Name: Miriam Shakow

Email address: shakowm@tcnj.edu

Department: Sociology/ Anthropology and History

Title of proposed SOSA program/project(s): States of Discontent: Political Dilemmas of New Middle Classes in Bolivia

Year(s) of last two SOSA awards: N/A (New faculty)

IRB status: Approval by TCNJ IRB (human subjects) will be received prior to beginning this project.

Chairperson’s statement of awareness of the applicant’s intention to apply for a SOSA award:

I have been informed of the applicant’s intention to apply to have SOSA alternate assignment included within his/her workload. I have discussed with the applicant the use of facilities, support staff, and any other College resources essential to the execution of his/her proposed activities.

Chairperson or Dean Initials CP
Description of Scholarly Program:
A. Assessment of Proposal

For the academic period 2013-2015, my research program is focused on a project entitled “States of Discontent: Political Dilemmas of New Middle Classes in Bolivia.” In this research, I examine the surprising social and political dilemmas of a significant number of Bolivians who are the first generation in their families to attain middle class status. This project is one of the first to examine middle class experiences and attitudes in Latin America outside of the regional economic powerhouses like Brazil and Chile. Over the past decade, Bolivia has captured news headlines for its “new left” movements for indigenous autonomy and against free market economic policies. In 2005, Evo Morales was elected as Bolivia’s first indigenous (Native American) President, a landmark moment in a country in which 65% of people are indigenous. The recent success of “new left” parties in many Latin American countries marked by longstanding social and economic inequalities, such as Bolivia, raises important questions about political change. How do people re-think their own identities after the election of long-excluded indigenous, African-American, or working-class groups? How are people’s political ideals and practices affected by the rapid changes in state policies and ideologies? While many Bolivians were overjoyed to bring an indigenous, leftist government to power, many first-generation professionals and prosperous merchants in central Bolivia were highly ambivalent. They wrestled with how to reconcile their wish to see their country prosper and their competing desire to distinguish their own status from those of their “Indian” and “peasant” parents, cousins and neighbors—and their new President. By tracing everyday dilemmas of class, racial, and political identification in the central Bolivian town of Sacaba, States of Discontent highlights the unexpected conflicts that ensue when people attempt to reconcile ideals of equality and middle class upward mobility.

Significance: A chief contribution of this project is to provide a sensitive rendering of middle class dilemmas in personal and political life in a Third World country. Middle classes are an important, but little acknowledged, force in the Third World, particularly in Latin America. Many Latin American countries are imagined to be divided in two: between a tiny white elite and large poor, indigenous or African-American majority. Scholars have highlighted how Bolivian and other Latin American social movements have mobilized over the past ten years to assert rights as an indigenous, Afro-descended, and poor majority. Yet this is not the whole story. My research examines the experiences of people whose middling identities and aspirations gave them the option and the dilemma of choosing to ally themselves with elites or the indigenous poor. There were significant consequences for Bolivian politics of this middle group’s diverse dreams of progress and upward mobility, as Bolivians of similar middling status pursued divergent political avenues. Some people who had grown up destitute in peasant and indigenous families, balked, upon earning a university degree, at social movements’ and President Morales’ plans to redistribute wealth and foster indigenous power. They participated in public protests against government initiatives to redistribute land, for example, and to change school curricula to emphasize indigenous achievements. New middle classes’ fierce dreams of family- and individually-based, rather than collective, prosperity points to the difficulties faced by governments and social movements attempting to equalize wealth and power in highly unequal societies. This research also reveals the diversity of ways in which people can express their desire for upward social mobility: through personal prosperity, collective uplift, or an uneasy alternation between the two.
Objectives – Goals and plans for dissemination

1) Book - In June 2011, I signed a contract with the University of Pennsylvania Press for my book *States of Discontent: Political Dilemmas of New Middle Classes in Bolivia*. During the past year, while on one-year sabbatical leave from Vanderbilt University and with support from the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, I completed revisions based on anonymous readers reports and sent those to the Penn Press editor in July. I am now waiting for the series editor’s report that will guide my final round of revisions, to be completed during the 2012-2013 academic year. SOSA support would provide much-needed time during the Fall 2013 semester to complete the final copy edits and indexing to bring the manuscript to completion. With SOSA support, I could keep the original timeline for publication, slated for November 2013.

