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# Editorial #88: Alternatives

By: Caroline Risacher

“We are building a real, concrete and successful alternative to capitalism,” President Evo Morales said in a speech to the UN General Assembly earlier this year. Bolivia’s economic growth in the last ten years and the regime’s stability in an unstable regional context are proof that there is some truth to President Morales’s words. Back in 2009, the new Constitution was the first to mention the rights of **Pachamama** and to promote **Suma Qamaña**, principles which still represent today a legitimate alternative to capitalism.

But saying that Bolivia is not a capitalist country feels a bit naive. Mercantilism is king here. Because of the lack of industry – something that many countries that have been exploited for their primary resources have in common – Bolivia became a nation of merchants, importing (and smuggling) most of its manufactured goods from abroad. For the last 500 years and until the election of Morales, Bolivia has been defined by the rule of free markets imposed by foreign powers; it would and should take longer than a decade to move past these structures. Which is why the world has its eyes on Bolivia, one of the last socialist countries standing, and one of the few with an indigenous **cosmovisión** mentioned in its Constitution.

Bolivia is a country of alternatives. Partly because of the central notion of *Suma Qamaña*, a strong focus has been placed on finding alternative sources of energy, eating better, reducing waste through recycling and learning to live more consciously. Foreign practices like yoga, reiki

and meditation are finding a growing base of supporters around the country. And in some other ways, Bolivians are finding themselves again by embracing their own craftsmanship and making their own products instead of the made-in-China imported goods that flood the country – the same goods that trusting tourists bring back home as souvenirs.

In previous issues of *Bolivian Express*, we’ve written about a different range of Bolivian products that are being rediscovered. Bolivians are now drinking their own locally grown coffee instead of imported freeze-dried coffee. The same is happening with a variety of other merchandise: cacao, fruits and vegetables, alpaca and llama wools, and many more. Finally, Bolivia is starting to export goods and showing to the world what it is capable of producing.

Undoubtedly, the country is changing. This may be motivated by necessity or ideology, but one can’t ignore the upcoming 2019 presidential elections that are increasingly dividing the country. And when talking about alternatives, one cannot ignore the elephant in the room: the alternatives to Evo. One year from now, a president will be elected or re-elected. Primaries are scheduled for 27 January 2019, and as of today, the lack of potential alternatives is the biggest threat to the country and its unity. For Bolivia to stay as the beacon of hope against capitalism, and to remain a credible alternative, it is essential that the next elections accurately respect the state of democracy in Bolivia.

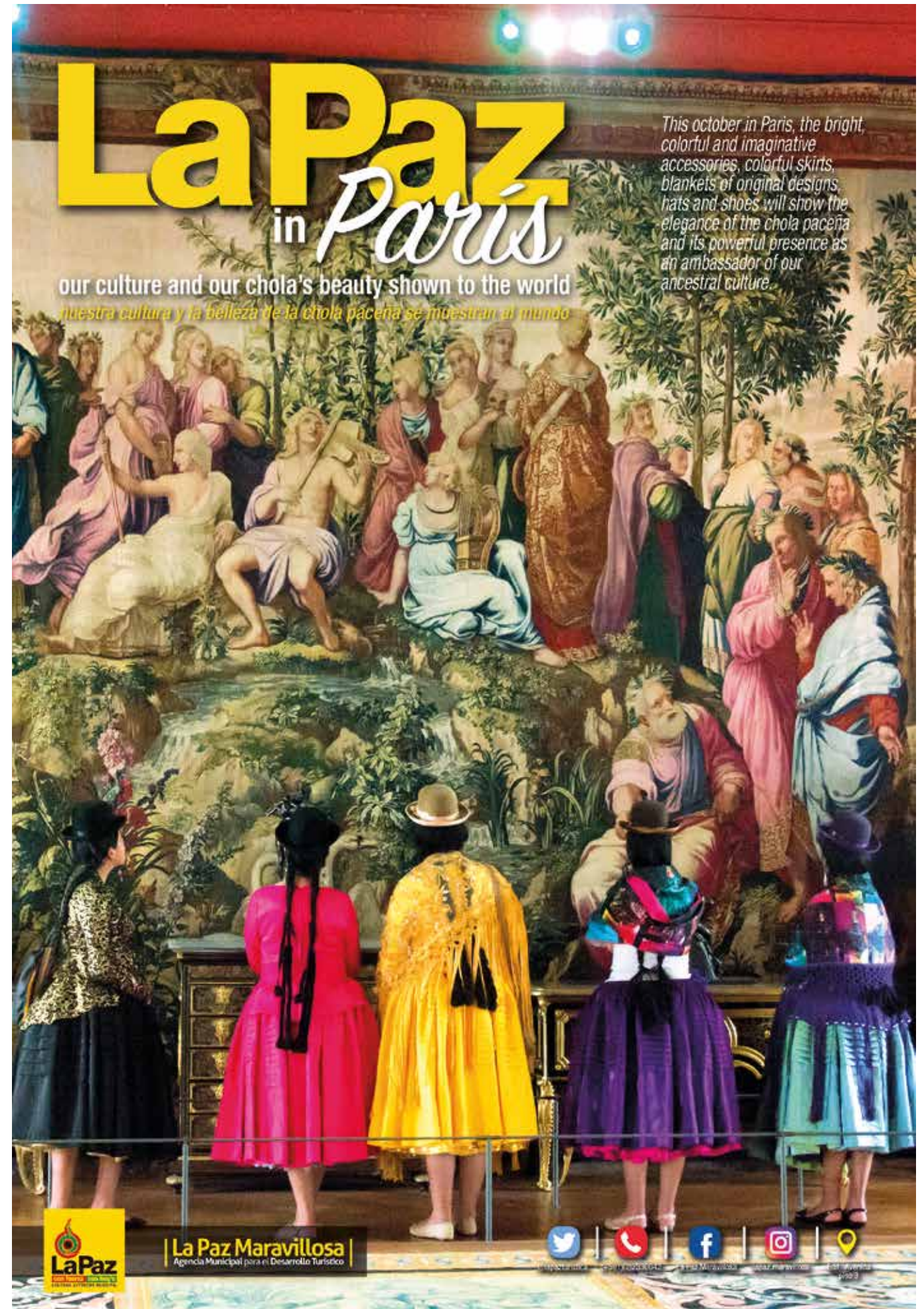
**N.B.** Several Spanish and Aymara words are marked in **bold** throughout this issue. Their meanings can be found in our glossary.



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# PABLO GIOVANY

ART IN THE EYE OF THE BEHOLDER

TEXT & PHOTO: MARION JOUBERT

**T**he Mérida Romero Art Gallery, located in La Paz's **Zona Sur**, is full of hypnotising paintings. Some of these works particularly catch the viewer's attention, perhaps because they seem incomplete and thus more mysterious.

Painter Pablo Giovany, for example, draws the accessories of a **cholita**, but leaves the faces of his subjects empty and dark. Despite the mystery, Giovany gets tired of a common question: 'What does it mean?', claiming 'it depends on the viewer. Even Dali sometimes didn't know why. I always loved that,' he says. 'We don't know what it means? Well, that's alright!'

Thankfully, Giovany is willing to shed some light on the title of his series, which is called *Cholitas Sinfónicas*, 'I related these paintings to the idea of musical compositions, which has sounds but also silence. It's important because without silence, there is no music,' he explains.

He doesn't paint facial features because he usually can't remember a specific face well enough to reproduce it. 'In general you just can't remember,' he says. 'From all the faces you've seen, is there one in particular that you can remember accurately?,' he asks. Ultimately, he decided to leave the faces empty so people can fill in the blank as they choose: 'They can make a more intimate association. It can be their mum, their grandmother.'

Quoting Leonardo Da Vinci, Giovany insists: 'Never finish a painting that can't let the imagination of the spectator speak.' He considers his paintings incomplete until people observe them and imagine the face they prefer. 'A lady once told me with emotion that this *cholita* from my painting looked like her grandmother from Sucre,' he recalls. Pablo Giovany draws the *cholitas* in a humble position, giving them a certain personality so the viewer can relate them to people they already know.

The *Cholitas Sinfónicas* series dates back to 2010 and features different ways of drawing women in traditional outfits, which is part of what captivated the artist. 'What fascinates me about the **mujer de pollera**'s outfit is the mix of different cultures,' he says. 'She is the perfect illustration of globalisation!' In order to show these connections, Giovany created a version of the famous Diego Velázquez painting called 'Las Meninas,' with women in *cholita* accessories.

The traditional skirts came into fashion in the seventeenth century, inspired by the gowns of Spanish princesses. In an enthusiastic voice, Giovany explains: 'The *cholita* costume has European origins, such as the Spanish skirt, but also the English hat... These trends crossed the ocean, which is why water is a symbol in this kind of painting.' The intercultural concept one can notice in the art is even reflected in the artist's name: '[Giovany] is not my real last name,' he confesses. 'I like this union, this cultural mix, because it sounds Italian.'

