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78862061- 76561628 - 70672031
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Table of Contents

#101 Possibilities

07 THE CHIMANES OF MARACA'TUNSI, BOLIVIA, AFTER THEIR SACRED HILL WAS TAKEN FROM THEM

19 THE LEGITIMISATION AND CONSOLIDATION OF QAMIRIS

13 BOOKS FOR BOLIVIAN KIDS

28 WINE LOVERS LOOKING TO BOLIVIA

16 MIKO ART GALLERY

BX-101

32 RECOMMENDATIONS

35 GLOSSARY

38 CULTURAL AGENDA

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Editorial #101: Possibilities

By: Caroline Risacher

2019 will be remembered in Bolivia's history as a year marked by tragedies and historical turns, first with the Amazon fires in August which destroyed 4.2 million hectares of forest, and in October, with the Bolivian presidential elections. Five weeks of protests followed controversial results during which 33 people died (as per the list published by the non-governmental organisation CEDIB) and a transitory government was appointed. At the time of this writing, no official date for the new election has been announced, and we don't know who the candidates will be. Regardless of where we stand politically, as we close the year, we start a new one with feelings of uncertainty, division and concern about the future.

But it's not just the end of a complicated year, it is also the end of a decade, and we shouldn't forget that it was a particularly good one for Bolivia. The Bolivian economy sustained a constant growth of over 4 percent throughout the decade, and the country's GDP grew from US$17 billion in 2009 to US$40 billion in 2018. Since 2006, according to the Bolivian Instituto Nacional de Estadística, poverty in the country has been reduced from 59.9 percent to 36.4 percent, the latter being its historically lowest level. An indigenous middle class and Aymara elite have become visible, which has allowed large-scale social mobility and a restructuring of social classes.

This has also been the decade for the reappropriation and appreciation of Bolivian products, including coffee, chocolate, quinoa, llama meat and amaranth, among many others. You can now order cocktails with Bolivian whisky, gin and vermouth, all of which stand on their own merit next to the international competition. Bolivian wines are the next big thing to watch out for. It's still a small market, but the quality is improving and new wines appear in the market every year. La Paz has become a Latin American gastronomic destination with restaurants like Gustu, Ali Pacha, Imilla Alzada and Popular all making the lists of best restaurants and all focusing on Bolivian ingredients and traditions.

There is still a long way to go in terms of innovation and developing a large-scale Bolivian industry, but the process has already started. Three months ago, the government introduced the first Bolivian-made electric car, powered by lithium batteries. There have been calls to replace the 66 PumaKatari buses burned during the recent protests with electric buses, something that could happen in the next few years. Indeed, Bolivia holds half of the world's lithium reserve and is working towards mastering its exploitation and use for its national development. Bolivia also launched in 2013 Tupac Katari 1, its first artificial satellite, providing telecommunication services to rural areas. And notably, during the last six years La Paz rolled out the longest cable-car system in the world for use as mass transportation.

Bolivia is at a turning point, and many of the decisions that will be made in the next couple of months, once the transition cabinet is finally replaced by a permanent government, will decide which direction the country is taking. Until then, it is a time for reflection and contemplation on how we want to move forward. How can we bridge the enormous gap between Bolivians of different political beliefs and social classes? How can we build on the progress made in the last 10 years without leaving anyone behind? There is a lot of work to do, as individuals and as a nation, but the possibilities are abundant.

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

Chimanes women are responsible for household chores such as cooking, which is carried out in wood and in groups.

THE CHIMANES OF MARACA'TUNSI, BOLIVIA, AFTER THEIR SACRED HILL WAS TAKEN FROM THEM

THE CHIMAN PEOPLE CANNOT BE UNDERSTOOD OUTWITH THE CONTEXT OF THE FIGHT FOR SELF-DETERMINATION OF INDIGENOUS COMMUNITIES AND THEIR TERRITORIES IN BOLIVIA.

TEXT: KAREN GIL / PHOTOS: MANUEL SEOANE

Santos and his family during a common morning.

This is a fragment from the article 'The Chiman of Maraca'tunsi, after their Sacred Hill was taken from them', with the support of the Rainforest Journalism Fund and in association with the Pulitzer Centre.

'How long is the strip?' asks Casimiro Canchi Tamo, a Chiman community member.

'It's around 700 metres long,' replies Santos Canchi, his cousin, as they walk across a huge deforested space in the middle of the rainforest, around half an hour from Maraca'tunsi, a Tsimané community from San Ignacio de Moxos in the Beni region of Bolivia.

'How often did planes arrive?,' I ask.

'Once a month, they bring supplies,' replies Santos.

'Until what year did they come?'

'2010.'

Santos explains that the small planes of the San Ambrosio timber mill arrived to the area in 1990 to exploit the wealth of the rainforest, and to facilitate the transportation of food, supplies and people, they created a landing strip close to where the logging took place in the middle of the Bolivian Amazon.

It's half past four in the afternoon, and it's a Tuesday, in September 2019. We walk through the landing strip that still appears to be in good condition. It's around half an hour from Cujma'tunsi, where Santos and Casimiro were born and where the loggers community was set up.

Santos, is 28 years of age, he has light skin, slanted eyes, a small body and wears a denim visor.

He's one of the few members of the Maraca'tunsi community of around 8,500 who speak fluent Spanish, the majority of which preserve their native language.

Behind us there's a Chiman couple with their child on the mother's back, who are taking advantage of our visit to gather oranges from neighbouring trees. It's not a place that they often visit.

The arrival of the company came after the Bolivian state provided concessions for these territories inhabited by indigenous communities towards the end of the 1980s. This occurred because in 1986, the state created an executive order which removed the protected status of around 1.2 million hectares of rainforest in the Bolivian Amazon, known as the Chiman Forest (Bosque de Chimanes). This area includes multi-ethnic indigenous territory where Maraca'tunsi and Chiman indigenous land is found, explains Fátima Monasterios, an investigator for the Centre for Social and Legal Studies (CEJIS).

Santos contemplates the space where his house was back in the 1990s, now it is full of bushes and trees.

At night fire is indispensable.

'Despite the fact that there was knowledge of indigenous presence in the Chiman Forest, when they were providing the concessions, they didn't consider the negative consequences that would arise for the communities residing in the territory,' Monasterios explains.

At that time, seven companies were given permits, many of whom had already been illegally present in the area before exploiting the land. Many were particularly interested in mara trees, which supposedly produce better quality wood.

What Manuel Canchi, Santos' grandfather, remembers most is that they cut down and destroyed the largest trees in his territory. The presence of these companies and the clearances of land in the Bolivian Amazon were some of the main reasons why on 15 September 1990, an emblematic march of indigenous communities in favour of territory and dignity took place.

'The march of 1990 was an important turning point and it could even be considered as a foundation of a movement. It's something magical, the first moment in which the state acknowledged the existence of indigenous people,' Martín Torrico, an investigator of the Centre for Investigation and Promotion of Rural Populations (CIPCA) explains.

After 35 days of walking from the city of Trinidad to La Paz, the government approved four executive orders that would benefit the indigenous people. One was the DS 22611, which declared that the Chiman area was now recognised indigenous land, and also recognised 352,000 hectares that belong to the Mojeño Trinitario, Mojeño Ignaciano, Movima, Yuracaré and Chiman communities.

What's more, the Area for Rainforest Use was established, which meant that logging companies could only occupy an area for a maximum of 20 years and after this period the land would be returned to the indigenous people.

The logging company San Ambrosio, that belongs to the larger conglomerate Hervel and that was already exploiting land in other parts of the country, arrived to the Bolivian Amazon. They established themselves in the mid-1990s a few metres from Cujma'tunsi, which was home to around 12 indigenous families. This didn't stop them however, as the area was rich in mara trees and **almendrillos**, or cujmas in the Chiman language, which is actually the origin of the name of the community and the name of the river of the settlement.

The presence of San Ambrosio drastically changed the lives of those living there, and since their arrival, the area and even the river had been renamed as San Ambrosio. The loggers outpost they built put an end to the tranquility of Cujma'tunsi.

'The companies extracted wood, they cut down trees with huge machines that made a lot of noise,' Don Manuel remembers as though it was yesterday, on the patio of his home in Maraca'tunsi, where he fled to shortly after San Ambrosio arrived.

Manuel is 90 years old and is the only nonagenarian of Maraca'tunsi, which means a place where the oranges grow, or also orange orchard.

He was one of the first inhabitants of the area when he arrived there with 18 years of age in the 1940s from the other side of Chiman Forest. Him and his wife along with other community members walked more than 140 kilometres in search of the Sacred Hill.

The Sacred Hill was devised by indigenous people of the lowlands, known as the Mojeños, due to the fact that towards the end of the 17th century, the ancestral inhabitants of Gran Mojos were forced to flee due to the occupation of their villages by creole and mixed people.

A chiman mother holds her newborn baby.

Manuel Canchi, one of the first inhabitants of Cujma'tunsi who was expelled by the San Ambrosio logging company to Maraca'tunsi.

