

Anthropology 1000

Dr. Cuellar

Class 1

Class -- Scope

A **holistic discipline** the whole of the human experience:
past, present, material, biological, political, etc...

divided into four sub-fields:

Cultural Anthropology

Anthropological Archaeology

Physical-Biological Anthropology

Linguistic Anthropology

Cultural anthropology

Cultural Anthropology concentrates on the analysis of present human experience in the context of culture.
is the study of cultural diversity.

This denies the existence of a universal "human nature" would result in much greater uniformity than that observed among human societies. Likewise, although we share certain behavioral features with other animal species (e.g. sociality),

human sociality is not pre-determined and has enormously diverse expressions.

Evolutionary trajectory of hominid brain size

Not 1 culture in the world

human diversity = cultures and need for context

'human nature' is myth to be true would be universally true and have same forces/pressure but there is such diverse beliefs values etc. in the world. There is no 1 set of culture. STUDYING THE DIVERSITY.

Similarities is not universal in the world, what we share is not universal. Human nature myth placed on laws of other species, physical anthro compares to other species, we have things in common feature is sociology. [school of fish, mammals, etc.] the difference is that these differences are predetermined in social behaviour patterns (only minor features) . Sociology is not pre-determined, it is learned. What is the main aspect of the difference char, we are not determined to display a certain list of traits, it is universal, no universal pattern of social behaviour. We can be anti-social.

Nature vs. nurture = we have to teach our children to socialize, they are not born to be kind / cooperation, it takes time for social norms to be learned.

Cultural transmission is the means social skills/sociology structure

Animal kingdom does not invest in same amount of time/energy /socialization and function in society. CULTURAL TRANSMISSION

Evolution of culture

As a process, this is difficult to reconstruct, but it is related to the

evolution of three interrelated and peculiar human traits:

Large brain size

- capacity for language and **symbolic thinking**
- Learning language & diversity
- (**arbitrary**) Language representation ("house"/"maison"/"haus"/"casa")

Material culture adaptation

Evolution of culture

Our lives are full of symbols - *how do people present marriage?* [not universal] rings, wearing belt, jewellery, etc.

