

“A Cable Car System for the Whole of Bolivia”: How a Local Infrastructure Project Is Built on National Ambitions

Imola Peters

Bachelor Thesis Geography, Planning, and Environment (GPE)

Nijmegen School of Management

Radboud University Nijmegen

June 2023

Author: Imola Peters

Student ID: s1031543

Date: 23-06-2023

Bachelor's Program: Geography, Planning, and Environment (GPE)
Nijmegen, Faculty of Management, Radboud University

Supervisor: Dr. J.E. Telesca

Second reader: P. T. Garidou

Wordcount: 20461

I. Abstract

The cable car system Mi Teleférico (MT) was built to combat the local struggles tied to the congestion issues that the ethnically different, but neighbouring cities of La Paz and El Alto face. At the same time, the project points towards other national and international implications significant to Bolivia as a nation, that are not as visible as the direct effects the project has locally by means of transportation.

This thesis aims to understand these implications by utilising former president Evo Morales's speeches celebrating MT and literature on Bolivian politics, culture, and history. Based on these sources, discourses surrounding nationalism Indigeneity and nationality are tied to the project, providing an insight into how MT is meant to be more than simply a local project. These two themes oppose each other, as the former has historically divided Bolivia, and the latter aims to unify the country.

Two methods help me comprehend the key research question. By using a stakeholder analysis, I uncover who is affected by or affecting MT. The discourse analysis provides an insight into the significance of these stakeholders in the project and how the themes of nationality and Indigeneity emerge in his speeches. In this research project, discrepancies emerged between the forementioned discourses and Morales's aim for a stronger Bolivia. These findings show Morales's desire to unify the nation by excluding Indigeneity, paradoxically as the first Indigenous president of Bolivia.

II. Abbreviations

MT	Mi Teleférico
IDB	Inter-American Development Bank
CDA	Critical discourse analysis
PMI	Project Management Institute
ADA	Austrian Development Agency

III. List of Figures

Figure 1: Map of El Alto and La Paz, showing elevation of and distance between the cities (Arbona & Kohl, 2004)	10
Figure 2: Map showing MT's lines (Mi Teleférico, n.d.).....	11
Figure 3: Interest and influence of stakeholders in this project	29
Figure 4: Supporter-opponent spectrum	30

IV. List of Tables

Table 1: Stakeholder table.....	31
Table 2: Methods used for sub-questions.....	34

Table of Contents

I. Abstract.....	3
II. Abbreviations.....	4
III. List of Figures	5
IV. List of Tables.....	6
1. Introduction	9
1.1 Motivation	9
1.2 Project Framework	9
1.2.1 Construction and Funding	11
1.2.2 Effects of Mi Teleférico	12
1.2.3 Historical Context: Colonialism in Bolivia	13
1.2.4 Morales’s Presidency	14
1.3 Research Problem	15
1.4 Research Objective	16
1.5 Research Questions	16
1.6 Relevance	17
1.6.1 Societal Relevance	17
1.6.2 Academic Relevance	17
1.7 Literature Review.....	18
2. Theoretical Framework.....	20
2.1 Symbolic Capital.....	20
2.2 Indigeneity.....	22
2.3 Nationality.....	23
2.4 Synthesis.....	24
3. Methodology	26
3.1 Overview	26
3.1.1 Stakeholder Analysis.....	26
3.1.2 Discourse Analysis.....	27
3.2 Research Strategy.....	28
3.3 Trustworthiness of Research.....	34
4. Findings.....	36
4.1 Sub-Question One	36
4.2 Sub-Question Two	41
4.3 Sub-Question Three	45

5. Conclusion..... 49

6. Recommendations..... 51

7. Reflection 52

8. Bibliography 54

Appendix A: Transcript S1 62

Appendix B: Transcript S2 63

Appendix C: Transcript S3 66

Appendix D: Code Book..... 68

1. Introduction

1.1 Motivation

In my first year as bachelor student, I was assigned to write an essay on mobility in the Global South. I chose Mi Teleférico (MT), a cable car system in La Paz and El Alto, Bolivia, as my topic. It stuck with me after hearing about it on the news a few years prior. I had never heard of a cable car system being a mode of transportation other than in ski resorts. The thought of such an infrastructure system being built in an already existing city was fascinating to me. Researching and writing about this topic previously only strengthened my interest. By addressing key research questions throughout my thesis, I have the opportunity to explore this topic further.

There are however several challenges associated with approaching this research. Speeches, documents, and articles written in Spanish had to be translated into English to fully make use of them, because I cannot speak Spanish. Secondly, as a Dutch person, I am approaching this Bolivian infrastructure project with a different cultural background. For that reason, my views might differ with that of someone who lives in the area of MT. These two challenges, the language barrier and different worldviews, fascinate and motivate me to write this thesis. Intersecting this with my interest in infrastructure leads to the origin of this research project. In this thesis, I am investigating how a local cable car system in Bolivia can be an international symbol due to nationally-formed preconceptions, while having the notions of Indigeneity, nationality, and equality in mind.

1.2 Project Framework

Since the 1950s, the rising quantity of vehicles has caused congestion in urban areas with the consequences being not only physical, but also economic stagnation (Meurs & Stelling, 2015). This is no different in the political capital of Bolivia, La Paz, and the neighbouring city El Alto. The latter is a relatively new city, recognised since 1985, but it surpassed La Paz's population in the early 2000's due to an influx of former farmers and miners from the rural areas of Bolivia (Bjork-James, 2022). This urbanisation around La Paz was recognised by the Bolivian government, leaving room for urban expansion by establishing new municipalities, such as El Alto in 1985, and subsequently encouraging the urban sprawl in the area (Horn, 2021).

El Alto is considered the largest Indigenous city in the Americas, a majority of which are from Aymara Indigenous descent. La Paz, on the contrary, is home to mostly the white-mestizo (Ravindran, 2019; Bjork-James, 2022). Even though the cities are demographically different, both struggle with congestion due to the narrow roads and general increase of transport that comes with a growing population (Garsous et al., 2017; Mi Teleférico, 2020). Only one highway and several dirt roads were able to transport the inhabitants from La Paz to El Alto, and vice versa (Mann, 2022). Commuting within and between the two cities has therefore been chaotic and unsafe, which includes the public transport system (Mi Teleférico, 2016). This has

especially hindered inhabitants in their daily life, as about 71% of residents rely on modes of public transport, such as minibuses, taxis, and *trufis* (shared taxis). Private transit companies led the public transport sector until 2014 due to the lack of government-financed services (Oficio Municipal de La Paz, 2018).

It was virtually impossible for the government to implement any conventional modes of infrastructure, such as roads or a metro system, in and between the cities to ease the congestion. This was mainly due to the lack of space and the mountainous landscape, with El Alto sitting on top of a plateau 400 metres above La Paz (See Figure 1; Arbona & Kohl, 2004). To overcome the congestion problems in the La Paz-El Alto metropolitan area, former Bolivian president Evo Morales drafted a bill for the construction of a cable car system, a plan that had been in the works since the 1970s (Mi Teleférico, 2016). Morales signed a turnkey contract¹ with the Austrian ropeway company Doppelmayr in September 2012 to construct a cable car system in and between La Paz and El Alto² (Garsous et al., 2017; Global Infrastructure Hub, 2019). This system would get the name ‘Mi Teleférico’, translating to ‘My Cable Car’ in English.

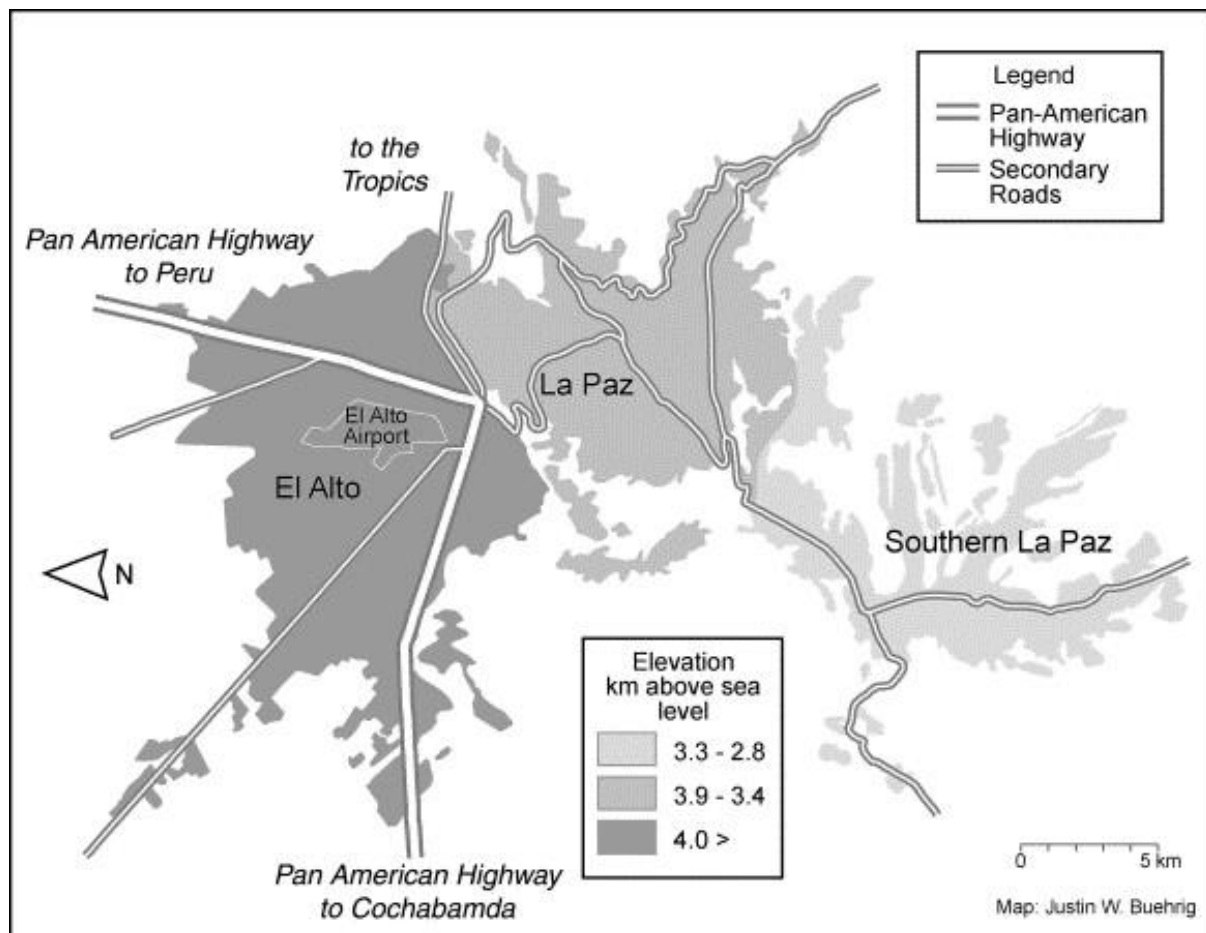


Figure 1: Map of El Alto and La Paz, showing elevation of and distance between the cities (Arbona & Kohl, 2004)

¹ “A contract in which a company is given full responsibility to plan and build something that the client must be able to use as soon as it is finished without needing to do any further work on it themselves” (Cambridge dictionary).

