



Multilocal Hyperstitions in the Urbatecture of the City of El Alto - Bolivia

Calle Quispe Vania Susana^{*1}

¹Universidad Mayor de San Andrés, Facultad de Arquitectura Artes Diseño y Urbanismo, Bolivia.

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ABSTRACT

One of the defining features of the city of El Alto, Bolivia (at 4,150 meters above sea level), is the self-organized relationship of its inhabitants regarding their multilocal displacement logics, between their residences in the city and their identity roots maintained with the rural area. Therefore, the production of urbatecture (architecture + urbanism) is generated from trivalent logics (this notion surpasses the binary logical system in its yes or no relationship), which constitute its diversity and heterogeneity with a strong interdependence between the biosymbolic and its sociospace. Thus, the purpose of this article is the study of hyperstitions through the architecture colloquially known as “*cholet*,” to materialize desires in architecture without losing the cultural ties that derive from tradition. This architecture adapts, modifies, and generates a logic of socioeconomic reproduction through itinerant ecosystems related to the construction field. These logics are inherent to the public space as a formal continuous space, which, understood from the Aymara logic, transforms into a community space, through practices rooted in superstitions, myths, symbols, and readings that come from ancestral memory. The research method is a qualitative socio-spatial analysis, based on interviews and data collection from primary and secondary sources. The main results will contribute to the construction of hyperstition in Andean Aymara urbatecture from multilocal construction logics.

Introduction

El Alto, Bolivia, is the second most populous city in the country. According to the National Census of Population and Housing of 2012, the city had 848,452 inhabitants, and the projection of the National Institute of Statistics (INE) for 2021 estimated a population of approximately 1,089,100 inhabitants [1, p. 1]. This demographic growth is the result of various historical processes that have influenced the socio-spatial reproduction logics of the city, characterized by its multilocal nature.

Historically, the development of El Alto can be divided into several key stages. The first stage centers on the Siege of La Paz in 1781, led by Túpac Katari and Bartolina Sisa, where El Alto was consolidated as a strategic camp that came to house about 80,000 indigenous people, seeking liberation

from Spanish rule. A second stage addresses the consolidation of *ayllus*¹ and their fragmentation in 1874 through the Law on Indigenous Property Rights, transforming communal property into individual property and facilitating the commodification of land. The third stage emerged in 1985 with Supreme Decree 21060, which led to the closure of mines and the massive migration of miners to El Alto. The fourth stage occurred between 1976 and 1992 and is characterized by rapid population growth, during which time the city's area tripled the size of La Paz [3]. Subsequently, El Alto became a pioneer in the proposal of buildings known as *Cholets*², which for this study will be addressed as "alteño type," as proposed by Samuel Hilari [4].

These historical aspects are fundamental to understanding the current territorial configuration of urbatecture³ in El Alto. Its development is intrinsically linked to the multilocal interactions between rural and urban areas, generating local hyperstitutions⁴ without losing their long-standing biosymbolic values in architecture. Thus, the purpose of this article is to analyze the hyperstitutions that arise from the "alteño type" architecture. The research method is a qualitative socio-spatial analysis, based on interviews conducted with property owners and a critical review of studies around the buildings. The results will contribute to the construction of Aymara Andean hyperstitution.

Literature

This section will address the concepts and studies surrounding Aymara trivalent logic, multilocality, and hyperstitution, all in relation to "tipo alteño" architecture.

Trivalent Logic and Multilocality in El Alto

According to the historical reading of the city of El Alto, which is predominantly composed of *urban Aymaras* linked to ancestral practices and intertwined with their biosymbolic values of rural origin, we will first define the trivalent logic that manifests in the modal form of their logical thought system. Trivalent logic differs from the bivalent vision present in conventional reasoning. It relates to the uncertain, where "for an Aymara thinker, it is possible to infer well-defined conclusions from uncertain, doubtful, or merely plausible premises" [5, p. 3]. In this way, "trivalent or modal logic deals with statements that contain a modality, that is, a qualifier indicating the mode in which a statement is true, its degree of certainty; for example: it is possible, perhaps, it is doubtful" [6, p. 90]. Thus, the "trivalent logic (false, uncertain, and true) of the Aymara language encompasses the principles of the excluded middle and the complementarity of opposites" [7, p. 66]. Both logics coexist in the city; on one hand, the normative character adheres to a bivalent vision of what is permissible and what is not, while the appropriation of sociospace develops through the management of uncertainties based on a trivalent logic of local knowledge. In this way, it materializes its dimensions in urbatecture, within a collective-community relationship; if we revisit the origin of the territory shaped by *ayllus*, it represents an update in time and space in how the interdependencies between the material and the symbolic are woven.

This scenario becomes more complex with the addition of the practice of multilocality, whose central characteristic is the dynamic of inhabitants coming from rural areas and transitioning to the urban area without losing their socio-spatial connection, weaving fluctuations throughout their lives. According to researchers Antequera and Cielo, they "began a process of reconstitution of the political

¹ "Government-family, social, economic, and cultural groups with a territorial base that have persisted since before the Inca Empire in the Andean region of Bolivia and Peru" [2, p. 4].