Symbolic thinking = arbitrary thinking

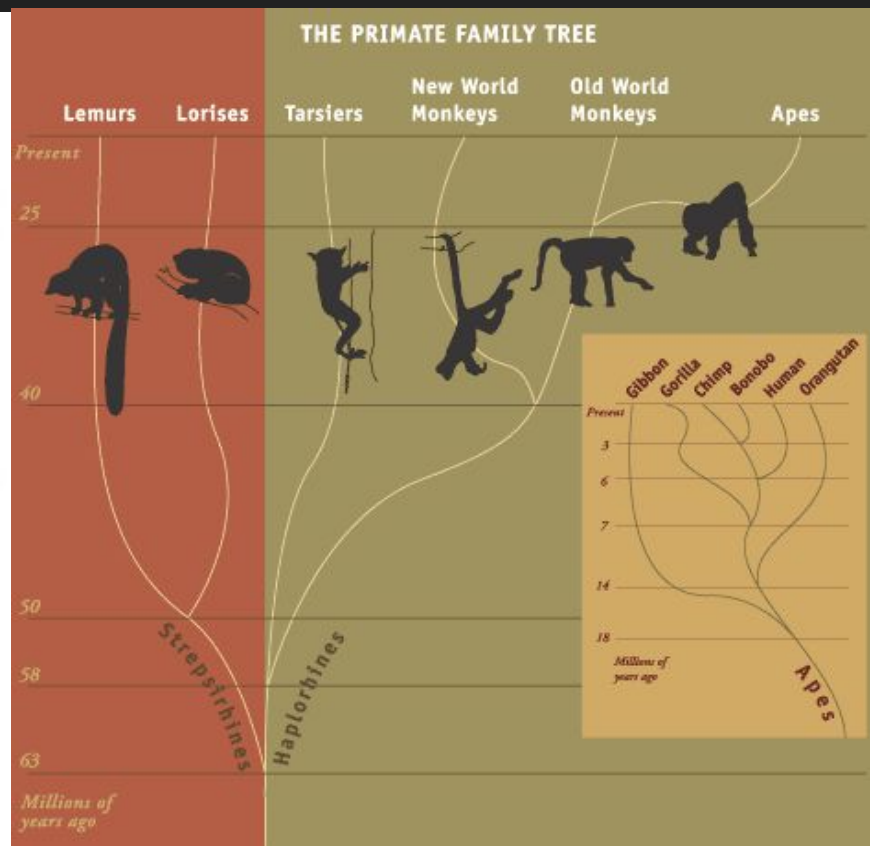
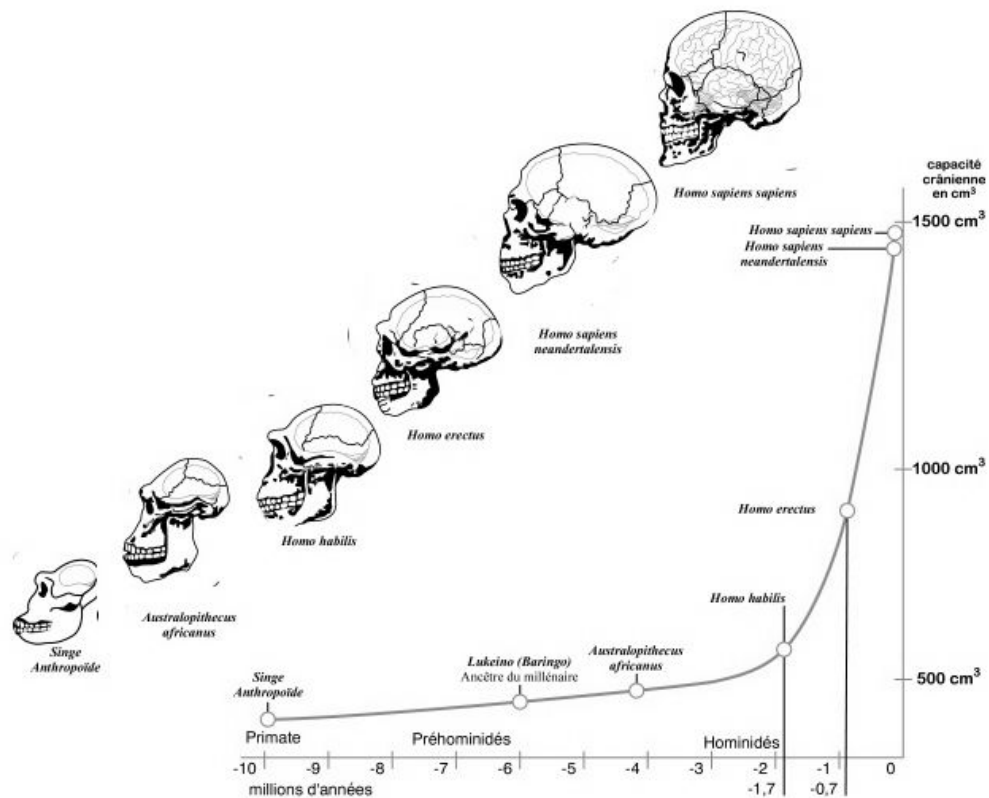
Unique human language? Many forms of communication starts early to learn set of rules and complexities.

Relies on **cultural transmission** no cultural language = no communication skills.

Forms of communication is not comparable to other species, communicate in diversity – different languages

individuals can learn many languages – not like other animals. *Elephants can communicate even if from different countries but with **predetermined** language skills, not like humans.* Languages change over time

Material culture = adaptation. Other animals use tools, but not like us our complexities culture. We can live in any environments, relies on material culture. Humans make shelters, make warm clothing etc that allow for advantages.