² Private actors, such as Doppelmayr, have played a significant role in the existence of MT. In Chapter 4, I delve deeper into the role of private actors in the context of MT.

1.2.1 Construction and Funding

Doppelmayr constructed ten cable car lines between 2012 and 2018 in two phases. The first phase of the project consisted of the Red, Green, and Yellow Lines and was completed in 2014. The 2nd phase, consisting of 7 lines (the Blue, Orange, White, Sky Blue, Purple, Brown, and Silver Lines) concluded in 2018. Each line uses ten-passenger cable cars, operating sixteen hours a day (except for Sundays and holidays, operating only fourteen hours (Mi Teleférico, 2018)). There is an interval of 12 seconds between each car, adding up to a carrying capacity of 6,000 people an hour per line (Doppelmayr, n.d.). The Golden Line is the 11th line in the network and was to be inaugurated in 2020 (World Bank, 2020). It is uncertain if this took place, as I could not find information on an inauguration of the line, which is also not featured on the official websites of Mi Teleférico. Figure 2 shows the currently open lines, according to the official website of MT.

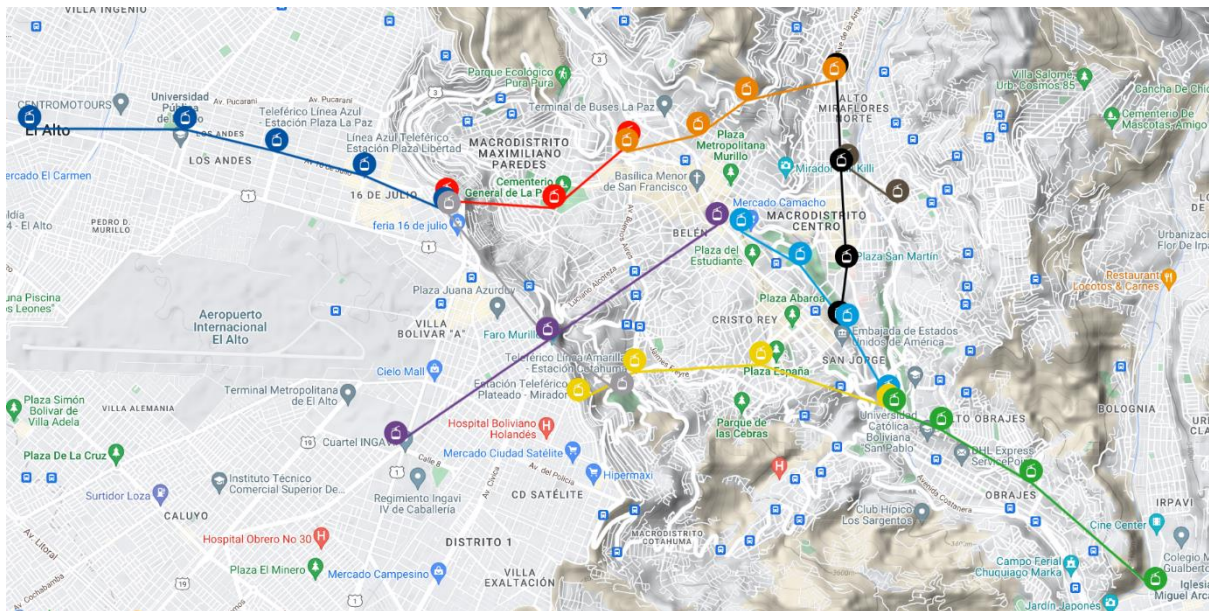


Figure 2: Map showing MT's lines (Mi Teleférico, n.d.)

Funding Mi Teleférico was a difficult task, as Bolivia is one of South America's poorest nations (World Bank, 2021). The first phase cost USD 235 million, which was fully funded by the Bolivian National Treasury and a loan from the Central Bank of Bolivia. The second phase, which cost USD 506 million, proved to be more difficult to finance, as the central government could only fund one section (Global Infrastructure Hub, 2019). It remained unclear to me which actors financed the other section³. The Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), a bank that states to aid Latin-American and Caribbean projects provided the project with at least one loan in 2016 of USD 185.000 (IDB, 2023) and one pending loan of USD 59.000.000 (IDB, n.d.-a). Apart from funding the main lines, the Austrian Development Agency (ADA) funded Doppelmayr EU 200.000.000 for the construction of a museum along the White Line, indirectly funding Bolivia. The reason given for the construction of this museum is to attract tourists,

³ This lack of transparency is a common theme in government records. Another example of this is at the end of this section, when 'unnamed universities and companies' are named as sources of funding by MT itself. I address this limitation in Chapter 7.

subsequently stimulating the local economy⁴ (ADA, n.d.). Other sources that funded the construction of MT include unnamed public universities and companies (Mi Teleférico, 2022a).

Even though Bolivia is a relatively poor country, it was able to use its economic capital on MT, a USD 700 million infrastructure project (with at least c. USD 250 million paid directly by the Bolivian Treasury). This is especially impressive when realising that MT is one of the most expensive cable car projects in Latin America (World Bank, 2020). This provokes me to ask why Bolivia would invest heavily in a project that is promoted to decrease congestion problems. I answer the question of motives in Chapter 4.

1.2.2 Effects of Mi Teleférico

The efforts made to construct a cable car system paid off, as MT had several positive effects on La Paz and El Alto:

- 1) MT made for a safe and reliable alternative to public transport. The cable car system has proven itself to be safe, as it has only had one incident during operating time in the past nine years. This incident occurred in 2015 when a eucalyptus tree fell on the yellow line during operating times. 19 passengers sustained minor injuries and three cabins were damaged (Daily Writing Page Seven, 2015). Furthermore, MT offered a safe alternative for the elderly, people with disabilities, and pregnant women. Before, public transport was deemed unsafe for these three groups. MT installed facilities for these people to create a safer and more inclusive public transport system (Global Infrastructure Hub, 2018).
- 2) The time spent traveling in and between La Paz and El Alto was decreased. Before MT, estimates indicate that the travel time was between 40 to 60 minutes (Martinez et al., 2018). According to a study carried out by Garsous et al. (2019), travel time has been decreased 22% on average because of Mi Teleférico. This is a reduction of nine minutes when taking the average travel time of 40 minutes. A more recent report by Mi Teleférico (2022b) states travel time has been reduced from six up to 34 minutes depending on the line one takes, which makes MT always the better option of public transport. This time decrease allowed for more recreational activities, self-employment, and time spent on education (Martinez et al., 2018). Students were more inclined to change schools and improve their education due to the travel time decrease. Students from poorer neighbourhoods were more inclined to change schools after MT's construction than those in richer neighbourhoods (Llanque Zonta, 2017).
- 3) MT increased the affordability for Bolivians to travel with public transport. Bolivia is one of the poorest countries in South America, with 29% of the urban population living in poverty (World Bank, 2015). Affordability of transport is therefore important. A

⁴ According to their official website, the ADA's goal is to ensure sustainable development works in developing countries. They then mention the regions they work in, which are Africa, Asia, Southeast Europe, and the South Caucasus. It remains unclear why the ADA would then invest in a Bolivian cable car project, other than that Doppelmayr, an Austrian company, is contracted to do so.

regular ticket for Mi Teleférico costs three bolivianos, which is approximately USD 0.40 (Martinez et al., 2018). Tickets for elderly people, students, and people with disabilities are 1.50 bolivianos (Mi Teleférico, 2018). A regular ticket is relatively expensive when taking into account that a ticket for a minibus ranges from one to three bolivianos (Alemán & Serebrisky, 2017), but Garsous et al. (2019) have shown that the time saved by taking MT provide a net benefit of USD 0.58.

- 4) MT reduced environmental and noise pollution. To ensure the cable car system is as eco-friendly as possible, each cable car is equipped with solar panels, which power the doors, lights, and Wi-Fi (Global Infrastructure Hub, 2019). Furthermore, a report by MT (2022) reveals 46.2 million litres of gasoline have been saved by using MT instead of taking minibuses, as MT runs fully on electricity. This also translates into 106.3 thousand tons of CO₂ gasses that have been avoided.

Even though MT had several positive effects, the fact that inhabitants from El Alto could easily travel to La Paz due to MT was not always welcomed by inhabitants of La Paz. Even though these two cities are 400 metres away from each other, they are vastly different. Bjork-James (2022) defines the cities, respectively, as wealthy and poor, Creole and Indigenous, and official and informal. The tensions between the Indigenous and non-Indigenous can be high, with Facebook posts referring to the Indigenous as ‘fleas’, and propose that taking down MT is the only way to stop ‘them’ from coming into the city (Ravindran, 2019).