² A colloquial term that combines the words "chalet" and "cholo," the former of French origin to designate chalet-type houses and the latter to identify people of indigenous descent. To date, this designation has been criticized for appearing derogatory.

³ Urbatecture is a neologism that articulates the socio-spatial representation of architecture in relation to its urban production.

⁴ Hyperstitution is the construction of realities from fictions or ideas, elaborated in section 2.2 Hyperstitutions in relation to urbatecture, of this article.

and economic fabric of the country" [8, p. 12]. On the other hand, for Juan Arbona, multilocality provides a "collective view of multiple times (past and future) and spaces (mining camp, peasant/indigenous community, and urban neighborhood)" [9, p. 281], which adds intrinsic value to the living manifestation of constructing their imaginaries as a process of long collective historical memory.

Thus, inhabitants who have lived in the rural area until their adolescence and later assume life in the urban area generate an "expanded knowledge of the territory in a clear distinction between the open rural and the closed city; these differences demarcate values that are positively attributed to the rural space based on the community [...] as an open system" [10, p. 160]. According to the previously stated, the city of El Alto has atypical characteristics in its composition compared to other cities in Bolivia; the diverse forms of sociospace appropriation highlight its heterogeneity and trivalent practices.

Biosymbolic and Socio-Spatial Relationship in Architecture

In this section, we will explore the interdependence between biosymbolic elements and sociospace. We begin by highlighting that one of the aspects characterizing a large part of the inhabitants of El Alto is their close relationship with the biosymbolic life derived from Aymara trivalent logic. In this logic, the value attributed to *Ajayu* (spirit, soul, and energy) is of particular importance in the realm of health and well-being of the individual or family. Inhabitants aligned with this biosymbolic character turn to *yatiris* (healers, masters, or shamans) to strengthen their connections with their internal and material desires.

These biosymbolic manifestations are associated with the rural community essence, articulated with the *apus*, *achachilas*, and *awichas* (male and female spirits that inhabit the hills), whose ceremonies are facilitated by the *yatiri*. The *yatiri* "reads coca leaves and conducts ritual masses for the *achachilas* [...] and the *awichas* [...] to achieve health, good luck, good harvests, and prosperity. He also performs healing and cleansing rituals." [11, p. 2]. In "alteño type" architecture, this is expressed through the *ch'alla* (payment to the earth) from the construction phase in foundations, through the roofing, and finally in the building's inauguration. Thus, "the social organization in the *ayllu* community, the coexistence through *ayni*⁵, and the practice of caring for *Ajayu*⁶ have managed to safeguard their way of living and dying." [12, p. 19] See the following photos.

⁵ Cycles of reciprocity among Aymara families.

⁶ A vital and sustaining part that represents the soul.



Photo 1: Ch'alla ceremony during the foundation pouring stage for a building.
Source: Vania Calle, January 31, 2018.



Photo 2: Ch'alla inauguration ceremony, offering to the columns with coca soup in clay pots.
Source: Renueva digital. Inauguration of the Imposing "Bumblebee" Event Hall. February 4, 2023.



Photo 3: Sale of ritualistic *mesas* for prosperity requests at street stalls.
Source: Vania Calle, February 25, 2023.

According to the above, the biosymbolic is materialized in architecture through the "fiesta" (celebration), which fosters gatherings where dance halls play an important role in representations of social prestige, through the practice of *ayni*. All these aspects are articulated with the utilitarian approach of these buildings in terms of the services they offer, such as shops, warehouses, game rooms, or apartments, which provide economic income to the owners, generating a network of socioeconomic ecosystems.

Hyperstitions in Relation to Urbatecture

Based on the aforementioned, the concept of hyperstition emerged in 1990 and was proposed by the Cybernetic Culture Research Unit (CCRU), a group active at the University of Warwick. Among the main authors who addressed this concept are Nick Land and Sadie Plant. Hyperstition posits the construction of realities from fictions, going beyond ideas or beliefs and materializing them until they are perceived as truths. According to Nick Land, "it is a positive feedback loop that includes culture as a component. It can be defined as the (techno-) experimental science of self-fulfilling prophecies" [13]. Meanwhile, for Francisco Jota-Perez, hyperstition comprises "constructions and elements of fiction that cease to be strictly fictitious to become part of the consensual reality through the way we approach them, first appropriating (naturalizing) them, then ritualizing them, and finally validating them" [14].

According to Ángel Armagno [15], from the analysis of the historical process, technological advances like the wheel or Gutenberg's printing press produced gradual and imperceptible social changes in human life. This changed at the end of the 18th century with the Industrial Revolution, giving rise to science fiction, which inspired multiple scientific advancements towards a "factory of hyperstitions" due to its capacity to create myths. These myths could possess high local value or surpass the national sphere. In this context, hyperstition posits that "there is an Ideal sphere apart from the Real sphere, and Hyperstitial Objects do nothing but blur [...] the boundaries between the two" [14]. From the perspective of urbatecture, in its relationship with future construction recreated in its tangible form, we can mention the following examples.

