From the Instructor

Maria Clara Bezerra wrote her exceptional research paper for WR 150: "Burning Questions," an experimental section of WR 150 that asks students to pursue a semester-long research project on a topic of their choosing within the framework of "human expression." The research project culminates in the contribution of a new perspective to the ongoing scholarly conversation about the chosen topic as expressed in a research paper and in a public intellectual essay. Clara's research paper addresses the volatile issue of Westernization in Brazil and offers a well-informed, culturally-sensitive challenge to the prevailing idea that western influence has been a uniformly negative factor in the evolution of modern Brazilian society. Her paper demonstrates a thorough, considered response to varied genres of source material. Clara's remarkably insightful thinking, combined with her personal interest in the subject of her native culture, allowed her internalize the idea of the conversational model of argumentation and motivated her to study the scholarship on her topic as a search for questions, rather than just answers. Her openness to new viewpoints and her commitment to classroom citizenship elevated her own experience in the course, as well as that of her peers.

—Samantha Meyers

WR 150: Burning Questions: Human Expression

From the Writer

In the past few years, I have noticed that societies may tend to operate at extremes. Well-founded movements against the shaming of bodies different from the ideal image as portrayed by Western media can quickly become thin-shaming. Initiatives to raise awareness regarding the power of words to offend can give rise to a use of language so restrictive that society comes to be confused by what is considered politically correct. Although well-intentioned, movements to remedy some issues in society sometimes trigger backlashes. The same occurs in literature on Western influence in Brazil; in an attempt to preserve the country's origins and tradition, scholars tend to claim that everything that comes from the West has harmed Brazil. In this essay, I take up a political lens to analyze whether or not this is true. I argue for a middle ground, recognizing the legitimacy of previous scholars' arguments but adding to the literature by offering examples of circumstances in which Western influence aided the development of Brazil as a democratic society.

— Maria Clara Bezerra

ON THE DISCOURSE OF CULTURAL COLONIALISM: THE UNEXPLORED POLITICAL DIMENSION OF WESTERNIZATION IN BRAZIL

I. Introduction

The heritage left by European colonialism to modern day Brazil is often regarded by scholars as an ill that permeates the social, political, and cultural ideals of the country. A country founded on colonial exploitation and repression, Brazil, it is argued, has historically struggled to create and express a genuine national identity that is mostly free of Western¹ influences. Aimed at preventing Brazilian tradition from being obfuscated by European values, the Modernist movement of the 1920s had as its allies distinguished musicians, scholars, artists, and poets, including in their ranks Brazilian poet Oswald de Andrade, whose Cannibalist Manifesto is often considered the foundation of Modernism in Brazil. Taking pre-colonial indigenous cannibalistic rituals as a metaphor for cultural appropriation, Andrade argued Brazilian identity could not survive unless it merged Afro-Brazilian heritage and Western customs to create an authentically new form of expression (Neves). After Andrade, multiple scholars and intellectuals have revived the subject of Brazilian cultural dependency on the West. Although diverse in terms of the structure, purpose, intended audience, and the context in which it was written, literature on this subject has, for the most part, consistently conveyed the same message: threatening Western colonialism and Brazil's tendency to adopt a culture incompatible with its own historical heritage will eventually lead to the destruction of the country's legitimate traditions. This discussion has remained highly theoretical and one-sided, with its proponents lacking a concrete mechanism by which to measure the effect of foreign influences. It is undeniable

that studying the formation of Brazilian culture is an essential part of understanding contemporary Brazilian society; however, texts on the subject of Westernization have not yet employed an international political lens to analyze concrete effects of foreign forces on the country's governmental system and decisions. An international political analysis of Westernization can be made through a focus on the divide between international relations and existing Brazilian literature, which includes both the opinions of prominent Brazilian scholars regarding Westernization and foundational documents that offer evidence of foreign influence. Bringing the dialogue to an international political framework not only provides a tangible framework to assess foreign influence, but also adds to existing literature by discussing whether or not the predominant view of Westernization as a menace proves true in the political dimension as well. When diplomatic relations between Brazil and the West are considered, it becomes clear that, although foreign influence in the country is in some cases worrisome and overpowering, it has had positive effects.