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'The distancing of the populated areas towards the forest was something constant for the Chiman people,' says Monasterios.

That's why the Chiman people, like the Mojeños, the Yucaré and the Movimas, were very mobile, and they always went in search of new places that would provide them with adequate living conditions, a process of re-appropriation of their territory.

'My grandparents came here searching for Sacred Hill, to live well, so they didn't have to fight. My grandfather told me that they cleared just enough space to produce their chicha (traditional indigenous drink made from fermented corn) and their food,' Santos recounts.

His grandfather Manuel can no longer see nor hear and has difficulty walking alone, but he still retains his memories about the San Ambrosio invasion.

'What is it you remember most about when the loggers arrived?,' Santos asked him in Chiman.

'They would cut down the trees and didn't pay anything. They would loot the forest,' he said whilst he dried the tears coming from his eyes.

'They looted everything. Now I need wood for my canoe for the rainy season but there's nothing left. They left nothing in exchange for everything they took, not one health centre, not one telephone line, nothing,' he said.

When Santos was eight years old, the families of Cujma'tunsi decided to abandon the area. Fabio Garbari, a priest from the San Ignacio church, says it was a displacement caused by the loggers.

'The company was more important than the community, so much so that they were displaced. They're all in Naranjal. There's basically been a displacement. The Chiman left, they aren't fighters,' says Garbari, who has accompanied the indigenous fight in San Ignacio de Moxos since 2013.

That's how Manuel and the rest of his family arrived to Maraca'tunsi, where they currently live. From there we walked a little more than an hour among pathways and trails that connect the two areas and that can only be crossed on foot. Part of the area which the company inhabited has closed in these past nine years.

At around 1,000 metres from the end of the landing strip, Santos hears a noise that frightens him, he raises a stick from the ground and immediately, the aggressive barks of dogs get closer. They belong to the security guard who watches over the San Ambrosio machines that they left in 2010, 20 years after the concessions were provided.

The dogs get closer but they are stopped by Casimiro and Evaristo, another community member and a teacher, from the guaraní community, that arrived a week earlier. Santos gets frightened coming here, which is why he always does so accompanied by a group of people.

'Calm down, calm down' says Mucheiro to one of the dogs and then turns to us, 'Good afternoon'.

We all replied with a greeting, as we arrived at the entrance of the sawmill.

Casimiro has many skills, apart from being the community healer, he is a skilled musician and is usually the party entertainer.

From an early age, chimanes children learn to hunt and fish with the bow and arrow, indispensable tools for survival.

'We've come so that our brothers can get to know the place,' Santos says.

'Go ahead,' he responds, and stops to talk with the teacher and Evaristo

A huge wooden construction still shelters the heavy machinery.

'They cut the wood with this,' says Santos, who looks over at the machines abandoned by the company. There's a high power light motor and bundles of wood left over that were never taken out of the area.

'Will these machines work?' Manuel Seoane asks, the photographer with whom we travelled
from La Paz a week ago.

'They should still work but maybe you have to change a few pieces,' Casimiro responds.

'But we don't want them to take more wood from the forest. They didn't leave anything good behind for the community and the territory only lost out,' he says.

The expectation that the company would return emerged in 2011, when after the territory had been returned to the indigenous people by the state, the government of Evo Morales created the
Administrative Resolution of the National Agrarian Reform Institute, that declared this area would become available again, and would be named a 'fiscal territory.''Settlements are prohibited, as well as occupations of individuals and collectives on government land,' a sign says close to the logging outpost, that remains there despite no longer being a 'fiscal territory' as of August this year.

Five minutes from the loggers outpost is the place where Santos was born. Manuel takes us there and we get further away from the dogs. The area is covered with lime and orange trees and other species that cover his home, of which there is no trace left. The exodus of Cujma'tunsi included the homes that were moved to Maraca'tunsi.

'Here we made another home, but we're going back. I'm going to make my new house, I don't want to abandon the Cujma'tunsi community'.

'When?'

'I want the machines to go away'

'Why?'

'It would be better if they left,' he says, as he walks towards the place where the house once stood and lifts up a branch, 'We'll have to clean up a lot'

'Why haven't you thrown out the loggers rather than moving to a different place?'

'Because my grandparents didn't have the capacity to get them out, but now that we've organised ourselves with other communities, we have more strength to get rid of them, because we don't want them to take more wood from here,' he says as he begins walking.

On the way back, we are taken through another route, that way we avoid the dogs and the loggers outpost that's a potent symbol of what has been stripped away from them that continues to be a threat to their livelihoods.

BOOKS FOR BOLIVIAN KIDS

THE ORGANISATIONS LEADING THE CHARGE FOR CHILDREN'S LITERATURE IN BOLIVIA

TEXT: RINALDA AAY

PHOTOS: COURTESY OF ACADEMIA BOLIVIANA DE LITERATURA INFANTIL Y JUVENIL, ILLUSTRATIONS BY CLAUDIA ILLANES ITURRI

For billions of people worldwide, reading is a skill often taken for granted. But it's an essential exercise for childhood development that increases intelligence and empathy, and it enhances brain connectivity. Plus, the ability to read is essential to innumerable aspects of everyday life.

Although Bolivia has made significant inroads in increasing its literacy rate over the past few decades – as of 2015, the Bolivian adult literacy rate was 92.46 percent – there is room for improvement in providing children the materials and opportunities for reading. Human brains are most flexible early in life, making childhood the ideal time for learning vital skills, such as reading. There is much work to be done in terms of improving reading ability in Bolivia, and this work begins from the bottom up – with children.

Fortunately, there are groups in Bolivia world encouraging children's literacy and literature. This allows children to develop both vital life skills and a love of literature, and provides otherwise unavailable access to culturally and educationally relevant books. Bolivian Express spoke with three organisations working to nurture children's literature and, by extension, improve children's opportunities throughout Bolivia.

Comité de Literatura Infantil y Juvenil (CLIJ)—Committee for Children and Youth Literature

Founded in 1964 by a group of writers and poets, CLIJ aims to elevate children's literature and promote the cultural importance of youth reading.

The committee, comprised of volunteers from a variety of backgrounds and specialisations, works in parallel to the learning that children receive in schools. It recognises that families in Bolivia do not often have the money to buy books for at-home reading. But there are also other barriers.

'The parents, they often don't have enough school-based education. They cannot help at home to encourage children to read,' says Pilar Martínez, the vice president of CLIJ's La Paz branch. 'That's why we are stepping in for the parents, and our work is what should be done at home.'

> 'WE WANT CHILDREN AND YOUNG PEOPLE TO READ BOOKS WITH PLEASURE, SO THAT THEY CAN DREAM, SO THAT THEY CAN IMAGINE WORLDS.'
> **—PILAR MARTÍNEZ**

CLIJ uses a variety of activities to achieve its goals. One is an event called 'La Paz Leer' (La Paz Reads). The committee sets up a 'mobile library' in the streets where people can sit down and read books that would otherwise be unavailable or too expensive to purchase. CLIJ also holds an annual International Congress of Literature for Children and Young People, the ninth of which was held last July. Educators, students, writers and researchers came together for four days of learning and teaching, preparing an international body of teachers and reading advocates to promote children's literacy. CLIJ also publishes 'Cuadernos de Literatura Infantil y Juvenil,' a bulletin instructing adults about how to encourage children to read.

And, of course, CLIJ visits schools, sowing the seeds for a love of literature.

'My favourite part,' says Martínez, eyes lighting up, 'is when we are telling some stories to the children and they are looking at us like "What is this? Who are these crazy women jumping and singing?" This is the best part, when you know that the children are really enjoying our stories.'
And that enjoyment is the real centre of the whole operation. CLIJ exists not only because its members want children to read; it exists because its members want children to love to read. This is the real goal.

'We want children and young people to read books with pleasure, so that they can dream, so that they can imagine worlds, a lot of things,' Martínez says. 'For us, to read books with pleasure means that you don't have an objective. It is just to enjoy the book. Later on, maybe years later, they will see the benefit of reading books. But now, we just want children to enjoy them.'

Academia Boliviana de Literatura Infantil y Juvenil (ABLIJ)—Bolivian Academy of Children and Youth Literature

ABLIJ was founded in 2006 by Isabel Mesa Gisbert, Liliana de la Quintana, Rosalba Guzmán and Verónica Linares. They were supported by Sylvia Puentes de Oyenard, president of the Latin American Academy of Children and Youth Literature, Cuban writer Luis Cabrera Delgado and children's literature specialist Rubén Silva.

ABLIJ focuses on forging relationships with and between children's authors and

illustrators, understanding the trends, history and context of children's literature, and systematising the available information on the topic. Also, crucially, it conducts and publishes research about children's literacy. This fills a vital gap in Bolivian literary academia.

'Bolivia does not have researchers dedicated to children's and youth literature because these have always been seen as lesser forms of literature,' says Gisbert. 'We, on the contrary, think it is foundational, and the way for a child to learn the skills to read adult literature… Children approach literature from an early age, and if it is not recognised that literature is part of their lives, there is a great void.'