Example	Place	Architecture	Urbanism	Why it is Hyperstition
Alteño type (Cholets)	El Alto, Bolivia	It articulates tradition and modernity, as part of trivalent logic, challenging conventional architectural norms.	It transforms neighborhoods in El Alto, generating interest for tourism.	It is born from the vision, idea, or desire of each owner and materializes in the sociospace.
High Line	Nueva York, Estados Unidos	A linear park that combines nature with urban spaces, its objective is to revitalize post-industrial areas.	It transforms degraded infrastructure into public space that connects neighborhoods.	It redefines urban use and revitalizes deteriorated areas.
Ecovillage in Ithaca	Ithaca, Nueva York	Eco-friendly homes that promote community living and sustainability.	A proposal for a self-sufficient and sustainable community.	A community based on ecological and self-sufficiency principles that serves as inspiration.
Masdar City	Abu Dhabi, Emiratos Árabe	It features futuristic architecture that integrates sustainability and advanced technology.	Urban planning aimed at zero carbon emissions and maximum energy efficiency.	It attempts to build a completely sustainable city in the desert as a future model.
Songdo International Business District	Incheon, Corea del Sur	Modern architecture designed for efficiency and sustainability.	A city with a focus on advanced technology and sustainability.	It projects the vision of a futuristic and smart city.
Zaryadye Park	Moscú, Rusia	Architecture that combines nature and technology through multifunctional urban spaces.	It revitalizes a central urban area, creating a new cultural and recreational attraction.	It transforms an urban area by merging nature and technology.
Vertical Forest (Bosco Verticale)	Milán, Italia	Architecture that incorporates vertical forests to improve air quality and biodiversity.	Skyscraper that integrates vegetation as a continuation of sustainable urban design.	It implements an architectural solution and redefines the relationship between nature and the city.
Auroville	Tamil Nadu, India	Architecture that reflects human unity and sustainability, with housing and community buildings.	An experimental city that promotes peace, sustainability, and community living.	A community based on utopian ideals that materializes and functions as a living model of global unity and sustainability.

Table 1 Examples of Hyperstitions in Urbatecture.
Source: Own elaboration 2024.

According to the previous table, the following hyperstitional characteristics in urbatecture are distinguished:

- Speculative projection: The idea arises as a fiction which contrasts with the real situation of its context.
- Belief individual or community desire: Its tangible unity depends on the degree of belief or desire.
- Transformation of the urban landscape: Contributes to a significant transformation of the urban environment, altering the way space is perceived.
- Economic, social, and aesthetic impact: Generates new business opportunities, tourism, and in some cases improves quality of life.
- Technological innovation and sustainability: Incorporates advanced technologies and sustainable practices from speculation.
- Updating cultural identities: Contributes to the creation of new cultural identities or redefines existing ones.
- Adaptation to contemporary challenges: Responds to urgent contemporary problems.

Accordingly, in the specific case of El Alto, the relationship of superstition with "alteño type" architecture is constituted in speculative ideas where the owners project their materialization through self-organization and rhizomatic co-creation, allowing the emergence of new demands and services.

Methodology

The method of this research focuses on identifying superstitions in the so-called "alteño type" architecture, in combination with cultural practices linked to the biosymbolic character that arises from the multilocal relationship, through a qualitative socio-spatial method.

The study comprises three stages: the first stage is based on the review of components, the second stage generates contrasts, and the third stage reviews the results. In the first stage, existing literature, site visits, and interviews with property owners are reviewed. Qualitative analysis allows for an in-depth exploration of the experiences, perceptions, and meanings that owners attribute to their buildings. Additionally, it proves useful for exploring understudied or new areas, such as the relationship between superstition and architecture, and for adapting and projecting future phenomena.

In the second stage, the literature is reviewed with a critical approach, and site visits are conducted to contrast theory with reality. Additionally, the analysis of each owner's statements facilitates debate on the precepts of this architecture. The aim is to contextualize the study by identifying gaps to determine which aspects of the architecture have already been studied and which areas still require research, leading to new hypotheses and research questions. In relation to the study of "tipo alteño" architecture, research has been conducted from social, architectural, and urban perspectives. These investigations include academic articles, books exploring Andean and Neo-Andean architecture, as well as theses. The publication years of these studies are referenced starting from 2010, as this architecture reflects a specific historical and political moment in the urban configuration of El Alto, as well as recent sources.

In the final stage, the processed information will be compared through the triangulation of theories, considering the main contributions and topics of debate. This will allow for a critical synthesis of the main findings of the present research. See the following figure.