'Pablo Giovany-Transvanguardia,' the name he elected for his Facebook profile, also echoes his painting persona: '[Transvanguardia] is an Italian movement in which the artist is free to assume the creative style he wants for as long as he wants,' he says. 'This is the message that Picasso or Dali gave us: it's possible to change your style.'

Pablo Giovany certainly follows this advice. He likes to change his artistic style, after finishing a series. 'As Picasso said,' he adds, 'you find the inspiration while working.'

# THE CONSCIOUS-FOOD FESTIVAL

HEALTHY EATING AND SUSTAINABILITY FIND A CHAMPION IN LA PAZ

TEXT: MARIE DE LANTIVY  
PHOTOS: MARIE DE LANTIVY & HONOR SCOTT



At the festival, there were over 100 vendors, most from the La Paz area and the Yungas, but some from regions as far-flung as Tarija. All offered vegetarian, locally-grown and tasty food options such as pizzas, **tucumanas**, coca ice cream, tacos, red velvet cake and more. La Paz's restaurants and cafes were heavily represented, but small-scale initiatives from **altiplano** villages were also in attendance. Even some **kallawayas**, traditional Andean healers, were present. There were also cosmetics stands and local fruit and vegetable producers sold their products.

The variety of options is what gives the gathering such strength. As Peters said, it's essential that everybody is included and has a space to express themselves. And although all animal products would ideally be avoided in any 'conscious food' festival, the offerings weren't strictly vegan. 'I think some of the stands use cheese,' Peters said. 'It's OK. Everybody is welcome here.' And the prices were affordable, something that Peters insisted on. 'People have this image that "healthy" food is more expensive,' she said. 'We want to show that it is accessible to all, which is why prices have to remain low for this type of event.' Indeed, main courses cost only Bs20 to Bs25, and snacks and desserts were even cheaper.

For those who don't want to wait a year for the next festival, *La Casa de les Ningunes* organises a traditional (but vegan) Bolivian **apthapi** every month. It also offers yoga classes and workshops on conscious foods and other related topics.

For more information, go to [facebook.com/lacasadelosningunos](https://facebook.com/lacasadelosningunos).

**O**n 6 October, the fifth annual **Festival de Comida Consciente** took place in La Paz's Plaza Villarroel. Organised by **La Casa de les Ningunes**, a communitarian project founded in 2012, the food festival is part of the **Programa Integral de Comida Consciente (PICC)**, a wellness programme which includes a series of initiatives that the *La Casa de les Ningunes* organises.

PICC spokesperson Maira Peters explained the idea behind the festival: 'We chose to talk about food, because it is part of our everyday life, everybody is concerned and it affects everyone.' The festival started six years ago with just a handful of vendors, but now that more and more Bolivian companies are using organic, locally-sourced and sustainable products, the number of participants has grown exponentially.

The PICC's purpose is to promote sustainable food systems and healthier eating, in addition to raising awareness of animal exploitation, responsible consumerism, climate change, food security and sovereignty and Bolivia's gastronomical heritage. Businesses or initiatives that conform to these principles are welcome to join the PICC.

PEOPLE HAVE THIS IMAGE THAT "HEALTHY" FOOD IS MORE EXPENSIVE. WE WANT TO SHOW THAT IT IS ACCESSIBLE TO ALL.'  
—MAIRA PETERS



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# LA PAZ RECICLA

## BOLIVIA GRAPPLES WITH ITS TRASH

TEXT & PHOTO: HONOR SCOTT



According to Bolivian newspaper *Página Siete*, there are 5,400 tonnes of waste generated every day in Bolivia; of that only, 4 percent is recycled. 80 percent of the waste that every **paceño** generates in a year could be recycled, yet is not. These are the statistics that the La Paz City Council's pilot programme for waste separation aims to change.

Implemented on the first of September this year, the initiative marks a big step forward for the city's environmental efforts, encouraging people to differentiate between **basura** and **residuo** which can be reused in some way. For this purpose, four **Islas Verdes** recycling centres have been installed, two in Miraflores and two in Achumani, whilst 28 blue and yellow recycling containers have been placed in each neighbourhood. It is hoped that making recycling easy and accessible in this way will help it become an everyday habit and promote a widespread environmental consciousness and understanding of personal responsibility. Additionally, the resultant sales of recycled goods brings economic benefits via the reincorporation of the goods into the market and the creation of a circular economy. **La Paz Recicla** is an effort soon to be spread throughout the city with the aim of keeping both the streets and the consciences of *paceños* clean.

## BOTTLE CAPS FOR CHILDREN WITH CANCER

This programme, raising money for children in Bolivia suffering from cancer, was launched by the Fundación Oncofeliz with the support of the Empacar packaging company and the Asociación de Voluntarios Contra el Cáncer Infantil. It organises the collection of plastic bottle tops, which are then sold with the profits used to buy medical supplies. A kilogramme of bottle caps is worth only Bs2, but over 1,000 kilogrammes a month are already being collected in these early stages of the programme. Many organisations support this programme, the most high-profile being **Mi Teleférico**, which has collection points in its many stations. Other institutions and schools are also involved, and it is hoped that more will follow suit in the coming months, making the tapitas collection points a common sight citywide.

## RECYCLING SHOPS

Whilst some recycling initiatives in La Paz are relatively new, others have been around for years. There are shops that both buy recyclable waste and sell the end product. Paper is the most common recycled good. The owners of these shops will buy at a set price, depending on the type of paper, and then later sell it as toilet paper. Other materials can be sold or bought in these shops, including plastic (which is used to make new plastic bottles), clothes, cardboard, batteries and metals such as aluminium, copper and bronze. These shops offer the public a financial motive for going green and are also emblematic of Bolivia's longstanding no-waste attitude.

## UPCYCLING: BRINGING GREEN INTO FASHION

Fast fashion is increasingly under fire as people become aware of consumerism's damaging environmental impact. The most recognisable and increasingly popular alternatives to this are second-hand clothing, sustainable clothes made in the country and the phenomenon known as 'upcycling.' The latter promotes a more conscious form of fashion, giving new life to both bought and donated second-hand clothing. Through deconstructing, recuperating and transforming these items, upcycling creates new, unique pieces in a way that, unlike the work of most big fashion brands, doesn't harm the planet. Brands such as ZEF are pioneers in upcycling, working to ensure that fashion and environmentalism need no longer be incompatible.

# ACCOMMODATIONS WITH A SOCIAL CONSCIENCE

COLIBRI CAMPING AND ECO LODGE IS A PLACE TO DISCONNECT FROM THE CHAOS OF THE CITY AND RECONNECT TO THE NATURAL SURROUNDINGS

TEXT: JOSEPHINE ZAVAGLIA / PHOTOS: HONOR SCOTT



  
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 LA PAZ - BOLIVIA

**M**ountainous rocky peaks, the 'Valley of Flowers' and a river running through the bottom of a valley – these are the natural splendours that surround this sanctuary of hospitality and thoughtful design. What started as a response to a dearth of campsites in La Paz has since evolved into one of the top-20 places to glamp – or 'camp with glamour' – in the world. 'I didn't know the term "glamping"; Colibri Camping and Eco Lodge owner and founder Rolando Mendoza says. 'It's one of those things you learn as you go.'

Colibri Camping and Eco Lodge has accommodations for all adventure appetites. There are basic areas in which to camp, but also teepees and even cabanas with private bathrooms. It's clear that the Colibri Camping was created by people who are travellers themselves; it was designed with them and the environment in mind. Colibri offers WiFi in the midst of mountainous views, a shop to buy food and toiletries, as well as common areas to meet fellow travellers (including a campfire for chilly high-altitude nights). It combines two things you rarely encounter simultaneously as a traveller: vibe and amenities.

'Colibri Camping began approximately four and a half years ago,' Mendoza says. 'Before that we already had the initiative Up Close Bolivia, where young people from different parts of the globe come and help with various social programmes in the Mallasa area.' Mendoza and his wife, Emma Dolan, began receiving and hosting volunteers long before the idea of a camp site was conceived.

'[Colibri Camping] is not just our idea, it's the shared idea of everyone [who has come here to volunteer],' Mendoza says. 'Everything you see, every tree or plant, has a story of someone who has come here and helped us with the project.'

Mendoza describes the Colibri experience as 'Peace, tranquility and connection with nature and the local community.' Guests not only feel at home on the grounds themselves, but in the wider community as well. 'People often remark, "Wow, the people here [in Jupapina] treat us so nicely," and that's because of the previous history of volunteers [in the area],' Mendoza says.

Located in Jupapina (near Mallasa), 40 minutes south of La Paz, Colibri Camping is easily reached by public transport or taxi. Since it's at a lower altitude than La Paz, its warmer temperatures make it a good place to relax and acclimatise to the altitude. Shops and restaurants are also a short walk from the grounds, and Mendoza will happily recommend where to find the best fresh produce or meal in the area.

