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very Thursday and Sunday, countless shoppers flood the **Feria 16 de Julio** in El Alto. It might seem that every resident of both El Alto and La Paz comes to this single neighbourhood, where just about anything under the sun is available for the right price. One can easily be overwhelmed by the mass movements of people, the ebb and flow of shoppers washing the streets with the kinetic energy of commerce.

On a recent trip to this market, I was easily overwhelmed by this flood, bumping shoulders with merchants and shoppers alike as we squeezed down the neighborhood's narrowest streets. The movement seemed chaotic and more than a little claustrophobic, and in short time I sought respite from the clutter among the ridge above the **autopista**, the ribbon of road that delivers cars, cabs and minibuses from La Paz up to El Alto.

Below me, central La Paz spreads out. To my right the bright sun ascended towards its zenith, casting a blanket of golden warmth across the city. From this distance, the city seemed calm, serene. Despite the many cracks and crags wrinkling and pocking the face of this metropolis, and the traffic jams and roadblocks I knew were occurring below, it all seemed almost organized.

Bolivia is a complex place, with a diverse collection of environments, from the urban clutter of high-altitude La Paz and El Alto to the most remote and wild lowlands of the Amazon Basin. But what does this diversity mean for individual people in Bolivia? What does this place mean for the backpacker in La Paz lugging her heavy rucksack to her hostel after descending from the bus terminal? For a city resident looking for a rural escape from the urban grind? For the new lovers looking to a plaza for a moment of 'privacy'? For the llama herder on **La Cumbre**, who collects the last of his flock and looks upward at the blanket of stars shining above him?

In this issue of Bolivian Express, we set out to explore not so much different 'places' in Bolivia, but to dig deeper and to view Bolivia through 'spaces'. That is, to highlight the diversity of place here, we wanted to go deeper than the descriptive. We set out to take a look at the environments in which Bolivians (and foreigners) navigate their work, their play, their day-to-day life, and how they create and interact with those spaces, consciously and subconsciously. Beyond explanatory descriptions of locations and scenarios, we set out to highlight the relationships between people and the places in which they exist.

In our explorations, we discovered spaces here beyond the physical. We realized that the places around us contain spaces for the cultural, the political, the spiritual, the metaphysical – sometimes all at once.

As I stood at the edge of crowded market day in El Alto and stared down at the irregular patchwork of La Paz's streets, I gained a sense of the complexity of space here. Each one of the millions of people here are tasked with navigating their way through the places around them – to engage with their environment, to respond to it, to make it their own.

These are the stories we set out to tell. *

N.B. Several Spanish and Aymara words are marked in **bold** throughout this issue.

Their meanings can be found in our glossary.

By William Wroblewski



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The world we live on
The world above
The main thoroughfare connecting La Paz and El Alto, located on the northwest side of La Paz; officially called La Autopista Héroes de la Guerra del Chaco
Large street market held twice-weekly in El Alto
An indigenous woman with a particular fashion style
A traditional Bolivian drink made with local liqueur often mixed with lemonade and lime
A couples dance, danced separately with a hand- kerchief held in the right hand, which originates from southern Bolivia
A high mountain pass on the way from La Paz to the lower-altitude Yungas region An overhead cable car
A type of pepper grown in Central and South America, distinguished by hairy leaves and black seeds
Dark constellation of the serpent
The world below

A clear Bolivian liquor made from grapes

Dark constellation of the llama

Gondola lift used as a source of public transportation

TELEFERICO

SINGANI

YACANA





Bolivian Andean Cuisine

Llama steak

Andean stretched pig

KALA KAITO would u dare to finish it?

Andean Buffet

15 bolivian beer choices

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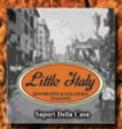


Check out our website www.4cornerslapaz.com for more information about each restaurant, or grab a cab to the corner of Calle Murillo, Tarija and Cochabamba in La Paz, and wander around, you are sure to find something you love.













THE SPACE BETWEEN

TEXT: HANNAH MILLS

olivian blogger, journalist and poet Paola Senseve uses space to make her readers question the nature of poetry. Using a form called 'concrete poetry', Senseve combines the verbal and the visual on the page, using poetry and contemporary art to achieve what she calls 'a poetry that has no limits'.

CONCRETE

POETRY

'The space becomes a resource with which one must interact,' she explains. 'It is part of the metaphor, part of the content. I am interested in blurring the boundaries between poetry and other arts, basically because poetry is everywhere and is inherent in all artistic expressions.' Her poems are as much an exercise in graphic design as they are literary compositions. Senseve has certainly achieved something visually striking and thought provoking in her works.

Concrete poetry has deep South Ameri-

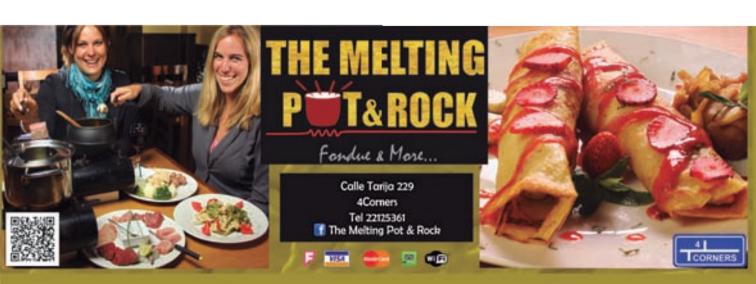


can roots. It was developed in the 1950s by Brazilian poets Augusto and Haroldo de Campos and Eugen Gomringer, from Bolivia, who is often hailed as the father of the movement.

Gomringer was born in Cachuela Esperanza, a tiny village in northern Bolivia, and has spent much of his life as an arts professor in Düsseldorf, Germany. In his work, the layout of the poem is as important as the text itself. One of his pieces illustrates the relationship between sound and silence by embracing the absence of text, where blank spaces between words convey silence more effectively than words that must be read or spoken aloud.

VISUAL

Gomringer has spent little time in Bolivia. Although he is not well known here, he is a prominent influence in Senseve's work and in the works of other concrete poets around the world. But the forms of this poetry are quickly changing. In a world of JPEGs and Photoshop, the style has become more varied, technical and visually striking than ever before.*



THE DOGS OF LA TABLADA

Finding warmth and companionship on the streets of La Paz

TEXT: CELIA DYSON ILLUSTRATION: OSCAR ZALLES



hat do the dogs of La Paz have to offer? Besides their talents as road crossers, dustbin foragers and pedestrian schmoozers, for several stall owners in the Max Parades neighbourhood of La Paz, the local dogs serve as unofficial nighttime security guards.