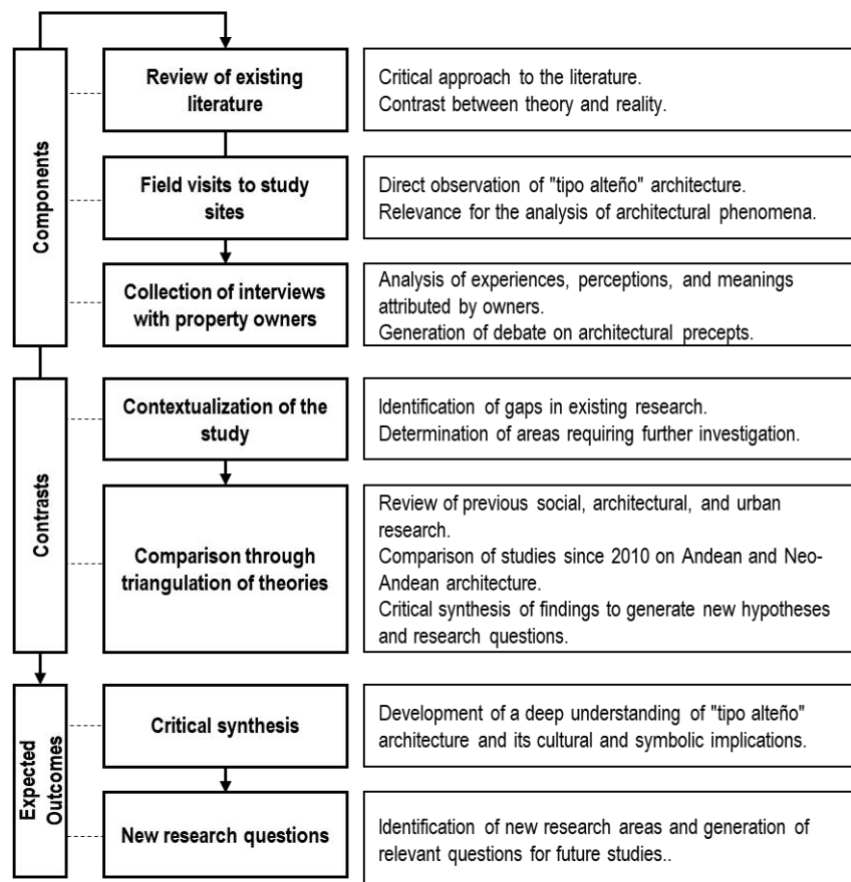


Figure 1 Proposed Methodology
Source: Own elaboration, 2024.

Finding: Multilocal Hyperstitions in "Alteño Type" Architecture

Comparative Critical Review of Studies on "*Cholet*" Architecture

In this section, an analysis of documents and study sources addressing the urbatectonic impact of this architecture from various perspectives has been conducted. This critical analysis examines the contributions of researchers on "alteño type" architecture, contrasting them within the framework of hyperstition, multilocality, and trivalent logic concepts. This relationship allows for an analysis of the facets of this architecture as an urban process.

- **Notes for the Construction of Hyperstitions in "Alteño Type" Architecture**

Hyperstition is considered as fiction made reality through its materialization in "alteño type" buildings. Marina Thorne [16] posits that its realization is mediated by the opulence and ornamentation with which these spaces are conceived, using materials that act as catalysts for new social and cultural realities, stemming from the aspirations of an emerging Aymara class, generating a change in the urban landscape and its cultural perception both locally and globally. On the other hand, Marco Paladines, in his doctoral thesis [17], indicates that neo-Andean architecture materializes bold visions of modernity and tradition, redefining the urban identity of El Alto as a form of cultural resistance and empowerment. Additionally, Andrea Mejía [18] reinforces this idea by arguing that *cholets* act as symbols of distinction and financial success, which, from the anthropology of design, are perceptible in their dynamics between modernity and tradition. Finally, Guido Alejo [19] outlines that there is a utilitarian adoption of modernity elements without breaking with tradition. The author calls this "popular" architectural aesthetic. These authors agree that future ideas can become tangible realities between tradition and modernity, contributing to the concept of hyperstition.

- **Multilocality and Architecture**

Multilocality, the ability to exist in multiple contexts, becomes evident in architecture. Yolanda Salazar [20] emphasizes the generational migration of owners with a strong social load in their traditional practices and the shapes of facades. According to Elisabetta Andreoli [21], these have begun to influence other urban areas in Bolivia and neighboring countries. This expansion phenomenon, according to the author, reflects the transcendence of Aymara identity. Additionally, Annie Schentag [22] points out the connection of El Alto with international economies, adding that there is an influence from China, where although its constitution is local, it transcends globally through adaptable representations. These aspects denote two central points: 1) assimilated displacement and 2) socioeconomic dynamics. The first refers to the process through which cultural characteristics of other contexts are adopted, which are included in an identity composed of tradition, generating updates that contribute to hyperstition. The second is characterized by the dynamics with which urban Aymaras build their commercial relationships.

- **Approaches to Trivalent Logic in "Alteño Type" Architecture**

Trivalent logic, which admits three truth values instead of two, can be applied to understand the symbolic and functional complexity of "alteño type" architecture. According to authors Roberto Moreira [23] and Randolph Cárdenas [24], these buildings, in addition to fulfilling commercial and residential functions, incorporate ritual and community elements. This multifunctional and symbolic approach reflects trivalent logic in its dynamics of meanings and uses. Additionally, Samuel Hilari [4] adds that these buildings combine different uses and can simultaneously be private, public, and semi-public. Daniel Runnels [25] also notes that this architecture breaks the ethnic-racial paradigm linked to poverty, suggesting that by sustaining these buildings with significant economic investment, they recover from multiple income sources, reflecting a multifaceted economic structure. These proposals contribute to understanding trivalence in architecture, where categories are not mutually exclusive but coexist dynamically.

