroids: Contemporary Reactions to the Internationalization of Higher Education in Brazil and Chile...and Why They Might Be Wrong”

Jeffrey Ellis, “Equity in Health Care and Public Policy: The Search for Social Justice in Chile’s Plan AUGE”

Archibald H Rowan, “Solving Instability with Instable Methods: Colombia and Venezuela, Aid and Oil”

Kyrsten Melander, “Not for Money, Not for Glory: Incentives for the Extradition of Colombian Fugitives to the United States”

*Discussant: Dr. Moira B. MacKinnon, Center for Inter-American Policy Research*

PANEL 6: IDENTITY (JONES 108)

**Degrees of Difference: “Race,” Gender and Religion in the Making of Modern Latin America**

Kiley Laemmli, “Culture as Commodity: Dancehall Queens and the Sale of Female Empowerment”

Sara Kugler, “*Para el Común Bienestar*: Historical Revisionism of Cuban Racial Struggles”

Victoria Botvin, “The Unique Case of Mexico and its Lack of a Jewish Reform Movement”

Claire McCarthy, “The Bitter Fruits of their Labors: Female Enslavement and Slaveholder Relations in Colonial Saint-Domingue”

*Discussant: Dr. Christopher Dunn, Department of Spanish and Portuguese/African and African Diaspora Studies*

# Paper Abstracts

## PANEL 1: LAND

### SELLING THE SACRED? CULTURE & COMMERCE IN CONTEMPORARY INDIGENOUS SOCIETY

**Madison Asher, “Shamans and the City: Healing Rituals of the Concrete Jungle”** Many indigenous communities in the Amazon regard plants as beings: respected and appreciated for their unique qualities. This is especially evident pertaining to healing rituals utilizing medicinal plants. *Curanderos* or shamans are often the most knowledgeable members of the community and their presence generates the most effective healing. This paper examines how rural indigenous practices involving herbal remedies and spiritual healers have reached urban populations, resulting in a diverse repertoire of healthcare options. Scholars have documented the way urban culture transforms previously isolated, rural medicinal practices to accommodate the new context. Many interpret this as devaluing indigenous culture by not respecting original practices. However, I argue that the diversification of indigenous healthcare practices in urban contexts represents the next step in the continual transformation of this specific cultural facet. Rather than attenuating these rituals, I contend that their urban applications are integral components of the dynamic process that all cultures undergo. I will look at case studies from Bogotá, New York City, and Bairro do Luz and Triunfo in Brazil, cities that harbor populations practicing herbal healthcare in ways different from their rural counterparts. I also look at quantitative data collected in herbal markets in major Peruvian cities that sell medicinal plants similar to those used in rural practices. My research challenges perspectives that generate the myth of “authenticity” reinforcing that tradition and culture are ever-changing phenomena.

**Paxson Sterling, “Clearcutting the Past: Deforestation, Environmental Policy and Mapuche Culture in South-Central Chile”** The Mapuche people of Chile have strong ties to the land. For centuries they have utilized native flora and fauna of the temperate forests for medicine and subsistence. In recent decades, however, the Mapuche lands have begun shrinking, creating small patches of forest where large expanses previously existed, due in large part to the lumber industry with the support of the national government. Native flora in particular has been negatively affected, and many important endemic species are now threatened or endangered. Attempts to quell the loss of native forests through legislature have been well intended but largely ineffective. This paper analyzes the effects of both deforestation and conservation on the Mapuche traditional culture. It argues that, without the use of their land, the Mapuche people are unable to maintain their indigenous customs, leading to a loss of identity and culture. I examine the environmental degradation that is devastating the Mapuche people by forcing them onto smaller and smaller sections of land, reducing their natural resources. Furthermore, I contend that environmental conservation policy, while well meaning, is furthering the destruction of Mapuche culture through ignorance and indifference towards the Mapuche people.

Ashleigh Heffernan, "Protecting Machu Picchu: Ecotourism and Peru" Bingham's re-discovery of Machu Picchu the site has fascinated the world; an entire Incan city—perfectly preserved—was an exciting development in anthropology. Machu Picchu quickly gained popularity among curious foreigners and became Peru's most important tourist attraction. Since then, Cuzco and the surrounding cities have grown dependent on the revenue generated from the site each year, an economic success has come at great environmental cost. With over 2,000 people entering the site each day currently, there has been grave soil erosion and loss of biodiversity putting the entire site at risk for devastating mudslides. This paper examines Peru's political system and ecotourism to determine what can be improved upon to preserve Machu Picchu for future generations. The international community has tried unsuccessfully to force Peru to change its policies and regulate the tourism to protect Machu Picchu. I argue, however, that certain policies enforced in Egypt at the pyramids and similar sites can be successful in Peru. But, in that both the local and national governments profit from loose implementation of tourism regulations, I contend they will have to overcome rift between the politics of the interior and the coast as well as economic concerns.