Article: 98% Alike? (Marks, J.)

Chimpanzee genetic comparison we are 98% identical. how similar is human & chimp in comparison to *what reference?*

Genetic comparison in detail of human & bananas, the similarities is 35%, so our 98% is not independent fact. Chimpanzee's genome is ~10% larger than humans and parts of their genes is not present in humans. Humans fall into the Great Ape category, but context, descent and divergence. Comparing tetrapods (subset of fish) to coelacanth (similar to tetrapods), so **humans are apes much like humans are fish, our categorization is broad & general.**

Genetics provides means for social and political views, it is important to keep context, and perhaps have a molecular anthropology (genetics + ethnographics)

The theories and models used were very selective, apes are peaceful and aggressive similar to humans but not explained by genes.

Article: eating xmas in Kalahari (Lee)

christmas time in the Kalahari with !Kung Bushmen, annual festival of december where local village people gather, big social event, trade, marriage and trance dancing after eating big feast

Lee bought a big black ox for sharing with community feast, but gets taunted that the ox is too skinny and worthless for feeding everyone. told that Bushman care most for fatty meat animals. this was a communal joke told and believed by Lee who was concerned he failed to provide a pleasant meal but turns out **the ox was perfect and the joke was to avoid arrogance because arrogance is a danger to everyone.**

killing big game does not provide means for pride, need to stay humble. Lee's ox is not really special because killing big game happens all the time.

/ontah = 'whitey' in Bushman language

Class 2

Enculturation

The process by which humans **learn** culturally-situated routines, **norms and values**/learn to see the world through a certain lens and act accordingly/learn to **operate within** a culturally situated **symbolic system**.

Even certain biological functions operate in humans through enculturation (e.g. breastfeeding).

We learn our local culture by our parents. The process is long scale, birth to years of enculturation before person is ready for society. The body is programmed for biological functions BUT is not universally known/understood ex. Breastfeeding. Women learns from family friends around the world [have to teach infants how to feed by breast] and there is swapping of babies who know how to feed and those who do not in the Amazon communities, breastfeeding is not inherent/instinctive

CULTURAL TRANSMISSION OF BREASTFEEDING.

Conceptualizing culture

Very wide trajectory discipline.

Used to be defined as expressions of culture but overtime it has become like a long list of definition of expressions of culture

Franz Boas = 'father of anthropology' . he studied the Inuit, they classify different kinds of snow & water, he was not able to see what the Inuit saw, so this led to his idea that culture == a lens of our world. Things you think should be universally understood but are not.

Geertz is still considered relevant despite 'man' is not accurate today. "Man is in webs of significance, culture = webs"

*** exam question - Thickly = in depth, understanding, contextual (ethnography), cultural lens explains /views the world we understand

How does culture operate?

culture is shared. Reproduced through the daily practices of individuals.

Through learning, **not innate**.

- It is contested and historical (cultures change).

Does not “reside” in any particular form of material culture.

It is **naturalized** (like water for fish).

It is **embodied**—physical manifestations

[differences in tone of voices [Amazon men+women have same tone]]

ENCULTURATION = CULTURAL TRANSMISSION

Cultural *Relativism* and Ethnocentrism

Cultural relativism: understanding human **actions within their own cultural context.**

CR implies suspension of judgment and *moral considerations to understand actions* (not to deem them all “good”).

Ethnocentrism: assumption of superiority of one's own cultural ways.

Understanding cultural diversity is the ultimate goal of anthropology.

“The aim of anthropology is the enlargement of the human discourse... to make available to us answers that others, guarding other sheep in other valleys have given, and thus to include them in the consultable record of what man has said”

(C. Geertz)

Class 3

Historical development

Origins in European colonialism (1800s).

“Armchair Anthropology” and museum Anthropology (catalogs of material culture and customs) (early 1900s).