The dogs of La Tablada, a side-street crammed with stalls selling clothes and children's toys, can often be seen sleeping together in the street during the day. At nighttime, they act as companions to the street's security guards, watching over the wares of vendors who have packed up and gone home.

Local stall holders speak fondly of the animals, suggesting that they have won the favour of the street's regulars. One vendor, Eva, tells me that people often bring the dogs food and that, although they are street dogs, the security guards are like their surrogate owners. Mateos Rojas, however, who is another stall owner, thinks that they may belong to residents of the nearby houses. Mateos' own dog, Grupi, keeps him company during the day and comes home with him at night, a luxury that street dogs do not have.

> Whether these watchdogs are truly from the street or merely the pets of less-than-hospitable owners, the animals of La Tablada have certainly found companionship in each other, as well as in many of the street's locals. And for their hard work patrolling the streets, they've also found something more: that all-important cosy spot to sleep in. *

READING THE SOUTHERN SKY

ook into the mesmerising Andean sky on a winter night and it's easy to understand the jealousy of northern stargazers. Down here, in the Southern Hemisphere, the glowing white band of the Milky Way is far more pronounced, as are the unique 'dark constellations' - silhouettes produced by interstellar dust clouds that obscure the luminescence of our galaxy.

The Incas believed these constellations to be celestial animal spirits watching over their earthly counterparts. There are seven in total, with the number visible varying according to the time of year. With its long neck and bright eyes, the llama, or yacana, is easily recognised. According to Incan legend, this celestial llama descends to Earth at midnight when nobody is watching and drinks from the oceans, preventing deluge.

These celestial animals helped the Incas predict earthly phenomena. Like terrestrial snakes, which are most active during the rainy season, the celestial serpent, or mach'acuay, becomes visible in the sky at that time of the year.

Of course, the Incas also mapped the more traditional, connectthe-dot constellations, which represent inanimate architectural and geometric forms. But with a more complex sky to observe at night, these early astronomers certainly spoiled themselves with the beauty of the heavens, taking the opportunity to dream-up forms that don't make their way to northern eyes.*



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olivia is the largest cocaine producer in the world. The vicious Santa Blanca Mexican drug cartel, a rising underworld power and global threat, has turned it into a crime-ridden narco-state. Large-scale military intervention is not the answer.

Enter 'The Ghosts', a legendary US Elite Special Operations team made up of experts in taking down criminal organisations through highly classified covert operations. Their next mission? Destabilise drug trafficking across Bolivia, assasinate high-profile targets and break ties between the Santa Blanca drug cartel and the corrupt government.

Or so Tom Clancy's Ghost Recon: Wildlands would have you believe.

This upcoming video game, from French developer Ubisoft, was announced at this year's Electronic Entertainment Expo in Los Angeles. It will place gamers in the boots of the Ghosts, leaving them free to roam and wreak havoc in a gigantic Bolivian playground.

The Altiplano, the Salar de Uyuni, the

Amazon Basin and the infamous Death Road are among the locations the Ghosts will find themselves in. In order to make these virtual worlds as realistic as possible, Ubisoft conducted two weeks of research in Bolivia, consulting the likes of local officials and botanists. Such diversity of terrain will keep the gameplay fresh, forcing players to adapt their approach to the landscape at every shootout or car chase.

I want to play it, I really want to play it!' exclaims Boris Iván Miranda, a Bolivian journalist with four years experience covering the drug trade. Watching the game's reveal trailer, this avid gamer sees something magical about exploring familiar places in a digital space.

The game will run on the latest hardware, making it difficult for an untrained eye to distinguish between the game's virtual environment and reality. However, when it comes to the story, which is supposedly inspired by the 'brutal reality' of Bolivia, Boris is not convinced.

'The idea of Bolivia being a narco-ridden state is exaggerated,' Boris explains. 'The biggest clans are in Mexico, Colombia and now Brazil. In Bolivia the clans are smaller. Many of them are familial and they only support these larger clans.'

Despite this discrepancy between the game and Bolivian reality, Boris does not rule out that the game's bloody outlook could eventually play out in the country. 'The border between Brazil and Bolivia is larger than the border between U.S and Mexico,' he says. 'Brazil is now the second biggest consumer of cocaine and its derivatives, so it's hard to tell what might happen here in the next five or ten years. Drug lords are looking towards Bolivia for new business opportunities.'

At least for now, the peaceful Bolivian coca farms are a far cry from the savage cartel shootouts and reprisal killings depicted in Wildlands. Such acts are confined to countries like Mexico and Colombia, where large cartels run the more lucrative operations within the supply chain.

Wildlands exaggerates the reality of drug trade in Bolivia and the blockbuster game could potentially harm the country's image, but Boris does not think this is something worth worrying about. 'It's only a game

12 **...** \$PAGE



after all,'he says, 'and people see these things happen all the time in the media.'

It's not the first time mainstream media misrepresents a developing country. Boris recalls a controversial episode of The Simpsons where the family visits Rio de Janeiro and is subject to kidnapping by taxi drivers, muggings by children, assaults by abusive monkeys and daily interactions with an entirely bisexual male population. By comparison, the distortions in Wildlands seem less farfetched.

And yet it is possible that Wildlands will draw little media attention in Bolivia, where the latest videogames are not commonplace. According to Boris, 'In Bolivia it is easy to get copied games for Playstation 1 and 2, but you can't find games for later consoles.' In order to get his hands on Sony's latest Playstation, Boris had to fly to Miami to purchase the console.

That said, the game might boost the country's image by putting its stunning landscapes and rich biodiversity under the global spotlight. With Bolivia having a relatively low profile in popular culture worldwide, this will almost surely be the first glimpse into the country for many gamers.

For those who can look past the distorted reality and clichéd storylines of make-believe American heroics, Wildlands could provide a thrilling gaming experience, complemented by a beautiful Bolivian backdrop.