PANEL 2: PEOPLE  
CRITIQUE BY CREATION:  
NEW APPROACHES TO DEMOCRACY, MEDIA & CIVIL SOCIETY IN LATIN AMERICA

**Jill Neitzel, “Chilean Youth and Social Media: Legacies of Dictatorship and Democracy”**

Scholars and activists alike have lauded the recent explosion of social media – Facebook, Twitter, and Tumblr, among other examples – for reinventing the way the world communicates and this extends far beyond recreational purposes. Social media has been a catalyst in bringing about international political change, including in the recent uprisings in Egypt and Tunisia. This relation has become paramount in the Chilean student movement, as activists demanding education reform disseminate information and encourage participation through social media. How revolutionary is these *universitarios*’ use of social media? This paper explores the striking similarities between today’s social media and alternative means of communication developed during the 1980s in resistance to the Chilean dictatorship. In the context of extreme repression and censorship of the Pinochet military regime, a group of young oppositionists developed a video project called Teleanálisis that took advantage of new technology to provide information not available via traditional news sources and ultimately to provoke political change in Chile. I argue that, despite more than two decades since the return of democracy to Chile, the media still hesitates to embrace its rights, by extension representing a lack of return to true democracy, and therefore, social media functions to fill an informational void in a context similar to alternative media during the dictatorship. My paper suggests that not only does social media among Chilean youth demonstrate the legacies of repressed media since the dictatorship, it also works to bring attention to this dilemma, and therefore encourages the political change that Chile lacks to fully restore a democratic government.

**Nora Murphy, “Olympic Preparation in Rio de Janeiro: Uniting a Nation, Dividing a City”** In 2014 Brazil will host the World Cup of Soccer followed two years later by the 2016 Summer Olympics in Rio de Janeiro. Brazilian government officials and the Rio de Janeiro Olympic Committee have put major emphasis on the importance of the legacy that will be left behind from construction of modern infrastructure and foreign investment. In response to foreign pressure and with this legacy in mind, the state is attempting to integrate historically marginalized and excluded peoples, particularly in the favelas. To decrease high levels of violence they have undertaken a unique anti-violence program, known as the Pacifying Police Units (UPP). However, attempts to improve transportation throughout the city involve extensive construction projects, which have resulted in the forced eviction and relocation of thousands of residents from their homes. The majority of these forced removals have taken place in the low-income suburbs and favelas that hinder or prevent the construction of new facilities for the Olympic games. This paper explores the transformation of citizenship in the context of rapid urbanization and the changes being made in preparation for the upcoming mega events, placing the main focus on lower-income areas and favela residents. I argue that social programs and urban development occurring in preparation for the upcoming mega events, has not only awoken a semi-dormant social movement within the favelas but redefined what it means to be a citizen for favela residents who exist in the impoverished zones of a divided city. I compare the voice of favela residents and community organizations to the official viewpoint of the Rio Olympic Committee, the government and major media networks to outline the ways in which the government’s methods for dealing with favelas have been modified due to new concerns for ensuring the safety of future visitors and improving the foreign image of Rio de Janeiro and Brazil as a whole.

**Lacey Gutierrez, “‘The Pictures in Our Heads’: Portrayal of *Paco* in the Argentine Media and Political Narrative”** In the past ten years Argentina has seen the emergence and surge of *paco*, an inexpensive derivative of cocaine. It has become a major focus of attention in its links to poverty and crime, and has also become a journalistic staple in the Argentine media, almost always associated with poverty, violence, and crime. The media paints a picture of *paco* use almost exclusively by poor youth in the *villas*, or slums, who will commit crimes and acts of violence while under the influence or to feed their drug habits. Politicians have capitalized on this association of *paco* with poor young people and the *villas* in their discussion of insecurity issues. This paper analyzes media coverage of *paco* in the last ten years to explain its association with youth and the *villas*, as well as why politicians discuss *paco* in these

terms. I argue that paco has become a way of talking about insecurity in Argentina, and that framing the issue in terms of young people and the villas is a way to absolve politicians of responsibility. In the same period of time in which paco has become a major phenomenon, Argentina's rates of citizen insecurity have also increased, becoming the top national issue. I argue that politicians (incumbents, as well as challengers running for political office) use paco as a way of addressing the insecurity issue, and by framing paco as an issue of poor young people and of the villas (in which the majority of inhabitants are immigrants) politicians seek to free themselves of responsibility for the paco problem and for the insecurity issue in general.

### PANEL 3: ENCOUNTER LEFT, RIGHT & CENTER? RETHINKING LABELS, ACTIONS & IDENTITIES IN TWENTY-FIRST-CENTURY LATIN AMERICA

**Cristina Roe-Guerra, “Mauricio in the Middle: El Salvador's First FMLN Presidency and the Question of New Political Categories”** El Salvador's right wing ARENA party ruled El Salvador from the end of the civil war in 1992 until 2009 when the first FMLN candidate in history, Mauricio Funes, won the presidency. ARENA supporters warned that Funes would bring communism to the country. Was it possible for one candidate to drastically change the entire country? Is Mauricio Funes a radical or is he closer to the center of the political spectrum? This paper examines Funes' promises and policies in relation to popular opinion, to argue that not only is Funes not a radical leftist, as feared, but that he is independent of any party—even from the FMLN. It examines newspaper articles from El Salvador, political blogs, and secondary sources that discuss why Mauricio Funes was elected to analyze how Funes is perceived. It examines the controversy behind Decreto 743, which intended to change the voting laws of the Supreme Court, the social programs he has implemented, his relationship with his party, and political relations with left leaning countries (Venezuela and Cuba), relative to popularity ratings. It also interprets interviews and speeches that Funes made before and during his presidency as indicators of how he has kept his campaign promises, and if there is a significant change in policy. My research concludes that there are no pressing signs of any major changes that will take El Salvador down the path of communism and that Funes wants to keep good relations with the United States, which will keep him away any from radical ideology. This paper suggests that the new political realities in Latin America no longer fit the old ideological categories so they must be redefined.