1.2.3 Historical Context: Colonialism in Bolivia

To gain insight into why some white-mestizo citizens regard the Indigenous in such a way, it is crucial to go back in time and review Bolivian history. Although the history of what is now known as Bolivia did not start in the 16th century, that is where this summary starts as it would change the way Bolivia and Latin America as a whole was perceived by the world and themselves.

In 1545, Spanish colonizers discovered silver mines in the mountain Cerro Rico (Spanish for ‘rich mountain’) in the Bolivian city of Potosí. This discovery would eventually lead to the colonizers’ exploitation of silver, also known as the ‘silver rush’. The profit from the silver was so great, that many claim this made the economic development in Europe in the 16th century possible. The locals did not profit from this trade, though, and were exploited (Galeano, 1971)⁵. This exploitation was paired with a system based on the purity of blood, wherein Spaniards were ranked highest, mixed people in the middle, and Indigenous and African people the lowest (Postero, 2006). Within three centuries, over eight million Indigenous people would perish in Cerro Rico due to the harsh working conditions in the mines: ‘Of every ten who went up into the freezing wilderness, seven never returned’ (Galeano, 1971, p.66). Many of these slaves did not even reach the mines, as they would die on the way. The

⁵ Galeano’s “Open Veins of Latin America” (1971) is a well-known text on how the exploitation of Latin America during the past five centuries has led to the uneven development between the colonised and the colonisers. In this book, Galeano also places Bolivia in this colonial context.

ones that did survive the journey had a high chance of eventually being poisoned by the mercury that was used to extract the silver, which would lead to an agonizing death (Galeano, 1971).

The Spanish did not just exploit the Indigenous, but altered their way of living as well. Some of the clothing that the natives in the Altiplano (Spanish for ‘high plain’; a plateau lying in the Andes) wear is not theirs but is based on clothing from Spanish regions. Moreover, Indigenous groups were forced to live in the poorest areas, whilst the colonizers lived in the opposite (Galeano, 1971). This legacy of racial separation is still alive, supported by the previously mentioned “fleas” remark. I delve deeper into how this legacy holds up nowadays in Chapter 2.

Even though the Indigenous were living in terrible conditions, there was no sympathy for them. The general opinion of their ‘sinful’ nature justified this treatment. The way for the Indigenous to atone for their sins was to be a beast of burden for the West and do the dirty work for them (Galeano, 1971). Philosopher Hegel writes about Indigenous communities lacking authoritative laws and therefore a certain ‘legality’, which he claims is a crucial feature of civilisation. Hegel therefore excludes Indigenous people as ‘legal people’, worthy of legal protection (Conklin, 2014). It seems the Indigenous partly internalized this way of thinking. Many would start to identify as mestizo for practical reasons, so they would not be forced to work in the mines. Furthermore, the Indigenous did not mine for their own gain, as ‘it would be sinful, and the white people would hate us and harm us’ (Galeano, 1971, p.74). One of the more recent examples of internalized racism is a survey done in the fifties in Paraguay, where eight out of ten Paraguayans claimed they did not view ‘Indians’ as people, even though almost all Paraguayans have Indigenous blood (Galeano, 1971).

Nowadays, Bolivia has the largest remaining share of self-proclaimed Indigenous people in South America. The latest census from the Instituto Nacional de Estadística (2012), the national institute of statistics in Spain, states 41% self-identifies as Indigenous. Even with almost half of the populations identifying as Indigenous, the tensions between the mestizo and Indigenous are still present: the ‘whites’, as called in a paper by Ravindran (2019) feel superior to the ‘Indians’. That is also the reason why it is important to note that Evo Morales was elected as the first Indigenous president of Bolivia in 2006 and remained president until his eventual departure in 2019.

1.2.4 Morales’s Presidency

The concepts of the nation and Indigeneity were important during Morales’s presidency. Bolivia as a nation was, according to him, inherently racist and suffered from internalised colonialism. With his socialist party MAS (*Movimiento al Socialismo*, tr.: *Movement for Socialism*), founded in the nineties, Morales pleaded for a plurinational state, wherein the Indigenous people obtained a more prominent role in society while not ignoring the non-Indigenous (Komadina & Geffroy, p.120-121, p.190, 2007).

To strengthen Bolivia's position in the world, Morales argued that national resources should be nationalised instead of going to foreign investors. After being elected in 2006, Morales nationalized Bolivia's oil and gas industries, wanting to renegotiate contracts with foreign energy companies and transfer the power and revenue from natural resources to the Bolivian government (Prada, 2006).

One of the other valuable natural resources Bolivia has is lithium, which has been found under Bolivian salt flats. This mineral is used for electric batteries and the green energy transition. For those two reasons, there is a growing demand for lithium with prices rising each year to record highs of almost USD 85.000 per ton (Graham, 2023). A report from the United States Geological Service estimates the brine underneath the salt flat contains 21 million tons of lithium, more than any other country in the world (United States Geological Service, 2022). Because of these enormous lithium reserves, Bolivia is looking towards a positive economic future. Since lithium has been discovered, state control was implemented in the lithium industry as well with the goal of minimising influential foreign investors (Bebbington, 2012).

It is surprising that Morales has been critiqued during his presidency on the capitalist nature of his project, as it often harmed Indigenous communities. In one instance, Morales put forth the plan to build a highway which connects Bolivia and Brazil, promoting travel and trade between the two countries. This highway would cross TIPNIS, a protected reserve which houses numerous Indigenous communities (Postero, 2017). The forementioned unity Morales promised with the concept and eventual execution of Bolivia as a plurinational state seems to be disregarded when it comes to the (economic) development of Bolivia. This question arises in the context of MT, which I explore in the next section.

1.3 Research Problem

Although several researches have uncovered the local effects of MT (Garsous et al., 2017; Martínez et al., 2018; Llanque Zonta, 2017), the national and international implications remain unclear. The national aspect of MT emerges from speeches held by Morales. When announcing the construction of the cable car system in 2013, Morales promises that "*Mi Teleférico will benefit all citizens of La Paz*" (Appendix A). In the following year, Morales calls MT "*a cable car for the whole of Bolivia*" (Appendix B). These statements raise two questions when taking the previously mentioned importance of the nation and insignificance of Indigeneity into account. Firstly, "*all citizens of La Paz*" and "*the whole of Bolivia*" would include both the white-mestizo people and the Indigenous population. However, Morales does not outright mention these two groups, so I am unsure who Morales is exactly talking to. Secondly, Morales speaks to the citizens of La Paz, but not those of El Alto. This ties into the previous point made on Indigeneity not being mentioned, as El Alto is historically an Indigenous space (Ravindran, 2019). I wondered why El Alto would not be mentioned, and if there is a pattern in the insignificance of Indigeneity in Morales's rhetoric.

The international aspect must also be considered. Foreign influences have been present in Bolivia for centuries through exploitation, which are in some way overturned during Morales's presidency by means of nationalisation. The focus on the international is further evident in

Morales's plans that focus on relations with neighbouring countries, but also in the construction of MT, as it is constructed and financed by foreign actors. I find it therefore interesting to examine to what extent MT is also meant to be an international project.

Mentioned prior was how I wondered why the Bolivian government, as a poor nation, invested in total more than USD 700 million in an infrastructure project that, on first look, was merely built to solve the congestion problems in the area. The question arises what other benefits MT was expected to acquire as a local project with possible international ambitions.

1.4 Research Objective

The objective of this bachelor's thesis is to explore to what extent a local infrastructure, in this case MT, could be deployed to enhance recognition on an international scale. This is achieved by denoting stakeholders on a local, national, and international level and analysing their interest and power in the project. Moreover, it is analysed how Morales, as a national actor, speaks directly and indirectly to local and international stakeholders, and if there are certain patterns present in his rhetoric. Lastly, it is discussed how MT could be used to garner recognition, and how that is spread over the involved stakeholders. To achieve these objectives, this research is split up into three parts, all accompanied by a research question, which I will demonstrate and clarify in the next section.

1.5 Research Questions

This research contains one main research question, which is: **To what extent is a local infrastructure project in a poor country like Bolivia nonetheless a conduit to achieve recognition on an international scale?** With this question, I want to address matters of scale and symbolic capital as these concepts relate to the stakeholders involved in this process at the level of discourse. I explore these comments by means of three sub-questions.

The first sub-question is: **How does scale play a role in the construction of MT? In other words, to what extent is MT a local, national, and/or international project?** This question will include the local, national, and international stakeholders that have a role in the construction of MT. A stakeholder analysis is applied to determine which role individual stakeholders play. The stakeholders play a crucial part in Morales's rhetoric, the reasoning I explain later in this section, and therefore important to carry out for this research project.

Five stakeholders have been chosen for this research. These include the citizens of La Paz and El Alto, the informal transit sector, the Bolivian government, Doppelmayr, and the IDB. I have chosen these stakeholders based on literature I have found in scientific papers on MT, books on Bolivian history and politics, and governmental reports⁶. The power relations between and the interest of stakeholders are denoted, as this is a crucial part in the stakeholder analysis.

⁶ Note that these are solely human stakeholders. As a man-made structure, there is the environmental aspect to consider, but I did not find a concrete non-human stakeholder in this project. I mention this limitation in Chapter 6.

Another reason for this is that, as can be read in Chapter 1.2, power has played a significant role in Bolivian history through to means of colonialism and the subsequent racism.

To uncover how themes of nationality and Indigeneity are present in Morales's speeches, the second sub-question is: **To what extent is the subject of the nation, race and/or Indigeneity (not) deployed by Evo Morales in his speeches celebrating MT?** A literature study on Bolivian history and politics is first carried out to answer this question. This is done to try to fully understand the history of Bolivia and the subsequent discourse that might stem from that history. With this information, a discourse analysis is done on speeches held by Evo Morales to uncover themes, topics, and involved stakeholders that are not outright mentioned in documents or in the press.