II. Modernism, Anthropophagy, and Andrade's *Cannibalist Manifesto*

The Modernist literary movement in which Andrade was inserted is often understood as an international phenomenon. Arising in Europe in the 19th century, this movement was heavily influenced by the changes brought on by the Second Industrial Revolution (Gonzaga). As Brazilian journalist Sergius Gonzaga explains, "Modernism came about in many European countries, almost simultaneously. It can be understood as a reflex of the effects of modernization on socio-cultural life, behavior, and individual psychology²" (Gonzaga; translated). When appropriated by Brazilian scholars, however, Modernism and its ideals of social change became a nationalist crusade toward cultural independence; they aimed to "rediscover Brazil" through a recognition of the country's roots (Contier 5; translated). In Brazil, therefore, Modernism was not thought of as a movement to develop a civilized society based on the standards of industrialized Europe, but as an evolution toward a new reality that incorporated both Afro-Brazilian history and the forces of modernization that had begun to change the country.

Overwhelmingly depicted as "the most radical and innovative of modernist currents" (Dos Santos and Brito 61; translated), the Anthropophagic Movement had its beginnings³ in Oswald de Andrade's 1928 Anthropophagic Manifesto (Dos Santos and Brito 65), a founding Modernist text that rejects Western cultural domination. Andrade turned to the complex dimensions behind the Tupi⁴ practice of devouring enemies as inspiration for this cultural project (Neves). Surprisingly, being selected by an enemy tribe to be devoured functioned as a form of praise—only warriors considered brave and worthy were devoured, because Tupis believed they could absorb the strength of those they ate (Neves). As cultural critic Suely Rolnik explains, anthropophagic rituals created "a certain relationship with otherness," since *Tupis* "allow[ed] themselves to be affected by a desired otherness to the point that they were able to absorb [this otherness] into their own bodies, so that particular virtues would be integrated to the chemistry of their souls and promote their refinement" (Rolnik 2; translated). Converting this practice into a symbol, Andrade argued Brazilian cultural production should follow the lines of anthropophagy (Neves). Court judge Lailson Neves observes that Andrade "advocated for a Brazilian ritualistic attitude of devouring European values, in order to overcome the [Western] patriarchal and capitalist society, with its strict social norms and imposition of psychological repression" (qtd. in Neves; translated) as a mechanism of protecting the country's identity. In other words, Andrade argues that, given the amount of influence Western forces exerted on the country, the only way to guarantee cultural survival would be to adopt some Western values but blend them into Brazilian historical tradition. Coining the notoriously clever phrase "Tupi or not Tupi" (Andrade 38), Andrade calls for an appreciation of the past and the primitive, an attitude that had been historically frowned upon by traditional intellectuals (Dos Santos and Brito 65). From then on, the literary figure of the cannibal intended to represent the Brazilian attitude towards foreignness—came to be incorporated into the country's literature (Neves). It is in this manner, with much satire and boldness, that Andrade and his followers argue that the Brazilian community must revive past customs in order to fight cultural imperialism.

III. Review of Modern Literature

Much of the literature on the topic of Westernization in Brazil focuses on the long-lasting negative effects of European colonial rule on the country. Describing what he terms a "whitening psychology," political scientist and sociology professor Ricardo Cesar Rocha da Costa argues that European interests were apparent even before Brazil's political formation; he claims that although "there was a concern with the construction of a sovereign and economically developed nation," the idea was that "[Brazil] would, in the future, share the social norms inspired by Europe, which were considered superior in comparison to other peoples" (Costa 1; translated). Costa further explains that this European mentality encouraged the production of a forged national identity that was inconsistent with the country's reality. According to Costa, even though more than half of the population was black, Brazil's Portuguese rulers implemented a policy of "social whitening," under the racist assumption that a predominantly black population would hinder the creation of a liberal society (Costa 2; translated). Costa cites historical instances of this policy that occurred before and after Brazilian independence in 1822 to suggest that the "whitening" mentality originally brought by Europeans carried over into the country's psychological beginnings (Costa 2; translated).