Colibri Camping and Eco Lodge is a part of Mallasa's ecotourist circuit, with plenty of walks and natural wonders in the area. It's a stone's throw from some of significant pre-Inca sacred sites, like **La Muela del Diablo**.

Colibri Camping engages in a number of environmentally sustainable practices to help protect its natural surroundings. It utilises solar energy, water is recycled and its structures are made from local and repurposed materials. 'We have planted over 1,000 trees and plants,' Mendoza says.

## GIANT HUMMINGBIRDS CAN BE OBSERVED FREQUENTLY ON THE LODGE'S GROUNDS, ALONG WITH OTHER ANIMALS.

According to Mendoza, there's been a steady increase in employment and wages in nearby Mallasa over the years, part of a wider trend in the area involving (eco)tourism as well as cultural and social initiatives. 'It's an ethical and sustainable circle creating a better quality of life [for local residents],' Mendoza says, and it's another reason why protecting the region's already fragile ecosystems is extremely important for the local community.

Colibri Camping gets its name from one of its most regular visitors, the hummingbird (*colibri* meaning hummingbird in Spanish). Giant hummingbirds can be observed frequently on the lodge's grounds, along with other animals. 'Every hour has its distinct animals [that pass through Colibri Camping],' Mendoza says. 'During the night there are viscachas [a cousin of the chinchilla that looks like a rabbit]. At 7:30am, hummingbirds... At 10am, eagles.'

Whether you want to escape from La Paz's hustle and bustle, acclimate yourself to the mountains before heading into the **altiplano** or simply experience the amazing Andean landscape and village culture, Colibri Camping and Eco Lodge offers something for nearly everyone.

For more information, visit the Colibri Camping website at [site.colibricamping.com/en/home](http://site.colibricamping.com/en/home).







# AMIGOS DE POTOSÍ

BREAKING THE CYCLE OF THE CERRO RICO

TEXT: HONOR SCOTT / PHOTOS: COURTESY OF AMIGOS DE POTOSÍ

**P**otosí might lay claim to being one of the highest cities in the world, but it is still dwarfed by the conical height of **Cerro Rico**. For it is not just the skyline of Potosí that the 'Rich Mountain' dominates, it also seems to rule over the lives of its people. The vast amounts of silver inside the *Cerro* made Potosí one of the Spanish Empire's most prized possessions, supplying Spain with the majority of its silver during its New World rule.

Although 2018 feels a world away from this time, and even though Bolivia has undergone many changes in recent decades, Enrique Paz, coordinator of the Netherlands-based charity called **Amigos de Potosí**, states that, 'Virtually nothing has changed in the *Cerro*.' The death toll in the mines remains high and the life expectancy of those who make a living inside the mountain is less than 40. The costs are high for working in the mines and the rewards are few and far between.

According to Paz, Amigos de Potosí has been working the area for 25 years, 'Miners who achieve success in the mine, who earn good money and enable their family to get out of poverty, are rare. The majority of them end badly. This is the cycle.'

Holding the cycle together is the fact that 'In Potosí there isn't another source of work,' Paz explains. Directly or indirectly, everyone works for the mines, as was evidenced by the scale of unemployment that followed the drop in the price of tin in the 1980s. It was not just the miners but all of the inhabitants of Potosí's who suffered. The town lost around 60 percent of its population.

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In this particular context, the aim of *Amigos de Potosí*, which is to teach alternative skills in local schools and give people the chance of working outside of the mines, is far from simple. Other organisations with a similar goal have already failed because having a formal degree makes little difference when all of the prospects for employment revolve around the mining business.

The cycle that one enters just by being born near the *Cerro Rico* is as complex as it is 'fateful.' It isn't uncommon to see children as young as 12 walking into the **bocamina**, where it is a matter of minimum strength rather than of a minimum age for labour. For these pre-adolescents working underground can put a smartphone or a new pair of trainers within their reach. It seems that more than the *Cerro* itself, 'this [material reward] is what traps them,' Paz says, rendering education less and less attractive for the youth of Potosí. This is perhaps why efforts by charities to support mining communities financially have been frustrated. Their work becomes obsolete once teenagers enter the mine and become productive on their own.

*Amigos de Potosí*, however, has a unique primary focus. As Paz explains, 'It's not sufficient to provide [young people with] an alternative trade to working in the mines. It's also necessary to work in supporting the development of their personality, to strengthen the growth of their personality.' The need for this is particularly pertinent for families that migrate from rural areas to Potosí with the hope of improving their quality of life. Such hopes are mercilessly shattered as 'they find another reality,' Paz explains. This is not only due to language barriers, since migrants are often of Quechua-speaking regions, but is manifested in other things, such as clothes and customs in general. It is the women and children who follow the men to the *Cerro* who experience this culture shock most keenly. The children tend to be marginalised in school and become timid and introverted as they struggle to interact socially, which significantly hampers their personal development at a crucial age.

Teaching music is one of the ways in which *Amigos de Potosí* helps children tackle these challenges. Over the past four years, teaching indigenous music to schoolchildren has given way to the formation of a small band that participates in marches and parades in the city. The opportunity to 'learn something that is *theirs*,' says Paz, and to be applauded for it, encourages them to feel pride, rather than shame, in their indigenous roots and their identity. This also allows previously introverted children to gain confidence in expressing themselves, and to mix in with their contemporaries.

'This type of education, which helps strengthen their personality, opens up the possibility of a different future for them,' Paz says. 'They can see a future, they can view life with joyfulness, which is something that is very difficult to teach,' he continues. Despite the value of intellectual and practical skills, 'if they don't see life with happiness, this life is destined for failure,' he says.

This fundamental outlook, to 'always see children as people, with distinct possibilities,' is present in all of the initiatives of *Amigos de Potosí*, from the the **Invernadero Escolar** pilot project, to taking children to the cinema to see the feature film *Coco*. Although these initiatives might seem basic, their long-term effects are significant. The greenhouse project not only provides a sustainable source of food for schools but it also teaches students about organic production. One cinema trip helps children begin to develop the confidence to interact with people outside of their community. Even such seemingly minor steps, can make the difference for these children, and set them in far better stead for the future.

The future, however, is a complex concept in these parts of Bolivia. 'The miner doesn't see the future,' says Paz. This not only applies to their daily lives, where the dangers of working in the *Cerro Rico* make tomorrow an uncertain occurrence, but also regarding the long-term prospects of fluctuating mineral prices and dwindling natural resources. Nonetheless, the resolve of *Amigos de Potosí* is clear even in the face of such complications. 'We encounter resistance,' says Paz, 'including from the miners' **cooperativas**, but we have to do it, we continue doing it, and we are going to continue doing it. We would like to do more ambitious projects, strengthen personality but also teach manual and intellectual skills, but this will be seen in time... We are treading slowly but firmly,' he says.

Over the past decade *Amigos de Potosí* has reached more than 2,000 children with almost 25 projects. It is perhaps its specialised focus that has allowed the organisation to succeed in such a complex environment. Rather than trying to implement sweeping changes, they have worked on a personal, day-by-day level to improve the present for these children and to give them the tools to build a better future.



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## YOGA AND FEMALE EMPOWERMENT IN BOLIVIA