ABLIJ is one of the foremost Bolivian organisations leading the widespread embracing of children's books through the dissemination of research. It also aims to instigate the creation of a permanent children's literature diploma or subject in Bolivian universities. This would ensure that education about children's and youth literature is present in the training of professionals, and would further highlight its importance as a topic of research.

According to Gisbert, Bolivia still falls behind many other countries in terms of its literary culture. 'If, in Argentina, 10,000 children's and youth books are produced per year, then in Bolivia, there are 50 or at most 60 fictional children's book publications,' she says.

According to de la Quintana, this dearth of literature has to do with a lack of encouragement for authors. There are very few competitions that encourage writers, there are no comprehensive national reading plans, and few public or private libraries have a good selection of children's books.

That said, progress is being made. Bolivian publishers are beginning to support children's and youth literature, and ABLIJ continues to play a significant part in promoting children's books as the culturally, historically and educationally vital artefacts they are.

Kids' Books Bolivia

As recently as 2008, children in Bolivia had limited options if they wanted to read books about their own country or cultural heritage. They were instead largely restricted to translations of foreign titles. Heidi Baer-Postigo, academic director of SIT Study Abroad in Bolivia, noticed this lack of books that her own children (of Bolivian-American identity) could identify with in terms of their Bolivian heritage. In 2008, two SIT Study Abroad students approached Baer-Postigo, proposing that they create children's books about Bolivia for Bolivian children as part of their independent study. Baer-Postigo gave her approval, and Kids' Books Bolivia was born.

Kids' Books Bolivia's collection of children's books is now 45 titles strong. The books are published in Spanish and English, and sometimes in one of Bolivia's 36 indigenous languages. They span a broad range of topics – including political allegories, environmental issues, sexual education and adoption – and most regions of Bolivia have been represented in some way, whether it be through food, life, culture, arts, history or the environment.

'Our aims are to continue publishing books about important issues and to always find ways to respond more specifically to the local community and organisations,' says Aliya Ellenby, Kids' Books Bolivia's project coordinator.

Demonstrating that creative approaches are often the best ones, one of the organisation's most successful and longstanding partnerships is with the puppet ensemble Títeres Elwaky. The ensemble has created giant pop-up versions of two of the books from the collection and has also developed interactive storytelling formats with puppets for almost all the books. Kids' Books Bolivia has also participated in numerous book fairs and has sets of their books in libraries across the country.

Kids' Books Bolivia continues to work to broaden their base of local illustrators, and its books are included in school curricula and are available in libraries countrywide. Ellenby also hopes to see the organisation run weekly creative literacy workshops at its home base of Cochabamba and participate in more book fairs.

As for CLIJ and ABLIJ, a deep respect and love of books is central to Kids' Books Bolivia's operations. Ellenby says that books have the potential to engage the hearts and minds of children. 'I grew up in a family of readers,' she says. 'I honestly can't imagine my life without books and reading. I have worked with children who have never owned a book, who have never had a book read to them at bed time… But I have never worked with a child whose eyes did not widen when I opened the first page, who didn't have questions as soon as they saw the first illustration… Literacy and access to literature responds to the natural curiosity and imagination of every child.'

MIKO ART GALLERY

THE TRANSMUTATION OF A SPACE TO CREATE MORE ART AND CULTURE

TEXT: RENATA LAZCANO SILVA

In the centre of La Paz are iconic museums, monuments and architecture, such as the San Francisco Church, which was built in a **mestizo**-baroque style built between the 16th and 18th centuries; Plaza Murillo, the city's central square that is surrounded by government buildings and the Cathedral of La Paz; the colonial buildings along Calle Jaén; and the nearby National Museum of Ethnography and Folklore, which has one of the largest folk-art collections in the country.

This neighbourhood is called the **Casco Viejo**, and in the middle of this cultural epicentre is MIKO Art Gallery, a space that promotes upcoming and established Bolivian artists. But the activities at MIKO go beyond just exhibiting art; the gallery also provides artists with a shared work space in which they can exchange knowledge and ideas with each other, learn and refine techniques, and develop synergies that help them grow individually and as a collective.

The MIKO Art Gallery is located in the Pasaje Kuljis, a corridor inside a heritage house and part of an old convent. MIKO (for Movimiento Independiente Kontemporáneo, or Contemporary Independent Movement) was founded in 2017 by its general director, Andrés Kuljis, an architect and artist who wanted to 'transmute' the building using emerging Bolivian art (and whose family the **pasaje** is named after). Artists Leonardo Calisaya and Tizi Jiménez also joined the project and helped transform the space.

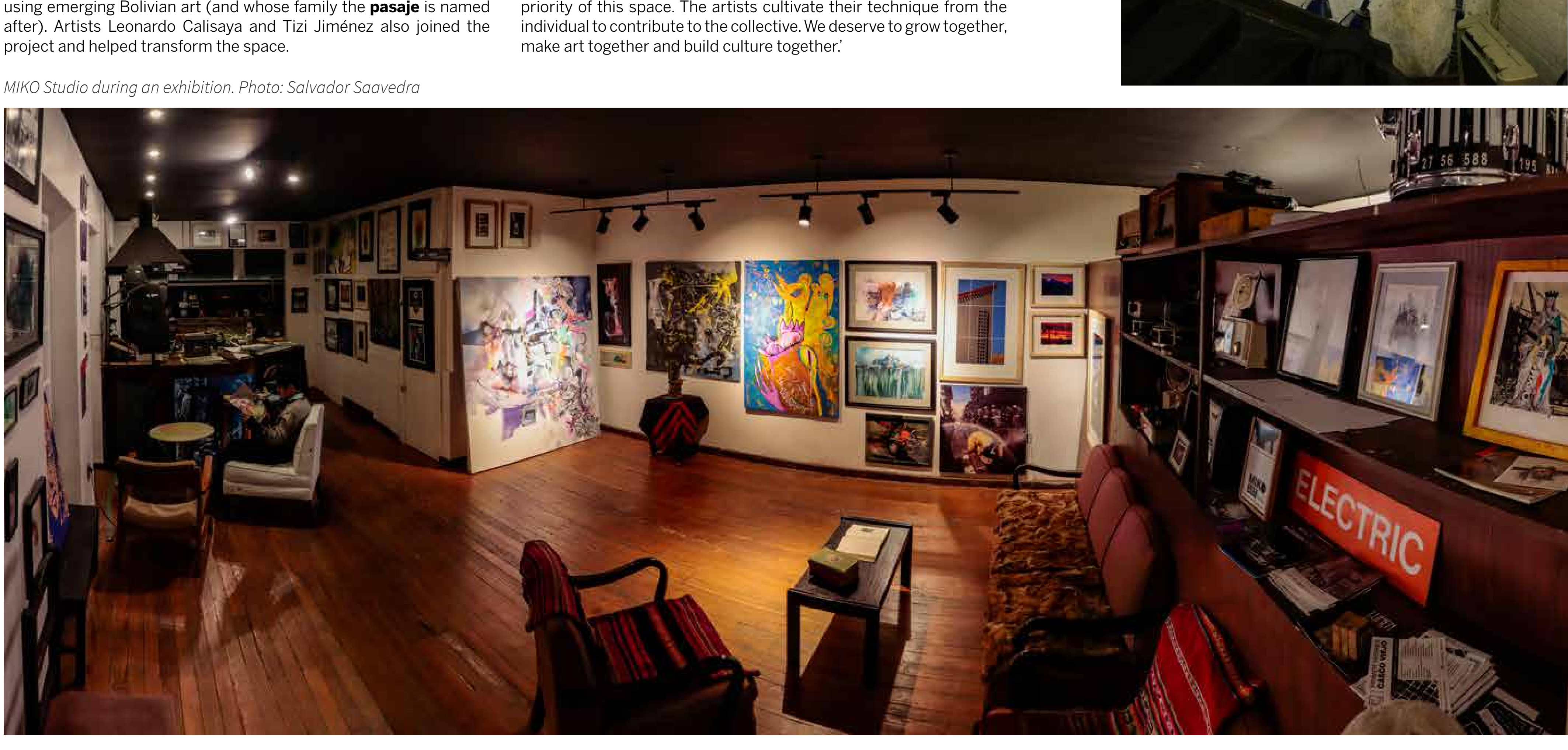
Together, the team decorated the space with murals and urban art to prepare the gallery for exhibitions. Additionally, they restored another space in the house by installing contemporary art in the former convent of Conceptionist nuns that dates back to 1670.