Tom Clancy's Ghost Recon: Wildlands will be released on PS4, Xbox One and PC. The release date is yet to be announced. *





DANCING INSIDE A BOX

CREATIVITY WITHIN THE CITY'S SMALL SPACES

TEXT: CELIA DYSON PHOTO: WILLIAM WROBLEWSKI

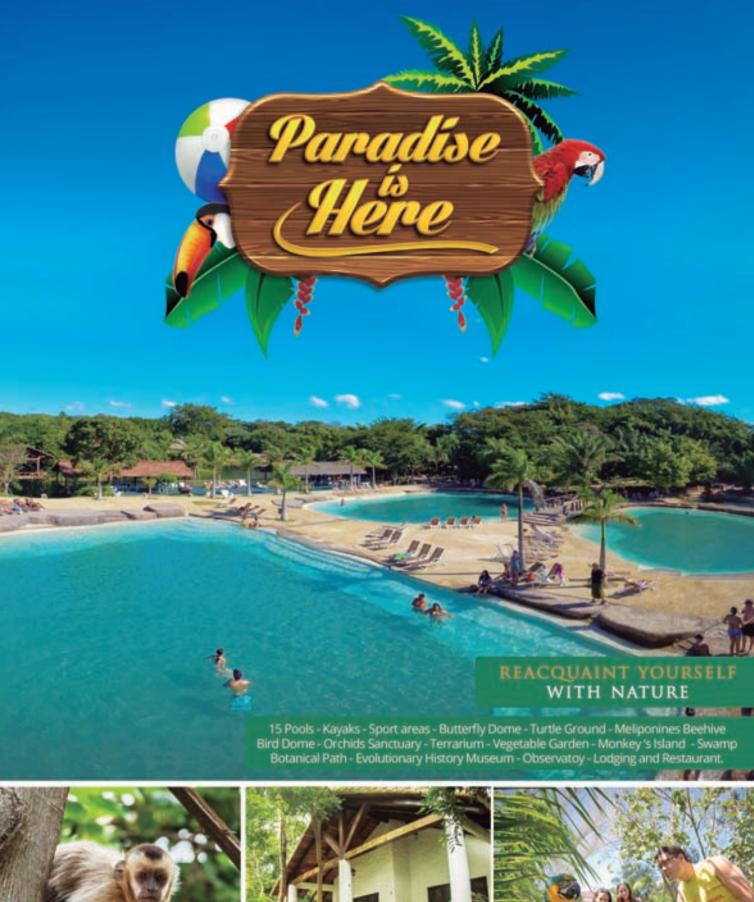
he show 'Solos en La Paz' is a series of solo contemporary dance performances organised by Isabel Aillón. It takes place in a small, black, rectangular room in El Desnivel, a theatre not far from Plaza Abaroa. In addition to choreography and movement, the performers use sound, lighting and props – such as photographs, rice scattered on the floor or multimedia projections – to transform the limited performance space.

Sharon Mercado, who presented a contemporary piece influenced by Andean tradition, told me about the importance of space in her work. 'Space for a dancer is essential,' she explains. 'We need large spaces that have a good floor, that have a mirror. These alternative spaces,' she continues, 'like El Desnivel, Kinesfera and Casa Duende are really tiny because the people who own them don't have much money. It costs about 30 pesos to rent for an hour, sometimes not even an hour. Because of this I think the majority of independent dancers in Bolivia work on short performances like those today.'

Despite the limited space, poor floors and the high cost of renting a place to rehearse, the dancers of 'Solos en La Paz' pull off a set of well-crafted, unique performances. If the city's relatively small contemporary dance scene gained popularity, it would be interesting to see what these performers could do, given access to larger spaces and more resources. *















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drinking with gusto(u)

A NORDIC AERIE SERVING CONTEMPORARY ANDEAN SPIRITS

TEXT: AMALIE HOLMGAARD MERSH
PHOTO: IVÁN RODRÍGUEZ PETKOVIC

is sideburns are almost long enough to dip into the Bolivian beer every time his lips touch the edge of the glass. A light tip of the glass calmly flushes some of the golden liquid down his throat, extending his thick ponytail for a brief moment as he reaches his head back. 'He' being one of the two guys sitting at the bar with a blue light under the table top, which gives his khaki trousers an interesting new colour.

The dedication to Bolivian ingredients in the Gustu bar, in the Calacoto neighbourhood of La Paz, means that the Danish founders haven't sneaked in snaps — a strong Scandinavian liquor. Instead, the bar is full to the brim with bottles of just four different spirits of purely Bolivian provenance: **singani**, vodka, wine and gin. Yes, the bar does run with the same con-

cept and philosophy as its food-making equivalent downstairs, founded by Claus Meyer (co-founder of Copenhagen-based two-Michelin-star restaurant Noma, awarded 'best restaurant in the world' a few years running). Apart from the Bolivian ingredients, local bartenders serve homemade creations straight out of the Gustu lab in the basement. The lab gives way for creations to blossom, and bar manager Alejandro Villanueva proudly talks about the bitters, sours, quinoa milk and new liqueurs being invented and tested.

'We want to use only Bolivian ingredients and encourage Bolivian producers. That's why I don't see a future with whisky, for example. I know that in Bolivia we drink a lot of whisky – I do too. But we can make other things. We can create new kinds of liquors,' says Villanueva.

encouraging competition

This surely is the imaginative bartender's playground. Saturday through Thursday is a build-up to the weekly contests where each of the mixologists present a newly invented drink to the rest of the staff every Friday. If the winning one is good enough, the drink wins a space in the menu. If not – work continues.

The contests, the experiments and the creativity make it a place for good friendship and teamwork, Villanueva explains. It's an encouraging environment. They surprise me every week when they decide to make something with tomato or **achiote** – a natural colourant used to make salteñas.'

So everything is made with new and – let's face it – slightly strange ingredients. Still, isn't it limited? Apparently not so much,

16 SPAUES SPAUES

according to Villanueva. You can play and work with just three kinds of spirits and make a lot of things. We use herbs in the vodka, make an infusion and develop another kind of bitter. We make syrups with everything: lemongrass, cinnamon, pepper, **locoto** – it's really nice.'

attracting the locals

With all the inventing and creativity you may be led to believe that a visit to Gustu Bar could leave your bank account bleeding. But a crucial fact for your wallet is that enjoying the new liquids of Bolivia will do no such thing.

The average price for a drink lies at a sympathetic 40 bolivianos (just under US\$6). The reasoning behind this is to encourage locals to come and imbibe; currently, tourists account for 60 percent of business. 'We try to get more Bolivians, and that's why we don't want to be an expensive bar,' Villanueva says. 'We work with the quality and keep prices average.'