**Joseph Steed, “Like Father, like Daughter? Dynastic Politics in the 2011 Peruvian Presidential Election”** When Alberto Fujimori was arrested in 2006 at the age of 68, it was clear that he had finished campaigning for his own reelection. Instead, with support that seemed in response to his arrest, his daughter Keiko Fujimori was elected to congress with more votes than any other candidate. There is no denying the importance Alberto had and has in his daughter's political success. Keiko has taken up her father's political agenda and ridden his coattails into politics, enabling a powerful campaign for president but garnering only 48.5% of the second round vote and losing the election in 2011. What factors might have contributed to Keiko's loss in the 2011 presidential election? Did her relation with her father's political dynasty also contribute to this loss? While Keiko used her relation to the Fujimori political dynasty to win her election in 2006, her strategy for the 2011 was markedly different. This is because changing conditions in Peruvian politics and society made association with the Fujimori legacy a benefit for Keiko in 2006 but a detriment to her in 2011. This paper examines the Fujimori legacy in Peru and its effect on Peruvian politics, focusing on the context and factors between the 1990 and 2011 presidential elections. I argue that perceptions of the Fujimori legacy changed frequently between the end of the presidency of Alberto in 2000 and the campaign of his daughter in 2011. Changes in party volatility, economic growth and perceptions of government changed factors conducive to populist election and reduced positive perceptions of the Fujimori political dynasty contributing to Keiko's 2011 defeat. My research contributes to an understanding of the value and effect of familial political affiliation all over the world and assesses candidates who run on the fame of their dynasty.

**Laura Meagher, “La liberación nacional es un símbolo de nuestra época: Anti-Americanism, Anxiety and Internationalism and Shifting Panamanian Identity (1964-2011)”** Unlike many Latin

American countries, Panama was not born out of national revolution or uprising. The “Republic of Panama” was carved out by the United States in 1904 for the express use of the isthmus’ location and natural resources. The US constructed the international trade canal, which it controlled until the turnover to Panama in 2000. For the past century, the Canal and its immense trade utility has defined Panama. It has stood out as the greatest shipping thoroughfare between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. What has lacked definition, however, is a consistent Panamanian national identity. Panamanian nationalism has been defined by popular sentiment towards the Canal and not popular sentiment toward an independent national identity. This paper examines transformations in national identity within three distinct periods related to the canal. Fast-forward sixty years from the US arrival and Panama becomes a country in which, I contend, the only cohesive national identity was grounded in fervent anti-Americanism. Violent riots in the 1960s in the US-controlled Panama Canal Zone exemplified this sentiment. In 1977, US president Jimmy Carter and Commander of the National Guard and defacto leader of Panama, Omar Torrijos signed the treaty that set the timeline for turnover of Canal control to Panama in 2000, which, I contend produced national anxieties over the loss of anti-Americanism as a basis of identity that marked the first 75 years of the Republic’s existence. Today, in control of the canal, Panama is undergoing a renewed push for increased international trade through the antiquated Canal. My research suggests that Panamanian national identity today represents a new form of “internationalism,” necessary in order to keep the country’s main national treasure, the Canal, afloat in the new millennium. I argue this shift in national identity sprang out of the anxieties felt during the 1980’s and 1990’s, in the wake of the Torrijos-Carter Treaty, the loss of anti-American-ism and lack of reliable leadership.

## PANEL 4: NATION MAPPING CHANGE ON CHANGING MAPS: NETWORKS, COMMUNITY AND CITIZENSHIP IN A GLOBALIZING ECONOMY

**Callie Wise, “Associação Comunitária Monte Azul: Enhancing Social Cohesion in São Paulo’s Favelas”** The favelas of São Paulo and other Brazilian metropolises have been plagued by social inequities since their origination. These marginalized urban neighborhoods often exhibit dense social networks, yet simultaneously experience great difficulty in regulating behavior within their communities. This paper argues that a distinction must be made between formally and informally established social ties in order to understand the variance in social phenomena produced by the social cohesion that is formed. The Associação Comunitária Monte Azul provides a prime case for study, as this organization demonstrates the greater benefits resultant from formal social ties. My paper looks at the programs and activities by which this community organization facilitates the formation of formal social ties. Their operations focus mainly on education, adolescents, and the creation of bonds across social groups by connecting favela residents to other communities than their own. My research suggests that the successful promotion of positive social cohesion as seen in Associação Comunitária Monte Azul, leading to increased collective efficacy and social control within favela settings is highly valuable. By distinguishing between formal and informal social ties within social disorganization theory research, the mechanisms by which productive social organization and empowerment can be more fully understood.