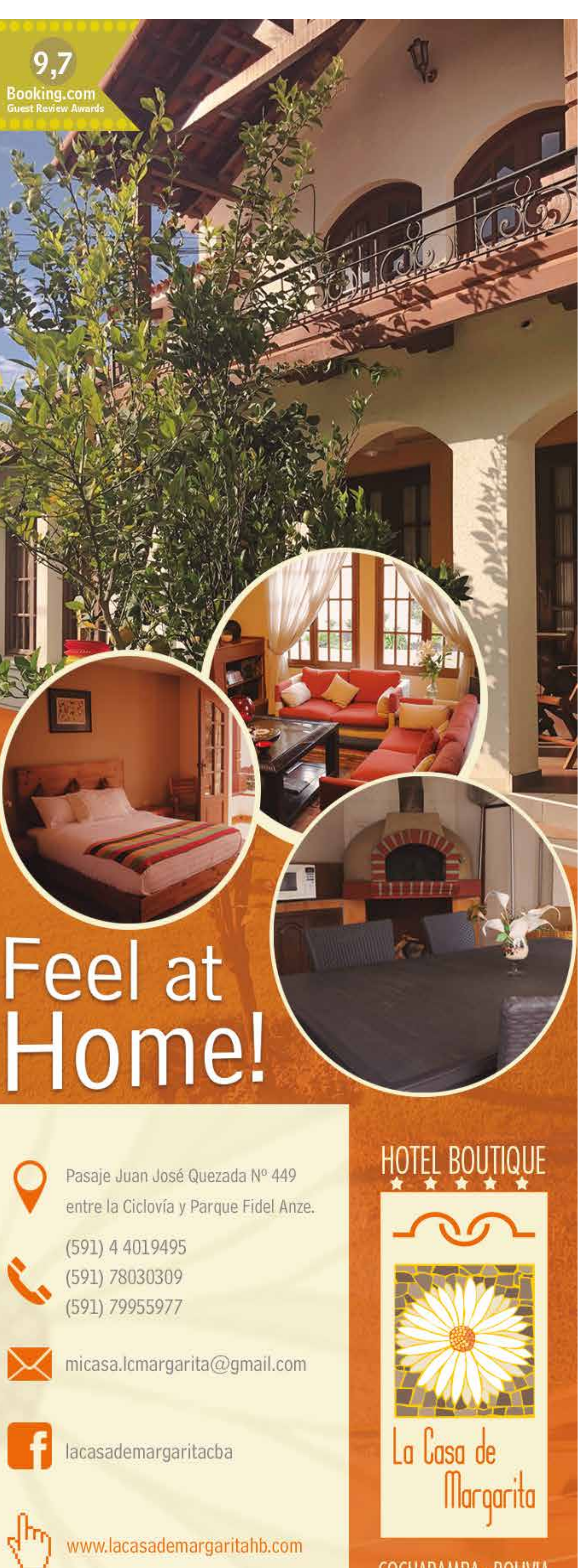
Since its opening, the gallery has hosted more than 100 exhibitions. 'Most of the exhibitions are joint,' says Salvador Saavedra, MIKO's curator of photography. 'They break the teacher-and-apprentice scheme, since the idea is to share and learn from each other.' MIKO has also represented Bolivia at international exhibitions in the United States, Mexico and China, displaying artwork by the MIKO team and other Bolivian artists and generating a cultural exchange with other artists around the world. The MIKO Art Gallery now has two other locations, one in the United States, on Dupont Circle in Washington, DC, and another in Mexico City.

MIKO Art Gallery is a platform to cultivate the fine arts, with open doors to anyone who wants to be part of this movement. 'Art deserves to be continually cultivated, and this is a space that allows people to fulfill their dream,' Leonardo Calisaya, head of MIKO Art Gallery Bolivia, says. 'There are different ways of thinking and expressing ourselves, and we need to grow together and share – that is the priority of this space. The artists cultivate their technique from the individual to contribute to the collective. We deserve to grow together, make art together and build culture together.'

Mural at one of the entrances of the Kuljis Passage. Photo: Renata Lazcano Silva

MIKO Studio during an exhibition. Photo: Salvador Saavedra





Detail of the colonial vestige.
Photo: Emily Kilner

'Catarsis' 22.11.2019
Photo: Renata Lazcano Silva

THE LEGITIMISATION AND CONSOLIDATION OF QAMIRIS

THE AYMARA BUSINESS ELITE IN MODERN BOLIVIA

TEXT: CAROLINE RISACHER
PHOTOS: MANUEL SEOANE

Just 15 years ago, Aymara, Quechua and other indigenous people in Bolivia regularly suffered open discrimination, including being barred from entering certain businesses and being generally looked down by the **mestizo-criollo** elite. In the last decade, though, racist stereotypes have diminished drastically with the appearance of an Aymara business elite, whose success and visibility are epitomised by the colourful and extravagant **cholets** of the indigenous-majority city of El Alto, buildings which exhibit a neo-Andean architectural style characterised by geometrical lines and vibrant colors.

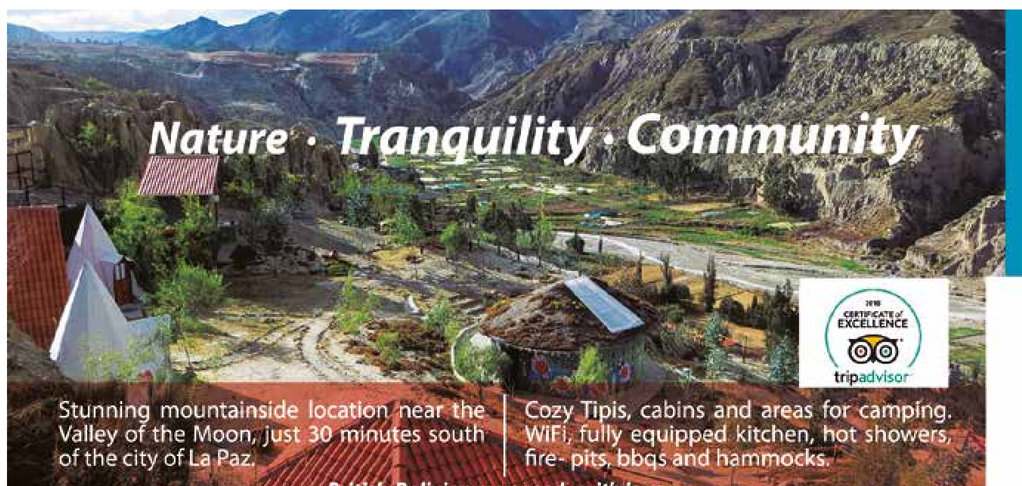
The last 14 years in Bolivia have been defined by a process of change led by the recently deposed Bolivian president Evo Morales (the first indigenous leader of the country). During his tenure, Bolivia recorded an average GDP growth rate of 4.8 percent, attesting of the success and stability of Morales's presidency, which has used the upward mobility of the indigenous middle class as evidence of its policies' success. Current events notwithstanding—in which a right-wing interim government is trying to consolidate its newly gained power after a disputed election—it would seem difficult after the advances gained by the indigenous majority for it to lose this cultural recognition and acceptance.

CONTINUES ON PAGE 20

However, as sociologist Pablo Mamani of the Universidad Pública de El Alto (UPEA) explains, this elite '[is] not a product of Evo; they have always existed. They are more visible now.' According to sociologist Gustavo Adolfo Calle, a member of Jiccha, an **Indianista-Katarista** collective, in the last 15 years 'the emergence of a social class with an indigenous face allowed large-scale social mobility in Bolivia, giving way to the structuring of social classes within the indigenous world that broke with the apparent homogeneity that characterised them.'

This social category is often referred to as an Aymara 'bourgeoisie', an accurate enough term if using the broader definition of the word as its members are clearly of the middle class. But the Marxist connotation of 'bourgeoisie' doesn't apply to this social group, as this elite doesn't own the means of production and is not yet particularly concerned with acquiring them. The word 'elite' is closer to capturing the essence of this group, but it, too, doesn't fit perfectly, as there is no sense of superiority in terms of ability or qualities compared with the rest of society. Additionally, there is still a deep sense of internalised colonialism within Bolivian society, in which the *criollo-mestizo* classes remain the traditionally recognised elites.

The term Bolivian sociologists prefer to use to define this emerging upper social class comprising Aymara-Quechua bourgeois businesspeople is *qamiri*, an Aymara word used to describe someone with money and influence and the capacity to share their status and wealth. This follows the Aymara notion of *ayni*—reciprocity between individuals—that is central to relations in Andean society. *Ayni* allows the indigenous elite to convert their economic capital into prestige and social capital. By redistributing their earnings, they generate social capital and establish new economic ventures. This allows *qamiris* to gain and expand control of spaces that were once monopolised by the *criollo-mestizo* elite.



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The defining characteristic of the *qamiris*, according to sociologist Tania Quilali, who investigated *qamiris* during the **Gran Poder** celebration in La Paz, is that they hold 'economic, social, cultural and symbolic capital.' However, there is no consensus on how much financial success one needs to become a qamiri. According to Quilali, the threshold is US $2,000 per month. For Mamani, someone who employs at least 10 workers can be considered a qamiri, or owning a property worth at least half a million dollars. *Qamiris* are also expected to be able to independently organise and finance traditional parties, as opposed to those who simply borrow money to hold these parties in order to gain social influence and strike up business relations. (According to Quilali, these parties normally cost at least US $30,000 to $40,000.)