INCREASINGLY POPULAR IN THE COUNTRY, YOGA OFFERS MORE THAN JUST PHYSICAL EXERCISE

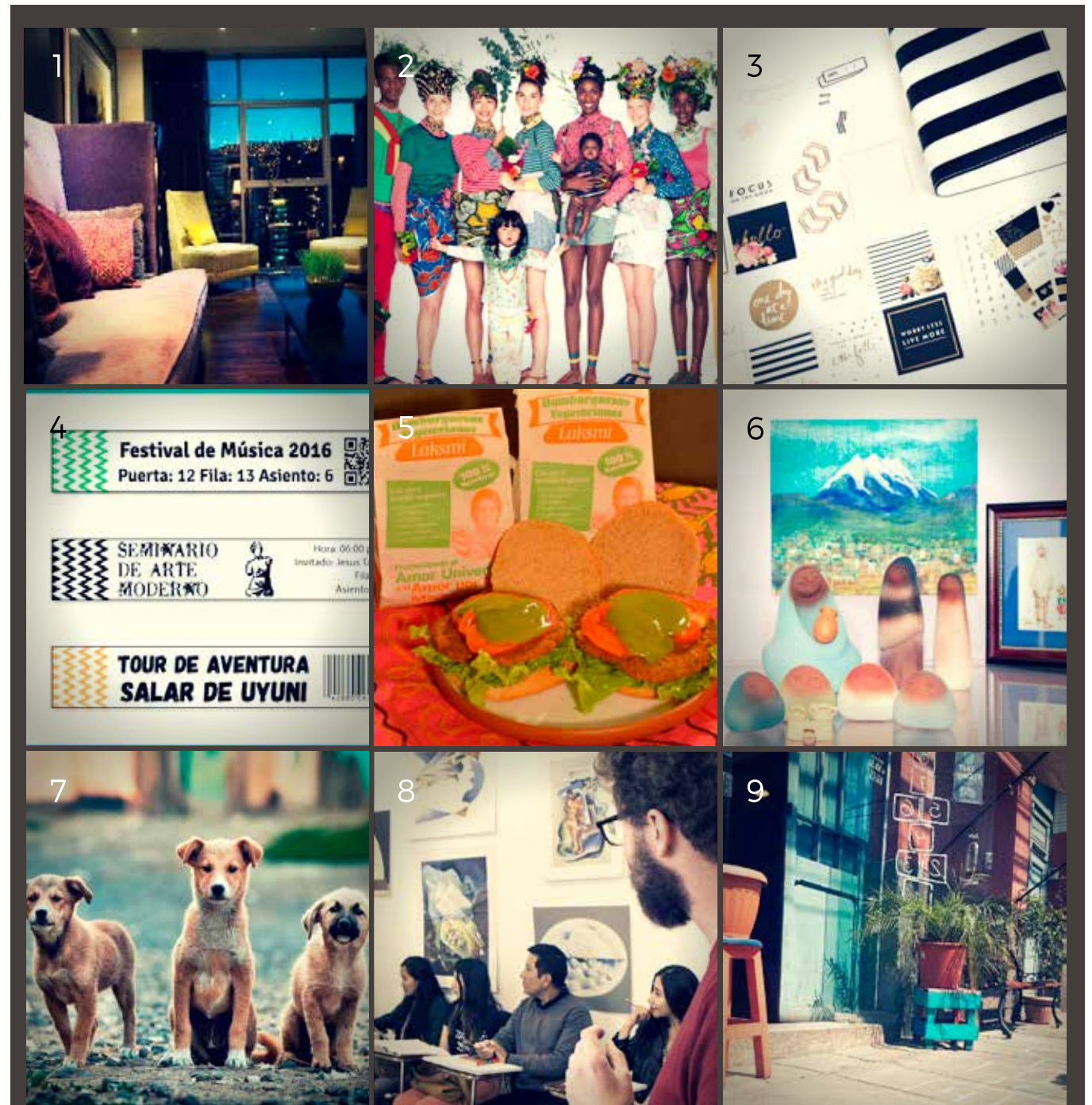
TEXT: VIVIAN BRAGA / PHOTO: FREEPIK

**Y**oga is not gymnastics, and it's much less a religion – it's a philosophy of life based on physical and behavioural disciplines that encompass postures (*asanas*), breathing techniques (*pranayamas*), meditation (*dhyana*) and concentration (*dharana*). Yoga also encompasses universal ethical principles called *yamas* and *nyamas*, which guide the behaviour of those who define themselves as yogis. These disciplines were systematised by Patanjali, a Hindu sage, about 2,500 years ago in the oldest and most important treatise on yoga: the Yoga Sutras.

Presented in this way, yoga can be somewhat intimidating for first-timers who go to a class hoping to relieve stress or cure back pain. Yoga is more than just that, especially when looked at in its totality: it's the union and integration of the body, mind and core energies.

Yoga began to appear in Bolivia at the end of the 1940s, introduced by Bolivians who first discovered it abroad. It was the arrival of the Venezuelan teacher José Manuel Estrada, in the mid-1970s, that established and spread the practice of yoga with the foundation of the Great Universal Brotherhood (GFU) in the city of La Paz.

The GFU have spread Hatha Yoga, the most popular and practiced yoga style in the Americas, throughout Bolivia and the last five years have perhaps seen its fastest growth. Whilst five years ago Bolivia's biggest cities (La Paz, Cochabamba, Oruro, Tarija and Santa Cruz) each had between one to three spaces for yoga practice, today one can find dozens of yoga centres representing different schools and traditions. The increased availability of training in yoga instruction has further aided this expansion.



1. STANNUM BOUTIQUE HOTEL & SPA | 2. UNITED COLORS OF BENETTON | 3. BELLOTA SCRAPBOOKING | 4. MANILLAS BOLIVIA SRL | 5. LAKSMI DELICIAS VEGANAS | 6. JIWITAKI | 7. AMA | 8. DANTE ALIGHIERI | 9. RAYUELA CAFÉ ART

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Paradoxically, yoga practice has also become less inclusive and more sectorised, often offered as a relaxation technique or targeted to groups such as pregnant women, children or executives. Despite this contradictory tendency, which goes against the core values of yoga, it continues to offer more of these specific benefits.

One of these benefits comes from the incorporation of the ethical principle of nonviolence, or *ahimsa* in Sanskrit – a denial of any attitude, word or thought that may cause harm to another. To master *ahimsa* is to reach a state of love and generosity, both for others and for oneself. Yoga which takes this concept into consideration can therefore hold positively transformative power in social contexts where there are alarming statistics of violence against women.

According to studies carried out by different non-governmental organisations which defend women's rights, more than 14,000 cases of rape against women are registered annually in Bolivia. The majority of those cases occur within the home, at the hands of a husband or other male members of the family. Approximately seven or eight in every ten Bolivian women have already suffered some type of violence, and every three days a woman dies due to femicide in the country.

Women today in Bolivia are attending yoga studios in greater numbers. In cities such as La Paz, Tarija and Santa Cruz, the majority of people who practice yoga are female. At the same time, women are the majority in yoga teacher-training courses. According to Carla Anzoleaga and Juan Carlos Ibarra, who offer yoga training classes in La Paz, approximately 15 people are trained each cycle, almost all of them women. Thus women teach and support other women in the practice and the path of becoming a yogi. This path can be a means of self-empowerment and awareness of one's own body, acceptance of oneself and an exercise of self-esteem, and it is considered a healing practice for women who have suffered some type of violence.


The experience of women on the yoga mat can help with empowerment, identity and freedom by giving them a space to use their bodies freely without worrying about being sexualised by others. Thus, a yoga class goes far beyond physical healing. It involves a wide variety of benefits that offer deep personal transformations. All yoga styles in some way encourage transformation and healing, not only of specific parts of the body, but of its totality.

The main challenge brought by the rapid growth of yoga in Bolivia is to prevent the yogi culture from becoming a business and therefore financially accessible only to privileged white middle-class women, as it is in the Global North. For the new yoga instructors who are being trained in Bolivia who believe in the potential of the practice, the goal now is to find ways to involve more people – both men and women of all social classes.

Men's participation is fundamental, especially in consideration of yoga as an instrument to combat gender violence. The idea that yoga can benefit everyone through the increase of self-awareness could be the basis for a developing dialogue on how to create more inclusive spaces, with one simple idea: If you have a body, you are capable of learning, discovering and growing – or, to put it simply, to do yoga.

*I would like to thank the yoga instructors and instructors who contributed to this article with their insights on the history and development of yoga in Bolivia.*

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# TAKING THE BULL BY THE HORNS

THE FESTIVAL OF SANTA ROSA OFFERS A FRESH TAKE ON AN OLD TRADITION

TEXT: AUTUMN SPREDEMANN  
PHOTO: CESAR GALANI

**A**nother sun-dappled day in the Bolivian high valleys finds me exploring the dusty streets of Yotala. It's the kind of place where people always say '**Buen día**' in passing and go out of their way to help strangers. Though not exactly a thriving hub of tourism like its well-known neighbour, Sucre, in Yotala the last weekend of August is an exception.

Visitors from surrounding villages along with many Sucreans, pour into the humble town. Colourful market stalls offer a variety of street food and games for children, crowding the narrow alleys near the central square as well as the large patch of dirt on the outskirts of the village, which is where the real action happens.



As the sun starts to dip in the late afternoon, locals and tourists gather around the wooden fence of the self-styled arena at the edge of town. Children perch on top of the fence. Some adults sit on chairs they have brought from home while others compete for the limited seating available on one side of the arena.

Women dressed in their Sunday best walk the rows of spectators, selling juice and ice cream. The local men brandish homemade cloth banners and chat excitedly amongst themselves. All eyes are on the empty arena.

As the energy of the crowd starts to build, the sound of Andean flutes and drums approaches the patch of dirt from the centre of the village. A marching band and the festival's patron saints appear on the horizon and enter the fenced arena, waving colourful banners that serve a specific purpose.

Moments after their arrival, a group of cowboys makes an entrance, driving a long line of bulls into a holding pen on the far side of the dirt arena. Only then is the festival of Santa Rosa, named after Yotala's patron saint, ready for its dramatic climax: a chance for brave **toreros** to face an agitated bull in the ring and grab a colourful banner filled with cash from the animal's horns or neck. While the **toreros** prepare for the challenge, spectators clap upon the arrival of the bulls, who are the true stars of the show.