Finally, to understand how MT has been more than merely a local project, benefiting the citizens of La Paz and El Alto, the third sub-question goes: **To what extent has MT been a way for Bolivia to ascent its place on the world stage?** This question is answered using a literature study and discourse analysis. A literature study is done to get insight what MT has to do with the discourse surrounding Bolivian nationality and identity. The discourse analysis on Morales's speeches is done to, again, find out what the underlying reasons are for the construction of MT beyond battling the congestion in La Paz and El Alto. With this question, I also want to emphasise the difference in who the project is for versus who the project benefits. This is done with Pierre Bourdieu's theory of symbolic capital, which I explain in detail in Chapter 2. Furthermore, this question also ties back to the question of to what end MT, as a multi-million project, is built apart from solving the congestion issue.

1.6 Relevance

1.6.1 Societal Relevance

The societal relevance of this project lies in the ability to establish how infrastructure could have an impact on local, national, and international scale. Infrastructure has a direct influence on local transportation. With this research, I wanted to explore how an infrastructure project such as MT could have a broader effect on not just the local, but also national and international actors and how this is and could be used in infrastructure projects.

1.6.2 Academic Relevance

Research has been done on using infrastructure to separate spaces. This separation could be because of a physical border, such as fences or highways. This border could also be a mental barrier, much like the 'us' versus 'them' mentality. In a study by Colona (2020), it is said that social order is reinforced by infrastructure. Caldeira (2000) states infrastructure, such as roads, walls, and fences, are tools to manage populations, creating safety and policies within the borders. This could facilitate the lives of some populations, but at the same time hinder that of others (Rodgers and O'Neill, 2012). Furthermore, Colona also argues that bordering

encourages the use of categorisation such as ‘us’ versus ‘them’ and ‘non-dangerous’ and ‘dangerous’.

What has not been studied as much is the exact opposite: bridging borders by using infrastructure. The La Paz-El Alto area struggles with both a physical and mental border: a steep hill separates the two cities, and the thought that Indigenous people are ‘less’ than the mestizo who historically live in La Paz. What I do not want to insinuate is that MT is a bridge rather than a border, as it could be seen as both. Inhabitants of La Paz and El Alto are physically closer together due to the decrease of time spent traveling between the cities, but are perhaps mentally still segregated. The latter can be seen in examples such as the previously mentioned fleas-remark.

Furthermore, the national and international implications of MT have not been uncovered yet, even though the impact MT had on the La Paz-El Alto metropolitan area has been. Garsous et al. (2017) determined that time spent traveling in and between the cities has diminished with 22% on average. The impact of MT on education has also been studied by Llanque Zonta (2017). In his study, he states that students, especially those from lower income neighbourhoods, have easier access to better schools due to MT. With this research, I would like to introduce the national and international scale to MT instead of adding onto the already studied local scale.

1.7 Literature Review

Although there has been several studies on the effectiveness of MT, it is still quite limited. In this section, I mention the studies I have found that, some of which have been mentioned previously. To give a full picture of the literature that has been written on MT, I decided to include those researches in this section as well.

Martinez et al. (2018) carried out a research regarding the general impact of MT. Their research states the effects of MT based on surveys done by households from different ethnic and economic backgrounds. The distance from the household’s residence and the nearest station was also taken into account. The findings from this research project suggest MT altered the transport mode, with more people opting for public transportation instead of private vehicles. Furthermore, people were inclined to spend more (about 16 bolivianos (c. USD 2.30)) on transport for educational purposes. Martinez et al. suggests this could be related to the improved accessibility to education that MT could bring.

This possibility of MT affecting education is studied by Llanque Zonta (2017). He researched the levels of segregation and disparities in school accessibility among students from different ethnic and socioeconomic backgrounds. The results from this study indicate high levels of segregation amongst students, with neighbourhoods characterised by a higher proportion of Indigenous and low-income students having less access to schools. This accessibility is obstructed by the limited supply of schooling and an unsafe and inefficient public transport system. What this study also shows is that MT has had a small, but significant effect on student

segregation. Promoting a safer and more efficient form of public transport is therefore beneficial when combating segregation.

The efficiency of MT regarding travel time is studied by Garsous et al. (2017). Based on observations, non-cable car commutes and cable car commutes were compared. The findings from this research indicate a 22% decrease, which translates to saving nine minutes of daily travel time and a net benefit of USD 0.58. For those reasons, the research state that taking MT instead of any other form of transport is always the better option.

MT is mentioned in several other articles. Winter et al. (2016) studies the application of cable car systems in public transportation systems and informs the reader on MT, but does not go further than an introduction to the project. Tahmasseby (2021) uses MT in the same way when researching the feasibility of a cable car system in Doha, Qatar. Yañez-Pagans et al. (2019) discuss MT in a similar manner, but do discuss the positive sides of the project such as the forementioned travel time decrease, which leaves more time for educational and recreational activities. In the next section, I go over the themes that are important to my research project.

2. Theoretical Framework

In this chapter, I provide the rationale on how the three topics I discuss in this chapter are relevant to the topic of this thesis. Although some parts, such as nationality, are not directly related to MT itself, they are important to mention when wanting to understand Bolivian discourse and Morales's rhetoric, which both play a crucial part in understanding how MT could be a national and international project.

2.1 Symbolic Capital

Morales's presidency is drenched in symbolism. Kaijser (2014) states that him being elected is already one of many examples that could be given: an Indigenous man, historically regarded as being from the lowest tier (see Chapter 1.2), is now democratically elected to be the country's highest form of authority. Postero (2017) goes on to say that during the 'Morales era', the concepts of decolonisation and Indigeneity have been reworked and recontextualised by Morales taking part in symbolic and performative events, such as visiting pre-Inca sites and tying these to his presidency. His inauguration in 2006 included visiting one of these pre-Inca site near La Paz, called Tiwanaku, where he was blessed by Andean religious leaders. In another instance in 2015, Morales marked his presidential victory by holding a ceremony again at Tiwanaku. This time, the walls were covered with representation of Túpac Katari, an anti-colonial rebel. What become evident in this section is how Morales is maintaining the narrative of him being an Indigenous, anti-colonial president. However, in Chapter 1, it was established that Morales has been critiqued for ignoring the Indigenous community in the name of development, done through capitalist projects. With this research, I want to uncover how MT (as a project meant to solve traffic issues in the La Paz-El Alto region, subsequently developing the area) could be a way to serve this narrative. This could be done with the concept of symbolic capital, a theory by Pierre Bourdieu.

According to Pierre Bourdieu, three fundamental types of capital can be possessed: cultural capital, social capital, and economic capital (Bourdieu, 1986). These three forms of capital together are known as symbolic capital, which is central to this thesis. **Symbolic capital** does not have a clear definition in contrast to the other forms of capital. In one of his books, Bourdieu describes symbolic capital as the following: "... the accumulation of economic capital merges with the accumulation of symbolic capital, that is, with the acquisition of a reputation for competence and an image of respectability and honourability..." (1979, p.291). In another, Bourdieu describes it as something that is defined by other forms of capital when the latter is recognized and perceived (Bourdieu, 1990a). In the same year, Bourdieu states symbolic capital makes demands for recognition and legitimates power relations (1990b). Symbolic capital can then be summarized as a form of reputation, recognition, and respectability, gathered through cultural, social, and economic capital.

Cultural capital exists in three forms: the embodied state, the objectified state, and the institutionalized state. **The embodied state** focuses on the condition of the mind, body, and knowledge or skills. Labour in the form of self-improvement is required to accumulate this

state. **The objectified cultural capital** includes, as is made obvious in the name, objects. These objects are also known as cultural goods and can take the form of books, movies, instruments, and machines. These objects can have value and be transmitted for economic profit. What they are also able to do is carry symbolism. That symbolism differs from culture to culture (Bourdieu, 1986, p.246). The meaning that goods carry could therefore be subjective. **The institutionalized state** can be seen as a form of official recognition, such as a title or (academic) qualification. The qualification recognizes and guarantees a person of competence in an area, such as within a company or academically.

Social capital is defined as a collection of resources linked to a network of acquaintances, in which all members can access collectively-owned capital. It is different from the other capitals, as hard work is needed to maintain a network and is not naturally given. Moreover, social capital is always dependent on other parties.

Bourdieu summarizes **economic capital** as goods that are ‘immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalized in the form of property rights’ (Bourdieu, 1986, p.242). Economic capital includes all forms of material resources, such as financial resources and ownership. This capital is at the root of all capitals, as the other two capitals are merely transformed forms of economic capital, some more easily than others. It shows that all forms of capital do not stand alone and are interrelated.

While symbolic capital, embedded in the speeches given by Morales, is explored and the third sub-question that is tied to this concept is answered in Chapter 4.3, the following overview serves as an insight into how it presents itself in MT:

- 1) Economic capital has been a weakness for Bolivia, as it is one of the poorest countries in South America. The country had its silver taken by the Spanish during colonial times and sold to solely benefit Europe and not South America (see Chapter 1.2). As can also be read in this same chapter, Bolivia’s lithium reserves were nationalised under Morales’s regime. This ties back to the importance of the nation to Morales, a topic that emerged from his speeches celebrating MT as well (see Chapter 4). However, this year, the government (now run by Luis Acre, also from the MAS party (Dominguez, 2020) chose a Chinese consortium to help with the development of the lithium reserves. Although small parts of the lithium have been mined already, the full industrialisation of the industry is expected to start in the coming years (Ramos, 2023). This
- 2) Embedded cultural capital in the form of knowledge is needed to build and maintain MT. The government opted for the aid of the Austrian Doppelmayr instead of any Bolivian companies. Objectified cultural capital is present, as MT could also be seen as a cultural good, as it is an object with economic and possibly symbolic value. MT also obtained institutionalised capital, as it has been awarded with several recognitions over the years.
- 3) Social capital was needed to construct MT. The Bolivian government had to connect with a construction company, which ended up being Doppelmayr, to construct the cable car system. Through this partnership with Doppelmayr, the government now has a new network to gain capital from.