Among scholars who agree with Costa is anthropologist Kabengele Munanga. Munanga similarly posits that "the process of the formation of a Brazilian national identity occurred on eugenic terms, aiming at the 'whitening' of society" (Munanga 15; translated), but goes further to argue that this ideology has remained intact "on the collective Brazilian unconscious" (Munanga 16; translated). To Munanga, although the goal of physically whitening the population may have failed, the *ideology* of white superiority still prevails in Brazilian society (Costa 5). As evidence, Munanga offers written transcripts that indicate leading Brazilian intellectuals of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries upheld a biological determinist belief "in the inferiority of non-white races, above all the black race, and on the degeneracy of the mixed-race" (Munanga 55; translated). To both Costa and Munanga, it is unsurprising that a nation founded on European colonialist thinking and its belief in whiteness would be predestined to struggle with issues of race. These scholars argue that Western ideology

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made it difficult for Brazilians to create a national identity and point to the negative effects of such ideology, which still linger in contemporary society.

In even more recent texts, scholars have become intrigued by the concept of estrangeirismo6 and the influence it exerts on cultural life. Originally a term for the adoption of foreign words into a country's vocabulary, estrangeirismo has been used to describe the Brazilian tendency of overvaluing anything Western, often at the expense of domestic virtues and ideals (Motta et. al). To scholars Fernando Motta, Rafael Alcadipani, and Ricardo Bresler, estrangeirismo—a mentality that originated from European colonial rule—"may assume a feature of segregation in the organizational world" (Motta et. al; translated). These academics argue that the fixation with the figure of the foreigner, a mentality that emanates from the "predatory exploitation of natural resources to be sold to the European market," is a primary Brazilian cultural characteristic that can "influence the way in which people are perceived, managed, administered, and controlled" (Motta et. al; translated). Estrangeirismo, they argue, is a socio-historical phenomenon that prompts Brazilian citizens to devalue the unique aspects of their culture, therefore preventing the formation of a collective national identity as a source of pride (Motta et. al). According to the authors, this specific envy of Western ideals and objects was brought about by the dynamics between colonial Brazilians and European colonizers, since the latter always placed themselves as superior in matters of culture, power, and technology (Motta et. al). Motta, Alacadipani, and Bresler offer as examples of estrangeirismo the facts that "a number of Brazilians pride themselves in owning a foreign passport, thanks to the 'benevolence' of certain countries" and that "many Brazilians emigrate to the United States, Japan, and Europe" since "in the organizational world, the temporary emigration to 'civilize' oneself is seen as indispensable for academics and scholars (Motta et. al; translated). They further note "one can hardly imagine a European saying something similar about his country. He might argue that the government is useless, but never his own land" (Motta et. al; translated). They even go as far as to argue that the dichotomy of colonizer and colonized, which characterizes much of Brazilian history, informs and molds how Brazilians act towards and perceive one another, prompting them to view fellow citizens as either being the colonizer or colonized (Motta et. al). Their message is overwhelmingly clear: the racialized relations and lack of patriotism that plague Brazilian society are a direct product of European colonization, with its imposition of values that determine what can and cannot be considered civilized.

IV. A Political Analysis of the Effects of Westernization

There is no doubt that the perspectives offered by these scholars are historically well founded and valuable in that they contribute to the literature on the subject of Westernization in Brazil and raise awareness of the potential negative repercussions of foreign influence. It is also important to note, however, that there are several limitations to the conclusions reached by these writers that indicate that the detrimental nature of Western influence is not an absolute truth, although it is often portrayed as such. In fact, although not usually employed to challenge the claim that Western influence in Brazil has always led to negative consequences, factual information provided by scholars of Brazilian political structures sheds light on the contribution of Western-inspired political structures to Brazilian society. Drawing on the works of scholars Bruno Vainer and Celso Bastos—which are explanative background sources rather than argumentative texts—I contend that many of the political influences of the West on Brazil contributed to the country's effective formation as a State.