There are only two rules for the **toreros** to make a grab for the money. First, they cannot injure the animal in any way. The patrons of the festival keep a careful watch to ensure the safety of the bulls, which are allowed to leave the arena when they grow bored of the **toreros**' antics. Second, they have to be brave enough to step into the ring and snatch the prize. No sneaky actions from the sidelines are tolerated.

The actual competition is an amazing spectacle to watch. It is a more humane and practical alternative to better known sports involving bulls, such as the traditional Spanish bullfighting or the American rodeo. 'The only animals that get hurt at this festival are the humans,' said a local **torero**, holding a bright banner he snatched from one of the bulls. 'We don't understand why some cultures would kill or injure a perfectly good bull,' the man continued. 'The festival of Santa Rosa allows them to work out their anger before plowing the fields in the spring,' he said. 'This is like fun for the bulls.'

From my perch atop the fence, it indeed appeared that all who attended Santa Rosa had fun at the festival. And as we say where I come from: that ain't no bull.

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# LA CASA DEL POETA

A NEW SPACE FOR POETRY

TEXT: HONOR SCOTT  
ILLUSTRATION: HUGO CUÉLLAR



Six poets lived in **La Casa del Poeta** between 1943 and 2012 and, as Fernando Lozada, the building's administrator points out, 'They all died here'. In 2012, when the house was falling into disrepair, it was aptly dubbed 'The Tomb of the Poet.' If you believe in ghosts, this would probably prompt images of creaking floorboards and the odd poltergeist hurling books across the room. In reality, the atmosphere is tranquil, the pictures and busts of La Paz's celebrated poets adorn the walls alongside their poems only as a reminder of house's distinguished history.

It is this history that *La Casa del Poeta* seeks to simultaneously preserve and move forward from in its new role in the city. 'It continues to be called *La Casa del Poeta*, but as a literary cultural centre,' Lozada explains. 'The idea is not to lose the history of the house. It is no longer a home, but a house in the sense of a space.' With a new hostel for artists and writers in Alto Seguencoma, which is in the south of La Paz, the Casa is liberated from its former role as a residence for Bolivia's ageing poets, and is therefore free to move in new directions, and host new forms of activities.

In 2012, when Elsa Dorado de Revilla passed away after five years of residence in the house, it was decided to give the house a new life, rather than to accept the requests of new dwellers. 'Poets who have any money are rare,' Lozada points out with a smile. More than 60 years without maintenance made the house unfit to live in. The decision to renovate it accompanied the decision to transform the space for the conservation of literature and make it suitable for other functions. One of the new additions is the Franz Tamayo bookstore and library, which has seen a dramatic increase in popularity after it moved from the Municipal Theatre.

Since its reopening on World Poetry Day this year, the 21st of March, *La Casa del Poeta* has hosted workshops, cultural conferences and a series of weekly lectures that are one of its primary attractions. These lectures attract a broad public of varying generations. 'Families and contemporaries come to pay homages,' Lozada explains, 'but when [the speakers] are younger the public is more heterogeneous, more diverse.' The house's workshops are geared not only towards students of literature but also to a wider public, all as part of the centre's development from a place for poets to a space for a broad

literary community. Another initiative is the proposed publication of an annual poetry anthology, which would physically take poetry out of the *Casa* and into the hands of others.

Given La Paz's poetic tradition, poetry continues to be the primary focus of the space, with 70 percent of its activities directed towards this artform. However, the centre's agenda is gradually branching out into other literary forms such as extracts of novels and essays. Just as *La Casa del Poeta* is open to all people, it is open to all forms of literary expression, 'from haikus to novel extracts.'

And yet poetry remains the genre of choice, inextricable as it is from this country's culture. 'I believe that the history of Bolivia without poetry is unthinkable,' says Lozada. From Jaime Saenz, who according to Lozada is 'the most **paceño** poet of the twentieth century'; to female authors such as the Josefa Mugía, or pioneering feminist authors such as Adela Zamudio and Yolanda Bedregal; to more recent literary scholars such as Blanca Wiethüchter or the lesser-known Quechua and Aymara poets. All are indicative of the country's longstanding literary tradition. 'You could never say that this is a country without poets, Lozada continues. 'It would be as unjust as saying that it is a country without music.'

This doesn't mean that Bolivian literature is without obstacles. 'Bolivia is a country of writers who don't publish, and a public that doesn't read,' Lozada admits. The hope is that the country's affinity with music, can be used to promote a literary engagement with current and future generations of young writers. As Lozada points out, 'There is a good alliance between writing and music. Just as music can increase the appeal of poetry, poetry can help elevate the level of the, at times 'repetitive', lyrics of folk music.'

With that in mind, starting next month, the house will be holding workshops for poets who want to get involved with music and for musicians who want to improve the quality of their lyrics. *La Casa del Poeta* is not only providing literature with a new physical space, but is also moving it into a new conceptual space.

The ghosts of Jaime Saenz and his compatriots, if they are still in residence, must be satisfied with the new role of their final resting place.

**'THE IDEA IS TO NOT LOSE THE HISTORY OF THE HOUSE. IT IS NO LONGER A HOME, BUT A HOUSE IN THE SENSE OF A SPACE.'**  
—FERNANDO LOZADA, MANAGER OF THE HOUSE





# YOLA MAMANI

## BREAKING A COMMON STEREOTYPE ON THE LOCAL RADIO

TEXT: MARIE DE LANTIVY  
PHOTO: IVAN RODRIGUEZ PETKOVIC

**Y**olanda Mamani was born and raised in a community called Santa María Grande, situated in the Omasuyos Province of the Department of La Paz. When she was only nine years old she moved by herself to La Paz because her father wanted her to discover life outside of the community. Imagine, a nine year-old girl moving on her own to the city to learn about life. What life decided for her was that her first job will be as a babysitter, and then she would work as a kitchen assistant, only to end up as a **trabajadora del hogar multiple** – literally a ‘multi-household worker’ – which was not an end, but a beginning for her.

In fact, her role as a household worker would be the subject of the first radio show she hosted, named *Trabajadores del hogar, con orgullo y dignidad* (or Multi-household workers with pride and dignity). Life on the job has taught her that these women had no rights because they were not recognised as workers, which is enough to imagine their working conditions. In this context, before becoming an anchorwoman on the radio, she became the head of one of the four labour unions of *trabajadores del hogar*. In 2003, a law was passed in Bolivia that gave legal rights to these workers.

Three years later, in 2006, her show was aired for the first time. Back then, she was still active as a household worker and, along with a few colleagues, she wanted to tell the public about the *trabajadores del hogar* and what they do for a living. There was virtually no information about them available to the public until her show went live. No one knew who these workers were. They were practically shadows.

Mamani found a home for her show at **Radio Deseo**, the broadcasting station of a local organisation called **Mujeres Creando**. They began to collaborate with 25 women who worked part-time in household service, none of whom had studies related to the media. Thus, they had to learn how to compose a script, how to edit an audio recording, how to conduct an investigation and do a social analysis, how to use a computer, etc. The main idea of the show was for them to speak in the first person, in terms of ‘I’ and ‘we’, and appear real to the people. It was almost as if they said: Yes, it’s true. These *trabajadores del hogar* can speak, think and analyse.