These parties, such as those held during the *Gran Poder* festivities, are central to the qamiri identity, notably in the form of **prestes**, a type of communitarian celebration given by **pasantes** (sponsors, usually *qamiris*), which typically honor a saint. *Prestes* are frequently accompanied with folkloric dancing parades, and they are large celebrations in which no expenses are spared. But celebrations that *qamiris* finance and partake in are not limited to *prestes*; they also include weddings, building-inauguration and business-opening ceremonies, and anniversaries. According to Quilali, a socially active *qamiri* will attend on average about two to three parties per month.

These celebrations serve as spaces in which *qamiris* can flaunt their money, exhibiting their financial acumen and success, and where they can make new contacts to expand business opportunities and form connections and consolidate their social and business relations. Particular attention must be made to impress celebrants. As Quilali describes, 'The clothes used are expensive, the garments must be fashionable and modish, shoes must have a special design and outfits are never to be repeated. Women will wear vicuña wool scarves, as well as gold and silver jewels.'

But the garishness of these celebrations is contrasted by the

modest and unpretentious daily lives of *qamiris*, who generally eschew demonstrating any external signs of wealth. They use public transportation and wear the same clothes and eat the same street food as everyone else in their community. There is no overwhelming push to distinguish themselves outside of the parties. For Mamani, the reasons are social and cultural. 'There is a saying in Aymara—"Don't be like the **q'ara**"—don't be like the white men. Don't exploit others and don't behave haughtily.'

Qamiris came to the attention of academics in the 1980s, when the informal economy in Oruro, another large city on the Bolivian altiplano, experienced a boom following the creation of a free-trade zone in the port of Iquique, Chile, and local Aymara traders amassed fortunes importing, sometimes illegally, merchandise into Bolivia. According to Mexican sociologist Carmen Rea Campos in her 2015 paper 'Cuando la otredad se iguala. Racismo y cambio estructural en Oruro (Bolivia)', this indigenous elite 'is the unexpected and unintended result of the economic crisis of the 1980s, the flexible labuor market of the 1990s, the expansion of Asian trade in the national economy and, above all, the ability of these agents to translate, reinterpret and articulate two rationalities regarded as opposites: the traditional-emotional and the pragmatic.' But for Bolivian anthropologist Jorge Llanque, who has investigated the qamiri elites in Oruro, this growth of the qamiri class was part of an inevitable process: 'This elite has not emerged spontaneously; on the contrary, it is the product of historical relations consolidation in the western border area from the department of Oruro.' Essentially, *qamiris* are the result of the revolutionary nationalism of the late 1960s (a consequence, in part, of the 1952 National Revolution), the subsequent rise of **Katarismo** and **Indianismo** (ethnic- and class-solidarity movements originating in the late 1960s that still wield enormous political heft today), the structural neoliberal changes in the 1980s under right-wing dictatorship and governments, and the more recent expansion of Chinese business interests in the national market.

The existence of *qamiris* is the result of a long social and historical process that started three or four generations ago, with each new generation building on the previous one to grow its economic capital. For instance, 'In La Paz we are seeing processes that took three to four generations. The grandfather had a small import business from Chile. The son improved on this business, and the grandson amplified it and thrives now doing business with China,' Mamani says. 'However, it is not a homogeneous group; their social and financial capital can vary greatly, with the richest *qamiris*' worth being valued up to US $3 million.'

Additionally, central to the formation process and the construction of a qamiri identity is the migrant route from rural to urban areas, which plays a defining role as traditional Aymara concepts are transposed and then adapted to urban living. If *ayni* is the notion of reciprocity between individuals, **ayllu** involves groups of people (families, communities). But it is not just about reciprocity and harmony. Embedded in *ayllu* is a very competitive rivalry between these groups in order to show competing groups which has the most wealth. According to the Aymara sociologist Jesus Humerez of UPEA, this concept of *ayllu* explains how the economic success of businessmen is based on competitiveness amongst themselves in regards to resources and social capital. But if in the countryside wealth is measured on how many sheep an individual owns, in the city the emphasis is placed on the social abilities and social capital of an individual.

The ability to create vast social networks is the key to the success of the modern qamiri. The range and tightness of these networks forge solid business relations and confer upon the qamiri a reputation and prestige that can't be bought with money. These are not just local networks, as they can extend to other countries too, notably China, Argentina, Brazil and Chile. China is a very lucrative market for Aymara traders, who regularly travel there to buy tens of thousands of dollars' worth of merchandise. Alfonso Hinojosa, a sociologist and specialist on migration at the University of San Simon in Cochabamba, says that the commercial bond between

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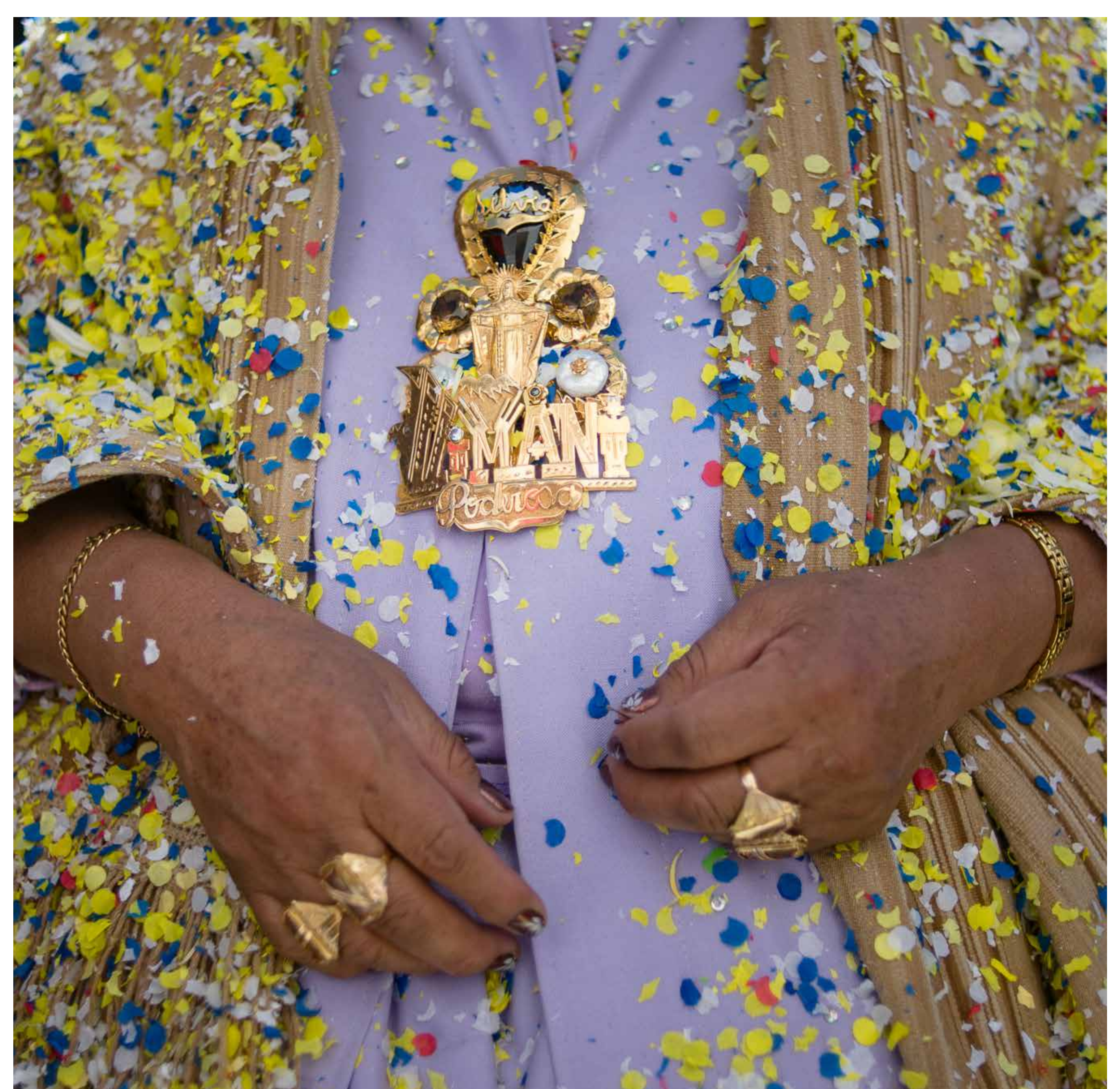
Aymara and Chinese businessmen is so strong that some Chinese sellers tailor their products to Bolivian tastes, and it is not uncommon for *qamiris* to send a relative to live in China. 'There is even a *cholet* in El Alto whose style is reminiscent to a Chinese pagoda,' Hinojosa says.

The same is true in other South American countries and across Bolivia. *Qamiris*, through family and social connections, create local, national and international networks that bring economic and social prestige to themselves. And here is another reason for the success of the Aymara businessmen: the capacity to use and adapt traditional values of reciprocity and competitiveness in order to thrive in the modern capitalist world order. As summarised by Hinojosa, the secret to this success includes the following three factors: 'control of a determined geographical space, versatility in business ventures, and the ability to create solid networks on large scales.'