**Ashley Casper, “Digging in the Deep: Argentine Cartoneros’ Pride ”** After an economic collapse in 2001 and the resignation of president Fernando de la Rúa, Argentina was in financial and political turmoil. Many Argentines were left helpless as their life savings disappeared. Out of the economic ruin came an increased number of “trash pickers,” or *cartoneros*. Cartoneros were not beggars, but were hard-working Argentines who looked to trash recycling as a profession. This paper examines how, despite the weak Argentinean peso, the price of recyclable materials remained strong, causing many to flock to trash picking as a means to provide for their families. I argue that, although some find this work degrading, many are reliant on it to survive. Trash pickers can be found in many other countries, however the system established in Argentina is by far the most sophisticated. This paper aims to analyze the life of a cartonero, the surprisingly complex economical system involved in ‘trash picking’ in Argentina in comparison to other countries, and the transformation of cartoneros into a community full of pride. Due to the success of cartoneros in Argentina I suggest that other countries should adopt a similar structure using the method that the cartoneros use because of its positive impact on the environment and job creation.



**Caroline Gabriel, “Human Rights for the Right Price: Argentina’s Migration Law of 2004 and Its Economic Implication on Citizenship”** In 2004 the Argentine congress passed Law 25.871, the first Argentine migration law to acknowledge and grant human rights to migrants. Following the end of the military dictatorship in 1981, the legacy of past crimes against humanity created a rise in human rights advocacy. Implemented after twenty years of democratic rule, the law seemed to signal a shift back to politics of inclusion, freeing immigrants from a long period of fierce exclusion. Yet the law’s passage also corresponds to president Nestor Kirchner’s attempt to rebuild Argentina’s failed economy. Kirchner was deeply involved in the development of the South American economic union of MERCOSUR and its goals of integration, including the integration of people through migration. This paper argues that, while human rights issues may have influenced the new migration law of 2004, the changing economic strategies of the Argentine government and the drive to compete in the global economic market had the greatest impact on the inclusion of migrants. To prove this, I analyze the law itself and the major changes made to immigration policy to understand the intentions of its implementation. I contend that the rhetoric used in the law points to the true agendas amongst the human rights inclusion. Then, drawing on theories of globalization and economic competitiveness in the work of Kathryn Mitchell, Arjun Appadurai and James Holston, I examine the notion of political inclusion and the inclusion of migrants in Argentina as a new type of economic citizen. By understanding the motivations and systems for the change in these policies, a new type of citizenship can be found that applies on a global level.

**Robbie Dean, “Storm-Chasers: How Household Structure Helps Characterize the Mexican Migrant Rapid Response Labor Force”** Hurricane Katrina shook up much more than the City of New Orleans; it has called for a separate approach in investigating the rapid response migrant labor force. Through the conventions of migrant network theory, scholars have been able to predict migrant behaviors such as destination choice and labor concentration. However, Mexican migrants who rebuilt New Orleans in many ways do not pertain to large migrant networks, a criterion for migrant network theory. Instead, it resembles a rapid response labor force that travels through the United States in search of work without embedding in densely populated communities. By studying household dynamics of rapid response migrants, one can predict the migrant’s behavior abroad depending upon their household position. I will show that Mexican migrants with high levels of social capital within family networks, as compared to migrant networks, are more likely to join rapid response labor forces than migrants embedded in large immigrant networks. I contend that these household positions are highly contingent upon social factors including gender, age, and education with a predominant presence of out-migrants being young educated males. This finding suggests that rapid response labor forces will be highly homogenous due to a revealed patriarchic family network structure in Mexican migrant families through family network analysis.

## PANEL 5: EXCHANGE

### *DICENDO TAL Y COMO ES:*

#### **CRITIQUING RECENT LATIN AMERICAN POLICY ACROSS TIME AND SPACE**

**Sam Tabory, “Study Abroad on Steroids: Contemporary Reactions to the Internationalization of Higher Education in Brazil and Chile...and Why They Might Be Wrong”** In 2009, the Chilean national government launched the Becas Chile (Chile Fellowships) program, a foreign-study initiative to educate the best and brightest Chilean graduate students at prestigious universities around the world. In 2011, the Brazilian national government announced its intention to launch a similar program, *Ciencias sin fronteras* (Science without Borders) for graduate students pursuing degrees in science, engineering and mathematics. Collectively, the two programs represent a public expenditure of over two billion USD, paying for more than one hundred thousand students to study at foreign universities. But do these publicly funded foreign-study initiatives—representing an unprecedented Latin-American-led effort to expand the internationalization of higher education—stand up as sound public policy for the fragile emerging market economies of Brazil and Chile? According to reactions coming from the popular and academic press, forums for public debate, and institutions of international finance, the answer is yes. But a close evaluation of the historical conditions that gave rise to the current state of higher education in Latin

America might suggest otherwise. In this paper, I argue that there are very clear and direct reasons for the largely uncritical response that these programs have received, that ought to color arguments for such programs as sound public policy with skepticism. This is not to say that these programs are inherently bad or ill advised, but it is to say that if the right questions continue to go unasked there is a likely risk that the foreign study initiatives at the core of this paper will compound the already decades-long legacy of underperformance and under-competitiveness plaguing universities across Latin America.