Transition to ethnographic fieldwork/*participant observation* (the trademark of the discipline), aimed at trying to understand how diverse people give meaning to their worlds (B. Malinowski).

African colonization by Europeans “scramble for Africa”

‘Informants’ = ‘researcher partners’ who collected material items that would shed light on part of the people and putting on display with bias / no context of the culture was given.

Participant observation and “**thick description**” (C. Geertz)

Full-time immersion / Language / Long-term (culture shock and reverse culture shock)/ **Qualitative**

Success contingent upon the quality of personal relations

Anthropology generates knowledge through rigorous ethnographic work and uses interpretive frameworks rooted in their constant reevaluation as a result of ethnographic findings.

goal of “**thick description**”

is thick understanding and description of people and culture

Anthropologist usually aim to integrate (“become a fixture”) so as to be able to participate in quotidian life and avoid the stranger/researcher effect .

Ethics

AAA Principles of Professional Responsibility as a model/a framework (more than a laundry list).

- Do no harm
- Openness
- Informed consent (importance of quality over format of consent***)
- Weighing competing ethical obligations
- Making results accessible
- Protection and preservation of records
- Maintaining respectful and ethical professional relations
- Reciprocating in appropriate ways***

Introduction to “*Peruvian Street Lives*”

Cuzco (Peru), former capital of the ancient Inca Empire.

Spanish colonization (1500s to 1800s) left as legacy a large indigenous population that still constitutes an underclass.

Open air markets context for studying indigeneity (the experience of being indigenous) and class cultures

understanding the cultural logic of certain economic practices in Cuzco (the rationale behind the seemingly chaotic nature of open air market economy).

Culture economy relies on social credit (no \$ credit or account records kept) if people do not have money to buy. How does this econ system work when there is no record keeping of credit and stay in business?

The book wants to understand what it means to be indigenous in Peru experiences and class divisions Peru is class based

History, change, and the ethnographic present

Culture transforms in time, not a frozen package of attributes. Culture(s) best understood in historical context.

indigenous people in Peru

Pre-Inca populations (since at least 10,000 BC)

Inca Empire (since the mid 1400s)

-Spanish colonization (1532)

-Independence from Spain (1824)

*** Agrarian reform (1969) gov't **assimilation of native people** “modernization” , language was **forced to be spanish**, capitalism system set up and forced people to give up their culture

-Civil war (1980s)

-Authoritarian regime (1990s)

-Recognition of indigenous cultures, rights and autonomy (2000s, in progress...)

From Inca (1400s) to “Indian” (1532) to “peasant” (1969) to “indigenous” (2000s): going from an ethnic, to a racial, to a class, to a cultural category. What does it mean to be indigenous in Peru today?

Class 4

1. Cuzco and the colonial origin of marketplaces

Andean markets **not originally indigenous** yet “indigenous” in the present.

Spatial struggles:

The “problem” of **indigenous people** in cities since the 1600s.

- Regulation of indigenous markets in the 1700s (**racialized geography**).
- “Cleaning” of plazas in the 1900s and **creation of “decent” markets**.

The “danger” of the urban indigenous woman.

- Contradiction of the **Spanish gender model**.
- Urban indigenous women constructed as socially dangerous, as they cross the boundaries of *both* **race and gender**.

*** The sheer economic dynamism of market vendors further exacerbates the perception of markets as chaotic spaces.

2. Kinship and economic networks

(verticality) **reliance on kin-based economic networks** which replicate the economic strategies of the countryside, specifically the use of a range of ecological zones .

Verticality: Access to products from a variety of “vertical” ecological zones through direct access, kinship-mediated exchange, or trading colonies (the “vertical archipelago”).

spatial range of market operations and strategies mirror this dynamic and rely on it: economic flows and strategies are embedded in kin and other close **social relations**, and **rely on the knowledge of agrarian cycles**.

Class 5 Gender

1. Sex and gender

Sex: biological difference (sexual dimorphism).