The logical next step for a social class experiencing upward social mobility and accumulating capital would be to consolidate this power by acquiring political influence. This hasn't happened yet, as the qamiri social group is not affiliated with any of the current political parties in Bolivia. 'They don't join political parties, but they think about their group,' says Pablo Mamani. Jesus Humerez echoes this sentiment. 'There are sectors who know about politics, but they are not interested in it,' he says. 'They have their business and as long as politics are not affecting them they will continue doing what they do. Maybe if a new political context affects [them] they will reconsider it.' Humerez says that it's not that *qamiris* have absolutely no interest in politics, but that they have deep ideological differences with political leaders. 'Evo Morales is a syndicalist,' he says. 'He sells a socialism for the 21st century, a state socialism, and [the *qamiris*] are going in another direction; they are looking for another way [to enter politics].'

Qamiris are often asked about their involvement in politics and why they don't invest in larger projects such as universities, banks or TV stations, Pablo Mamani says. 'It is hard for them to answer,' he says. 'One of the reasons is that they don't want to wait to receive a return on their investment. And it could also be mistrust in the system or a lack of knowledge on how to invest money and how banks work.' For Jesus Humerez, a recurring factor is the absence of dialogue between *qamiris* and the intellectual new wave of Aymara thinkers. 'A common vision cannot emerge,' he says, 'until academics and intellectuals sit down together and build a project with a common vision. What is missing is a state vision.' Pablo Mamani shares a similar sentiment after asking *qamiris* various questions such as 'How do you envision your city in the future?' 'How do you imagine it should be?' He says that the *qamiris* he interviewed mentioned improvements to their neighbourhoods, but very few mentioned improving the city as a whole, and even fewer had national ambitions. This lack of vision, which impedes any successful political participation, may have deep roots but preclude any desire to engage in politics.

'What I've seen is that they would rather not enter politics because of the risks [to their economic capital],' Jesus Humerez says. 'But yes, they think about politics. They want to take the power but, as Aymara, they don't consider that they could do it. I still hear people saying that they are not capable to be ministers, deputies, to have high positions of power. There is still a complex of inferiority. For historical and ideological reasons. We have to break this so our people can believe that they can rule this country.' This complex of inferiority, or internalised colonialism, as Tania Quilali and Pablo Mamani call it, is still very present and



'THE EMERGENCE OF A SOCIAL CLASS WITH AN INDIGENOUS FACE ALLOWED LARGE-SCALE SOCIAL MOBILITY IN BOLIVIA, GIVING WAY TO THE STRUCTURING OF SOCIAL CLASSES WITHIN THE INDIGENOUS WORLD THAT BROKE WITH THE APPARENT HOMOGENEITY THAT CHARACTERISED THEM.'
—GUSTAVO ADOLFO CALLE

can manifest itself in two ways. According to Mamani, 'There are two tendencies, either become "whiter," or move to new neighborhoods, which implies a retaking of these [*criollo-mestizo*] spaces and a rivalry to dominate them.'

For Tania Quilali, this internal colonialism is so deeply ingrained that 'the *qamiris* seek recognition in parties because, despite having economic capital, they cannot be part of the traditional bourgeoisie in La Paz.' Because of this internal colonialism, being of Aymara origin itself is still a disadvantage despite the fact that many *qamiris* have capital equal to or greater than that of the traditional upper class of La Paz. They will never be acknowledged as equals to the traditional *criollo-mestizo* elite. *Qamiris* are still 'indigenous', 'brown', 'peasants', 'without education' and 'folklorists' (in a derogatory sense). What Quilali describes is not a reflection of how all *criollo-mestizos* see *qamiris*, but instead how *qamiris* think they are perceived and how they see themselves. Racism is still very much present in Bolivia, but the internal colonialism affects the ethos of a class and prevents them from entering a more elevated position in the larger Bolivian society.

It is not clear what direction the children of *qamiris* will take. Some of them are now attending private universities and share spaces with the children of the *criollo-mestizo elite*, which can lead to a rejection of their family values and businesses. 'The children don't necessarily want to follow in their parent's footsteps,' Tania Quilali says. 'They want to learn English, travel abroad, and would rather live a different lifestyle closer to the ones of the white elite.' But she observes that, perhaps years after this initial rejection of the qamiri lifestyle, the children might still take over their parent's businesses once they realise the financial advantages of doing so.

Qamiris have gained visibility under Evo Morales, and they have established themselves as a social class with power and influence which they demonstrate during celebrations, by moving to neighborhoods normally associated with the *criollo-mestizo* elite, and by commissioning buildings each time more grandiose than the previous one. At the moment, and especially in this uncertain political and social context, we can only guess how Bolivian society will look like in a few years. Will the country move past racial cleavage and turn into a society divided along social classes? How will traditions and language be passed down to the next generation? Bolivia has changed enormously in the last 15 years, and that is no small part due to the consolidation and legitimation of the *qamiris* as a new social stratum. The changes that have and are happening are part of a process that started long before Evo Morales took power in 2005, going back to the 1952 National Revolution, if not before then but in a more inchoate manner. The emergence of the Aymara elite and the differentiation of social classes among Bolivian indigenous groups are representative of a social and cultural shift that will have repercussions for the whole of Bolivian society. 'The changes are irreversible,' says Pablo Mamani, concluding that 'things are going to keep advancing, and as these groups will become more politicised, that will lead to a global social, economic and symbolic reform.'

The vineyards of Bodega Aranjuez.

WINE LOVERS LOOKING TO BOLIVIA

BOLIVIAN VINICULTURE AT THE HEART OF TARIJAN INDUSTRY

TEXT & PHOTO: GEORGE FEARNLEY

Eduardo Caceres, winemaker for the boutique Bolivian winery Cruce Del Zorro, recalls a business trip to Europe. After the inevitable mention of Argentina, Chile and Brazil when discussing South American wines, a reference to Bolivia prompted the response 'Where is that?' International awareness of Bolivia in general is limited, and even more so let alone knowledge of the wines that are produced here. But things are starting to change. In the past couple of years, media such as *The Washington Post*, *The New York Times* and, most recently, NPR have produced published articles about Bolivian wines. Why are people starting to pay attention?

Winemaking in Bolivia is approximately 500 years old. When the Spanish conquistadors arrived on the shores of the Americas, their cargo included a variety of dried grapes picked from the vineyards of their home country. Due to the role wine plays in Catholic ceremonies, wherever the Spaniards went they tried to grow vines. These grapes arrived in Bolivia from the west, through Peru, and the south, through Argentina. At first glance, Bolivia's landscape might not seem friendly to European grapevines. The rocky, snow capped peaks of the Andes in the west and the hot, humid rainforests of the Amazon in the east hardly provide the temperate climate that grapes need to thrive. However, the Spaniards had luck in

The few of the vineyards from Aranjuez's 'Finca El Origin'. Trying to capitalise on enotourism, the company offers comprehensive tours of its winery and vineyards, accompanied by a tasting at the end.

Sunset of the vineyards of Bodega Aranjuez.

Barrels at Bodega Kuhlmann.

certain valleys that act as bridges between the two drastically different landscapes. Despite the entire country being at a tropical latitude, these high-altitude valleys provide the more temperate climate the vines require.

Throughout the years, table wines in Bolivia were produced from blends of the grapes the Spanish colonists initially brought with them, like negra criolla. Muscat of Alexandria, a white grape, was, and still is, used almost entirely for the production of Bolivia's national spirit: singani. Then, in the 1960s, wineries in the Central Valley of Tarija began investing in modern technology imported from Argentina, which ushered in a new era of winemaking in Bolivia. There was a shift towards dry, clean, high-quality wines. French grape varieties were planted, although initially not much thought was given whether they would be suitable to the Bolivian climate. As the expertise and experience of the workers at the wineries grew, more attention was paid to the grapes which were better suited to the high-altitude growing environment. Tarija has now become the home of wine in Bolivia, producing an estimated 97 percent of all Bolivian wine.

The Central Valley of Tarija has vineyards at altitudes ranging from 1,800 to 2,200 metres above sea level. At these high altitudes, there is less atmosphere to absorb the ultraviolet rays from the sun, which forces grapes grow a thicker skin to protect their seeds. This makes the wines produced there rich in ripe tannins. In a 24-hour period during the growing season, temperatures can range from 12 to 33 degrees Celsius. Cold nights promote acidity in the grapes, while the warm days raise their sugar content – which is key to their eventual fermentation and transformation into wine. According Darren Armstrong, a wine sommelier and naturalised Bolivian citizen, **saurazos** – cold polar winds carried up to Tarija through Patagonia – have a particular effect on grapes grown in Bolivia. 'These winds help create a close match to the typical four seasons that *Vitis vinifera* vines prefer,' he wrote in a blog post, 'causing winter temperatures to reach the chilling range of 32-45°F for long enough to allow the vines to rest in dormancy.' This causes the vines to produce one crop a year with an intensity of flavour and appropriate yield. Liz Aranicibia, the owner and head of Bodega Magnus, says these factors result in wines that have 'a lot of everything', like colour, acidity, alcohol, aroma and flavour.