**Jeffrey Ellis, “Equity in Health Care and Public Policy: The Search for Social Justice in Chile’s Plan AUGE”** After a remarkable experiment with social medicine since 1990, infrastructural problems forced the Chilean state to reform its health system. In 2005, they passed Plan AUGE, a comprehensive health care reform meant to provide equitable, universal health care for specific ailments. The reform explicitly guaranteed that patients have access to care, financial coverage, and an assured quality of care for the AUGE illnesses. This paper explores the implementation and immediate effects of Plan AUGE from 2005 to 2010, arguing that while the legislation has improved some health care indicators, the legislation cannot be considered equitable. I base this conclusion on the Chilean construction of health care equity found in both health care policy in the 1980’s, and Chilean scholarly discourse. My paper examines the legislation in relation to its political infrastructure and regional disparities of care, using publications from World Bank, the Chilean Ministry of Health, and various medical ethics and public health policy journals. My investigation indicates serious infrastructural woes created by AUGE in response to the elevated demand for treatment for AUGE illnesses. The paper also examines how AUGE resources became concentrated in the urbanized areas, leaving the remote regions in the far north and south of Chile unable to handle the AUGE-related demand for treatment. My research suggests that Plan AUGE threatens to exacerbate the exact conditions it seeks to eliminate. In doing so, my paper engages pressing issues in health care and the improvement of care in marginalized areas of the country, in an attempt to find a practical and effective model of health care for the region.

**Archibald H. Rowan, “Solving Instability with Instable Methods: Colombia and Venezuela, Aid and Oil”** Colombia and Venezuela both have legacies of political, social, and economic volatility marked by coups and violence. While the situation today in each country differs drastically from the other, a legacy of conflict and Instability remains. Colombia is embroiled in armed civil conflict, while in Venezuela politics have become increasingly polarized by Chavez’ twenty-first-century socialism. The means for addressing instability, however, differs greatly. Plan Colombia relies on International aid to bolster the military fight with drug traffickers, paramilitaries and guerrillas, while Chavez’s social programs use the state’s control of PDVSA to fund projects. This paper examines the reliance of these two approaches on potentially instable sources of funding (oil money and international aid respectively) to question if it is possible to address issues of instability with a method that is inherently unstable? Oil is notoriously boom and bust and yet the Venezuelan government has thrown all their chips into oil funded societal change. On the Colombian side, foreign aid is being used to bolster security to the neglect of development in the sectors most affected by the conflict. I examine these questions by looking both at the economic data behind each method’s successes and failures, measured against both popular opinion and critical analysis. I argue that it is possible to address instability with these methods, however, for long-term success both methods need to diversify both their support and applications. I propose that Venezuela’s solutions to these issues paradoxically have more potential for long term sustainability, due to that the policy is designed to address the underlying causes of the issue, but at the same time, these policies face a major risk of failure due to the Venezuelan economies complete subordination to oil. In addition, this paper criticizes Plan Colombia for its focus on mitigation, rather than an outright tackling of the issues at the core of Colombia’s current narco-related civil strife.

**Kyrsten Melander, “Not for Money, Not for Glory: Incentives for the Extradition of Colombian Fugitives to the United States”** The United States and the Western Hemispheric authorities have been chasing drug traffickers for over three decades now, but unfortunately it has not been enough to win the the “War on Drugs.” The United States, while focusing on supply-side tactics to alleviate the drug stream from Colombia, stresses the importance of the extradition of Colombian drug fugitives to the United States. While the US may argue that extraditions is a “slap in the face,” it sends the message that Colombians cannot effectively try, prosecute, or jail its own citizens, meaning Colombia cannot exercise

its own sovereignty. So, then, why does Colombia extradite? Although experts may assert that Colombia's policy of extradition is mainly influenced by US foreign aid, my research suggests that it is not for the money, and not for the glory either. I argue that there has not been a strong enough correlation between US foreign and military aid and Colombian extradition practices to warrant such a strong assertion. Furthermore, my research finds that the majority of Colombians are not primarily concerned with the US War on Drugs, nor with how the United States perceives them. Drawing on US reports of foreign aid, Colombian figures of estimated drug industry earnings, Colombian newspapers and magazines, as well as the various Colombian Constitutions and subsequent amendments relevant to the topic of extradition, my paper examines why the motivations and incentives to engage in extradition agreements are not driven by money or glory. In a region where the United States has a hegemonic tendency to control the region through military and financial might, Colombia still flies its sovereign flag above its territory.

## PANEL 6: IDENTITY

### DEGREES OF DIFFERENCE:

#### “RACE,” GENDER AND RELIGION IN THE MAKING OF MODERN LATIN AMERICA

##### **Kiley Laemmli, “Culture as Commodity: Dancehall Queens and the Sale of Female Empowerment”**

Over the past fifty years or so, Jamaican music has become and continued to be one of the country's most important exports. Dancehall music, a style based on the use of sound systems and deejays, is today commonly acknowledged as Jamaica's most popular form of music, and coupled with recent trends of globalization has also reached a high level of international popularity. However, with this increased international attention, female involvement in dancehall culture has also come under increased scrutiny, as women are generally portrayed in a promiscuous and sexually suggestive manner. While current scholars on the subject have successfully refuted accusations of misogyny and objectification, and promote female participation in dancehall culture as a positive form of female empowerment and self-expression, I argue that new embodiments of female dancehall culture, epitomized within the International Dancehall Queen Competition in Montego Bay, are treating its female participants as commodities, using their sexuality to attract tourism and other forms of financial gain. By transforming these cultural elements into commodities, participants are effectively changing the original intentions behind dancehall culture, and are supporting the dominant local and global societies, which they have historically sought to oppose. This paper raises questions about the possible dangers of globalization to authentic culture, especially to smaller more vulnerable countries such as those in the Caribbean, who have a greater tendency and need to rely on tourism economically, and thus the international opinions held about their countries. Additionally, it shows a need to distinguish between authentic forms of cultural expression and their possibly inauthentic offspring, as well as recognizing the need for different methods of analysis for both. Finally, I hope to demonstrate the importance of recognizing when and where a “gender democracy” might exist, and when and where there is a need to address gender inequality.