Bruno Vainer, a member of the Brazilian Institute of Constitutional Rights, writes a factual account of Brazil's first Constitution with the purpose of describing its central characteristics. Although his text is not an argumentative one, and therefore provides no assessment or viewpoint on the question of whether or not Westernization can exert a positive influence on Brazil, the information he provides regarding the creation of the Constitution provides evidence of the positive effects of Westernization in Brazil. Adopted on 24 March 1824, two years after the country's independence, Vainer explains the Constitution's most revolutionary character is that it "broke with . . . a tradition of absolute rule of power and inserted the newly created empire into a constitutional regime" (Vainer 163). Vainer further notes that the document was "modern because it possessed a liberal character . . . and constitutionalized fundamental rights such as the inviolability of civil and political rights, the concept of citizenship, freedom of expression and religion...which were advances for the epoch" (Vainer 163; translated). It is Vainer's placing of the Constitution in a global context,

however, that provides insight into the role of the West in the creation Brazil's first Constitution. He notes that the document emerged shortly after the French Revolution and the American process of independence, when ideals of liberalism began to gain prestige around the world (Vainer 162), including in Brazil. The great progress made by the Constitution in ensuring fundamental rights and creating a liberal state was largely a function of the Western "ideals of liberty, equality, and fraternity," which emerged within that context and made their way to the Brazilian intellectual elite (Vainer 162; translated). These French and American ideals were the main source of inspiration and stimulus to the writing of Brazil's Constitution. As Vainer himself notes with neutrality, the American Revolution "demonstrated it was possible to organize a state . . . in the New World" that would transition from "an absolutist State to a liberal State" (Vainer 162; translated). Although Vainer's text is devoted only to a description of the Constitution, the information he provides points to the positive influence of the West on Brazil. In this sense, Western influence was not a colonial force, but one that promoted the independence and autonomy of the country. Not only did the dissemination of European and American values prompt the effective beginning of the country, but they also positively contributed to Brazilian society by establishing a foundation for the development of civilians' rights.

Scholarly accounts of the Constitution of 1891, most known for effectively making slavery illegal, prove no different. Respected Brazilian jurist and constitutionalist Celso Bastos explains the progressive measures that came about due to the new Constitution: "With the Federal Constitution of 1891, Brazil definitively institutes a Republic . . . inequalities are recognized . . . [and] authorities become representatives of the people, serving their mandates for the right amount of time" (Bastos 173; translated). Adding to Bastos's account, Vainer explains that the document transitioned from a census voting style to an open, direct vote to elect the first president of the Republic (Vainer 168). Once again, these progressive measures were a product of the successes the United States had experienced as a republic, which provided Brazil with a model by which to remedy its "political backwardness" especially regarding public dissatisfaction and unrest due to lack of representation (Vainer 167; translated). Furthermore, the Constitution's policies that founded the Brazilian legal

justice system—which made the judicial power a mechanism by which to enforce laws regarding the rights of citizens and tasked this body with the responsibility to "appreciate the validity of laws and regulations" so that laws incompatible with the Constitution do not apply to current cases (qtd. in Vainer 170; translated)—were heavily influenced by Montesquieu and American thought (Vainer 167). Notably, even the name given to the new State, "The United States of Brazil" (Vainer 166; translated), is indicative of how heavily the Constitution was influenced by Western ideals. An analysis of objective accounts regarding solely the origins of the 1891 Constitution leads to the conclusion that, by accompanying the progress of the West, Brazilian political authorities were able to adopt measures that promoted the country's advancement. In this way, they are able to both establish a more effective system of law enforcement and increase the participation of citizens in government affairs.

Not surprisingly, Western ideals also permeated Brazil's final Constitution, adopted in 1988 and still in effect today. Created forty years after the passing of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, this Constitution took special interest in guaranteeing that human rights violations were penalized by the law (Vainer 188). Torture and racism were made unlawful, the rights of workers were addressed in unprecedented detail, and structures for the enforcement of constitutional law were made more accessible (Vainer 188–189). The commitment to the preservation of human rights declared in the preamble of the Brazilian Constitution is strikingly similar with that of the American Constitution⁷: "We, representatives of the Brazilian people, united in the National Constituent Assembly, to establish a Democratic State, designed to assure social and individual rights, liberty, security, welfare, development, equality, and justice as supreme values" (qtd. in Vainer 188). Not only can the influence of Western law and ideals be traced throughout the development of Brazilian Constitutions, but also continues to be present in the law book that governs contemporary society. The rights ensured by the Brazilian Constitution and largely inspired by Western thought increased civilian recognition and protection, rights that have moved to the forefront of government discourse and which are now at the ideological foundation of Brazilian society.