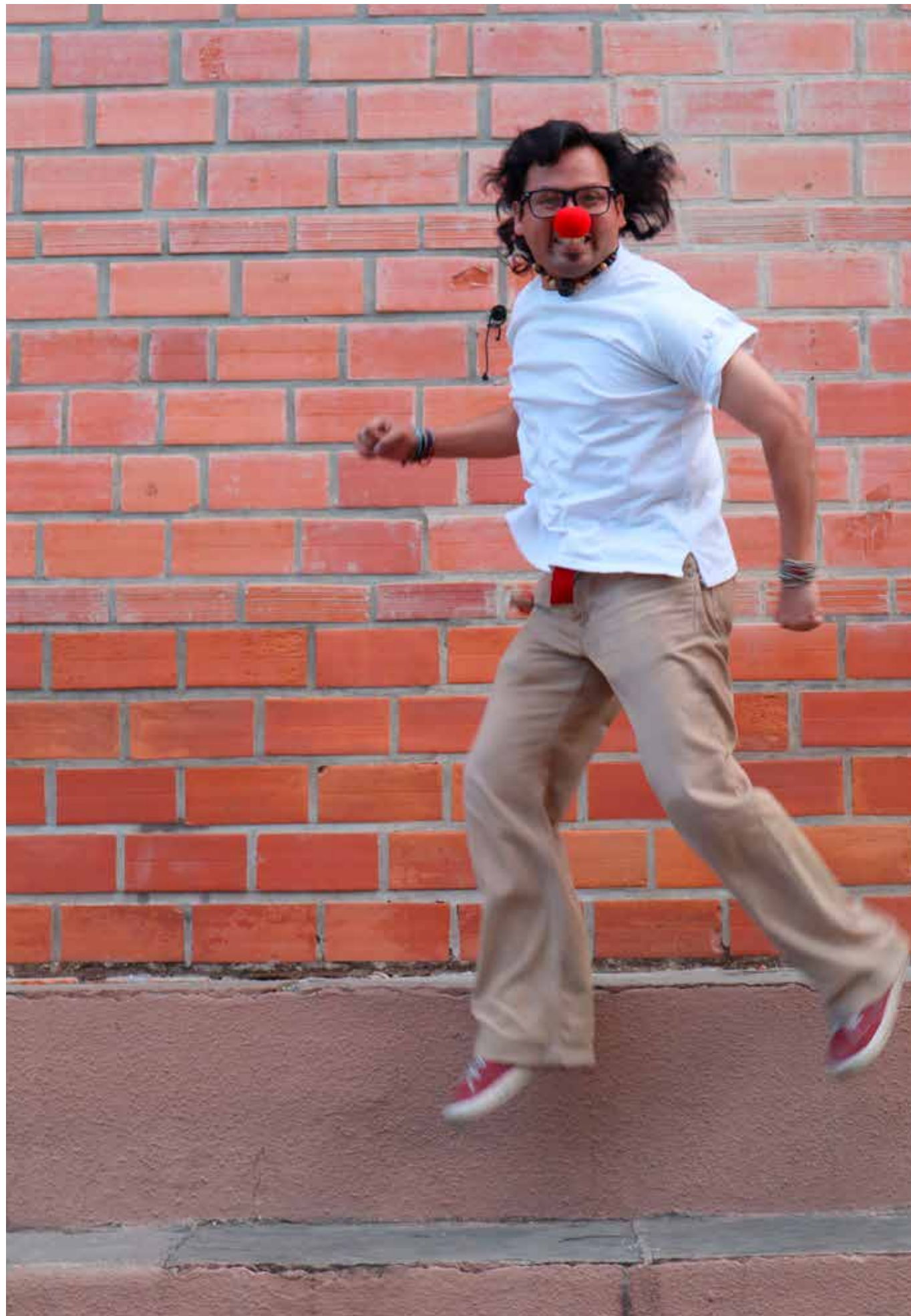
Then came a time where they weren’t workers anymore and could no longer speak in the first person about their work. They tried to train other radio hosts, but their efforts were fruitless. So the show ended there, but Mamani did not give up radio. She currently hosts another show called *Warmin yatiyawinakawa* (The women’s news bulletin) also on *Radio Deseo*. This is an ‘information laboratory,’ she says, in which they question themselves about women, politics, the economy and other subjects.

Mamani speaks about her role as a **cholita**, underlining how deeply entrenched the *cholita* stereotype is in the Bolivia. For some people, the *cholita* will always be the maid, the cleaner, an uneducated woman who doesn’t know about politics, economics, or relevant social issues.

At a local book festival, vendors approached Mamani to recommend recipe books and cooking books, even though she wanted to learn about politics. When she used to live with a friend who was blonde and caucasian, their neighbours assumed Mamani was the cleaning lady. Despite these experiences, Mamani explains that *this who* she is, she does not have a complex about being a *cholita*. She dresses as a *cholita* because it is part of who she is, not because it is a costume, or her job to dress that way. And yet the stigmatisation of the *cholitas* doesn’t come from Bolivians alone. It is also present in how foreigners view them.

The only *cholitas* you tend to see in the media are *cholitas* who represent Bolivian folklore. ‘*Cholitas* are not allowed speak,’ Mamani says, to illustrate her point. They are exotic, a kind of tourist attraction. In her current radio show, Mamani tries to explain that *cholitas* are not only the women who sell things on the streets. But this will likely remain a difficult cause, as long as she is one of the few *cholitas* covering cultural and political issues in the media.

**THE MAIN IDEA OF THE SHOW WAS FOR THEM TO SPEAK IN THE FIRST PERSON, IN TERMS OF AS ‘I’ AND ‘WE’, AND APPEAR REAL TO THE PEOPLE.**



# PRESCRIPTION FOR LAUGHTER

HAPPINESS HEALS

TEXT & PHOTO: MARIE DE LANTIVY

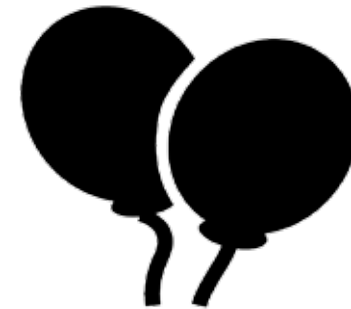
**O**n Christmas Day 1998, the movie *Patch Adams* was released. Both the movie and the real Hunter 'Patch' Adams, an American physician, comedian, social activist, clown, author and founder of the Gesundheit! Institute, have since inspired many doctors to practice a therapy based on happiness and laughing. And here in Bolivia, we have our own Patch Adams, Moisés Callahuara Medrano.

Callahuara specialises in **risoterapia**, happiness and laughing therapy. He visits hospitals to give joy to patients that are suffering through serious medical issues. He started in 2000 when he started taking clown lessons at the **Fundación Doctores de la Alegría**, where he eventually became its national coordinator. With the *doctores de la alegría*, Callahuara learned the true meaning of the red nose and found the child inside himself. Above all, he discovered the positive impact a clown can have on those who are suffering. But '*risoterapia* is more than just putting on clown's clothes,' he said.

Callahuara also founded the *Fundación D'Alarte - Alegría Para el Mundo*, the first group promoting this kind therapeutic work in Bolivia. Nowadays, the foundation has three teams in the country: in Cochabamba, Santa Cruz and Tarija. Every year, *doctores de la alegría* are trained. 'The schooling part is very important,' Callahuara said. 'A lot of

people think one just has to put on a red nose, but without the appropriate preparation it is easy to get it wrong.'

According to Callahuara, *risoterapia* offers many benefits. 'It helps to relieve pain, and promotes the healing process,' he said. 'It prevents and helps people cope with emotional and social problems. It also improves our breathing, strengthens



the immune system, reduces stress and loneliness, as well as increasing self-esteem.' Callahuara's *doctores de la alegría* work with people who are battling depression, HIV, cancer and other pathologies.

*Risoterapia* is for people of every age. 'From 0 to 129 years old, laughing is for all,' Callahuara said. But 'it is very different working with children or elderly people. And it is different depending if you're dealing with children in situations of violence or children

in situations of risks.'

To Callahuara, there is a difference between a **payaso** (the Spanish word for clown) and his type of clown. 'A *payaso* is someone who is going to paint his face, to wear big shoes, colourful wig, etc.,' he said. 'The kind of clown who scares everybody.' But a clown like Callahuara doesn't need a costume. He uses particular techniques to liberate feelings, to spread joy in people's lives.

But to make these people laugh, Callahuara said he had to learn to cross a line, to break the ice in order to get through to the person. 'As soon as I put my red nose, the ice is broken,' he said. And being a clown allows him to say things he could not say as a non-clown person. With his good humour, Callahuara goes to hospitals and puts a smile on the face of patients in order to make them laugh. And it can be a heartbreaking job. Callahuara spends time with people in dire health situations, and sometimes his patients die.

Callahuara also runs a tea shop in Tarija, aptly named Shadi, which means 'happiness' in Farsi. It doubles as a cultural space, 'where clowns come and where people can go to laugh and feel good, an alternative, artistic, cultural and inclusive space for everyone,' Callahuara said. 'It is a space of joy and therapy, where laughing is the invitation card.' This, ultimately, seems to be the motto of Callahuara's life.



# SOUVENIRS AND SHADOW ECONOMIES

## THE HIGH PRICE OF INFORMALITY FOR BOLIVIA'S ARTISANS AND TEXTILE CULTURE

TEXT: JOSEPHINE ZAVAGLIA / PHOTO: HONOR SCOTT



**B**olivia has ranked 152 out of 190 countries in the World Bank's 'Doing Business 2018' world business-regulations report, casting a light on the burdensome bureaucracy that embroils Bolivian businesses. The report assessed the ease of doing business according to national contexts, and gave Bolivia a score of 71 out of 100 for difficulty when trading across borders, which indicates large costs for business owners. Meanwhile, the International Monetary Fund this year estimated Bolivia's informal economy to be around 62.3 percent, the largest out of the 158 countries in the report; due to its clandestine nature, the ease of doing business in this sector goes unreported.

La Paz is where Bolivia's curious contrasts come to life: hot days and cold nights, **Pachamama** and the pope, market liberalisation in a land of socialist reforms. The contrast between the tightly wound bureaucracy of the formal economy and the free rein given to the informal economy is stark. Sagarnaga and Linares streets in downtown La Paz openly tell this tale.

Cluttered with kiosks, colourful keepsakes and alpaca-clad tourists, it's an area where travellers come looking for mementos and bargains. The price tags alone provide insight into the different types of economies at play here.