2.2 Indigeneity

Studies on the effectiveness of MT (Garsous et al., 2017; Martinez et al., 2018; Llanqua Zonta, 2017) show the prominent role of Indigeneity in the context of MT, as research carried out by Martinez et al. (2018) and Llanqua Zonta (2017) provide an insight on how MT's effects differentiate between white-mestizo and Indigenous inhabitants. Another paper by Mann (2022) shows how MT has a negative effect on the livelihoods of the informal transit sector, with most of the drivers in this sector being Indigenous. Furthermore, according to a paper by Swinehart (2019), Indigeneity is included in the project as the stations have, next to a Spanish name, an Aymara name. The latter is even displayed in a larger font than the former, presumably indicating the importance of Indigenous identity in La Paz and El Alto. Concluding from these papers, it can be said that Indigeneity plays an important role in the context of MT. The interest of this project lies in the question if the importance of Indigeneity in the forementioned examples corresponds with mentions of Indigeneity in Morales's speeches, as he is the first Indigenous president and someone who has pleaded for a more prominent role for Indigenous people (Komadina & Geffroy, 2007). The (in)significance of Indigeneity is mainly present in sub-question two, where it is explored how Indigeneity is used in Morales's speeches on MT.

According to Sabatini (2006), there is a pattern of **residential segregation** in Latin America throughout the 20th century. The higher class would live in the central, easily accessible spots, while the lower class would live in the exact opposite. This can be seen in La Paz as well, according to Ravindran (2019). In his research, this close link between **race and space** is shown. The white-mestizo inhabitants live in the lower parts of La Paz, protected from the cold weather that high altitude brings. The Indigenous live in colder, less central areas around the city. This is backed up by a study stating around 75% of people in El Alto identify as Indigenous (Lazar, 2008). Race and space were almost synonymous (Radcliffe & Westwood, 1996). The construction of MT between La Paz and El Alto, connecting the two areas, can be seen as a breach of this divide. This divide is not just apparent between the two cities, but also between the white-mestizo and the Indigenous. Understanding **Indigeneity** in the La Paz-El Alto metropolitan area is therefore important when talking about MT and its effects.

As mentioned in Chapter 1.2, El Alto has been a hub for rural-urban migration. This is no coincidence, as migrating to the city was seen as a 'civilising' experience during the Spanish American empire. Living in rural areas, on the other hand, was seen as uncivilised. This divide is parallel to the thought that the Spanish were superior to the Indigenous. Subsequently, the city became a 'white space'. This resulted in Indigenous people gravitating towards these areas, wanting to obtain superior 'whiteness' and not identify as Indigenous anymore, but rather mestizo. The central plazas of these cities became the centre of the white elite, which meant that the farther one was from this centre, the more 'uncivilised' and synonymously indigenous they. The city became a 'deindiansing' space and El Alto, being an Indigenous space, was a 'source of shame' (Ravindran, 2019, p.952).

The beginning of the 21st century marked a turning point. The century started with several protests and mobilisations from 2000 to 2005, with the protesters in El Alto gaining international fame. The mobilization resulted in the takedown of the neoliberal regime and the election of the first Indigenous president of Bolivia, Evo Morales, in 2006. Residents felt proud to be living in ‘the most rebellious city in Latin America’, as the city was called after the protests. El Alto used to be a place of shame, somewhere Indigenous people were banished to by their colonizers. Nowadays, though, the Indigenous now feel proud to be living in a city such as El Alto. Not as a mestizo, but as an Indigenous person (Ravindran, 2015). Those who live in El Alto claim they are the ones who suffered and lost lives to cause revolutions in Bolivia, indicating how the protests are remembered by the current generations (Ravindran, 2019). This notion of remembering and forgetting history plays a part in the topic discussed in the next section.

2.3 Nationality

Morales’s campaign before and during presidency showed the desire for a united nation (see Chapter 1.2). As can be read in a book written by Komadina and Geffroy (2007), Morales pleaded for the creation of a plurinational state, in which white-mestizo and Indigenous people were equals. In 2009, Bolivia was officially proclaimed a plurinational state and has been recognised internationally as such since then (Klein, 2011). However, Nancy Postero (2017) argues that ‘the reality of political practices is disunity, even in an Indigenous-led state’ (p.17). One of the reasons is that the government under Morales concentrated its power centrally. Centrality opposes the wishes of social movement actors, as they prefer communal forms of political practice. The nation and unity are therefore two important factors in Morales rhetoric, which both come back when answering sub-question two. Postero also states that the discourse surrounding decolonisation, which Morales uses in his campaigns, could possibly be an act of consolidating state control: the state acts as if decolonisation is a neutral ground, silencing the heterogeneity of Indigeneity. This links back to the nationalisation of natural resources, as both are centred around increasing the importance of the Bolivian government.

In his book, *Imagined Communities* (1983), Benedict Anderson analyses nationalism and develops the concept of an imagined community. This community is, according to Anderson, imagined by the people in it, as they perceive themselves to be in the same group, even though no one knows everyone. One aspect of this concept is the notion of remembering and forgetting history in order to create a narrative. I found his theory especially fitting for this research, since serving the narrative is present in Morales’s presidency as mentioned in 2.1. One way of serving the narrative is done through gathering symbolic capital, which I will explore in the next section.

The race-space issue at the start of the 20th century divided the nation of Bolivia, literally and figuratively. But, according to Benedict Anderson (1983), any socialist revolution after World War II would define itself in national terms, which is something that is seen in Morales’s campaign as established before. Anderson defines the nation as ‘an imagined community’ (p.6, 1983). Four words are used to explain this term: imagined, limited, sovereign, and community.

The nation is **imagined**, because even in the smallest nation, nobody will know everyone. They only know the image they have in their head of their country. The nation is imagined as **limited** as it is always finite in terms of borders, demographics, and amount of inhabitants. The nation is imagined as **sovereign**, because of the way leaders acquire their authority in a contemporary nation. Power was a divine right, something solely meant for kings. Nowadays, legitimacy is the will of the people, done through elections. Anderson uses the term nation-state in which the people (nation) and government (state) exist, in a way, codependently: The state needs the support of its people, the people need the protection from the state. In Chapter 4, I explore how this relationship is present in Morales's speeches and how it impact the content of said speeches.

Lastly, the nation is imagined as a **community**. This is an interesting point, as Anderson claims that it is imagined as a community regardless of inequality and exploitation: fraternity and comradeship make it possible to justify killing and dying for the nation. The way sentiments such as these regarding unity hold up in Morales's speeches is one of the main aspirations of this thesis.

'Nation' is a difficult topic in former colonies, Anderson argues. Almost all in Latin America were acknowledged as independent by the 1830s, but it was hard for them to establish an identity through language, as the white-mestizo learned the Western languages, while the Indigenous stuck to their native tongues. Anderson states that this lack of a common language is the reason why the notion of history became a big part of nationalism in former colonies. One way of doing this is through a new phenomenon that arose, where the dead and the sacrifices they made were not just talked *about*, but also *for*. Anderson calls this 'reversed ventriloquism', which opened the way for citizens to feel closer to their Indigenous identity. Many generations after the deceased had passed, Indigenous people would go on to speak for their ancestors, wanting to **remember** them through reversed ventriloquism. Contrary to that is **forgetting**. As time goes on, one forgets. The thoughts one had ten years ago are quickly forgotten when new thoughts are formed. The same goes for forgetting history. It is all, according to Anderson, done to serve the narrative: which deaths will be forgotten or remembered depends on what wants to be forgotten or remembered. How and why Morales uses only certain parts of Bolivian history, seemingly forgetting or remembering those instances, is explored in Chapter 4.

2.4 Synthesis

Even though symbolic capital, Indigeneity, and Nationalism are until now analysed separately, they are interconnected. In this section, I will explain how these three are connected.

Symbolic capital is divided in its three forms of capital. These three mainly stand alone, except for the link between social and cultural capital, since Doppelmayr (social) passes knowledge about the construction of a cable car system to Bolivia (embedded cultural capital). Symbolic capital as a form of reputation is tied to 'serving the narrative', in this case of Bolivia through Morales's speeches, which I will get back to at the end of this section.

Two notions are important to nationalism, which is the nation as an imagined community and the difficulty former colonies had with imaging a nation. The former is divided in the four concepts limited, sovereign, imagined, and community, the latter is connected to the fact that history was important in the formation of Latin American ‘imagined communities’ due to the lack of their original language(s). Nationalism is in that way connected to Indigeneity. History being important is tied to the notion of forgetting and remembering, as Indigenous people often remembered historical events to feel closer to their ancestors and Indigenous history. The notion of remembering and forgetting can be seen in the Indigenous mobilizations, as the protesters remember the event as being mainly their success in starting further revolutions in Bolivia.

The core concept of Indigeneity consists of two notions, the forementioned Indigenous mobilizations and protests in the early 2000s, and the relationship between race and space. The mobilizations caused a sense of pride in many Indigenous people for being part of the community, which is why I connected this pride to the previously mentioned concept of imagined community:

- 1) The community is **limited**, as any other community.
- 2) The Indigenous community is to a certain extent **sovereign**. Especially in the context of the protests, I felt it was fitting to call the Indigenous community sovereign, as they were actively involved with changing the state of their nation.
- 3) The Indigenous community is **imagined** as not everyone knows each other.
- 4) I concluded the Indigenous feel part of a **community** due to forementioned comments that *they* suffered and *they* lost lives to cause revolutions in Bolivia.