Gender: a cultural construction, the meaning ascribed to biological difference (what does it mean to be M, F or other)

Nature/biology (A) vs. nurture/culture (B) debates: *Are we, as gendered beings, the product of biology or of culture?*

For (A) to be correct we would expect: *universality* of gender roles, no historical change, limited range of gender behavior.

For (B) to be correct we would expect: *culturally contingent* gender roles, *change over time*, ample range of gender behavior.

2. Sex and temperament (M. Mead, 1935)

Central objective: To examine if and how the “temperament” of people from different societies was sex-linked.

Assumption: If temperament is sex-linked, it should be consistently the same from society to society.

Studied 3 neighboring populations in Papua New Guinea.

Found variation in gender behavior and temperament among the three groups and concluded that personality traits assumed to be “masculine” or “feminine” were the product of socialization in diverse cultural settings.

3. Temperament and culture

If it is true that it is culture and not nature that shapes temperament, what are the origins of the patterns observed in human societies?

(e.g. why do both males and females among the Mundugumor tend to have a docile and nurturing temperament?)

Mead argued that societies selected from a broad range of temperaments and favor particular ones as models for gendered behaviors.

Biological propensities towards certain temperament do exist. These are encouraged or overridden through the process of socialization, creating patterned cultural behavior.

4. Recurrent gender patterns

Kottak's cross-cultural and **historical examination** of gender patterns suggests that at different historical and economic junctures, certain gender patterns become more common:

Patrilineal-patrifocal-**patriarchal systems**, associated with a sharp public (M)-domestic (F) dichotomies are very common today (even deemed “natural”).

Yet, this pattern was likely **uncommon** throughout much of human **history** (**hunter-gatherer societies** tend to be notoriously **egalitarian {equality}** in gender matters).

The existence of **other social systems** (e.g. matrilineal-matrifocal-matriarchal) is also **evidence that no single pattern is inherent to the human species**.

In all social settings, though, gender role expectations are supremely important to social dynamics.

5. Peruvian market women

Seligman combines analysis of class and gender to contextualize perceptions of Peruvian market women in Cuzco and to understand the effect of their family dynamics on their economic standing: Perceived as a social/ gender anomaly.

Trapped in dysfunctional family dynamics (absent husbands, abuse, etc.).

This is a common pattern among economically unstable adults (in Peru and elsewhere), and can be understood as a *failed patriarchy* (when the cultural expectations of gender roles in a patriarchal system are not met).

Abuse and violence towards women are exacerbated in nuclear family urban settings, where women are isolated from relatives or social safety nets.

Peruvian market women also fit another common pattern known as the *feminization of poverty* (overrepresentation of women among those with insufficient incomes), and tend to establish networks of economic cooperation with other women more than with men.

Class 6 economic anthro

1. Anthropological perspectives on economic dynamics

- Culture as a context to understand economic behavior.
- No ONE economic logic/rationality
- (capitalism is one culturally mediated economic system with its own, non-universal rationality)

What constitutes efficient/rational economic behavior in different social and cultural settings?

When different economic rationalities coexist, what are the contours of such coexistence?

(e.g. how is capitalism embedded in indigenous economies in the Andes?)

2. Economic exchanges in Andean open-air markets

- Wide circulation of goods “with no money exchanging hands” (barter, reciprocity, delayed reciprocity...)
- The importance of social relations in a field of complicated economic relations.
- The market economy is embedded in the capitalist economy, yet strays from it.
- Economic behavior occurs along a continuum between personal (non-capitalist) and impersonal (capitalist) mechanisms.

*** Instead of a problem, this is key to the viability of the open-air market economy ***

3. Market redundancy and “how one sells”

Market saturation as salient feature of the open-air market and street economy of Cuzco.

Vendors manage to profit due to their experience and deep knowledge of a pool of clients.