2) Article - I have drafted an article I plan to submit to the leading cultural anthropology journal, *The American Ethnologist*, on controversies surrounding a rash of local public protests in Bolivia. Disruptive local protests—strikes, marches, road blockades, occupations of local public buildings—have bedeviled the many Third World countries that have implemented reforms to give local governments more power. In Bolivia since decentralization in 1993, many municipalities (counties) have seen repeated ousters and replacement of mayors and city council members, sometimes involving lethal violence. I have focused this article around a 2006 street march against elected officials’ corruption in Sacaba municipality, central Bolivia, where I have conducted the bulk of my research. While protesters claimed that they were blocking highways, screaming epithets at the Mayor, and occupying City Hall to protest graft, other local residents countered that protesters in fact cared nothing about corruption but were themselves corrupt, seeking to oust the mayor in order to get a new mayor in power who would return the favor by hiring them for public sector jobs. The fact that many local residents’ social and economic status was ambiguous further complicated this local debate. It meant that protesters claiming to be poor and indigenous, and therefore particularly harmed by government corruption, often faced criticism from other local residents that they were actually middle class, crassly and selfishly causing local upheaval to gain jobs and thus maintain their middle class status. Similar protests in Sacaba municipality had caused the ouster of five mayors in five years. Scholars have tended to analyze such situations of perpetual local protest as either a sign of protesters’ corruption (patronage) or a sign that poor and marginalized people are rising up to counter oppression and redistribute wealth and power. I argue that protests can, paradoxically, be both at the same time. I also show how it can be harder than we might expect for participants and outside observers to pinpoint the underlying causes of protest and therefore, to chart a path away from perpetual upheaval. I will receive feedback when presenting a paper on this topic at the American Anthropological Association Annual Meetings in San Francisco in November 2012. SOSA support would allow me to complete revisions during the Fall of 2013, after completing my final book revisions, and submit the article for publication by the end of December 2013.

3) Article - During the Fall of 2014, I plan to complete revisions for submission of another article based on this research on middle class experiences in Bolivia, entitled “Beauty Pageants and Graduation Photos: the gendered politics of authenticity and upward mobility in Bolivia.” The article examines two much-discussed public scandals both centering on Cholas, women in Bolivia, Peru, and Ecuador who identify themselves as working-class and indigenous by wearing
their long hair in long braids and dressing in a full, pleated skirt (pollera). The first scandal occurred in 2007, when the winner of a pageant for Cholas, “Miss Cholita Paceña,” was disqualified because she was wearing hair extensions to lengthen her braids. The judges argued that she be disqualified because her short hair signified that she had recently taken a break from identifying herself as indigenous by cutting her hair and wearing pants instead of a full pollera skirt. This meant that she was not an “authentic” Chola, who would have held firm in her self-presentation as an indigenous person. The second scandal occurred in 2011, when a law student, also a Chola, sued several other students under Bolivia’s new “Law Against Racism and All Forms of Discrimination.” Her fellow students had Photoshopped their group graduation photo without consulting her, replacing her pollera and braids with the cap and gown worn by all the other graduates. Both of these episodes were significant, I argue, in showing how, even as indigenous identity has become more highly valued during the past decade, gender, class, racial, and ethnic discrimination continue to bedevil Bolivian society. I also show how indigenous and working-class identity, crystallized in the figure of Cholas, is buffeted by conflicting demands from the Bolivian public for authenticity, on the one hand, and middle-class upward mobility, on the other hand. Beyond these episodes’ significance for Bolivia, I show in the article how difficult it can be to eradicate racism from any long-unequal society—through the law, for example—providing a point for comparison with other societies such as the United States. This manuscript is currently in rough form. Sosa support would permit me the opportunity to complete the draft and submit it for publication to the Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Anthropology in December 2014. This is the premier anthropology journal for research in Latin America and the Caribbean.

B. Qualifications/ Expertise of the Applicant

I am a cultural anthropologist. I have been conducting research on inequality, political participation, and class and racial identity in central Bolivia since my undergraduate anthropology Senior Thesis research in 1995. Over the past seventeen years, I have spent a total of three years in central Bolivia performing ethnographic cultural anthropology research: social immersion, participant observation, and qualitative interviews. My Sosa proposal grows out of this work. During the four years since receiving my Ph.D. in 2008, I have published an article in the premier peer-reviewed journal of my subfield of political and legal anthropology. I have also been awarded a nationally-competitive peer-reviewed fellowship to work on book revisions; received a contract with a highly-regarded academic press for publication of my first book, based on positive reviews from two anonymous peer reviewers in my field; completed major revisions on the book manuscript based on those anonymous reports; and completed several rounds of invited re-submission of an article to the flagship anthropology journal.

C. Broader Impacts: I am new tenure-track faculty member this year. I am pre-tenure and will apply for tenure in the spring of 2014. Sosa support to complete book revisions would permit me to apply for Tenure, while support to publish two additional articles would permit me to apply for promotion to Associate Professor.