Yet it's not just about reducing prices and concocting new creations. The masterminds behind Gustu have their work cut out for them – they are seeking to change Bolivian drinking culture.

I don't think there is a drinks culture here in Bolivia, 'says Villanueva. 'We have good products, very good bartenders and a lot of ideas. We can make a new kind of Bolivian cocktailery. Here in Bolivia they drink what they know. The **Singani** Sour, **Chuflay, San Mateo**, etc.'

According to Villanueva, Bolivian cuisine has been overlooked in the culinary world. 'For a long time we didn't feel proud of our local ingredients,' he says. 'With Gustu, we are making people proud of the things we have.'

andean minimalism

The Gustu bar – like its older brother below – can't escape its Scandinavian, minimalist surroundings. Wooden recycled doors and windows are put up to shield the bar from the restaurant. The once creamy-white paint on the old wood is peeling from the façade, bringing in a new Nordic retro feel.

But fret not. The whole bar scenario is spiced up with red-green-and-yellow Andean-style cushions, belying the notion that you are on a brief trip to Northern Europe and warmly reminding you that your feet are still firmly planted in Bolivia. At the same time, it may be a mistake to let the minimalism put you off. Villanueva, sprawled comfortably on a wooden sofa overflowing with soft cushions, points to the other tables in the bar. 'It's Bolivian wood,' he says. 'The chairs, the tables, the sofas – everything is Bolivian.'

On the chair (made in Bolivia) at the bar (carved from Bolivian wood), the man with the ponytail knocks back the last of the golden Bolivian drops left in the sleek glass. One sleeve at a time, he rolls up his checked shirt and slides off the chair, removing his legs from the blue light. With his trousers transformed back to the regular khaki colour, he slings his jacket over his shoulder, nudging his ponytail to one side. The man and his friend wave and nod to the bartenders before strolling out – full to the brim with Bolivia. *

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he Centro Cultural Torino, located on the upper balcony of Hotel Torino on Socabaya Street, is a small salon with a series of vintage patterned armchairs. The balcony overlooks the central patio, which is surrounded by cascading arches and covered by tables and chairs set out for guests to use at their leisure. I am here to take Silvia Paz Soliz's class for tourists on Bolivian culture and traditions.

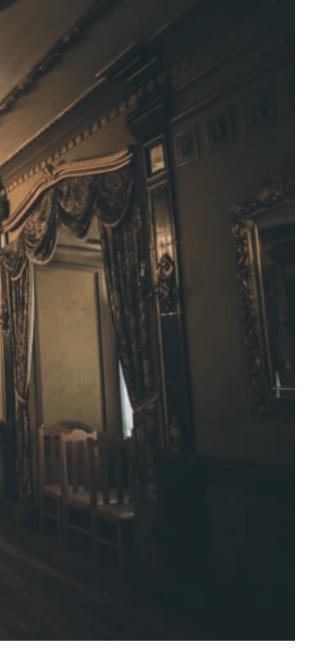
Paz started teaching classes to tourists out of a desire to open their eyes to what is happening around them in Bolivia; however, she has also taught Bolivians and given seminars to schoolchildren as well as policemen. She believes this space for her classes, where Bolivians learn about their own history and traditions in a clear and concise way, is important because the hectic nature of everyday life doesn't always allow for time to reflect on one's own traditions

and their origins. Furthermore, she hopes that by offering classes to tourists, she gives them something intangible to take away from Bolivia.

Manuel Callizaya, the manager of the centre, says that activities include tango, waltz and **cueca** dance classes, civic-group meetings and musical performances. 'The space doesn't have lucrative benefits,' he says. 'Therefore, whatever activity that is carried out here in the centre is for the benefit of the artists – they show what they have produced and if sometimes there are civic groups who come to use the space for meetings, it is for the benefit of the city of La Paz.'

Soon, other artists will be able to find spaces such as Centro Cultural Torino to present their work more easily due to a new project being carried out between TelArtes, a national network of cultural organisa-

tions, and the Ministry of Cultures and Tourism. Called El Espaciario: chacras de cultivo cultural en Bolivia (The Spaces Archive: farmhouses of cultural cultivation), the project will map out different independent cultural spaces in Bolivia in order to generate a clearer vision of the depth and diversity of the 'cultural ecosystem' across the country. It will also encourage different reflections, proposals, and creations related to cultural promotion and development. Through this knowledge, the project aims to improve public policy and encourage private and public participation in the financing of cultural projects by gaining a greater idea of how each cultural space works economically, and the contacts and connections that it has with the culture. Through the project, TelArtes and the Ministry of Cultures and Tourism are working to develop a 'Law of Cultural Spaces' that will give greater economic and legal support to certain artistic venues.



visual, dramatic, musical, audiovisual and literary arts, as well as heritage repositories, may be included in the TelArtes registry. To be included, all spaces must meet certain criteria: they must be independent spaces managed by the civil sector; they have to be at least three years old; they have to feature at least twelve cultural activities per year; and their primary aim must be cultural, not commercial.

today.

In 1980, 33 years after the opening of the hotel, the Centro Cultural Torino was founded. It is an open space, available to all types of artists as well as civic groups who have frequented the centre to make important decisions that have affected Bolivian society outside its walls. There is no charge for artists to present their work in this space, and the artists are at liberty to charge a small sum for their work.

The map will solve a primary issue in the cultural sector of Bolivia, namely, the lack of systemized information of the different cultural spaces and their resources. The Ministry of Cultures and Tourism will be in charge of documenting all public spaces, beginning the process in August, whilst TelArtes will register all private and indeCultural spaces such as the Centro Cultural Torino are important for the artists, the industry and Bolivian society itself. This sentiment is echoed by Lil Fredes, one of the researchers for the project, who believes that 'cultural spaces are essential for cultural development because they allow for dialogue and different encounters between

Cultural spaces fulfil the premise that security doesn't depend on cameras or vigilance but on the life of the community of the city."

artistic and cultural proposals and citizens exercising their cultural rights. They are spaces of creation, innovation and management that create opportunities not only for the artists or curators but also

Researcher Lil Fredes

for Bolivian society itself.' She has noticed that, through the research already carried out, they have witnessed how these spaces

pendent spaces (which has already started, in July in Cochabamba). All private cultural spaces dedicated to the sectors around them to be more secure because of the way people use them: 'They fulfil the premise that security doesn't depend on cameras or vigilance but on the life of the community of the city,' she says.