On the question of the Brazilian people's agency, there is little reason to believe that Western influence on constitutional law was imposed,

a perspective that is often upheld in literature regarding Westernization through a dichotomy that characterizes the West as an imperialist force and Brazil as a colonial victim. Although he speaks in broad terms and does not provide compelling evidence to support his claim, Rui Barbosa⁸, one of the most well-known figures in Brazilian history, famously wrote about his admiration of the United States: "The American Constitution, American jurisprudence and American constitutional authorities are consequently the source of interpretation for the new system among us ... our regime, this regime that we transplanted from the United States, contains as its cornerstone the principle of the supreme sanctity of the Constitution, considered as the law that has to be obeyed by all other laws" (qtd. in Dolinger 807). Barbosa's standpoint does not seem to be unique—in his book The Constitutional System of Brazil, American scholar Herman James concludes that "to an American, the most awe-inspiring feature of the development of the republic is the deep admiration which the leaders of public thought in Brazil have had for the political institutions of our own land" (qtd. in Dolinger 803). Based on these accounts, elements of Brazilian political structures inspired by Anglo-American ideals seem to serve as a source of pride to Brazilian political figures, and not as evidence of colonial oppression as has been argued by Brazilian scholars.

It is important to recognize, though, that Western political influence on Brazil has not always yielded positive consequences. There have been instances when European and American interests were met at the expense of the country's welfare, among which is, famously, the 1823 Monroe Doctrine. In this particular case, President James Monroe warned European powers against interfering in Latin American affairs, announcing "the American continents . . . are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers" (Office of the Historian). Passed immediately after the independence of several countries in the region, this document is often considered a confirmation of American imperialism. Distinguished historian Noam Chomsky, for example, characterizes the Monroe Doctrine as an instance of "US domination" (Chomsky 64). This perspective seems to be supported by the attitude of American President William Howard Taft toward Latin America, who Chomsky quotes saying: "the day is not far distant [when] the whole hemisphere will be ours in fact as, by virtue of our superiority of race, it already is ours

morally'... Latin Americans may not understand ... but that is because 'they are naughty children who are exercising all the privileges and rights of grown-ups' and require 'a stiff hand, an authoritative hand'" (Chomsky 64–65). Clearly, there are reasons to be wary of Westernization in Brazil. Further, it would be unrealistic to assert that the contributions of Western thought alone led to the creation of a fully functioning democratic society, or that Brazil's constitutions were free of inefficiencies and injustice. Because culture and history are diverse, no society can adopt the ideals of another society and expect outcomes to be exactly the same. In fact, political scientist Martin Needler shows that some characteristics of "both [European and American] models have been adapted to the idiosyncrasies of the political dynamics of the region, especially to the frequency of dictatorship, rebellions, and other emergencies" (Needler 43). Nevertheless, the claim that Westernization has been consistently detrimental grossly excludes Brazil's foundations and historical development.

V. Conclusion

I do not intend to equate Western political ideals with progress. The problems with the normative discourse that attributes to the West the status of ideal civilization and deems all other forms of social and political organization unfit, however, are beyond the scope of this essay. Further, at no point do I assume that Europe and the United States are benevolent actors that have enacted consistently friendly and beneficial policies toward Brazil. The political influence of the West on Brazil in this context is not seen as *intentional*—no matter the reason behind the dissemination of Western democratic ideals to Brazil, the fact is that it occurred and aided the development of the country. It is not the fact that these influences followed the political systems of the West that made them beneficial, but the fact that they brought tangible progress to the country, as an analysis of Brazil's constitutions shows.

There is no doubt that Brazil's history provides evidence of cultural oppression by Western powers. Following Oswald de Andrade's theories on cultural survival, scholars have argued that the colonial influence of Western nations on Brazil hindered the creation of a legitimate national identity from the start. Although there are limitations to this claim, I do not contend that Western colonialism has not negatively affected Brazilian

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mentality. Rather, the primary flaw behind these texts rests in the assumption that Western influence has *always* worked to the country's detriment. Discussing the cultural and psychological heritage of colonialism in Brazil, scholars have often failed to explore the political realm, where Western influence is also apparent. In this way, the contributions of Europe and the United States to the foundation of Brazil and its progress as a democratic country are largely ignored. Brazil's constitutions are an example of how the country's reality and foreign progress were merged in order to ensure individual liberties and improve the functioning of the country. A more wholesome contribution to literature on the subject of Westernization in Brazil would necessarily entail a consideration of political, social, and cultural elements. Generalized conclusions that result from the exclusion of one of these elements are inevitably narrow and unrealistic.