Importantly, they also invest in building a faithful clientele (e.g. the *llapa*, personal credit)— “how one sells.”

Products are redundant so how is money made/profits? [problem of same price/product]

>> The women make it art of selling, knowing the people they sell to then adjust price

>> prices are set is dynamic of customer & fellow sellers set market price

>> interactions will changes: 1 day cold/serious then next day very nice

>> personal credit

>> adding quantity to an order to establish friendly personal credit

4. Diversification strategies of market women

- Scanning market dynamics (supply & demand)
- Spreading risk through diversifying
- Rotating products
- Selling small or large amounts
- Buying from producers when possible
- Buying from wholesalers outside of Cuzco
- Recycling/re-investing losses [make something from it] Among others...

All of this is used to force some sort of control over capitalism prices & products

***** Market women always pay because it is vital to keep the relationship going

Class 7 economic anthro

Part 2

1. Capitalism & “disembedding mechanisms”

Producers are estranged from consumers, 1 does not know the other

Disembedding = uprooting, cultural ideals of profit on products (brands, logos etc.)

Things we value go from concrete to abstract value. Land value has real value [grows food] price of land is irrelevant

Capitalist economies produce a dynamic by which value is subordinated to a monetary equivalent (anything can be reduced to a monetary value).

This originates in the process of capitalist alienation:

- Producers alienated from consumers
- Producers alienated from what they produce
- Consumers alienated from what they consume

Yet, monetary value is more a reflection of socially ascribed value than of “actual” value (cost of production).

Disembedding mechanisms: the processes that alienate producers, consumers and goods (e.g. industrial production, monetization). In a disembedded economy, concrete value is subordinated to abstract value.

2. Indigenous Andean view of capitalism

Reflected in class tensions, but more revealingly, in beliefs that outline the paradoxes, contradictions and injustices of capitalist economic relations. These are not “economic theories”, yet point exactly to the nature of global flows of capital.

Chains of exploitation are formulated in **stories about mysterious deaths** perpetrated by **white devils (ñakaks, pishtacos)** who extract the fat from indigenous bodies, and use it to profit in a global market.

- these stories use **metaphors related to the history of extractive capitalism** in the Andes.
- they are not necessarily “real” but are not without foundation in reality; they are interpretations of economic dynamics formulated in a particular cultural idiom.

Various other beliefs also constitute a commentary about the contradictory nature of capitalism. E.g. the **ekoko** (which must circulate outside of capital to produce capital).

3. Social inequity: social mobility & cultural capacity

Even when prosperous, market women and their families face enormous **obstacles to achieve social mobility**. The main obstacle is class-specific cultural capital.

Cultural capital: social skills and appropriate class culture for a given social setting. It is not independent from economic capital, yet, **money does not buy the cultural capital** required to navigate in certain social settings.

The markets remain an attractive alternative because in that context indigenous women can use their cultural capital and attain dignity. Moreover, **market women pride themselves on their independence**.

The street markets seem socially and economically unstructured, but they do have an “invisible” structure. Paradoxically, market women model their aspirations after those of dominant, capitalist society—yet are perceived to be a challenge to it.

Class 8 & 9

1. Cuzco street markets: economic actors

Producers (peasants)

Self-identify as *campesinos*/indigenous.

- Providers of produce.
- Rural living, often far away from roads, towns or cities where they can directly sell their products.
- Forced to *cash-cropping and mono-cropping* in recent decades (inability to sell in small amounts).
- Some try to skip intermediation by selling directly.

2. Wholesalers (intermediate)

Self-identify as **mestizos** or white.

- Organized in “cartels,” create monopolies and manipulate prices
- Buy (from producers) and sell in bulk (to retailers)
- Seemingly “invisible”, not a homogeneous group, yet act as a unified front, hard to pin down.
- The **most mobile**
- Use a wide array of strategies to obtain produce
- Do a lot of their business between **4 and 7 a.m.**
- Men and women
- Some use secondary intermediaries (women)
- Some are producers themselves, or combine activities
- Operate in a wide geographical space
- Some specialize in particular products

Producers - wholesaler deals

Wholesalers use a wide range of strategies to secure produce (e.g. by harassing peasants, or building dependency), but **rely primarily on establishing personal relations with producers**.