Other authors, such as Carlos Villagómez [26] and Christian Dávila [27], allude to the aesthetic character of these buildings. The former questions beauty as a universal concept, and the latter emphasizes that architecture should be more than a discussion of wealth generation, highlighting the attention given to the facade as a visual resource. Dávila considers that architecture goes beyond a compositional element of its form.

Regarding the above, "alteño type" architecture in the local context presents several questions regarding the definition of its style and aesthetics. Some critics argue that its composition does not necessarily meet habitability conditions, as it does not include spaces for green areas, creating dissonance with public space. From an urban perspective, its relationship with land use regulations has also been questioned, especially in areas where urban development contemplates medium- to low-density housing. These questions cast doubt on the legitimacy of the economic sources of the owners, who claim that their buildings are the result of commercial progress achieved through sales. It is worth adding that El Alto is one of the municipalities in Bolivia that hosts the largest number of merchants⁷.

Thus, although "alteño type" architecture presents divergent positions regarding its consolidation in El Alto, its demand has increased over the past decade. More owners resort to economic investment or bank loans to build these structures.

In summary, the authors agree that the architectural process derives from the blend of tradition and modernity based on a multifaceted social organization of space use, acting as an agent of local changes with global implications, redefining the notion of beauty in a classical sense. However, no study deeply addresses trivalent logic in relation to hyperstition and multilocality from each owner's perspective,

⁷ By the year 2020, a total of 300 commercial associations were registered [28]. Additionally, studies such as that by Héctor Luna reflect the street vending work of young people who come from rural areas and engage in street commerce as a means of survival [29], aspects that have generated a certain degree of attractiveness from rural areas.

separating the analysis centered on the work "of" the architect, as a final product, to its future projection.

Artificialities from the Multilocal Hyperstitions of "Alteño Type" Architecture

We define artificiality as the trace of intentionality in an environment with patterns of local emergence, and not as the struggle between the false and the authentic. All this within a notion of the "ethics" of space-time, due to its capacity to construct tangible authenticities. To this end, we will analyze the genesis narrative of four buildings by their owners. It should be noted that the designation of *Cholet* is given by the representation that the owners make of their buildings.

"Andean Architecture" by Architect Freddy Mamani

Freddy Mamani's works have been created since 2002 and currently, he has more than 70 works in El Alto. Regarding this, he states the following:

"My buildings, with their color, are contributing to making it a modern city." [30]

"I wanted to transform the architecture by trying to recover iconographies and geometric designs from the ruins of Tiwanaku, an ancient architecture that was dormant in El Alto." [31]

"My architecture conveys identity, recovers the essence of the Tiahuanaco culture, through the Andean iconographies of Tiahuanaco and also fuses the colors of the textiles that exist in the Andean and even Amazonian parts of Bolivia." [32]



Photo 4: "Andean Architecture" by Architect Freddy Mamani
Source: 1st photo Tatewaki Nio, 2nd photo Txema Ybarra (2019).

From a critical perspective, Mamani consciously employs hyperstition in its multilocal character by connecting the ancient culture of Tiwanaku with El Alto, projecting a new reality that transcends the rural setting to establish itself in an urban environment. This is not a manifestation of a collective desire, but rather an act of cultural and aesthetic intervention. Mamani actively shapes the

future of El Alto, using architecture as a tool to materialize this Andean imaginary. It is also important to note that the Tiwanaku culture is distinct from that of the Aymaras.

Cholet "Transformer" Iron Man

This building was inaugurated on March 2, 2019, and is located on Avenida 16 de Julio, which is part of the fair of the same name, or *Jach'a Qhathu*⁸ (Great Fair). It was designed by Architect Santos Churata, who passed away in 2021. From the interview conducted with the owner regarding the form of their building, the following was gathered:

It cost 700 thousand dollars and is owned by the Poma-Patzy family, who trade in potatoes and chickens. "Our intention is to beautify the city of El Alto a little with an out-of-the-ordinary building, although it took a while," explains Celia Patzy, the owner. "The superhero idea was a suggestion from our son Jhonson."

"When I was young, I enjoyed watching the 'Transformers' on TV," says Victoria Acebey, a close relative of the owners and administrator. "And when we decided to build, we thought it would be a way to fulfill a dream of being part of our idols." [33]