Note regarding IRB approval— I completed research for these publications under the auspices of the Harvard University and Vanderbilt University IRBs, respectively. I am in the process of applying for TCNJ IRB approval to continue publication and fully expect that this approval will be in place before the Fall 2013 beginning term of this Sosa application.
**MIRIAM SHAKOW**  
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Ewing, NJ 08628-0718  
shakowm@tcnj.edu  
(609) 771-2635

**ACADEMIC APPOINTMENTS**

**The College of New Jersey**, Ewing, NJ  
*Assistant Professor*, Sociology/Anthropology and History Departments, August 2012 - present

**Vanderbilt University**, Anthropology Department, Nashville, TN  
*Assistant Professor*, 2008 - 2012

**The College of New Jersey**, Sociology/Anthropology Department, Ewing, NJ  
*Visiting Assistant Professor*, 2009-2010

**EDUCATION**

**Harvard University**, Cambridge, MA  
Sociocultural Anthropology, **Ph.D. June 2008**  
Dissertation Committee: Michael Herzfeld (Chair), Kay Warren, Ajantha Subramanian, and Kimberly Theidon  
Research fields: Globalization, class and racial formation, youth culture, development, party politics, social movements, political economy, Latin America

**Swarthmore College**, Swarthmore, PA  
B.A., 1997  
Major: Sociology/Anthropology, with Concentration in Latin American Studies  
Undergraduate Thesis examined conflicting views of free-market reforms in Bolivia  
Year abroad, School for International Training: Sustainable Development, Cochabamba, Bolivia

**AWARDS & HONORS**

- Wenner Gren Foundation Hunt Postdoctoral Fellowship  
  *This is an international writing and research fellowship with under 8% success rate*  
  2011-2012
- Harvard University Dissertation Completion Fellowship  
  2007-2008
- Fulbright-Hays Doctoral Dissertation Research Award  
  *This is a competitive national award*  
  2005-2006
- Harvard Center for International Affairs: Justice, Welfare, and Economics Research Fellowship  
  *This is a competitive award within the Harvard Graduate School of Arts & Sciences*  
  2005
- Foreign Language and Area Studies (FLAS) Award for Dissertation Research (declined)  
  2003-2008
- Harvard University Center for Latin American Studies, Summer Research Grants  
  2003-2004
- Benjamin and Helen Buttenweiser Graduate Fellowship, Harvard University  
  2003
- Quechua Language Summer FLAS award, Cornell University  
  1997-1998
- Undergraduate Fulbright Fellowship (IIE)  
  *This is a competitive national award*  
  1994
- National Security Education Program (NSEP) Scholarship for study abroad
**PUBLICATIONS**


**Works in Progress**
States of Discontent: Political Dilemmas of New Middle Classes in Bolivia (Book under Contract, University of Pennsylvania Press, Contemporary Ethnography Series). The University of Pennsylvania Press is a highly-regarded press for cultural anthropologists. I have submitted my revisions in response to anonymous reader reports. I am awaiting the series editor’s report, which will guide my second round of revision. Publication is planned for November, 2013.

“Andean ‘Civil Society’ and political imaginaries in Central Bolivia.” (Revising for resubmission, *American Anthropologist*). The *American Anthropologist* is the leading peer-reviewed anthropology journal and includes all subfields of the discipline. I have gone through two rounds of peer review and received encouraging invitations to resubmit, pending revisions. I plan to send in my revised manuscript in April, 2013.

“Municipal Protest as a Genre of Citizenship in Bolivia.” (In preparation for submission to the American Ethnologist). The *American Ethnologist* is the leading peer-reviewed cultural anthropology journal in the United States. The article is drafted and I plan to submit the manuscript, pending SOSA support, in December of 2013.

“Beauty Pageants and Graduation Photos: the gendered politics of cholita authenticity and upward mobility in Bolivia.” (In preparation for submission to the *Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Anthropology*). The *Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Anthropology* is the premier peer-reviewed journal for anthropological research in Latin America and the Caribbean. I have drafted a rough manuscript and plan to submit to the journal in December, 2014.

“Youth Culture, Fear of Crime, and the Disappearance of Employment in Central Bolivia” (Grant proposal to be submitted to the National Science Foundation, April 2015). I have conducted preliminary research on this project during the past seven years and will travel to Bolivia this summer to continue the research. I plan to begin the project in earnest after completing the above-mentioned works in progress. The University of Pennsylvania Press editor of my first book manuscript, Peter Agree, has expressed strong interest in this next project and urged me to send him a Book Prospectus as soon as possible.