KEY: social arrangements with peasant families ("rituals of respect").

- Speaking Quechua (learn to have better relationship)
- Gift-giving and generosity
- Advances, credit and barter
- Offering practical and economic assistance to peasants (e.g. when in the city)
- Peasants often demand to formalize these relations through *compadrazgo* (godparenthood)
- Exchanges follow gender-appropriate channels and etiquette

These relations are not insincere, but are hierarchical and produce uneven monetary gains for peasants and wholesalers.

A central disadvantage for peasants is that they do not act as an organized front. Further, an exchange logic that ameliorates hierarchy in the peasant context, exacerbates it outside of it.

Still, it is the social gestures of wholesalers which matter the most (and these also come with economic advantages for peasants).

Peasants do business in ways that are economically favorable and culturally appropriate for them—and force wholesalers to engage in their terms (indigenization of capitalism).

3. retailers (market vendors)

Self-identify as *mestizas* or indigenous (*cholas*)

As vulnerable as producers (or more)

- Landless (usually), no ownership of means of production
- Huge reliance on the cash economy
- Despised for their ethnic & gender ambiguity, and for their use of urban space
- Limited social networks & cultural capital in the city
- Function with limited capital, inability to invest free of debt

Producers-wholesalers (networks)

P----W----R and occasionally R----P

Yet, these **networks support a web of capitalist alienation** (producers and consumers can be separated by a **chain of up to 17 intermediaries**).

Wholesalers are responsible for a great deal of price speculation and other questionable (illegal) practices.

But **retailers bear most of the weight of tax-paying** and other forms of official enforcement.

Market women bear most of the economic burdens, yet are marginal in the capitalist economy AND in the web of social relations from which wholesaler's profit.

4. Loan sharks *prestamistas*

Self-identify as *mestizas* or White. Usually women

A *threatening figure* (often resort to intimidation, due to the informal nature of arrangements).

Part of a broader set of credit alternatives for market women:

- Wholesalers (not conflict-free) tensions over timing in payment
- NGOs and credit associations (inconsistent)
- Bank loans (very unusual)

Prestamistas are part of a *transnational cash flow that links informal and formal economies*. Note the disparity in *interest rates*: bank loans (3-10%), *prestamistas* (10-20%)

The *hostility* of interactions is underlined by *racist tensions* and by the *lack of a legal framework* to mediate loan transactions.

***** Market women try to counter-balance credit dependencies: e.g. “*the lottery*” market vendors meet up and join and play the lottery, *each woman saves some money and provide to the group pot, forced saving account and social safety (each can put \$1 a day)*

Class 10

1. Ethnicity (ethnic identity)

- A sense of collective identity based on an idea of shared descent (geographical origin) and cultural patterns (language, religion...).
- A relational category: contextually activated/defined in the presence of “others”, hence ethnicity is fluid (e.g. highland indigenous peoples in Ecuador).
- While ethnicity is fluid, though, rigid constructions of ethnic difference, and mistaken constructions of ethnic superiority lead to ethnic discrimination (contempt for the members of an ethnic group). This is a form of ethnocentrism.
- In the context of discrimination, ethnic assimilation is encouraged, resulting in pressure to accommodate to a dominant ethnic group.

2. Race

- A notion **based on the belief** that there are discontinuous biological differences among humans.
- **Problematic** because it lacks empirical proof: it is based on the selection of arbitrary phenotypical attributes **assumed to be markers of full biological distinctiveness**. This **ignores the complex relations between the human genotype and its phenotypical expressions** (e.g. Joe and Nancy's family).
- What matters to anthropologists, then, is how social relations are structured around (misled) notions of racial difference.