In 1999, the Tarijan winery Aranjuez planted the first tannat vines in Bolivia. This little-known grape originally hails from the Gascony region in southwestern France and does remarkably well in the high-altitude Bolivian terroir. It has thick skin and is high in tannins, producing inky, rich wines. Because of the high altitude, the skins grow even thicker and make the wine full of dark fruit flavour and aroma. In 2013, Bodega Aranjuez was the first Bolivian winery to win a Great Gold Medal at an international wine competition, with its 100 percent tannat Juan Cruz Gran Reserva. 'From this achievement, we have positioned the tannat varietal as the emblem of Bolivia,' Gerardo Aguirre, the export manager and head of enotourism for Bodega Aranjuez, said. Indeed, Bodega Aranjuez has in the past six years won four Great Gold medals for its tannat wines.

Another winery based in Tarija turning heads is Bodega y Viñedos Kuhlmann, which produces Altosama, the world's first high-altitude sparkling wine. It's named after the nearby Sama mountain range, which provides Tarija's Central Valley Tarija with a rainy environment during the summer months. 'In honour of Sama, our range of sparkling wines are called Altosama,' explains Franz Molina, the production manager at Bodegas Kuhlmann. This year, Kuhlmann's Altosama Espumante de Altura Brut was named one of the '50 Great Sparkling Wines of the World' by the Wine Pleasures website. Kuhlmann also claims to be the only Bolivian vineyard producing wine from the Marselan grape. In 2006 Molina planted several experimental grape varieties at the Kuhlmann vineyards in Tarija, but was most intrigued by the Marselan. In the extreme climate, the vines dropped most of the fruits, but those that were retained were extremely hardy and produced an intense flavour. Now, more than 10 years later, after much experimentation and hard work, Kuhlmann released its unique Gran Patrono, made from 100 percent Marselan grapes. It has received a lot of attention, with Decanter magazine describing it as 'mysterious.'

While the larger wineries strive for consistency year after year, boutique wineries like Bodega Magnus set their sights on producing unique vintages. 'Each year is distinct, and therefore the result of the harvest is too, making each vintage unique' Liz Arancibia, Bodega Magnus's owner, says. The winery prides itself on being natural, she says, allowing the wine to age without human interference. '[This is] our great secret,' says Arancibia. Another boutique winery, Cruce Del Zorro, has forged a special relationship with its grape growers through its 'Tocando el Cielo' (Touching the Sky) programme. Inspired by the successful coffee enterprises in Bolivia's south, the programme aims to help 'the local producers prosper, obtain sustainable profits, and learn valuable financial and agronomic skills.' To aid local producers, Cruce del Zorro contracted specialists from Argentina and Costa Rica to act as consultants. 'The bodega revolves around the small producers, who are our artists,' said Luis Moreno, Cruce del Zorro's owner and director. The winery produces two different lines of wines each year, La Curiosa, a single varietal, and its namesake Cruce del Zorro blend. Each year the grapes used to produce the wines change depending on the harvest.

When you are drinking wine, you are not only tasting the grape variety, you are also tasting the terroir. This term describes the environment in which grapes are grown, including things like the climate, soil and terrain. In fact, a common complaint nowadays is that all wines taste the same, with New World wineries mimicking Old World wineries – for example, by ageing their wines in oak barrels for long periods. But this cannot be said for Bolivian wines. With such a unique, high-altitude terroir, winemakers are keen to simply allow their wines to tell you where they come from – by their taste alone. 'We tend to make wines with a lot of fruity character, using oak barrels in such a way that the protagonist is always the wine,' Gerardo Aguirre of Aranjuez says. 'Being 100 percent wines of altitude, Bolivian wines are truly unique,' Kuhlmann's Molina says. And this is something the Bolivian wineries are trying to capitalise on.

Bolivia will never be able to compete with the likes of Argentina and Chile in the volume of wine it produces due to limited amount of suitable land. Currently there are about 4,000 hectares of vines in Bolivia. And in the next 10 to 15 years, according to Molina, it could grow to 10,000 hectares. Argentina, by contrast, cultivates around 220,000 hectares of vines. Bolivia's strategy instead is to produce wines of quality. As evidenced by the plethora of international awards won by its wineries, '[Bolivia] has already demonstrated that it has wines of equal or better quality' to its South American neighbours, says Molina. This international recognition has led many Bolivian wineries to start exporting to places like the United States, Europe and China. On top of this, they are looking at enotourism as a means of spreading awareness of Bolivian wines and improving the sector's economic standing.

The Bolivian National Wine Makers Association recently conducted a study that found for every 25 acres of land used to grow grapevines in Tarija, 10 people are lifted out of poverty. And in 2016 wine production rose 44 percent in Tarija, bringing more than US$20 million into that sector. 'We are the most important industry in the south of Bolivia after hydrocarbons,' Bodegas Kuhlmann's Molina says. But despite their success, Bolivian wineries have received little to no support from their Bolivian government. Contraband wine smuggled in from Argentina is having a negative effect on the industry by reducing the sales of the genuine producers, impeding development. As of now there are no clear policies to fight it. More support from the local population would go along way too. Bolivians tend to prefer sweeter fortified wines to the dry wines enjoyed elsewhere. In an Interview for CGNT America, the Argentinian sommelier and blogger Laura Malbeck said, 'The industry survives because it is an industry of passionate people.' While it is important to receive international recognition, locals have to reinforce the market as well.

Old aging barrels at Bodega Kuhlmann.

BX-101 RECOMMENDATIONS

MUSEUM

MUSEO DE MUÑECAS ELSA PAREDES DE SALAZAR

DESCRIPTION: This is a unique and curious museum founded in 2009 by Elsa Paredes de Salazar and her daughter Roxana Salazar in their old family home. The museum was a dream come true for Elsa, who had been collecting dolls her whole life. Their vast collection of dolls is from every corner of the globe. They've also dedicated a whole room that explores Bolivian history and tradition for different dances and celebrations.

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TICKETS: Bs. 10 (nationals) Bs. 15 (foreigns)
ADDRESS: Sopocachi, Rosendo Gutierrez #550
PHOTO: Lola Newell

SHOPPING

ARTE SANO MUTANTE

DESCRIPTION: 'A couple of crazy people who one day decided to mutate and do things that make their lives happy and hope to expand their joy to others.' This is how Gabriela Carreon and Leonardo Romero describe their business. Their designs transform everyday items into beautiful souvenirs from Bolivia: cups, tote bags, stickers, clothes, postcards, pillows and more!

FACEBOOK: @ArteSanoMutante
CONTACT: +591 789 77277
PHOTO: ARTE SANO MUTANTE

RESTAURANT / BAR

MAGICK CAFÉ CULTURAL

DESCRIPTION: MagicK is much more than just a café; it's also a bar, with live music and other events – and above all, incredible food! MagicK's dishes are seasonal and experimental, everything from healthy spins on traditional meals to exquisite culinary creations featuring unexpected flavour combinations

CONTACT: +591 77553535
OPENING HOURS: Tuesdays to Saturdays from 16:00 to 23:00
FACEBOOK: @MagickCafe
ADDRESS: Sopocachi, Presbítero Medina #2526
PHOTO: Alicja Hagopian

CULTURAL CENTER

THELONIOUS

DESCRIPTION: Originally established in July 1997, Thelonious is one of the few spaces in Bolivia dedicated to jazz. In 2016, Thelonious was reborn as a cultural centre, and it's now going strong, with both performances and jazz instruction sharing centre stage. A place where you can enjoy live music – jazz, bossa nova and blues – accompanied by great cocktails and drinks.

ADDRESS: San Jorge, Av. del Libertador #2998
CONTACT: +591 72043198
PHOTO: Rachel Durnford

DESTINATION

LOS YUNGAS

DESCRIPTION: Los Yungas is the subtropical region of the department of La Paz. Located just three hours from La Paz, you reach an Andean forest and a semi-jungle landscape with a warm and humid climate. Ideal for a weekend trip, you can easily visit Coroico by minibus from the bus terminal in Villa Fatima, or you can go down the famous death road by bicycle.

HOW TO GET THERE: There is daily transportation from 'Terminal de Minasa', the prices go from 20 to 40 Bs.
PHOTO: Kal Visuals on Unsplash @kalvisuals

ECOLODGE

SENDA VERDE

DESCRIPTION: Staying at La Senda Verde Ecolodge also helps the Wildlife Sanctuary while you enjoy the beauty of Los Yungas. Due to its ecological design, its comfort, its beauty, its functionality and its complementarity with the animal shelter, the eco-shelter of La Senda Verde is considered one of the best in Bolivia. The accommodation includes breakfast and a tour of the refuge.