##### **Sara Kugler, “Para el Común Bienestar: Historical Revisionism of Cuban Racial Struggles”**

Three years after the triumph of the 1959 Revolution, the Cuban government announced that it had solved the problem of racial discrimination on the island and effectively closed off further discussion of the subject. The government celebrated its new “racial democracy” as part of the culmination of centuries of struggle against injustice and emblematic of a finally independent Cuba. But was their process of eliminating racism truly reflective of the country's past struggles for racial justice? In this paper I will look at the ways in which the Cuban government used history to legitimize the Revolution within the context of struggle for racial equality. Through an analysis of six months of publications of the Cuban periodical *Bohemia*, I will investigate what past racial struggles the Revolution emphasizes and how they discuss movements for racial equality. My paper argues that the Revolution took a revisionist approach to Cuban history by de-racializing racial struggles and instead painting them as struggles for universalized, uncontentious ideals of nationalism and independence. I assert that the Revolution selectively used Cuban history in a way that supported its process of addressing racism in the country and silenced alternative ideas that complicated this process, rather than engaging a long history of racial struggles and their different ideas about what racial equality means and how it could be achieved. I suggest that this

historical revisionism ultimately left too many questions about race, nationalism and independence unanswered that have resurfaced today as the validity of Cuba's "racial democracy" is being contested.

**Victoria Botvin, "The Unique Case of Mexico and its Lack of a Jewish Reform Movement"**

Reform Judaism forms the largest part of the worldwide Jewish population today. The World Union for Progressive Judaism has over 1200 organizations affiliated to it. In Latin America, most urban cities like Sao Paulo and Buenos Aires have solid Reform communities, growing in the past decade. Reform movements in general emerge in developed areas where Jews want to assimilate into their surrounding culture and urban lifestyle. So given that Mexico City, one of the most important economic hub in Latin America, shares the same conditions, why has the Reform movement not taken place? This paper explores why Mexico hasn't created a Reform Movement, despite such close ties with the US and other neighboring countries that have taken in more progressive forms of Judaism. I argue that the reasons relate to Mexico's Sephardic majority, the population's central organization, and the recent migration of Jews from other parts of Mexico into Mexico City. I conducted interviews with Mexican Jewish youth, and parents, and looked at scholarly articles on Reform, reviewed blogs and of different Mexican Jewish organizations to explore the development of the Reform movement in the US, Sao Paulo, and Buenos Aires that share many similarities with Mexico to find out why Mexico City is different. It discusses Mexico's Sephardic majority, which in general is more concerned with religious tradition; the *Comité Central* that unites Jews on a national level; and generational shifts towards a more orthodox movement. Finally it examines new Jewish migration to Mexico City from other states in Mexico, arguing that this is the complete opposite of the US where Jews are dispersing in better opportunities. I conclude that in Mexico Jews remain separate, helping each other specifically and, according to the interviewed Jewish parents, their priority is to stay together.

**Claire McCarthy, "The Bitter Fruits of their Labors: Female Enslavement and Slaveholder Relations in Colonial Saint-Domingue"**

The rise of the French Caribbean sugar colony of Saint-Domingue brought unprecedented wealth and gains to colonists throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth century, though at a very steep price: the enslavement of hundreds of thousands of people of African descent. This system of slavery was particularly oppressive for females because of slaveholders' rampant application of gendered violence to women. Through the analysis of slaveholder accounts and the historiography available on African societies, I argue that this class of male white slaveholders held underlying fears about enslaved women, particularly those in positions of power such as nurses and midwives, because of the West Africa tribes' legacy of matriarchal social structures. Furthermore, I contend that these matriarchal trends within slave society stood in direct opposition to the social norms of the francophone world for women, which slaveholders perceived as a threat to the patriarchal configuration of Saint-Domingue society.

## Participant Biographies

Madison Asher is a senior Latin American Studies major. Her coursework in this field has fueled her passion for learning foreign languages, particularly Spanish and Portuguese, as a means to connect with people from other cultures. She has traveled to Chile and Peru on separate occasions and has experienced a part of the variety pack of lifestyles that Latin America has to offer. Her interest in indigenous shaman rituals in the Amazon came from her original interest in the different perspectives of consciousness that various philosophies propose. While reading texts on Buddhism, Yogic teachings, and other related topics, she came across shaman practices in the Amazon and decided this would provide an appealing research topic within Latin America.

Victoria Botvin is a senior with a double major in Dance and Latin American Studies. She was born in Mexico and still has family there. Latin American Studies has been a way for her to stay connected with her heritage. She had the opportunity to study abroad in Madrid, Spain for the spring semester of 2011. And she hopes to soon travel to places in Latin America in order to understand how life is different from

the places that she already knows. Although she lives in the United States she will always continue to stay connected to her Mexican heritage.