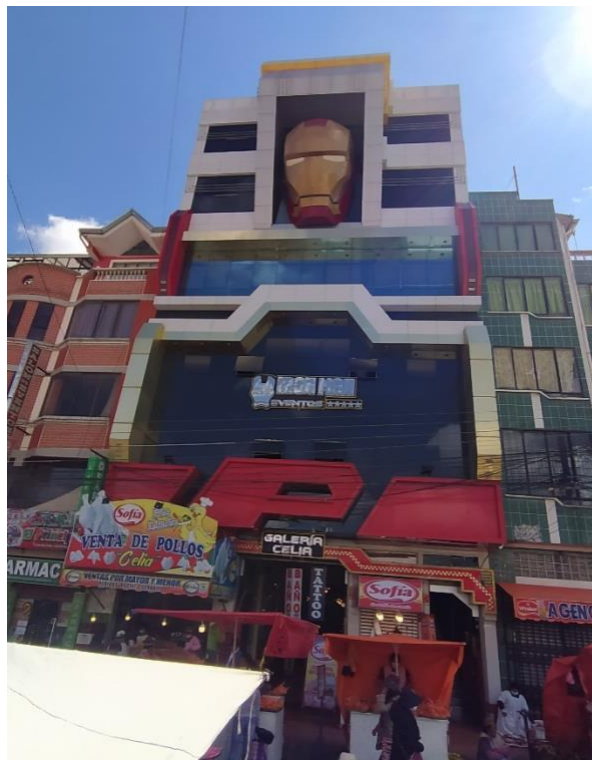


Photo 5: *Cholet Iron Man*
Source: Vania Calle, September 12, 2021.

Unlike the previous example, in this case, the hyperstition arises from the fulfillment of a personal dream and fantasy that the owner describes as suggested by her son. From a critical perspective, two levels of analysis stand out: the first is that it manifests an aesthetic intervention that seeks to challenge traditional architectural norms through pop culture and science fiction in a commercial urban environment. The second level of analysis is the mimicry that this action provokes as a source of inspiration for other owners, who, from a global culture, reinterpret the local context.

⁸ Considered the largest popular market in all of El Alto.

Cholet Titanic or Ship House

This building was inaugurated on September 9, 2023, and is located on Avenida Adrián Castillo. It was designed by Architect Freddy Mamani. From the interview conducted with the owner regarding the form of their building, the following was gathered:

"Many ask about the origin and motivation for placing a ship. The construction began in 2017, Bolivia was awaiting the ruling from The Hague for a sovereign access to the sea, and that motivated us to put the replica of the ship," said Víctor Choque. [34]



Photo 6: *Cholet Titanic or Ship House*
Source: Mediabol, 2023.

The historical and political context that Bolivia was experiencing became a tangible driving force in architecture. Here, hyperstition is linked to a nationalist aspiration of symbolic affirmation of access to the Pacific Ocean. At this point, the narrative claims sovereignty and materializes it in the urban context. Considering this example, we can name other "alteño type" buildings that narrate nationalist cultural rescue through architecture, such as the *Cholet del Moreno* and the *Cholet Sumay* "La diablada," among the most notable, both alluding to Bolivian dances.

Cholet of the Knights of the Zodiac

This building was inaugurated on November 18, 2023, and is located on the road to Laja, at the height of the Seke bridge, in the Bautista Saavedra zone. It was designed by the Santos Churata construction company. From the interview conducted with the owner, the following was gathered:

"It has been an effort, a dream (...). The initiative comes from everyone who has lived this anime; from their childhood, rescuing the armors, the golden and silver colors, that's what I've tried to reflect," revealed Mamani.

"I've tried to capture the armors, we have carvings in wood. The hostel rooms are personalized, each room bears a sign so that each person can pass and choose the sign of their preference."

The owner notes that it is a futuristic design, aiming to be the novelty among the buildings in the city of El Alto. [35]



Photo 7: *Cholet Knights of the Zodiac*
Source: Sayuri Loza, 2023.

This representation in architecture harkens back to the childhood of the owners, who recreate it as a personal homage through anime. In terms of hyperstition, there is a break with traditional architectural design, as it redefines its perception by integrating elements of popular culture and futuristic aesthetics. To date, there are other buildings that are part of this narrative, including the *Cholet Bumblebee*, *Cholet Libertad* (which has a Statue of Liberty similar to the one in the United States), *Cholet Cristo Redentor*, and *Cholet Megatank*.

In summary, as mentioned earlier, hyperstitions arise from the desire or aspiration that owners tangibly imprint on their buildings, in multilocal relation with rural areas. These form the narrative for the existence of "alteño type" buildings, generating an initial psychosphere, which is reinforced by the emergence of other hyperstitions that strengthen this system. From the construction field, specialized companies emerge to provide materials; from the biosymbolic aspect, ingredients specifically created for the ritualistic *mesas* in *Cholets* are sold; in the sound domain, musical groups of the "*chicha*" style (a musical genre of Peruvian origin that emerged through migration) perform in the dance halls; and from the physical perspective, outfits for social events focused on the woman in pollera, accessories, and furniture are commercialized. All these hyperstitions nurture new hyperstitions for the projection of buildings. This fuels the emergence of narratives such as tourism, the audiovisual dissemination of events with digital companies, and the education and training for the construction of "*cholets* and dance halls" with the support of the Bolivian Association of Architects.

These interdependencies generate recursive spirals that feed back into the narrative of the "alteño type." This gives rise to specialties that find their place in the market. From a future perspective, it is possible that these interactions may atomize the context of El Alto, consolidating this process, initially seen as novel and sometimes labeled as a "passing fad," into an architectural trend. See the following figure.