As I conducted research, I was faced with an unsettling question regarding the overall Brazilian attitude toward Westernization. As suggested by Rui Barbosa and Herman James, leading political figures have shown appreciation and openness rather than ambivalence to Western ideals. Fernando Motta, Rafael Alcadipani, and Ricardo Bresler similarly point out that, in general, the Brazilian population has a tendency to value whatever they see as "foreign," so much so that the values and culture of their own nation are often dismissed. However, a large part of the Brazilian intellectual community, including the likes of Andrade, Costa, and Munanga, argue that Westernization is detrimental, a view they uphold so strongly that they ignore the country's foundation. Future research can explore this question, investigating the factors that account for this split in public and intellectual opinion. This may add to existing literature on the subject by assessing the different ways in which separate groups within Brazil were affected by Western influence, as well as potentially shedding light on existing biases in favor of or against Westernization.

NOTES

- 1. "Western" in the context of this essay refers to Europe—where Portugal and Spain had particularly large roles in Brazilian colonization, and the United States, whose cultural and political ideals have been frequently used as bases for molding the country's society and its formal and informal structures.
- 2. Several of the sources used in this paper have no English translation. When this is the case, I have taken the role of translating quotations for reading accessibility. Translated quotes are identified within parenthetical citations.
- 3. Although it is widely recognized that Oswald de Andrade's *Manifesto* marked the beginnings of the anthropophagic movement, scholars disagree about its relative importance to the movement. Among the works of other artists, the painting *Abaporu* by Tarsila de Amaral—Andrade's wife—is often credited as the foundation of the movement, which would have then inspired Andrade's text. For more, see Contier.
- 4. The Tupi people formed the largest indigenous group in Brazil, and inhabited the country before the arrival of the Portuguese in the sixteenth century. Although almost entirely annihilated due to massacres, slavery, or diseases, the Tupi have a huge influence in the history of Brazilian society, especially in terms of agriculture and language.
- 5. The iconic phrase "Tupi or not Tupi: that is the question" is both an appreciation of native Brazilian tradition and an instance of the literary cannibalism Andrade advocates for, since it incorporates a famous Shakespearean line which is molded to fit Andrade's project. The message Andrade intends to send is that the Brazilian people must choose a side: they can either choose to be Brazilian and therefore embrace the country's roots, or choose not to be Brazilian; there is no in between.
 - 6. Literally translates to "foreignism."
- 7. The preamble to the American Constitution reads: "We the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves

and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America" (*Law.cornell.edu*).

8. Dolinger describes Rui Barbosa (1849–1923) as a "lawyer, senator, Brazilian ambassador to the Hague Peace Conference of 1907, Finance Minister in the Republican government under President Deodoro da Fonseca . . . most important member of the committee that revised the draft of the 1891 Constitution, its most enthusiastic advocate and the most knowledgeable Brazilian Jurist in constitutional matter . . . [who] has been compared to Justice Marshalls" (Dolinger 807).

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- Chomsky, Noam. *Hegemony or Survival: America's Quest for Global Dominance*. New York: Metropolitan, 2003. Print. I used this source to provide the reader with information regarding the Monroe Doctrine. Chomsky's status as one of the most prominent historians of this century serves to back up my claim that some aspects of Western influence on Brazil was, in fact, negative.
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MARIA CLARA BEZERRA, an International Relations major, was born in Bahia, Brazil, and attended international school from the age of two. In this international context she came to be interested in understanding how cultural clashes within her immediate international community related to diplomatic issues in the field of international studies. Maria Clara came to the university to broaden her horizons and pursue her studies in IR in the cosmopolitan context of Boston. She plans to return to Brazil after graduation to apply her training in international studies in support of the struggle for rights of women and minorities in Latin America.