Ashley Casper is a junior from Lake Forest, Illinois majoring in Latin American studies a dual minor in Business and in Spanish. Ashley became interested in Latin America after studying abroad in Cuzco, Peru the summer after her freshman year of high school, learning about South American culture through volunteer work at a local orphanage and living with a host family. Her major interests focus on economic relations throughout Latin America and the influence of social thought throughout different countries and regions tend to have on employment. Ashley hopes to further her studies by studying abroad next year.

Robbie Dean is a senior from Bossier City, LA majoring in Latin American Studies, Political Economy, and Spanish. Since his freshman year, Mr. Dean has pursued both his interests in economic policy and Spanish language by traveling abroad to Valparaiso, Chile in the summer of 2009 to research educational reforms and outcomes in the Southern Cone through the Stone Center. He has also served the Latino community of New Orleans by assisting with English as a Second Language courses and by informing new migrants about the home buying process through his internship at Puentes New Orleans. This commitment to Latino organizing in New Orleans has led Mr. Dean to write his Honor's Thesis about the role of Latino entrepreneurs and laborers in the redevelopment of post-Katrina New Orleans. Following graduation, Robbie plans to pursue graduate study in economics or public policy.

Jeffrey Ellis is senior majoring in Latin American Studies with a minor in Spanish. A native Philadelphian, his interest in Latin America was cultivated "wit" an intensive high school Spanish program that demanded not only language competency, but a deep, well-grounded understanding of the region's politics, economics, and culture. He was drawn to Tulane through the Stone Center, and has remained a Latin American Studies enthusiast since coming to New Orleans. Jeff has spent extended time in Mexico and Chile, furthering his love for the region's cultural intricacies. Studying in Valparaíso through the Stone Center was a particularly eye-opening experience for Jeff, where he was able to learn about health care reform from the Chilean perspective, as well as get some much needed rest and relaxation while snowboarding in the Andes. As an aspiring physician, Jeff's primary research interest is health care reform in the Southern Cone and plans to attend medical school in the years following graduation.

Caroline Gabriel is from Monmouth Beach, New Jersey, but has fallen in love with the city of New Orleans during her time at Tulane University and hopes to stay. She is a senior pursuing a dual degree in Anthropology and Latin American Studies. Her interest in Latin America was fully realized during her seven months abroad in Buenos Aires, Argentina. There, Caroline participated in an intensive concentration in human rights, which has greatly influenced her work and studies. After graduation, she hopes to travel and work for a few years before possibly going to law school.

Lacey Gutierrez is a senior majoring in Latin American Studies and Political Science with a minor in Spanish. Her concentration in Latin American Studies focuses on politics and government. She has interned with the Orleans Parish Public Defender's Office as a Spanish translator and with the Catholic Charities of New Orleans' English as a Second Language program. She also studied abroad in Buenos Aires last fall and had the opportunity to travel throughout Argentina. Her interest in Latin America stems from a love of Spanish and her past experiences traveling in the region. After graduation she hopes to attend law school.

Ashleigh Heffernan is senior from Chicago double majoring in Latin American Studies and Political Science. Through her academic pursuits, she has become interested in the politics and political movements in Latin America. She was lucky enough to study these topics while she was abroad in Buenos Aires, Argentina in the fall of 2010. While there, the students at the Universidad de Buenos Aires (UBA) where she was studying went on strike for six weeks, allowing time to do quite a bit of traveling. That is when she became interested in true eco-tourism and how to enact environmentally sustainable policies in places like Machu Picchu.

Sara Kugler is a senior majoring in Latin American Studies. Hailing from Silver Spring, Maryland, Sara's academic focus has been on studies of injustice and models of equity across the Americas. Complementing her work on campus and in New Orleans doing anti-racist organizing, she has focused her coursework on critical studies of race. Sara developed an interest in Cuba as a living example of an allegedly racism-free society, and explored this interest through a semester studying in Havana. After graduation she will stay in New Orleans and work at the Anna Julia Cooper Project on Gender, Race and Politics in the South.

Kiley Laemmli is a senior Latin American Studies major originally from Overland Park, Kansas. Kiley has always been interested in studying different cultures, but had not focused on Latin America until arriving at Tulane. During her time at Tulane, Kiley has mainly focused her research on issues of gender and racial identity in the Caribbean and Brazil. Outside of university life, she enjoys being outside and travelling, and has tended bar at a well-known Uptown staple for the duration of her college career. Following graduation, Kiley hopes to remain in New Orleans and continue travelling, with the intention of entering graduate school sometime in the future.

Claire McCarthy is a senior History and Latin American Studies double major. Her primary research focus as a Latin Americanist centers on social relations in colonial Saint-Domingue. On campus she serves as the co-leader of the service organization Mission Honduras and in the past has been a Public Service Fellow and PR Director of the service group Swim 4 Success. She currently works as an intern in the Office of Justice & Peace at Catholic Charities New Orleans. Some of her interests include social justice programs in developing countries, Haitian and New Orleans cultures, as well as the development of Creole identities in the Atlantic World.

Laura Meagher is a senior Latin American Studies and Spanish double major hailing from Charlottesville, Virginia. In lieu of the usual academic biography outlining Laura's vast collection of contemporary American literature and classical and baroque records, she would instead like to present the public with two truths and a lie. 1) There is a large mural of Laura's face located on a wall in the Lavin-Bernick Center for University Life. 2) In 2005, Laura talked to all four members of the pop-punk band "Fall Out Boy" on the phone. 3) In 1998, Laura swam with the dolphins in Miami, Florida. All guesses as to which statements are truths and which is the lie may be presented to her immediately after the conference and the winner will receive a signed copy of her final paper (estimates project this first-edition copy to be worth between \$8-\$10 on eBay in the year 2031!!!!). Good luck and thank you for listening!