The Centro Cultural Torino is a perfect example of such a space. Constructed in 1626, the building that houses the Hotel Torino itself reflects Bolivia's social and cultural history, with its colonial-era patio and republican façade, as well as its continued modern service in the La Paz of If the Centro Cultural Torino were to become part of the El Espaciario program, it would be part of a book and online webpage, which will hopefully improve the artistic process where different cultural actors from industries as well as the artists themselves can find what they need more easily. The map will be available on the TelArtes website for private spaces, and for public spaces there will be a map on the Ministry of Cultures and Tourism's website. For people like Manuel, who manages the Centro Cultural Torino, and for Paz, this project may, in the future, help them to form better connections with other cultural spaces and actors as well as receive different forms of support from the government and private institutions.

Manuel is enthusiastic about the project and believes it will allow for better promotion of cultural and civic activities as well as the ability to connect with other centres doing similar things. If others can help with our cultural activities, and, if through the Centro Cultural Torino we can help other civic centres, other cultural activities, other centres that often have these types of musical performances—as well as them being able to be in contact more with this centre—it is, of course, very welcome.'

Recently, the Centro Cultural Torino hosted an event linked to the MERCO-SUR Patrimonio Intangible/Inmaterial (Intangible Heritage) workshops, celebrating the tradition of the cholita through the catwalks of Promociones Rosario, a project aimed to promote and preserve the tradition of the cholita. Such events as these, as well as those of Silvia Paz, will be important in the preservation of culture as well as the creation of new forms and traditions. The project can only help in these processes and show the diversity and richness of culture throughout Bolivia.*

You can find out more about El Espaciario on Facebook, Twitter (@TelArtes) and Instagram (TelArtes_Bolivia) or on the Te-LArtes website. You can recommend different spaces for the map through the following form:

http://bit.ly/espaciarioform have allowed for neighbourhoods and the or you can e-mail:espaciario@telartes.org.bo.

LINES DRAWN IN THE MARKET

THE INS AND OUTS OF A BAZAAR REGULATION

TEXT: WALKER ADAMS PHOTO: DIEGO ESPEJO

1 Alto's Feria 16 de Julio is an open-air market of 10,000 stalls stuffed with tax-free goods. On market days, Thursdays and Sundays, it is so busy that every intersection feels like its epicenter.

The view is similar from almost anywhere. Tents meet the horizons in dotted lines

two-story buildings heighten the sense of congestion, many of them with shops that spill out into the market.

The other section is a lengthy, openarea stretch along Avenida Panorámica, slightly less disorientating for the occasional billboard as a point of reference. Though Avenida Panorámica feels more

there is a force governing the chaos. In fact, there are two forces governing the chaos.

On off-market days, you can see stall boundaries stamped on the pavement. Spaces are regulated by vendor associations, trade groups that grow to as many as 1,500 vendors.



and tens of thousands of people fill the spaces between them. You can choose any direction and walk straight, expecting to eventually hit the edge, but the market will keep rolling out ahead of you like a treadmill.

The commotion is constant throughout, but there is an obvious territorial division in the market. One part of the market, its largest portion, seeps through an 80-block grid of businesses and residences. Here,

open than the grid, my stolen wallet would suggest the area is just as hectic.

Once lost in the maze, the only visual cues to suggest ones' location are often the goods themselves. There are obvious landmarks like the adorable-yet-tragic live-animal section, but there are also sections filled purely with clothes, shoes, plants, cars, electronics or food. This deliberate segmentation is the first indication that, despite the sense of anarchy,

One such association is headed by Carmen Saenz, the manager of Musica Selecta, a booth hawking a wide selection of music CDs. She explains that associations help to give vendors a collective voice, manage vendor permits, act as intermediaries in vendor disputes, and work to keep neighbouring residents happy.

In addition, every association has a book of statutes that members must observe. If members fail to attend meetings or show up on market days, they can incur fines or even lose their stalls.

The mayor's office provides the market with a second tier of regulation. It barricades the busy streets every Thursday and Sunday, issues vendor permits, and collects fees from vendors.

Although the mayor's office makes the market possible, Saenz claims its actions are crippling commerce in certain areas, including the one in which Saenz sells music. Saenz and members of her association do business on the stairs that connect the market to the streets below. Like all street vendors, they are dependent upon foot traffic, and the newly built teleférico diverted that away from them.

Now the mayor's office of La Paz is purging street markets below El Alto. Over the years, the mayor's office has gradually diminished street markets downtown by controlling the market for stalls. As Saenz puts it, 'Before, having a stall was like having an inheritance, but the mayor's office prohibited [the sale of stalls]. They had to restrain it. There were more vendors than before, and they did not want all of the streets to be occupied.' A decade ago, vendors bought and sold stalls, but now, she says,

'you cannot do transactions. I can give a stall to my daughter or brother instead of selling it, but as you can see, all these occupied spaces are not properties. It is not our property, so we cannot do transactions.'

The government has found a pretext that allows them to downsize sections of the market. Saenz explains that, now, rather than going to the highest bidder, 'the permits the mayor's office gives to us are for people in need.' Associations can recommend people for stall permits, but the mayor's office makes the final decision and manages the overall number of permits in each area.

If I have a stall and I get old, when I leave the stall goes with me. That is how the mayor's office is eradicating the market down below. If they take our stalls . . . That is how they will take them,' Saenz says.

Although the mayor's office of La Paz has been able to curtail street

markets, Saenz does not believe the same is possible in El Alto. "In El Alto, the new mayor is already trying to find a way to coordinate [shrinking the market], but in El Alto the people are much rougher,' she says. 'They also have much more need . . . They are all very united. So I think it is much more difficult.'

To swim in this ocean of commerce, just take the red teleférico up to its terminal station, disembark and walk a hundred meters. Alternatively, you can take the yellow teleférico up to its terminal station and take a 15-30 minute ride in a taxi or minibus. *



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UNDER THE SAME SKY

PHOTOS BY IVAN RODRIGUEZ PETKOVIC ALL IMAGES CAPTURED VIA INSTAGRAM USING IPHONE 5

very day on planet Earth, people travel to different places, see different things and have unique experiences. Though separate in our individual existence, we are all bound by the same sky. The places we go shape us as individuals, but the sky remains constant through it all. It journeys with all of us. It defines us collectively. *

22 SPACES





s I sat for the first time in Plaza España, reading my book and watching the world go by, I vaguely wondered why so many different people had gathered in the same space on a Saturday afternoon, disturbing the tranquillity of the place with noise, crowding and litter.