An iconic llama jumper can vary in price between Bs70 to Bs600 – depending on where you go. While all are purported to be Bolivian-made and of 100 percent natural fibres, based on the price, market theory would suggest otherwise.

Cash-only sales of these types of 'bargains' are rife in the area, and it means legitimate businesses are finding themselves competing on an uneven playing field. Business owner Mariel Ortiz Arzabe opened her store *Época* two years ago on Linares street. She sells only Bolivian-designed and -made products and focuses on supporting Bolivian artisans.

'The [artisan] sector is totally saturated by products that come from China and Peru,' Ortiz said. 'They are made in large volumes and are completely synthetic.' Despite tags saying that these products are Bolivia-made and 100 percent wool, it is common knowledge amongst business-owners and artisans that this is not always the case.

'It is a complete distortion of prices in the streets,' Ortiz said. 'These items have no cultural significance; they are only for discounts or the **yapa**.' The discrepancy in prices has meant shopkeepers and artisans have had to come up with an alternative method to challenge this underhanded competition.

*Época* is part of a group of nine stores and artisans based in La Paz's tourist district called **El Sendero Que Te Llama** – a play on words meaning 'the path that calls you', as well as an homage

to the beloved llama. The members have created a shopping route on which ethical and Bolivian-made handcrafts can be found (a map is available on its Facebook page).

The collaboration began in August 2016, when the founders noticed a need to create a 'small nucleus of quality,' artisan Ligia D'Andrea said. The lack of enforcement regulating the sale of imitation items means that 'tourists are being taken advantage of...and Bolivian producers suffer,' D'Andrea added.

'This is the problem in Bolivia, there is a lot of informality and a lot of laws that do not give protection [to legitimate vendors],' Juan Julio, a shop-owner and member of *El Sendero Que Te Llama*, said. Julio has been in the artisan business for over two decades and his store Comart is a shrine to the craft and culture of Aymara and Quechua textile traditions.

Julio said that both 'an economic problem and a social problem' faces him and his colleagues. 'A significant consequence [of contraband textiles] is the loss of our cultural identity and the knowledge from our villages,' he said. 'We are now dependent on production from China [and other import countries].'

Contraband items like the textiles, knitwear and other souvenirs enter the country through avenues 'impossible to control,' D'Andrea said. 'It is like a market of ants, little by little, and now Sagarnaga and Linares are full of these articles.'

However this kind of market liberalisation is a one-way street in Bolivia. While contraband crosses borders with ease, by-the-book business owners are burdened by bureaucracy when it comes to exporting goods through legal routes.

'To export is very expensive; the fees that [business] owners have to pay are very high,' Ortiz said. 'The cost to export is more or less [an additional] 50 percent of the cost of the sale.' A sales tax is also attached to every purchase: 'About 25 percent of what you pay' on every product in-store is a tax, according to Ortiz.

Market conditions set the prices, and while bargains tend to entice a few, *El Sendero Que Te Llama* is creating consciousness among consumers about where they cast their dollar vote.

Likeminded businesses supporting each other and Bolivian artisans through initiatives such as *El Sendero Que Te Llama* changes their relationship from that of competitors to colleagues. 'It's fantastic that we are united,' D'Andrea said. 'There is a great chemistry between us all.'

For Julio, his culture will always be a large part of his work. 'We have created our own employment,' he said. 'We have created a base for our culture and our identity. Our work is our craft.'

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# MECHANICAL DONKEYS

TEXT: AMARU VILLANUEVA / PHOTO: BX CREW

*It would be possible to connect forty thousand hamlets [...] with a spider web of six-foot-wide trails [...] providing the country with 200,000 three-wheeled mechanical donkeys – five on the average for each hamlet [...] A 'donkey' could make 15 mph, and carry loads of 850 pounds (from Deschooling Society)*

*It was 1971 and Ivan Illich had spent over a decade and a half in Latin America. This was his utopian vision for a transportation system which was at once practical and built for a society like ours. At its heart was the idea that the six-horsepower engines that powered these 'mechanical donkeys' could also be used as a plough and pump, and designed in such a way that anyone could learn to repair them.*

*Fast forward four decades and look around La Paz. While there are no mechanical donkeys in sight, the system we have in its place is just as outlandish—and sometimes almost as visionary. The country is home to an estimated 1.2 million vehicles, of which over 300 thousand can be found in La Paz alone, a figure that has risen 90% in the past fifteen years. Bridges and roads are constantly being built but the traffic seems to grow at twice the rate.*

*Bolivian Express editorial  
Issue 36 - 2014  
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# MÓ ACÁ IN

BOLIVIA'S WILD COCOA IS OF THE FINEST QUALITY AND FLAVOUR

TEXT: JOSEPHINE ZAVAGLIA / PHOTO: ADRIANA L. MURILLO A.

**B**olivian chocolate producer Mó Acá In is reclaiming the country's world-class cocoa for Bolivia. 'It is a first-category cocoa that has won prizes in the Salon du Chocolat in Paris,' says Veronica Hevia y Vaca, co-founder of Mó Acá In.

These cocoa plants are truly a gift from nature. Growing wildly along river banks in remote areas of the Amazon rainforest, they have experienced almost no human intervention. 'It is wild cocoa and that is what gives it its richness, flavour and delicacy,' José Guillermo Campos says, who is the other half of the husband-and-wife team who founded Mó Acá In.

European brands have long known about the top-tier quality of Bolivia's wild cocoa plants. 'These [European] companies come and take all of it to make [chocolates for] Swiss and Belgium chocolate companies,' Hevia y Vaca says. 'This is exactly what the work of Mó Acá In is changing. 'Bolivians have the right to taste and appreciate their great chocolate...[so] this chocolate [and cocoa] has to stay here,' she adds.



us and we wouldn't fail in buying it from them,' Hevia y Vaca says. 'We need each other.'

Mó Acá In has sponsored schools and football fields in the area to support local communities and show the company's gratitude for the region's high quality product. Their name means 'House of the Amazon' in Chimane, the language of the Tsimane people, one of the indigenous groups that resides in the cocoa-producing region. 'To honour them for the grand quality of their chocolate,' Campos says, 'we named ourselves – Mó Acá In – in their language.'

Campos, worked for many years in Italy as the chief chemist of the chocolate company Ferrero, but it was always his dream to do something in Bolivia with Bolivian products. The delights on offer at Mó Acá In are a celebration of the exquisite flavours that can be found in Bolivia: chocolates with maracuya from the Amazon rainforest, coffee from the **Yungas** and even salt from the salt flats of Uyuni.

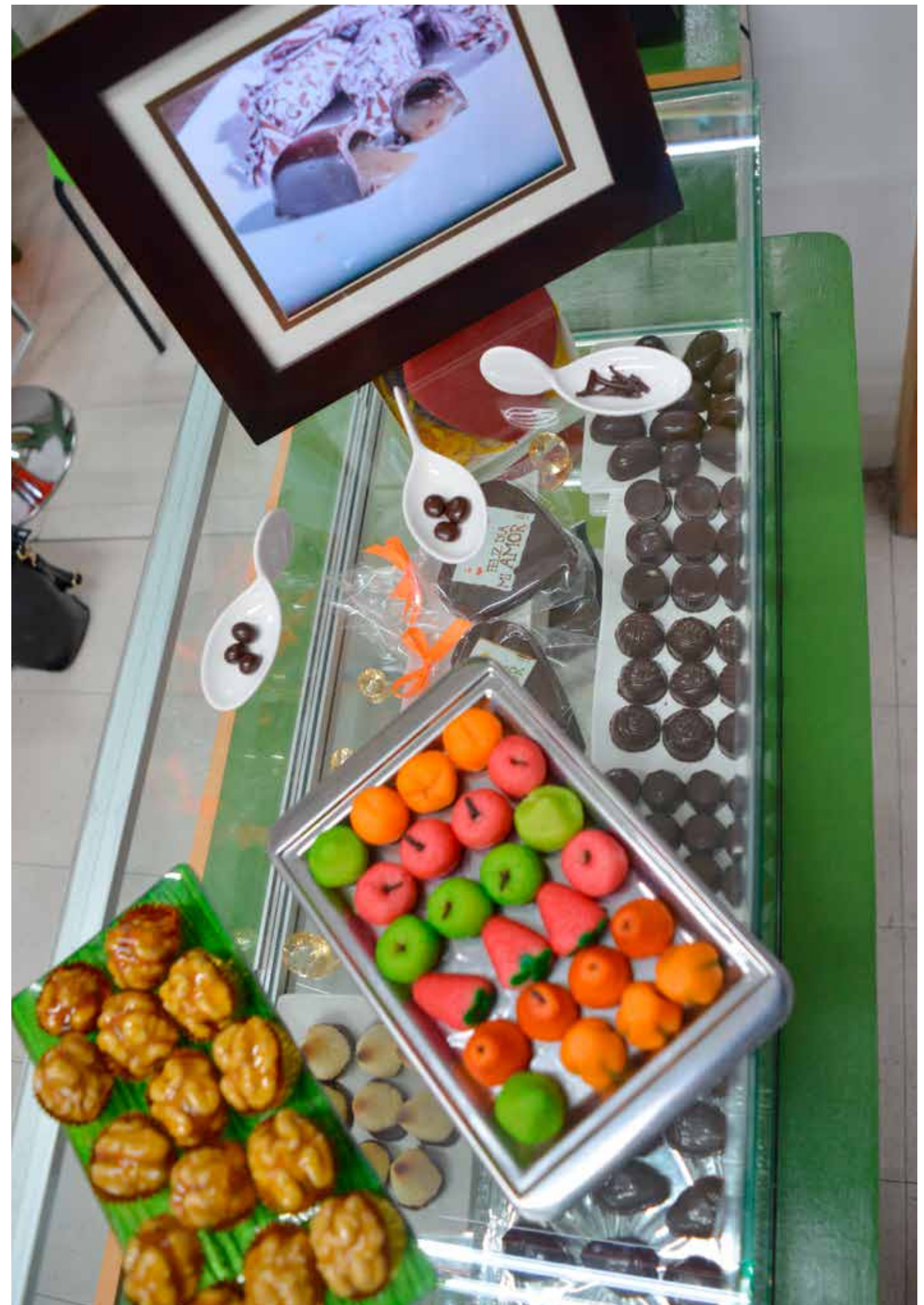
'We work with everything that is Bolivian... [and] we're very proud of showing how everything can be done in the country,' says Hevia y Vaca.