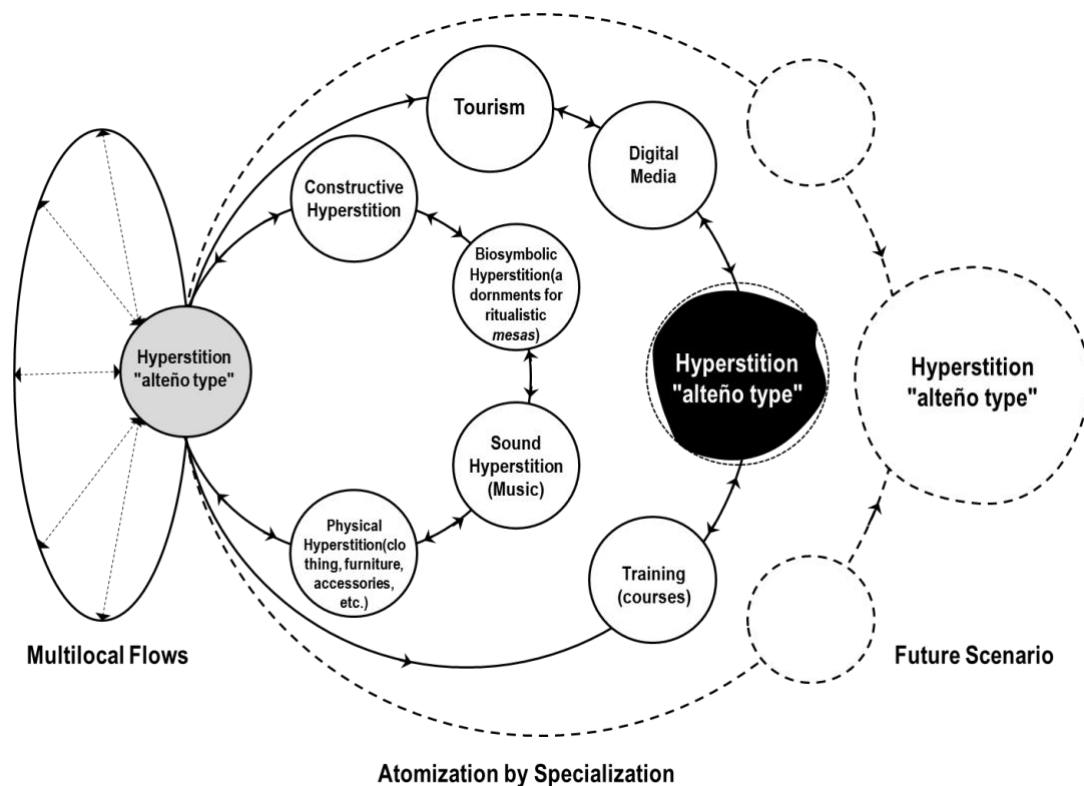


Figure 1: Hyperstitional Systems and Scales in "Alteño Type" Architecture
Source: Own elaboration, 2024.

Findings and Discussion: Trivalent Logics and the Production of Hyperstitions in Architecture

According to the previous analysis and from a critique of the architectural production that some authors and part of the population hold regarding the "tipo alteño" buildings, it is evident that the aesthetic and stylistic contributions (resulting from economic investments exceeding one million dollars) seem to challenge the "revolutionary and anti-imperialist" identity for which El Alto is known in the urban imaginary, constructed from a political perspective. Moreover, the adoption of futuristic models linked to North American and Japanese pop culture, used as an attractive resource for economic reproduction, has generated controversies due to its apparent contradiction with local identity. Despite this, the demand for the construction of these buildings continues to increase, even leading to the proposal of specialized courses in "*Cholet* and Event Hall Design," endorsed by the College of Architects of Bolivia [36].

In this context, while these imaginaries question the architectural character of the "tipo alteño" buildings, this article has shown that their conception is closely linked to the architectural *conception in the historical context of El Alto*, from the multilocal dimension and trivalent logic inherent to Aymara culture. These aspects have influenced the owners, who project their internal desires or aspirations for resignification, generating hyperstitions that gain strength through tangible elements materialized in architecture. Although these manifestations may seem contradictory to the general qualification of El Alto as "anti-imperialist," a term that emerged from a political context, it is important to consider the significant separation between "political discourse" and the prevailing forms of socioeconomic reproduction. This indicates that hyperstition acts as a tool to materialize architecture, without losing its biosymbolic connection.

In this context, we question whether its *future projection* through Alteño hyperstition points to multiple possibilities, and what will be the limit that governs its future projection? The construction demand from property owners has led to the emergence of companies that not only design or build

"tipo alteño" buildings but also offer the option of changing the facade of conventional buildings, which, in an analogous way, is like changing clothes. Additionally, it has reconceptualized the idea of sculpture as an artistic expression placed in public spaces, bringing it visibly to the facades of some of these buildings as an added value to the architectural work.

Consequently, hyperstitions interact with different levels of reality, such as the physical, spiritual, and biosymbolic, through their socio-spatial and cultural interconnections that arise from multilocality in favor of their sense of belonging, all of which is present in "tipo alteño" architecture. See the following figure.