Bolivian plazas are cultural spaces that pepper La Paz in all shapes and sizes, but they are not just a geographical feature of the city. These spaces can be an arena to proclaim political liberation, a retreat for the lonely, a playground for families and a haven for young couples.

As I observed the plaza, it seemed evident to me where this unwritten article was headed. This was the first stop on my self-designed, unscientific tour of plazas around La Paz, a study of behavioural patterns of plaza users. I would examine the history of plazas, which were

part of geographical grid system designed under the control of the Spanish Empire, and conclude that La Paz has reclaimed the plaza from its colonial heritage,

transforming it into a symbol of social liberation and interaction. It was going to be that simple.

To begin my investigation, I knew I would need to visit Plaza Murillo, the most famous square in La Paz, home to the Presidential Palace and the National Congress. It is, according to Lapazlife.com, 'a tranquil place where visitors can contemplate the country's tumultuous history while observing a rich culture that lives on through the city's locals.'

Unfortunately, due to explosions of tear gas and dynamite I was not able to get there. Miners from Potosi were facing rows of riot police on all roads leading to the square. Despite my best attempts to ignore the warnings of bystanders, I quickly retreated with the crowds and took refuge in a pharmacy as the protesters streamed along the Prado.

A few days later, I returned to similar sounds and scenes. The protests continued downtown, only this time the police had fully secured the perimeter of Plaza Murillo. I was allowed to pass only after surrendering photographic identification. In this

tense atmosphere, I realized that the significance of Plaza Murillo was more complicated than I had expected.

Plaza Murillo was designed in 1549 according to Spanish laws, which commanded that a plaza be placed in the centre of town for fiestas, ease of trade, organised religion and public buildings, such as jails or universities. Even 190 years after the declaration of Bolivian independence, the security of the plaza is clearly vital to maintaining control of the city.

Nevertheless, the disturbance on Plaza Murillo had also demonstrated the use of this space to exercise freedom of expression in an independent La Paz, in a way that reflects the historical role of the plaza as a site of rebellion against Spanish imperialism. Even the name of the plaza serves as a reminder of this history, commemorating the death of Pedro Murillo, a key figure in

friends catch up on long benches and couples sit awkwardly, facing in opposite directions, because one wishes to face the sun and the other craves the shade.

Just a few streets away, the silence of Plaza José Carlos Trujillo Oroza, known to locals as the Montículo, bears no resemblance to the hustle and bustle of Plaza Abaroa. Here, the plaza-goers come in twos and they linger around the square, holding hands or cuddling up together on benches.

How wrong I was to expect a one-size-fits-all conclusion about Bolivian plazas! To try and make some sense of it all, I looked at the work of urban sociologist and journalist William H. Whyte, who outlined the criteria for a successful plaza in his 1980 book, 'The Social Life of Small Urban Spaces'. According to Whyte, plazas simply need comfortable sitting space and climate, access to food and light,

THE PLAZA IS A PLACE WHERE FRIENDS MEET TO LAUGH AND CRY, LOVERS ENJOY AN INTIMATE MOMENT TOGETHER, AND INDIVIDUALS STOP TO CONTEMPLATE LIFE IN THE CITY

the fight for Bolivian independence. The protesters chose this high-profile, historic location for maximum impact and to draw attention to their cause.

I was torn between admiring the use of the plaza as a symbol of social liberation and being disappointed that the protesters had been denied access to the plaza to express their discontent. Although there were hopeful signs, this was not the symbol of social liberation I had hoped to write about with such certainty.

Just a twenty minute bus ride into Sopochachi, Plaza Abaroa is surrounded by cafes rather than government buildings. It also saw explosions and protesting from the Potosi miners this month, and panic surrounding a fire outside the nearby German embassy. However, the action lasted just a few hours, without a large police presence, and the following evening the tranquillity of Plaza Abaroa had been restored.

Here, families wander through on their way to the play-area, and dogs flee their owners to play with new friends. Old and plenty of opportunity for people-watching and social interaction.

I could see that, like me, Whyte had not accounted for the variety and functions of plazas as social spaces in La Paz. So much for the simple conclusion that I had expected. I have found that it is far more rewarding and informative to disregard history and sociological theory and simply watch plaza-users in the act. By observing people, it is easy to see that plazas in La Paz do not have just one category, function or user.

The plaza is a place where friends meet to laugh and cry, lovers enjoy an intimate moment together, and individuals stop to contemplate life in the city. It is also a place for crises and fiestas, which carries the heritage of Spanish imperialism and events of the past. It is a central location for sociability, but also for solitude. It is simultaneously communal and secluded; a public space with a personal significance to its users that is impossible to measure or define.

The question is – which plaza will you go to?*

Bollvian-press 25



LACK OF SPACE

What to Do About It

TEXT: MEGAN SUNDERLAND

pace is of key value when traveling. Given the lack of room in many modes of transportation, often one's body remains immobile for long periods of time, which can cause discomfort, tension, and sometimes aches and pains.

Paola Mollinedo, a physiotherapist from La Paz, says that the most common problems among people traveling in Bolivia often involve the neck, shoulders and lower back.

Neck problems: Common amongst drivers across La Paz who often twist their neck and hold it in a fixed position for long periods of time.

EXERCISES:

- 1. Tilt the neck back and forth as far as possible.
- 2. Turn the neck slowly to the left and then to the right.
- 3. Stretch the neck to the left towards your shoulder as far as possible, then repeat for the right side.

Shoulder problems: Often developed by the backpacker, especially the taller ones, as bus seats incline forward and do not support the back.

EXERCISES:

- 1. With hands by your side facing down, raise your arms forward and away from your body until they are parallel to each other and then slowly lower them.
- 2. In the same position, raise your arms forward and away from your body until they are parallel to each other, and then slowly lower them.
- 3. With hands relaxed by your side, twist your wrists so that your palm and the back of your hands are alternatively facing forwards.