**Invited Book Reviews**


New Languages of the State: Indigenous Resurgence and the Politics of Knowledge in Bolivia. Bret Darin

TEACHING

**The College of New Jersey**, Sociology and Anthropology Department, Ewing, NJ
Introduction to Cultural Anthropology, Fall 2012 (Assistant Professor)
Social Change in Latin America, Fall 2012 (Assistant Professor)
Social Change in Latin America, Wagner Youth Correctional Facility, Bordentown, NJ, Summer, 2012 (Co-Instructor)
Introduction to Cultural Anthropology, Fall 2009 and Spring 2010 (Visiting Assistant Professor)
Social Change in Latin America, Spring 2010 (Visiting Assistant Professor)

**The College of New Jersey**, History Department
Colonial Latin America, Fall 2012 (Assistant Professor)

**Vanderbilt University**, Anthropology Department, Nashville, TN
Political Anthropology Graduate Seminar, Spring 2011
Ethnography of the Andes: Race, Inequality and Postcoloniality, Fall 2008, Spring 2011
Introduction to Anthropology, Fall 2010
History of Anthropological Thought Graduate Proseminar, Fall 2010
Problems in Anthropological Theory (Undergraduate Capstone), Spring 2009
Anthropology of Globalization, Fall 2008

*Graduate committee adviser*
Amanda Garrison, MA, Anthropology (2012)
Brian Faughnan, Ph.D., Political Science (2011 – present)
Hillary Voth, MA, Latin American Studies (2011)
Jennifer Vogt, Ph.D., Anthropology (2008 – present)
Brendan Weaver, Ph.D., Anthropology (2008 – present)
Tristan Call, Ph.D., Anthropology (2010 – 2012)
Tatiana Paz Lemus, Ph.D., Anthropology (2011-present)
Daniel O'Malley, Ph.D., Anthropology (2011-present)

**Harvard University**, Anthropology Department, Cambridge, MA
*Expository Writing Curriculum Assistant*, Sophomore Tutorial in Social Anthropology, Spring 2007
*Instructor*, Junior Tutorial in Social Anthropology: Polities and the State in Latin America, Fall 2006
*Teaching Fellow*, Violence in the Andes: Coca, Conflict, and Control (Asst. Prof. Kimberly Theidon), Spring 2005
*Teaching Fellow*, Memory Politics: Truth, Justice, and Redress (Asst. Prof. Kimberly Theidon), Fall 2004

**Tufts University**, Anthropology Department, Medford, MA
*Teaching Assistant*, Native Peoples of South America (Prof. David Guss), Spring, 2004
Carried out course administration and grading for four-field introductory course on Latin America

**Swarthmore College**, Swarthmore, PA
*Peer writing tutor*, Writing Associates Program, 1995 - 1997

CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS

"Municipal Protest as a Genre of Political Action in Bolivia." Accepted for presentation at the American Anthropological Association Meetings, San Francisco, November 17, 2012. *The American*
Anthropological Association Annual Meetings are the premier conference for anthropologists in the United States. Acceptance of panel proposals is competitive. This panel was chosen in a competitive process to be sponsored by the Association for Political and Legal Anthropology.


“New Middle Classes and New Racial Imaginaries in Central Bolivia.” Presented at the Conference on Ethnicity, Race, and Indigenous Peoples in the Americas (ERIP), San Diego, November 4, 2011.


“Conflicting Emotions: Parent Migrants and their Children in Bolivia.” Presented at the Latin American Studies Association Meetings, Rio de Janeiro, June, 2009. The Latin American Studies Association is the premier conference for scholars working in Latin America, in all fields. Acceptance of panel submissions is competitive; between 60% and 50% of panels are accepted.


INVITED TALKS

“‘Jóvenes por mal camino’: Youth and fear of crime in central Bolivia.” Invited to Present at the Warren Center for the Humanities, Vanderbilt University, April 13, 2011

“The Case of a Beauty Queen Uncrowned: Colonialism and De-colonization in Bolivia.” Invited to present at


“The Moralizing State in Bolivia.” Invited to present at Towson University, Department of Sociology/Anthropology, April 23, 2009. Invited presentation; travel expenses reimbursed.

“Envy as a Political Category in Bolivia.” Invited to present at Bucknell College, Department of Anthropology and Sociology, January 16, 2009. Invited presentation; travel expenses reimbursed.


“States of Discontent in Central Bolivia.” Invited to present at Knox College, Department of Anthropology and Sociology, February 21, 2008. Invited presentation; travel expenses reimbursed.