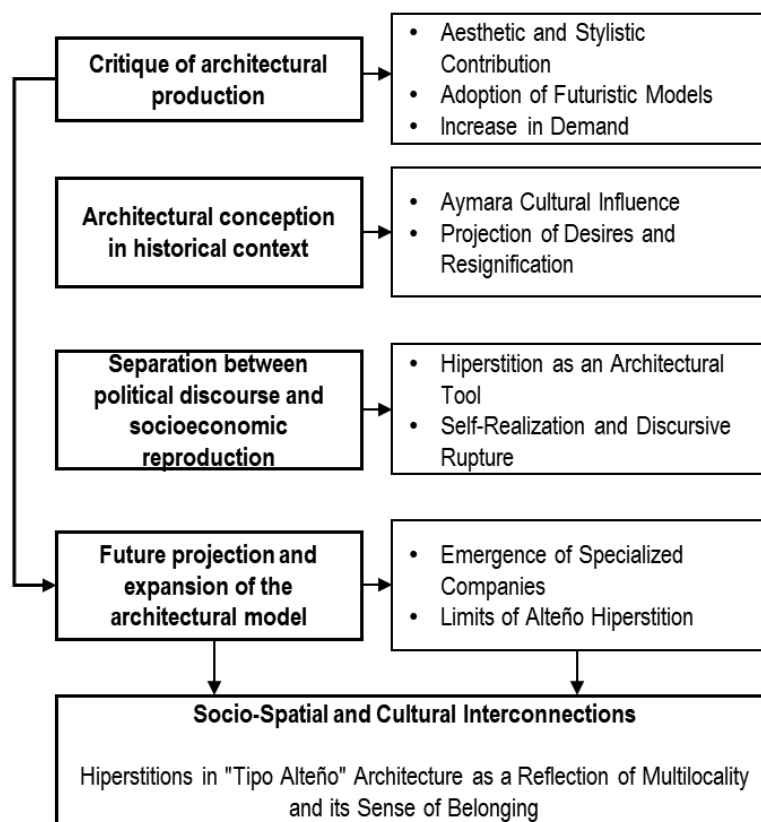


Figure 3 Findings and Discussion
Source: Own elaboration, 2024.

Conclusion

Hyperstition in "tipo alteño" architecture creates ruptures with the homogeneous political discourse of El Alto, producing singularities in the production and distribution of goods and services. This dynamic gives rise to psycho-spheres, fueled by modern values and meanings in architecture. The fragmentation of companies that provide services for social events contributes to this trend, reaffirming the relevance of hyperstition in the urban context.

Regarding the limitations, although the study has explored the relationship between hyperstition and "tipo alteño" architecture, there are limitations in terms of generalizing the results. The research focused primarily on a qualitative and socio-spatial analysis, which may limit the applicability of the findings to other urban contexts.

These aspects could potentially generate historical distortions with the biosymbolic manifestations inherited from their origin in relation to architecture. This, in turn, accelerates and progressively reinforces itself, generating hyperstitional systems and scales through the social prestige that property owners acquire in relation to their socioeconomic environment. This factor is key to understanding the persistence of "tipo alteño" architecture in the context of El Alto. An example of

this is the offering of mesas, which are offerings composed of various ingredients that act as attractors of well-being and progress. In the past, these ingredients were presented in simple designs, but today, innovations such as "*cholets*" have appeared as novelties in the biosymbolic market. These aspects reinforce hyperstition in a rhizomatic manner to sustain this socioeconomic system as part of trivalent logic, and paradoxically, criticisms have only served to fuel this process, as a means of its persistence in territorial discourse.

Regarding the implications, the findings of this research suggest that "tipo alteño" architecture not only has a significant impact on the urban landscape of El Alto, but also redefines socioeconomic and cultural dynamics. The hyperstitions that emerge in this context could influence the way cultural identity and social prestige are perceived, both within and outside El Alto. However, there is an implication that the acceleration of these processes could lead to a superficialization of biosymbolic values, affecting the authenticity and depth of architectural production.

In this understanding, the main contributions lie in the heterogeneity with which the multifunctionality of "tipo alteño" architecture is integrated into the urban context, generating updated responses to commerce, in mutualism with enterprises that sell hyperstitions that feed into a superior hyperstition derived from "tipo alteño" architecture. In this way, hyperstitional levels are generated that project their persistence in the medium and long term, as a renewed strategy of Aymara self-organized commerce. However, as the socioeconomic system grows and thrives, it could present future implications that lead to a dissociation of the constitutive values of biosymbolic relationships, producing superficial hyperstitions as a result of acceleration processes, which could devalue their constitution in the urban context, reaching levels where there is a lack of depth and meaning in space production.

Finally, we have addressed the concept of hyperstition in "tipo alteño" architecture from the cognitive projection of the property owners, finding that there are rhetorical levels that reinforce this discourse. There remains a need to study the hyperstitions generated by the socioeconomic sphere and its close relationship with accelerationism, as a key factor that encodes time in relation to the pursuit of instant production.

Based on the results obtained, it is recommended that future research delve deeper into the relationship between hyperstitions and accelerationism in the socioeconomic context of El Alto. Additionally, it would be beneficial to conduct comparative studies with other urban contexts that exhibit similar dynamics, to identify common or divergent patterns. It is also suggested to investigate how criticisms of "tipo alteño" architecture could influence its evolution and public perception in the long term, as well as the impact of these buildings on social cohesion and the preservation of cultural values.

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