Kyrsten Melander is a senior, majoring in Latin American Studies and International Relations, with a minor in Spanish. Kyrsten has been highly involved in community service and the marching band while at Tulane, and will be serving on the Tulane Model Organization of American States team in Spring 2012. Kyrsten's inspiration for this paper comes from her semester studying international law in Washington, D.C., and her summer studying Latin American economics in Valparaiso, Chile in 2011. Her particular area of expertise includes the international war on drugs, Latin American dictators, and Chilean culture. Currently, Kyrsten is a legal intern at the Stuart H. Smith Law Clinic and Center for Social Justice, immigration law division through Loyola Law School. Kyrsten is applying to law school, and intends to continue studying Latin America throughout her graduate studies. Kyrsten aspires to pursue her Juris Doctorate degree, as well as obtain her Master's in Latin American Studies.

Nora Murphy is a senior graduating with a major in Latin American Studies and a minor in Brazilian Studies. She spent the past year living in Salvador da Bahia, Brazil and is very interested in Brazilian culture, language and economic development. Her other central academic interest is linguistic studies of Spanish, Portuguese and Italian. After graduation she plans on moving to Rio de Janeiro, Brazil or Washington D.C. to pursue a career in international affairs with concentration on Latin America.

Jill Neitzel is a senior and a Libra from small town Wisconsin, majoring in Spanish and Latin American Studies. She begrudgingly began studying Spanish eight years ago when her middle school cancelled its Japanese program, and lo demás es historia. Last year Jill discovered the world's best empanadas and that laughter is stronger than any language barrier while studying abroad in Valparaíso, Chile. Back when she

used to have free time, Jill liked to make craft projects, buy shoes and take naps outside. She sends lots of love to her family, friends and Mark Zuckerberg - for fostering communication in the Chilean student movement as well as a inventing a fantastic means of procrastination for those writing papers about it.

Cristina Roe-Guerra is a senior from New Orleans. Known by her friends as the “Chai Monster” and “Alfa-jor,” she is originally from El Salvador. She is a double major in Latin American Studies and International Relations, and is now President of the Residence Hall Associations. Cristina will be participating in Tulane’s delegation at Model OAS in the spring, and will pursue a Masters in Latin American Studies after graduation. Last semester, she spent a semester abroad in Buenos Aires, Argentina, and loved every minute of it. She loves to learn about new cultures and can be frequently found at different multicultural events. Her current favorite dances are swing, bhangra, and salsa but is always willing to learn new ones. Her current dream is to work as a Foreign Service Officer for the United States Government, and to travel all over Latin America.

Archibald Hamilton Rowan IV was born in Mill Valley California and lived in the San Francisco Bay Area for most of his life. He is majoring in Latin American Studies. His interests include political economics with a focus on the region. He developed his interest Latin America through growing up in a multicultural household as well as through repeated visits to the region. He currently plans on spending the summer in Belo Horizonte enrolled in a refinery administration program through the Fundação Dom Cabral. Internationally known and locally respected Arch Rowan is sure to pique your interest.

Joseph Steed is a senior in the Latin American Studies department who has studied abroad twice in Chile and enjoys speaking Spanish. Joe is from Houston, TX and works on the Event Services team managing reservations at the Tulane Lavin Bernick Center. He studies politics and democracy in Latin America and hopes to travel to Brazil in the near future. Joe formerly trained as a ballet dancer and danced with Tulane Shockwave, He also enjoys dancing waltz and salsa with Tulane’s Ballroom club and is interested in working in foreign policy.

Paxson Sterling, a native of California, is a senior and a Latin American studies major with a Spanish minor. She became interested in Latin America after traveling to Cuba, Mexico and Chile. She spent the last two years as an AmeriCorps VISTA volunteer in New Orleans for a non-profit organization involved in coastal restoration, instilling in her a sense of environmental stewardship. After graduation, Paxson would like to work for a foundation or non-profit organization.

Samuel Tabory is a senior, graduating in December 2011 with degrees in Latin American Studies and Spanish. As a student interested in questions of education and development, Sam hopes to work in a professional capacity to expand the degree to which strong and healthy systems of public education, at all levels, are readily accessible across the Americas. Sam is currently looking to postpone graduate school, and he would very much like a job upon graduation. If you would like to hire him, please feel free to contact him.

Callie Wise is a senior Public Health & Latin American Studies. She is originally from Kansas City, Missouri, where she grew up with her 3 older brothers. Callie loves the South, but will always be a Midwestern girl at heart. Her time at Tulane has allowed her to explore her academic interests in both of her major fields of study, as well as bring them together in unique and interesting ways. The highlight of her academic career was the semester she spent studying in Arica, Chile learning about indigenous medicine, the Chilean healthcare system, and conducting her own research study on access to family planning services. Callie loves the outdoors, cooking, reading, playing volleyball, and heartwarming films, especially if they’re about Christmas. She plans to work in the field of public health, but hopes to work in collaboration with Latino communities throughout her career.