To build on this last sentence, El Alto is now remembered by the protests that eventually led to Evo Morales’s election, which is why I connected the protests to the notion remembering and forgetting. As mentioned before, nationalism is also connected to this notion. I then connected ‘remembering and forgetting’ to ‘serving the narrative’, as this is done to serve the narrative, according to Anderson. This connection ties all three core concepts together, with the main link between the concepts being serving the narrative. In Chapter 4, I will go deeper into how these concepts relate more to MT by using research methods, which I will explain in the next section.

3. Methodology

This research is of a qualitative nature. I chose a stakeholder analysis and a discourse analysis as the appropriate research methods, both providing primary data. An explanation of the methods and the rationale behind why they are chosen are elaborated on in 3.1. In 3.2, I explain how these two methods are used in this thesis. In 3.3, I go into the credibility of the research.

3.1 Overview

3.1.1 Stakeholder Analysis

Stakeholder analysis is a method that collects and analyses data on stakeholders to understand how decisions were taken in a certain context and how they could have been developed. The analyses are also done to evaluate and understand a stakeholders' relevance to a project. The stakeholder approach finds its origin in policy analysis, being adapted in the 1970s and 1980s. It draws on earlier work of policy analysts who studied two concepts and are central now to stakeholder analyses: the distribution of power and the role of interest in the decision-making and policy process (Brugha & Varvasovszky, 2000).

Power is not equal, and for that reason, people with a high amount of power are able to impose their will onto others (Wang et al., 2012). Di Maddaloni and Davis (2018) distinguish two groups of stakeholders, primary and secondary stakeholders. Primary stakeholders generally have a larger amount of power than secondary stakeholders. It is therefore assumed that the latter of which cannot dramatically affect the project's outcome. Moreover, they state public stakeholders are often regarded as secondary, and private as primary. However, power relations are not static, but dynamic, Sarhadi et al., (2021) argues. Secondary stakeholders can become primary stakeholders, and vice versa.

There is no consensus on what exactly a stakeholder is. Clarkson (1995) defines the term as persons or groups that have or claim ownership, rights, or interests in a corporation and its activities, past, present, or future. In this definition, interest is clearly stated, but the role of power hides in the 'claiming' of ownership, rights, or interest. The Project Management Institute (abbr.: PMI) proposes another definition: "*Persons and organizations that are actively involved in the project, or whose interests may be positively or negatively affected by the execution or completion of the project*" (PMI, 2008). Here, interest is not just choosing to be involved in a project, but also being involved due to being affected. The role of power still is not as prominent as that of interest: stakeholders can be actively involved and affected, but that does not necessarily mean that they have to power to change the situation. Wang et al. (2012) widely cites and subsequently states the most accepted definition of a stakeholder was established by Edward Freeman. In his book 'Strategic Management: A Stakeholder Approach', Freeman's (1984) definition of a stakeholder is the following: "*Any group or individual who can effect or is affected by the achievement of the firm's objective*". This definition emphasises power the best out of the three, stating that some stakeholders can effect a decision. However, I find that the role of interest in this definition is lacking. Interest merely

comes down to the benefits and disadvantages of a project for a stakeholder, while the other definitions describe interest also as being drawn to a project. For the reason of having a more inclusive definition of a stakeholder, I propose the following definition: A person or group who can effect, is affected by, or is generally actively involved in the process and execution of a project.

I chose to carry out a stakeholder analysis for this thesis for mainly two reasons. Firstly, it is a method that attempts to understand why choices were made and due to what interest. In the case of MT, one could think the decision of carrying out the multi-million project solely lies with the government, as they have the power to decide for the country. What this thesis delves into is which other stakeholders had a hand in existence of Mi Teleférico. Secondly, the power of and between stakeholders is central to this thesis. A stakeholder analysis is a perfect fit for the reason that it includes the role of power in the analysis. This research asks the question if MT, as a local infrastructure project, could have national and international implications. To answer this question, the potential local, national, and international stakeholders have to be denoted first to then eventually analyse who might have been included in the decision of building MT.

3.1.2 Discourse Analysis

Discourse analysis is a method that tries to understand what people mean through language. It focuses on how language is used to construct social meaning and how it reinforces power dynamics, ideologies, and cultural norms (Hassan, 2023). The type of discourse analysis that is used in this thesis is CDA. According to Johnson & McLean (2020), CDA is used to investigate the hidden power relations and ideologies embedded in discourse. It is also a tool for not only finding, but also evaluating the representation of these power relations. CDA also discovers patterns in speeches and underlying cultural aspects. No theory is technically needed during the analysis, as the focus is on social problems (Van Leeuwen, 2018).

Same as with the stakeholder analysis, power is key when it comes to CDA. Mullet (2018) describes power as the chance of a person being able to achieve their will against any resistance. Although someone can exhibit power in many subtle ways, such as tone, laughter, or the way the speaker addresses certain people, this thesis will only focus on the power of the speaker, Evo Morales, and the actors (directly and indirectly) addressed in the speeches. This is because I am working with solely transcripts, as I could not find any video's on the speeches. Moreover, I do not feel comfortable with analysing the tone of translated texts, as nuances could get lost during the translation process.

There are other limitations when using this research method. Firstly, CDA relies on the analyst's interpretation. Secondly, it cannot be guaranteed that the analyst is all-knowing and can therefore make an objective claim. Mullet (2018) states that these limitations leave open possibilities for the researcher to further their own agenda. To combat these two limitations, Chapter 1.1 has been written to inform the reader on my identity as the researcher. Moreover, I acknowledged when claims cannot be fully grounded in theory in Chapter 4.

CDA is used to analyse Morales's speeches on MT, as it is suitable for exploring hidden power relations and ideologies within the texts, such as the notions of Indigeneity and nationality explored in Chapter 2.3 and 2.4 respectively. CDA plays a vital part in this research as it is used to answer sub-question two and three. The way in which CDA and the stakeholder analysis are used in this thesis is explained in detail in the next section.

3.2 Research Strategy

For the stakeholder analysis, two stakeholder analysis guides were chosen and combined for this research (MacArthur, 1997; Schmeer, 1999). The reason is that the two guides included either steps regarding interviewing or participation from stakeholders. These steps are left out, as they are infeasible to carry out during this research due to relevant stakeholders, such as residents of La Paz/El Alto, Doppelmayr, or Evo Morales himself, being unreachable due to distant between me and the stakeholder, but also the language barrier. Communicating with locals would be challenging, as I do not speak Spanish.

To still have a complete guide to carry out the analyses, steps from both analyses were used. The following nine stages of stakeholder analysis are proposed:

- 1) **Selecting and defining an issue.** A useful stakeholder analysis should be focused on one appropriate issue. 'Appropriateness' could be measured through the issue being specific and definable, being socially and politically controversial, and relevant.
- 2) **Identifying key stakeholders.** Existing information on the issue has to be reviewed to determine who is a potential stakeholder. A list of all possible stakeholders is then drawn up.
- 3) **Deciding the importance and influence of each stakeholder.** When the key stakeholders are identified, their importance and influence are ranked. This is done to determine who could have the biggest influence over this project.
- 4) **Collecting and reviewing information.** To gain information on the stakeholders, a thorough literature study has to be done.
- 5) **Considering any additions to the project.** To ensure every possible stakeholder is included in the analysis, steps three to five are looked over again.
- 6) **Filling in the stakeholder table.** A stakeholder table is filled out when the all desired data has been included in the analysis.
- 7) **Analysing the stakeholder table.**

These steps were carried out for this research in the following manner:

- 1) The issue at hand is the question to what extent MT is a local, national, and international project. This is done by analysing which stakeholders are important on these three scales. This is measured in the two criteria of how much power they had in the process and their interest. I deemed this appropriate by the forementioned criteria that are mentioned in the guide. This research deals with a specific and definable issue, as it is about one specific case in Bolivia. It is potentially socially and politically controversial

due to the racial nature of Morales's rhetoric, and sometimes the lack thereof in projects such as MT (this is explored more in Chapter 4). Lastly, it is relevant for this project to carry out a stakeholder analysis, as there have yet to be stakeholder analyses done on MT.

- 2) The first time doing the stakeholder analysis, I identified four stakeholders: the citizens of La Paz and El Alto, the Bolivian government, the Inter-American Development Bank, and Doppelmayr. I based my decisions of which stakeholders are relevant in the case of MT on scientific literature and official documents on MT. Merely using literature came with numerous limitations, though. Stakeholders can go unseen because I am basing my analysis on literature. A solution to this problem could be in-person interviews or surveys with the identified stakeholders. These two could be useful, as they both have the ability to include people from various backgrounds (O'Haire et al., 2011).