Hypodescent in the US. : **associate mixed children with the darker phenotype (50% mix why choose 1 side)**

Racial fluidity in Brazil. Many categories and switch based on socioecon. level

- Race is notoriously powerful in drawing inequalities, because of the assumption that it is “natural” (therefore unquestioned).
- **It's social construct**

3. Class

- A form of identification/**social affiliation** based on individuals' **unequal access** to various forms of privilege.
- **Marx**: a socio-economic category.
- **Weber**: class broken down into status and wealth. You can have lots of wealth but not rise high in social class based on perceived race
- **Bourdieu**: a confluence of social, economic and cultural capital. Class cultures allow recognition across the class spectrum.

4. Ethnicity, Race and Class in Peru: Historical antecedents

Spanish colonialism: many efforts to create fixed racial categories (e.g. the *casta system*).

Labels such as “*chola*” came out of the difficulty of assigning a category to “*ambiguous*” indigenous subjects (e.g. urban indigenous women).

“*Chola*”/mestizo/ indigenous/ white... are relational, fluid, categories (contextually activated).

Race in the Andes has been talked about as an “accumulation of effects” (Weismantel) that produce “*artificial*” physical difference (yet socially meaningful).

Colonial Spanish “*casta system*”, a method for classifying those of mixed ancestry.

Observe the intricacy of labels (next slide) and how clothing and demeanor, more than skin color, define the status of members of different *castas*. Distinctions are relational.

5. Conversations in the marketplace

Market women navigate ethnic, racial and class structures in different ways (embracing them, challenging them, giving them new meanings).

Internal stratification of the market itself reveals the complexity and fluidity of these structures.

Conversations in the marketplace: the invisible structure.

Language and verbal skills Etiquette and protocols

Conversation driven by assumptions about the interlocutor's ethnic/racial/class status

- Race/ethnicity/class categories reflect a continuum, yet, in any given conversation among non-equals one assumes the "whiter" role and the other one is expected to assume the subordinate one. This structure is often contested by vendors, though.
- Verbal confrontations target geographical and ethnic origin, gender, sexual orientation and practices, and occupation.
- Vendors use racial/class/gender categories, but also challenge them and redefine them.

6. Nationalism and Hegemony

A sense of shared identity through projects of nation building that create a sense of common heritage and experience among diverse members of a nation.

However, all nations have **minorities, groups that are under-represented in politics** and in projects of nation-building (regardless of the percentage of the population that they represent) .

Representation of “the people” in nation-states is therefore usually problematic (*whose language? whose holidays? whose history?...*)

The nation functions as such as an “imagined community” (Benedict Anderson). **Internal diversity smoothed out through symbols, civic rituals, folklore** (e.g. flags, sports, music...)

These symbols are thus invented and often contested.

Dominant sectors of society may also appropriate symbols from less dominant sectors in nationalistic discourse (e.g. the cholas in Peru).

Hegemony

In Peru, a democratic nation has been “achieved”, all Peruvians are “equal” and institutionalized coercion is abolished.

Yet, domination persists through forms of ideological direction/leadership. This indirect form of domination is called hegemony.

Hegemony is at work when individuals internalize the categories and ways of being in the world of a dominant sector of society.

It does not require policing or enforcement because individuals, through adopting the ideals of dominant society, affirm its superiority (e.g. for many market women, “progress” is synonymous with shedding Indianness, a process towards acquiring Whiteness).

Hegemony is always incomplete, though, and contested through counter-hegemonic ideals (e.g. not everybody in Peru buys into the White model of being in the world—many do so only in certain contexts, or reject it altogether) (E.g indigenous movements in the Andes, Evo Morales’ campaign).

The “cholet” (chola + chalet) as counter-hegemonic expression of indigenous wealth in contemporary urban Bolivia. It declares the right to display wealth in indigenous ways in an urban context.