WEBSITE: www.sendaverde.org/en/travel/ecolodge/
PHOTO: La Senda Verde

TOUR AGENCY

ANDES XTREMO

DESCRIPTION: This extreme sports agency offers a high level of service and security according to the established and standardised requirements worldwide to share and disseminate these high impact experiences through activities that challenge human nature by discovering new sensations and limits. Its main activities are paragliding, mountaineering and trekking in different areas around La Paz, Cochabamba, Toro Toro and the Cordillera Real.

FABEBOOK: @andesxtremo
WEBSITE: www.andesxtremo.com
PHOTO: Huayna Potosí peak by Toomas Tartes on Unsplash @ toomastartes

MUNAY
outfit design

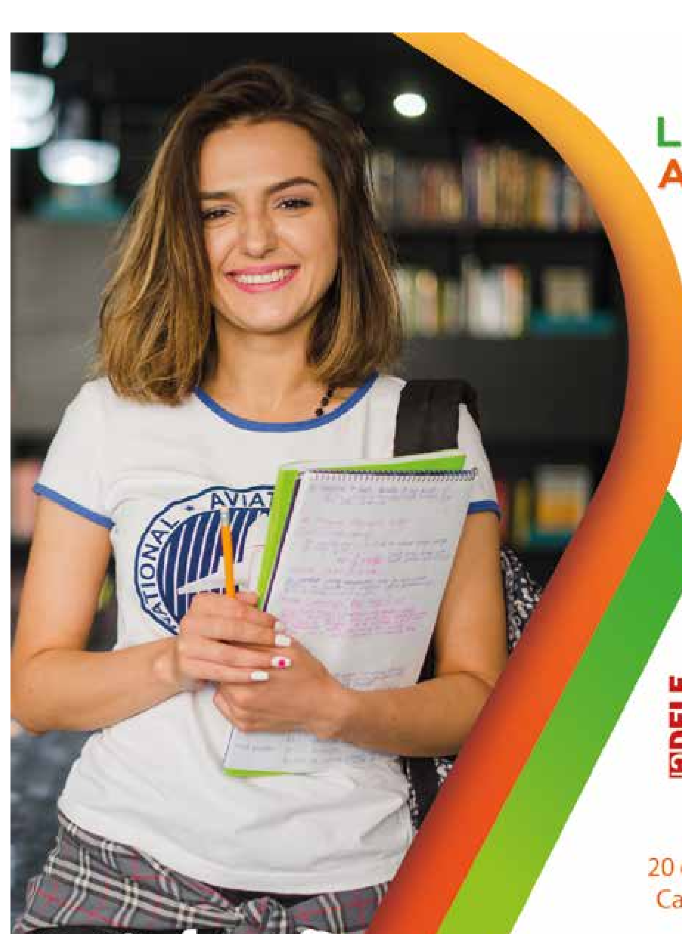
Linares #880 entre Sagarnaga y el pasaje Melchor Jimenez

Calle Linares #956 entre calle Sagarnaga y Viluyo

Munay outfit design

Munay (outfit design)

ALMENDRILLO	Almond tree
AYLLU	Community structure utilised by the Quechua and Aymara people, loosely based on family groups and crossing geographic areas
CASCO VIEJO	Old centre in the city of La Paz
CHOLETS	Colourful mansions of El Alto
CRIOLLO	A person from Spanish South or Central America, especially one of pure Spanish descent
GRAN PODER	'Great power' – Festival celebrated in May in La Paz
INDIANISMO	Political movement in America that places the Indians as a central political subject
KATARISMO	Political movement in Bolivia, named after the 18th-century indigenous leader Túpac Katari
MESTIZO	Person of mixed heritage
PASANTE	Sponsors of a preste
PRESTE	Popular festival, with indigenous-religious meaning
Q'ARA	'White person', in Aymara



LANGUAGES LEARNING
APRENDE IDIOMAS

ESPAÑOL
INGLÉS
FRANCÉS
ALEMÁN
NEERLANDÉS

SISTEMA PRESENCIAL – SISTEMA ON LINE
PROFESORES NATIVOS – CLASES EXCLUSIVAS – ACTIVIDADES

20 de Octubre #2315 (1st floor , above BCP Bank near
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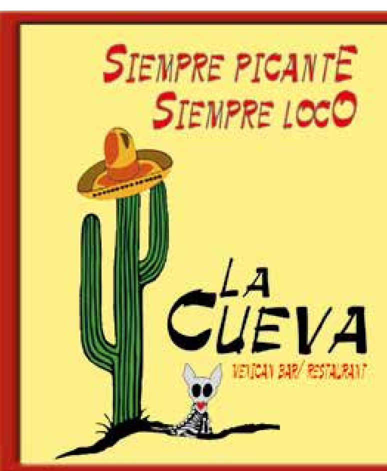
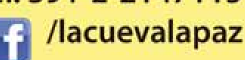
SIEMPRE PICANTE
SIEMPRE LOCO



La Cueva
Calle Tarija 210 B
casi esq. Murillo
Tel: 591-2-2147115


/lacuevalapaz

MORE INFO 788 62061

CULTURAL AGENDA
JANUARY - FEBRUARY 2020

LA PAZ

MIKO ART GALLERY
Miko Art Gallery is a platform that represents, promotes and support visionary artists.
11:00-20:00
Mondays to Saturdays
Miko Art Gallery - Pasaje Cultural Kuljis, Genaro Sanjinés street, #541

100 YEARS OF DOLLS, 1860-1960
Exhibition of famous brands, black doll and wedding dolls
16:00-19:00
Tuesdays and Thursdays
Bs. 15
Museo de Muñecas Elsa Paredes de Salazar - Rosendo Gutiérrez street, # 550

CINEMA AND COLLOQUIUM: THE LIFE OF BUDDHA
Films and documentaries of high cultural, historical, scientific and religious content of Buddha's life.
16:30-18:00
Free
Saturdays, Jnauary 4, 11, 18 and 25
Sakya Rinchen Ling Bolivia - "De la Fuente" building.Alfredo Ascarrunz street, #2626

OTAKU PALOOZA 8
Cosplay contests, illustration and more activities, with national and international guests.
11:00-20:00
Bs. 45
Sunday, January 12
Colegio Don Bosco - El Prado #1805

RODRIGO ROJAS CONCERT
Bolivian singer and songwriter resident in Mexico will be presenting his new album "VIVO"
20:00-22:00
From Bs.110
January 17, 18
Teatro Nuna - Calacoto, 21st street, #8509
More info: +591 78975498

2ND MARCH FOR ANIMAL LIBERATION
Activism against specism
Tuesday, January 28
Free
San Francisco Church

MELIPONICULTURE WORKSHOP
9:00-18:00
February 15, 16
•Bs 650 includes: 1 night accommodation, transportation La Paz-Senda Verde-La Paz, lunch, dinner, snacks.
•Bs 390 includes: lunches and snacks.
La Senda Verde Wildlife Sanctuary - Los Yungas, Bolivia
More info: +591 71244825

COCHABAMBA

BARTER OF PLANTS AND SEEDS
Promoting the home garden, the self-cultivation and to fill our homes with different types of plants. It will be a day full of music, educational talks, and much more.
10:00-17:30
Free
Saturday, January 11
Museo de Historia Natural "Alcide d'Orbigny" - Av. Potosí #1458

ANIMEXTREM FEST 10
Anime festival: live music, contests and much more
11:00-18:30
Sunday, January 12
Club Olympic - Av. Costanera, next to Parque de la Familia

SACRED ROUTE OF COCHABAMBA
Tour of the main heritage of the Catholic religion in the historic center of Cochabamba. Organized by the Historical-Cultural Research and Revaluation Division of the Bolivian Scientific Society of Literary Research.
17:00-21:00
Free tour
Wednesday, January 22
More info: +591 68467653

URBAN LLAJTA / METAL STAGE
Fair, exhibitors and concert.
15:00-23:30
Free
January 11, 12
La Recoleta

SANTA CRUZ

2DA EXPO TATTOO MUSIC FEST
14:00 - 23:30
January 10, 11, 12
Círculo Aeronáutico Santa Cruz - Av. El Trompillo, 2do anillo

NEW DISKS, NEW WAVES
Music festival
20:00 - 2:00
Bs. 30
Friday, January 17
Meraki Teatro Bar - Ballivián street, #159

ADOPTION AND AWARENESS FAIR
The biggest event on education and responsible pet ownership
10:00 - 18:30
Sunday, January 26
Parque Los Mangales - Av. Beni 4to anillo
More info: +591 79018874

STARTUP "MADE IN BOLIVIA"
Mentorship for entrepreneurs
8:30 - 17:30
Bs. 100
February 7, 8
Fundación Trabajo Empresa - Moldes street, Cobija corner
More info: +591 3 3337439

ORURO

CARNAVAL DE ORURO
Declared Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity by UNESCO, the Carnival of Oruro is the maximum representation of carnivals in Bolivia and is one of the most important in the world. This carnival is an explosion of culture, dance, music, devotion, joy and fun, where more than 60,000 dancers and musicians pilgrim to the temple of the Virgin of Socavon, representing dances from all regions of Bolivia.
February 22-23
Oruro, Bolivia.

2018.