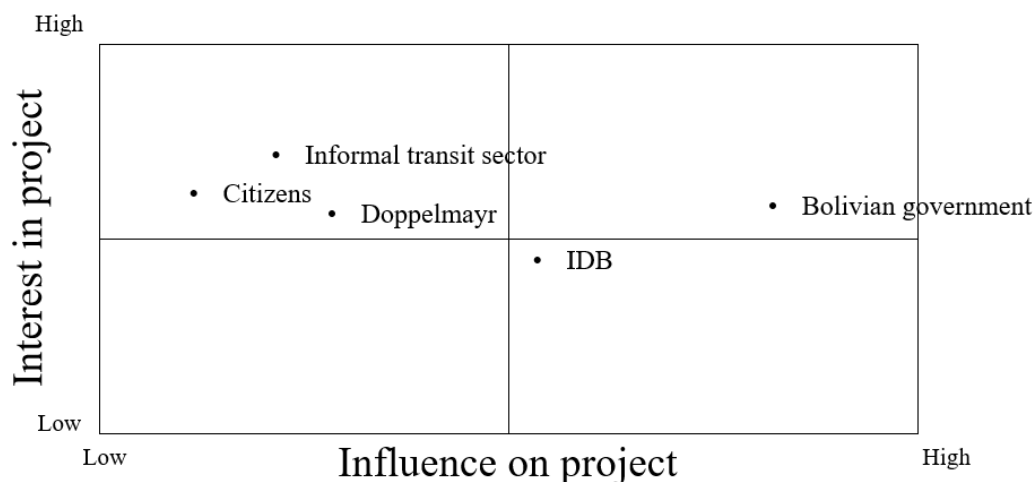


Figure 3: Interest and influence of stakeholders in this project

- 3) The importance of the stakeholders was determined by using literature. A chart was made (see Figure 1), based on one made by the Overseas Development Administration (1995). In this chart, the interest and influence of actors are visualised. I explore the power and interest of these actors in Chapter 4.1. I incorporated a spectrum based on that of Schmeer (1999), which can be used to label a stakeholder as a supporter or opponent of a project (see Figure 2).
- 4) I looked at multiple sources, including and not limited to scientific articles on Morales's presidency (Postero, 2017; Stoessel, 2019) and governmental reports (MT, 2016; MT, 2021). These sources aided in not only the exploration of the already mentioned stakeholders, but also the identification of other relevant actors, which are mentioned in the next step.
- 5) I discovered another significant stakeholder, and two subcategories that fall under 'citizens'. The new stakeholder is another locally affected group, namely the private transit sector. The two distinctions are the (mainly Indigenous) commuters living in El Alto and working in La Paz, and several white-mestizo inhabitants of La Paz. I added

these subcategories, as I felt uncomfortable generalising the cities of La Paz and El Alto⁷.

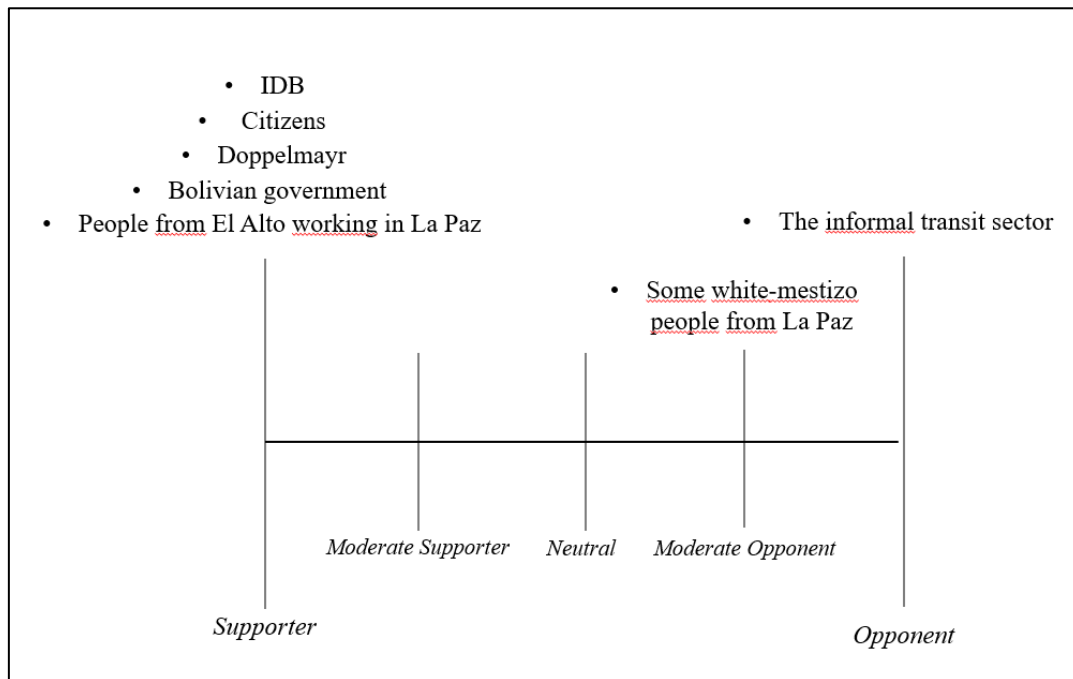


Figure 4: Supporter-opponent spectrum

- 6) Based on the literature, I have made a stakeholder table (see Table ...), based on stakeholder tables made by MacArthur (1997) and Schmeer (1999). I used MacArthur's table, as it shows the potential interests and power of the actors in a clear manner. I incorporated Schmeer's notion of a stakeholder's position towards the project to make evident what this stakeholder's opinion is towards the project.
- 7) The results of the analysing the stakeholder table are delved into in Chapter 4.

⁷ I acknowledge that these two subcategories do not do the many identities in the cities justice. For the scope of this research and because of the previously mentioned limitations, I have chosen to carry out the stakeholder analysis with just these two subcategories. I encourage further research to be done for a more inclusive stakeholder analysis.

Stakeholders	Potential interests	Potential power on project	Stakeholder position
<i>Local</i>			
Citizens...	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - MT being a service to relief congestion - MT being another option in taking public transport 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Protests 	Supporter
...Some white-mestizo people from La Paz	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - ... - 'No Indigenous in La Paz' 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Protests 	Moderate Opponent
...People from El Alto working in La Paz	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - ... - A better form of public transport for commuting 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Protests 	Supporter
The informal transit sector	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Have seen a drop in the private transit business since MT 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Unions 	Opponent
<i>National</i>			
The Bolivian government	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - To strengthen the independence and economic power of Bolivia 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - MT is 100% under state control - Direct influence over MT 	Supporter
<i>International</i>			
Doppelmayr	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Financial gain 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Has the technical expertise 	Supporter
Inter-American Development Bank	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Improving the lives of people living in Latin America and the Caribbean 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Has the funds - Has the technical expertise 	Supporter

Table 1: Stakeholder table

For the CDA, I have used the general analytical framework of Diana Muller (2018). Mullet's framework was chosen for the analysis, as it includes characteristics of several CDA scholars from the 1990s. I left out the sixth step in this framework, which goes into the internal relations in the texts. Internal relations can be patterns, words, or ways of saying those words that represent power relations or social context. I decided to leave this out, as I felt I could not judge the internal relations of translated texts due to the lack of knowledge I have of the Spanish language to judge if a certain power is exuded. The steps that are used in this research project are the following:

- 1) **Selecting relevant discourses.** Examples of this are discourses of gender, inequity, or the role of ethnicity.
- 2) **Locating and preparing data sources (texts).** There is not one method to selecting data, but most CDA approaches select existing texts. To prepare those texts, the analyst finds indicators of the key concepts, categorizes the concepts, and collects additional texts.
- 3) **Exploring the background of the texts.** To understand what is being said in the data, the social and historical context and the person behind the text have to be examined.
- 4) **Identifying overarching themes.** Main themes and subthemes in the text are identified through coding methods, such as open coding, axial coding, or thematic analysis. These themes are presented with a description and representative quotations from the text.
- 5) **Analysing external relations in the texts.** The researcher takes the relation the text has to the outside into account.
- 6) **Interpreting the data.** The data from stage four and five are interpreted. Fragments are put into the broader context and themes that were established before.

These seven steps have been implemented in this research:

- 1) The first subjects to be researched during the literature study were MT and Morales's speeches about the cable car system. MT was studied first to get to know the reasons behind the construction, the construction process, and the reception from the general public. After skimming over Morales's speeches, a part of Bolivian history was researched to understand the context behind those speeches. Discourses surrounding nationality and Indigeneity were deemed to be the most important for the analysis because of a previously done literature study (see Chapter 1.2).
- 2) Four transcripts of Morales's speeches were found on governmental sites for this research. I deemed the texts appropriate, as they contained elements I was looking for, such as comments on the economic state of Bolivia, (inter)nationality, and mentions of La Paz and El Alto. Only three out of four texts were eventually chosen and analysed, because one lacked a date and year. Even though one could assume from the content of the speech in which year this speech was held, I did not want to risk being mistaken and place the speech in the wrong context. I found the latter important, as a discourse analysis would not be the only source of information to answer the research questions. I would need the exact date of both sources to strengthen the arguments I made about the speech with other information available around that time.

The first speech is from the 16th of August, 2013. In this speech, Morales announces the construction of the cable car. In the second (30th of May, 2014) and third (28th of May, 2015) speech, Morales is at the inauguration of the Red and White Line, respectively. In this chapter and those to come, I will refer to the speeches from 2013, 2014, and 2015 as S1, S2, and S3 respectively. The transcripts of these speeches can be found in the appendix.

To translate the texts from Spanish to English, I chose to use the program DeepL, as it is deemed one of the better online translators (Varela-Salinas & Burbat, 2019; Hidalgo-Ternero, 2021). When I found a translation was lacking, Google Translate was used to compare the translations. Two limitations come with utilising online translators. Firstly, using multiple online translators does not mean the translation is perfect, as both are not without their flaws (Hidalgo-Ternero, 2021). Secondly, translations between DeepL and Google Translate would sometimes differ. If the difference was insignificant, I would opt for DeepL as it is regarded as the better translator. If the difference was significant, I ran different parts of the sentence several times through the translator to see if that would make a difference. Then, I would choose the translation that made the most sense in the context of the speech. I acknowledge that this is not the perfect method of translating a text. To overcome both limitations, a professional translator could be hired to translate.

- 3) Several aspects of Bolivian history have been explored to obtain a deeper understanding of the content and context of Morales's speeches in the form of a literature review. The Spanish conquest in Bolivia has been studied to gain more knowledge on Indigeneity. Furthermore, I explored what Morales's rhetoric has been through his political career to be able to compare this to the content of his speeches on MT (See Chapter 1.2). I also delved deeper into the urban histories of La Paz and El Alto as, respectively, inherently white and Indigenous spaces to understand the differences between the cities (see Chapter 2.2).
- 4) For coding, I used to software Atlas.ti, as I have previous experience with it and found it easy to use. The expectations coming into this analysis were that Indigeneity and nationality would be an important point for Morales because of the previously mentioned literature review. This would prove to be partly untrue when coding, as the overarching themes were (inter-)nationality and La Paz. Indigeneity was not mentioned at all. I explore these themes further in the Chapter 4.
- 5) The external relations of these themes (and the lack of themes such as Indigeneity) were explored. Governmental reports were deployed to determine the official reasons behind MT's construction. Scientific articles on Morales's presidency were useful, as they gave an insight into what he has done as president. I used news articles for the same reason. In Chapter 4, I go further into which degree Morales's speeches correspond with these sources.
- 6) The interpretation of the data is explained in detail in Chapter 4.2 and 4.3.