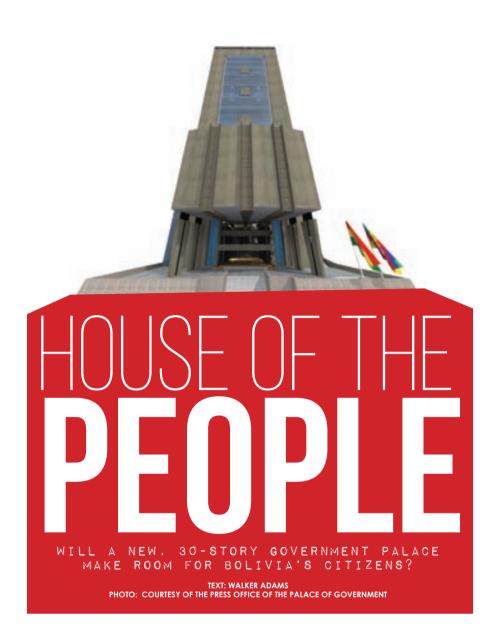
Lower back problems: speaking to taxi drivers in La Paz, the most common problem is with the lower back.

EXERCISES:

- 1. Starting the movement from the hip, move the upper body alternatively to the right and left.
- 2. With arms extended straight in front, starting the movement from the hips, try to touch your toes.
- 3. With feet firmly on the ground, twist your upper body alternatively to the right and left. *







dson Valda Gómez, project coordinator for the Great House of the People, says, 'it will be the symbol of inclusion and social justice that Bolivia will defend.' Wálter Hoz de Vila, president of the Architecture College of La Paz, told Página Siete, 'It is an assault on the city of La Paz.'

In December 2014, the government of Bolivia began construction on the new palace of government, a building Bolivian President Evo Morales has deemed 'The Great House of the People.'

Inspired by the Tiwanaku, an ancient Andean civilization, Bolivian architects loaded the building's design with cultural symbolism. A virtual tour of the building, available via La Razón, shows Mount Illimani and coca-leafthemed rooms. Even the rooftop heli-

copter pad synthesizes the union of the three Andean worlds, the **Alaxpacha**, the **Akapacha** and the **Manqhapacha** – the world above, the world we live on and the world below, respectively.

In news reports, Morales has said the current palace of government, built between 1845 and 1852, is 'full of European symbols and feels as small as a mouse hole.' It was inspired by the palaces of the Roman Renaissance, and, despite having twice fallen victim to arsonists, remains elegant inside and out. With three floors and less than 6,000 square meters, it is about one-fifth the size of the forthcoming palace, which boasts 30 stories and over 30,000 square meters.

The Bolivian government does not just want to build a skyscraper for an episode of Home Makeover: Edición El Estado Multinacional de Bolivia. In simple terms, the Morales administration believes the building will make for more democratic governance, with the authorisation law vaguely stating that it will be 'open and the property of the Bolivian people.'

In practical terms, Gómez says, 'The Great House of the People will provide the physical and technical conditions, as well as the equipment required, for the active and ongoing participation of Bolivians in the design of public policies. The new infrastructure possesses rooms for social coordination...[which are] complemented by furnished offices, video conference rooms, internet and all of the conditions for the work of social organisations.'

As for events, Gómez says, [The building] will hold meetings with social organisations, social events of an official nature, official presentations, ancestral and interreligious ceremonies, cultural presentations, high-level governmental meetings and other recurring official meetings.'

Of course the new palace has its detractors. Some criticise the project for siphoning resources from underfunded programs. La Paz's Mayor Luis Revilla has cited concerns about added traffic, building code violations and illegal construction practices. In a more profound sense, architect Carlos Villagómez told Pagina Siete, 'The essence of architecture is not the result of a simple decoration or dressing,' and has called it a conceptual absurdity to try to reflect the three existential levels of the Andean world in a building.

The government estimates the project will cost over 252 million bolivianos, or more than US\$36 million. If, as the Morales administration says, it can give Bolivians better access to government, the investment has priceless potential. However, if the building is rarely open to the public, it will be criticised as a lavish clubhouse for politicians.

The Great House of the People is already faltering on one promise: originally touted for completion in January 2016, that date has been delayed by a year. Although the building site is still just a gaping hole, it aims to provide a democratic meeting place for all Bolivians by early 2017.*





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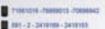
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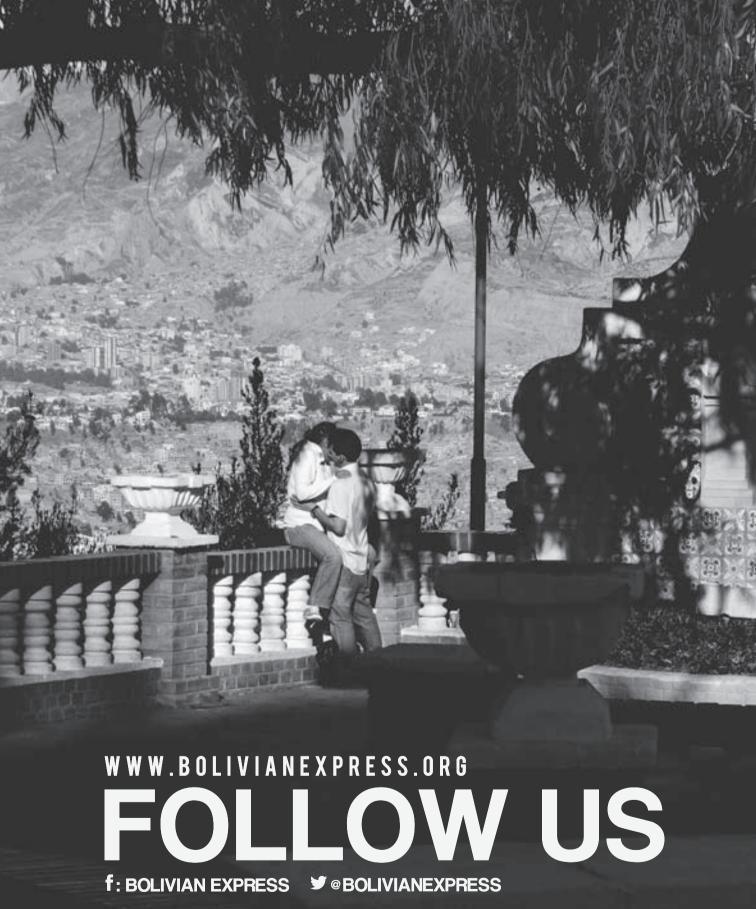
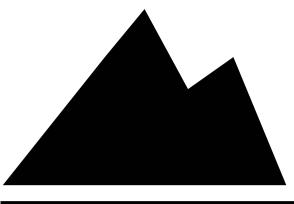


PHOTO: HANNAH MILLS



CLIMBING IN ARANJUEZ

ADVENTURES IN SCALING LA PAZ'S NATURAL SKYSCRAPERS
TEXT AND PHOTO: CELIA DYSON

t's a beautiful day in Aranjuez, a valley framed by highreaching mountains that slope down into a patchwork of winding roads and dusty settlements. As I look around, I see only the slightest hints of the bustling, urban city just a few miles away. Unlike central La Paz, Aranjuez is a natural haven of peace and tranquility.