“Layered Political Imaginaries in Bolivia.” Invited to present at Appalachian State University, Department of Anthropology, February 14, 2008. Invited presentation; travel expenses reimbursed.


“Municipal hyper-politics in Bolivia: reflections on political change.” Invited to present at Tufts University symposium, “The Leftward Turn in Latin America,” December 7, 2007

“La descentralización y el estado moralizador en Sacaba.” Invited to present at the Instituto para la Educación Social y Económico (IESE), Universidad Mayor de San Simón, Cochabamba, Bolivia, August 13, 2006

“La vida política de la envidia.” Invited to present at the Centro del Estudio de la Realidad Económica y Social (CERES), Cochabamba, Bolivia, August 18, 2005

Invited public presentations on history and politics of El Salvador and Bolivia to Amnesty International chapters and other community and school groups, 1996-2002

ACADEMIC SERVICE

Anonymous reviewer, Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Anthropology, American Anthropologist, American Ethnologist, Ethnos, Current Anthropology, National Science Foundation, and International Migration. These journals include the leading outlets for scholarly work in the field of cultural anthropology. In each case, I was invited by the editor of the press to peer-review an article manuscript.

Anonymous reviewer, Oxford University Press, 2009-2012. I was invited by the press editor to review a scholarly anthropological book manuscript through two rounds of review. Honorarium received.
The College of New Jersey, Ewing, NJ
Undergraduate Research Council, School of Humanities and Social Sciences, Fall 2012 – present
Speaking Intensive Course Task Force, School of Humanities and Social Sciences, Fall 2012 – present
Curriculum Committee, Sociology and Anthropology Department, Fall 2012 - present
Assessment Committee, History Department, Fall 2012 - present

Vanderbilt University, Nashville, TN
Anthropology Department Speakers Committee, 2008-2011
Anthropology Graduate Admissions Committee, 2010-2011
Graduate Faculty Assembly, 2008-2011

Harvard University, Cambridge, MA
Engaged Anthropology Working Group, founder, 2002-2008
Latin America Working Group, co-founder, 2006-2008
Political Ecology Working Group, founding member, 2004-2008
Professionalism Workshop Series, Anthropology Department, co-organizer, 2007
Academic Freedom and Cultures of Censorship panel, co-organizer, Anthropology Department, 2003

RELATED RESEARCH EXPERIENCE

Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, MA
Research Assistant to Professor Jean Jackson, 2004 – 2005. Professor Jackson is a leading scholar on social movements and indigenous rights in Latin America.

Isaacson, Miller, Boston, MA
Research Associate at executive recruiting firm, 2000-2002

FIELDWORK AND LANGUAGE STUDY

Cochabamba, Bolivia
Postdoctoral research, 2009
Pre-graduate anthropology research on economic liberalization in rural Bolivia, 1995, 1997-1998

PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIPS

American Anthropological Association
Association for Political and Legal Anthropology
Society for Latin American and Caribbean Anthropology
American Ethnological Society
Latin American Studies Association
Anthropology of Childhood and Youth Interest Group

RESEARCH AFFILIATIONS

Graduate Student Associate, Harvard Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies, 2007-2008
Visiting Scholar, Centro del Estudio de la Realidad Económica y Social, Cochabamba, Bolivia, 2003-2006
LANGUAGES

Spanish (fluent written and spoken)
Bolivian Quechua (advanced written and spoken)
French (written and spoken)

ECOLOGY TRAINING AND ORGANIZATIONAL EXPERIENCE

Coordinator (volunteer), Children’s Urban Garden Program, Massachusetts 4-H/Cooperative Extension 2001
Urban Master Gardener Certificate, Garden Futures/Boston Natural Areas Network, Boston, MA 2001
Apprenticeship in Ecological Horticulture, CASFS, University of California, Santa Cruz 2000
Intern, Maysie’s Farm and Conservation Center, Glenmoore, PA 1999
Project Manager, Organic Farm Training Program, Institute for Washington’s Future, Seattle, WA 1996

SPANISH-LANGUAGE EMPLOYMENT AND ORGANIZATIONAL EXPERIENCE

On-call Interpreter, Mount Auburn Hospital, Cambridge, MA 1999-2005
Assistant to Director, Soldados de la salud/Partners in Health, Roxbury, MA 1999
Founder, Swarthmore Student Elections Delegation to El Salvador 1993-1994
Spanish Translator, Peace Studies Department, Swarthmore College 1993-1994
Asylum Interviewer (volunteer), Northwest Immigrant Rights Project, Seattle, WA 1992-1994