Mó Acá In has big plans for the future, including exporting their products to Europe and combining cocoa production with bird-watching tours, to create a kind-of 'chocolate route' for tourists through the Bolivian jungle.

Much can be said about Mó Acá In, but really their chocolates scrumptiously speak for themselves. To take part in the flavourful experience, make your way to Calle 15 in Calacoto and visit their shop inside the entrance of the Ketal supermarket.

Reaching the areas of the Amazon where this cocoa grows, however, is not for the faint-hearted. 'It is an interesting journey, but it is also a hard journey,' Hevia y Vaca says, which is why Mó Acá In is collaborating with Helvetas, a Swiss NGO that provides technology and education to Bolivian cocoa farmers. The two are working together to create stronger relationships with the families of the region, ensuring greater sustainability for all parties involved.

'I was really interested in supporting the wild cocoa as well as supporting the families and creating a connection with them. This way they wouldn't fail in having cocoa for



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# GLOSSARY BX88

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ALTIPLANO	Highlands
AMIGOS DE POTOSÍ	Friends of Potosi
APTHAPI	A collective form of eating, with contributions from all members of the community
BASURA	Trash
BOCAMINA	Entrance to the mine
BUEN DÍA	Good Morning
CERRO RICO	'Rich mountain', the mountain near Potosi
CHOLITA	Bolivian woman of indigenous decent
COOPERATIVA	Cooperative
COSMOVISIÓN	World view
EL SENDERO QUE TE LLAMA	'The path that calls you', a group of nine stores and artisans based in La Paz
FESTIVAL DE COMIDA CONSCIENTE	Conscious Food Festival
FUNDACIÓN DOCTORES DE LA ALEGRÍA	Foundation Doctors of Happiness
INVERNADERO ESCOLAR	A school's greenhouse project
ISLAS VERDES	'Green Islands', refers to the recycling bins in La Paz
KALLAWAYA	Traditional healers living in the Andes of Bolivia
LA CASA DE LES NINGUNES	The House of the Nobodies
LA CASA DEL POETA	The House of the Poet
LA MUELA DEL DIABLO	'The Devil's Molar', a mountain near La Paz
LA PAZ RECICLA	'La Paz recycles'
MI TELEFÉRICO	The cable-car system in the city of La Paz
MUJER DE POLLERA	Refers to a woman wearing the traditional multilayered skirts
MUJERES CREANDO	'Women Creating', a Bolivian anarchy-feminist collective that participates in a range of anti-poverty work, including propaganda, street theater and direct action
PACEÑO/A	From La Paz
PACHAMAMA	Mother Earth
PAYASO	Clown
PROGRAMA INTEGRAL DE COMIDA CONSCIENTE	Integral Programme of Conscious Food
RADIO DESEO	'Radio Wish', the radio station of the Mujeres Creando collective
RESIDUO	Waste
RISOTERAPIA	Laughing therapy
SUMA QAMAÑA	Bolivian concept of living well together. It emphasises the importance of harmonious relations between nature and human beings
TAPITAS	Bottle caps
TORERO	Matador
TRABAJADORA DEL HOGAR MULTIPLE	Multi-household worker
TUCUMANAS	Fried pasties filled with meat or vegetables
YAPA	Expression used to when purchasing from a market or a street stall to ask the vendor for a little bit extra
YUNGAS	Semi-tropical region near La Paz
ZONA SUR	An area in the south of La Paz

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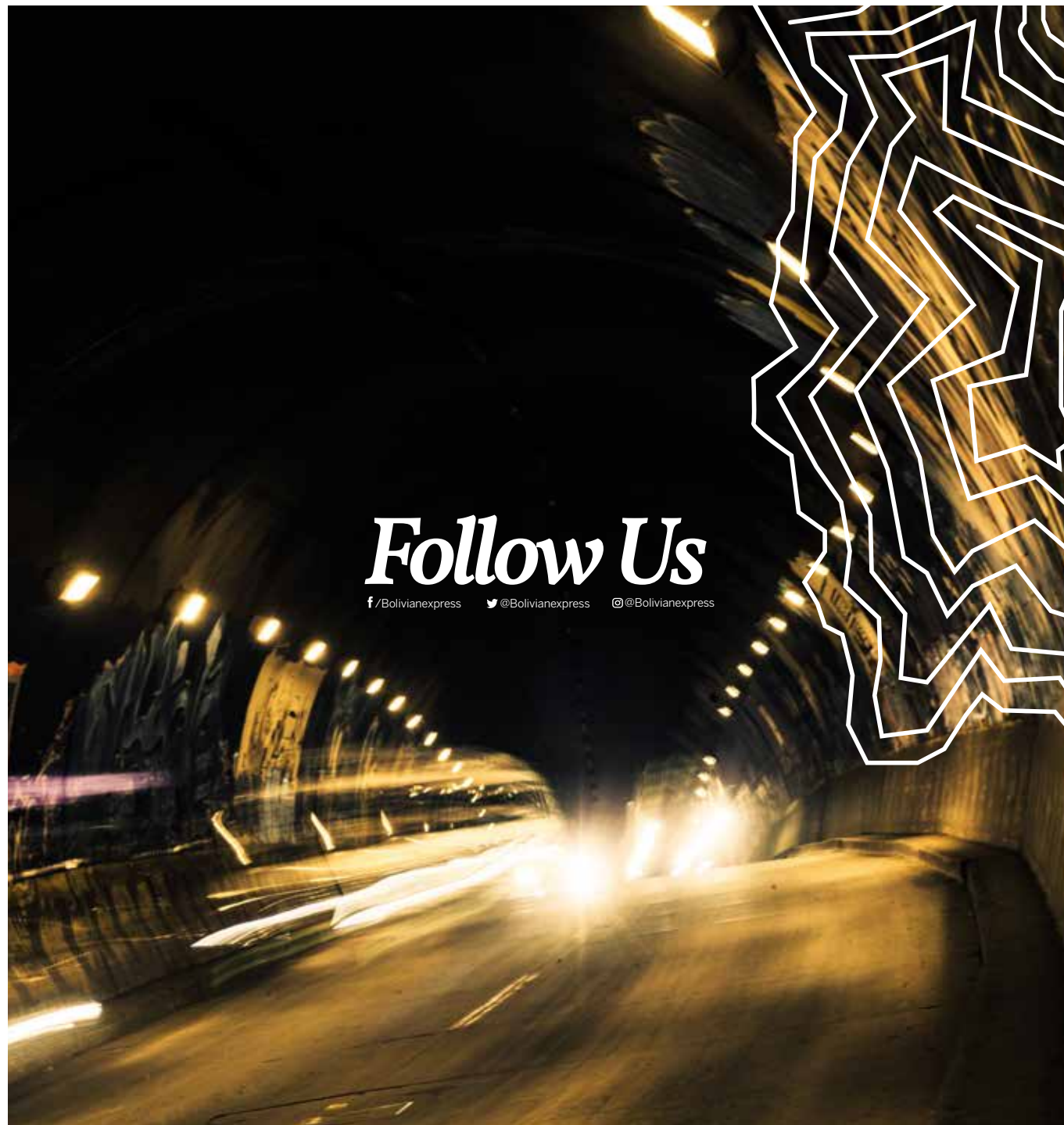
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