A shout cuts through the air, banishing all sense of rural tranquility: 'Push! Push with your legs!' I am three-quarters of the way up one of Aranjuez's rock-faces, clinging on with a grimace. On the ground below me is Daniel Aramayo ("Dani" to his fellow climbers), who has yet to be impressed by my handling of a route he deems 'very easy'.

Aranjuez is a popular spot for both local and foreign climbers. Thanks to the work of Dani and others like him, the rock I'm awkwardly hanging off of is studded with pitons – small metal grips which allow for a rope to be threaded through and attached to the climber, protecting them from falling. Using these fixtures in the rocks is known as sport climbing, unlike the rope-free, harness-free bouldering, which I had earlier witnessed when Dani effortlessly propelled himself up the rock-face to attach the rope that is now around my waist.

A few metres from the top of the rock, I will my legs to produce some kind of upward momentum. I glance down at a trembling left ankle and it seems clear that both lower limbs are attempting to declare independence from the rest of my body. They are uncooperative, a lifetime of moving horizontally has clearly made them complacent.

My legs' rebellion gives me time to reflect wistfully on how, when researching sports accommodated by the mountains around the capital, I might have chosen a slightly softer option. Dani tells

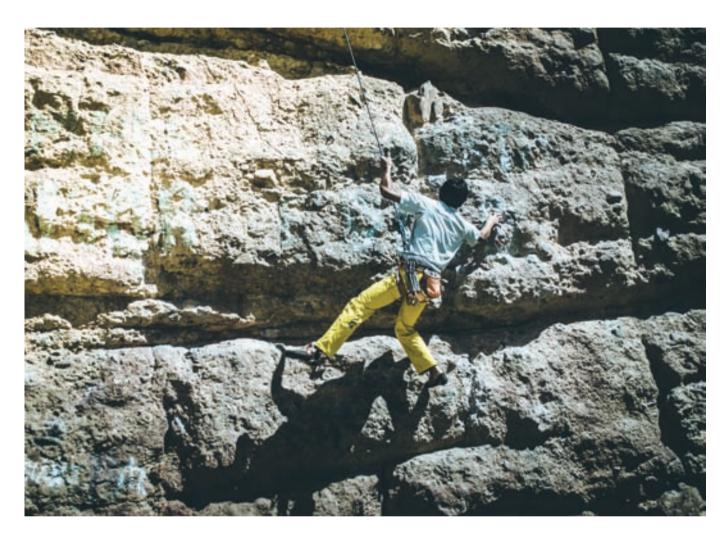


me that a little more than an hour away from the city there are ideal hiking routes, as well as paragliding spots, such as in the Huajchilla area. He also mentions mountain biking, although apart from the vertiginous Death Road route popular with tourists, it seems that

Speaking to Dani, I learn more about what Bolivia's rocks have to offer. Apart from the health benefits and long-lasting friendships of the sport, 'it gives you the opportunity to be here outside, to be in contact with nature,' he tells me. 'I think it's a privilege greater than the

like football. I suspect many Bolivians have never even considered climbing or simply wouldn't know how to get involved.

Dani is one of the creators of BLO-QUE and o, a yearly climbing event that has been running since 2007. This year, it



mountain biking is not hugely popular amongst Bolivians either.

Eventually I admit defeat, after failing to reach the top. No one in my party is impressed. They all maintain that a short break was all I would have nee-

ded to regain my strength. When I touch down on the ground, even the rock face seems to be regarding me particularly stonily. Despite my failure

 and a continued conviction that a break is not a break if it has to be taken twenty feet off the ground – I can doubtless see the appeal of the sport. sport or the place, the type of life I have. One that has permitted me to do this – to climb.'

The majority of the climbers we meet in Aranjuez are foreigners. Perhaps, like me, many Bolivians have too strong a love affair

DANI TELLS ME THAT A LITTLE MORE THAN AN HOUR AWAY FROM THE CITY THERE ARE IDEAL HIKING ROUTES, AS WELL PARAGLIDING SPOTS, SUCH AS IN THE HUAJCHILLA AREA.

with the ground to embrace the sport. Or maybe they are unable to purchase the equipment, which will last for many years but is expensive compared to that of sports will take place in late October and early November. The event will bring Bolivian and foreign climbers together for three days of climbing-based activities in the Chalkupunku valley, 220km away from La Paz. Last year, 170 people attended BLO-OUE and o. A similar number of climbers,

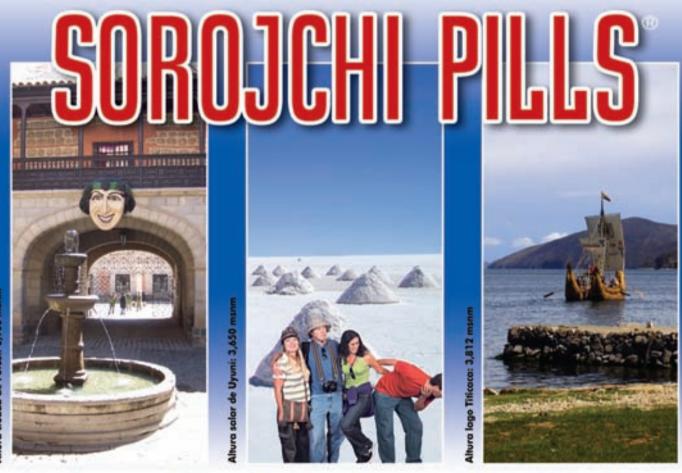
from the sport's small but loyal following, is expected this year.

Looking around at the stunning landscape of Aranjuez, I think of the daily bustle and crowds

of life in La Paz, and I'm surprised that more Bolivians don't come out here; not just for the diversion of climbing, but also for the quiet refuge of the mountains. *

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