In the table below, I have visualised how these research methods play a part in this research.

Sub Question	Literature study	Governmental documents	Bolivian history, identity and politics	Scientific literature on MT	CDA	Stakeholder analysis
1	X	X	X	X		X
2	X	X	X		X	
3	X		X	X	X	

Table 2: Methods used for sub-questions

3.3 Trustworthiness of Research

Validity and reliability are two criteria used to measure the integrity and quality of quantitative and qualitative research (Kimberlin & Winterstein, 2008). Validity refers to whether the measuring instrument actually measures what it is supposed to measure; Reliability relates to the consistency of results (Vennix, 2016). Quantitative research struggles with the threats that face these two criteria. Validity encounters threats such as the time between two experiments, the maturation between tests, the effect of different measuring instruments, the effect of testing, biases, and loss of population (Campbell & Stanley, 1963). Reliability in quantitative research faces the threats of random error and researcher's bias (Krawczyk et al., 2019). Using validity and reliability in qualitative research is controversial as well, though, as it is criticised for its subjectivity and lack of transparency and justification. Because of this, validity and reliability would not be able to properly assess the quality of a qualitative research (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Sandelowski, 1993; Krawczyk et al., 2019). To assess the trustworthiness of this qualitative research, I will use these four measures proposed by Lincoln and Guba (1985): credibility, dependability, transferability, and confirmability.

Credibility recognises that reality is subjective. It is important for the researcher to outline their viewpoints that may result in a bias (Noble & Smith, 2015). Chapter 1.1. is dedicated to inform the reader about any bias and shortages that may interfere with this research. Interpretation remains to be a problem in this research, though. It bears a responsibility, as the subject of analysis, Morales's speeches in this case, is given a new meaning. For that reason, the researcher needs to reflect and be mindful of the effects of their claims in the interpretation process (Willig, 2014). Williams and Morrow (2009) propose three categories that should be included in this step of qualitative research. Firstly, the researcher should reflect upon the integrity of the data. This refers to what extent the chosen data is suitable for the interpretive approach. In Chapter 3.1, an explanation is given on why I chose CDA for this research. Secondly, the balance between subjectivity and reflexivity has to be checked. This involves the researcher asking questions to themselves about what exactly is said (subjectivity) and what has been interpreted (reflexivity). This has been done in this research by commenting on the decision made by me during the analyses. Lastly, clear communication and application of findings is key to build a compelling research. This has been achieved in this research by explaining the thought process behind each decision I made during the analyses.

Dependability relates to the trust the reader has in the research. The researcher's decisions should be clear and transparent. Another researcher should therefore be able to end up with similar findings (Stahl & King, 2020). This can be enhanced by providing a step-by-step guide on how the analysis is done (Forero et al., 2018). I have shown the guides used for both the stakeholder analysis and discourse analysis in Chapter 3.2. Furthermore, feedback from my peers and supervisor have been included in this research, as communication between and feedback from peers could improve the trust in a research (Stahl & King, 2020). Reflexive auditing, which is describing the identity and involvement of the researcher, could enhance the dependability as well. According to Stahl and King (2020), it shows a level of immersion from the researcher that provides the reader with trust. This has been done in this research by the means of Chapter 1.1. and the use of first person narration. The latter is controversial, as academic literature traditionally is thought to be impersonal and distant (Tang & John, 1999). However, several authors have commented that subjectivity and the emotions that come with it could encourage instead of hinder reflexivity in qualitative research (Mauthner & Doucet, 2003; King, 2006). Feminist researchers argue that first person narration is preferable, according to Reinharz (1992), as the research process is a lived experience and a researcher is likely to reflect on the lessons learned during the process.

A research is transferable if it can be applied to other contexts or settings. Qualitative research is not something that replicable, Stahl and King (2020) argue, but patterns from one research could still be present in other cases. Qualitative research seeks to expand understanding by transferring results, which is only possible when rich descriptions of the process and results are given. These description should include contextual information, any (influential) participants, and the methods used for data collection and analysis. To increase the transferability of this research, I have been as transparent as possible when describing the process of data collection by writing down how methods are used (see Chapter 3.2).

Confirmability is to measure how close the qualitative research is to the objective reality (Stahl & King, 2020). It is the confidence a research has that their research would be confirmed or corroborated by other researchers. Reflexivity is hereby an important factor, that is to be transparent about the identity of project's researcher (Forero et al., 2018). For that reason, as in the case for dependability, I have provided the reader with my background in Chapter 1.1 and often use the first person narrative when talking about choices I, as the researcher, made.

4. Findings

This chapter presents the results from the CDA, stakeholder analysis, and literature reviews, to ultimately answer the main research question: **To what extent is a local infrastructure project in a poor country like Bolivia nonetheless a conduit to achieve recognition on an international scale?**

The results for the first sub-question are presented in Chapter 4.1, discussing the local, national, and international stakeholders that are involved in MT and how that makes MT a multi-scale project. The results for the second sub-question are elaborated upon in Chapter 4.2. The findings from the CDA are discussed as well as how this corresponds with reports and real-life situations. In Chapter 4.3, sub-question three is answered by discussing how economic, cultural, and social capital are present in Morales's speeches, and how this is reflected in real life.

4.1 Sub-Question One

The research question that is answered in this chapter is: **How does scale play a role in the construction of MT? In other words, to what extent is MT a local, national, and/or international project?** A stakeholder analysis based on interest and power was carried out to determine the relevant stakeholders on each scale. Results from a literature study provide the necessary context to understand why these stakeholders are important to this case.

MT promoted as a local project

MT appears to be a local project in the sense that it solves the problem of congestion and the chaotic transport systems in and between the two cities. Two affected groups have been identified. The first group is the citizens of La Paz and El Alto. I identified two sub-categories within this group, which are commuters living in El Alto and working in La Paz, and several white-mestizo people in La Zona Sur, a prominently white and rich neighbourhood in La Paz. The second group of stakeholders is the informal transit sector.

The citizens' interest in the project lies in the use of the cable car. Inhabitants of both La Paz and El Alto cities rely on public transport, with an estimate of 71% of people using public transport over car, walking, or cycling (Oficio Municipal de La Paz, 2018). Before MT, using public transport was difficult and unsafe due to forementioned congestion and unreliable, unsafe system (Mi Teleférico, 2016). Implementing MT could and eventually proved to ease the lives of inhabitants, as six to thirty-four minutes per line were cut from the previous commute time (Mi Teleférico, 2022b).

MT was especially important to those living in El Alto, as most inhabitants of El Alto work in mainly domestic services in La Paz. Being able to travel swiftly between the two cities because of MT was a welcomed change for this group (Mann, 2022). However, some white-mestizo inhabitants from La Paz were against the idea of Indigenous people being able to easily travel

to ‘their’ prominently white neighbourhoods due to MT. On social media, several white-mestizo citizens, especially inhabitants of La Zona Sur, were against the idea. Some posted on Facebook that the cable car system should even cease to exist: ‘That would kill the dog and also the fleas’, with ‘the dog’ referring to MT and ‘the fleas’ to Indigenous people (Ravindran, 2019). This instance shows the projection of the ongoing racism in Bolivia, even though this is not part of Morales’s rhetoric in the beginning of his presidency. I explore this topic more in Chapter 4.2. when talking about the (in)significance of Indigeneity and the nation in Morales’s speeches.

Although neighbourhood associations are the most involved in public conflict (Stoessel, 2019), there is no definitive evidence that the citizens of La Paz and El Alto had any power to alter the project of MT in any way. There is a certain comradeship between MT and the associations, though. This can be seen on two instances. Firstly, in a tweet from the official Twitter account of MT, it is stated they ‘owe a debt to the neighbourhood organisations to give back public space to children and young people’. This debt refers to the space that had to be given up in El Alto for the construction of a station for the Purple Line. MT paid this ‘debt’ by providing the area with a 4.486 square metre park (Mi Teleférico, 2019). The park includes a football field and green space for recreation. Secondly, the federation of neighbourhood associations was present in April of 2023 at a ceremony where MT was awarded for the services it provided the cities, and applauded the recognition (Mi Teleférico, 2023).

The second local stakeholder is the informal transit sector, which is negatively affected by MT as it has seen a drop in private transit business since its construction. Being a driver was easily accessible for many rural, Indigenous migrants, as little specialized knowledge was required. While these Indigenous drivers are against MT due to forementioned reasons, the Indigenous commuters that travel from El Alto to La Paz are elated with the project. So, even though MT intended to improve the social inclusion (Global Infrastructure Hub, 2019), it divided the Indigenous community in a way.

Owners of transportation companies and drivers make up several unions and have significantly more power than the citizens of La Paz and El Alto, being one of the most influential unionised sectors in the cities and second social actor most involved in public conflicts, first being the neighbourhood associations (Stoessel, 2019). The unions obtained their power by running for parliament. This was done because of Morales beginning to regulate the transportation industry. This formalisation of the transit sector is in line with Morales’s previous attempts to nationalise resources, ultimately . Although beyond the scope of the research, I felt this pattern is worth pointing out, perhaps for future research.

Eight union members became members in the parliament, even though Morales preferred technically-skilled individuals for this position. With this power, the unions were able to resist and pass certain laws. In one instance, all unions successfully resisted government attempts to classify transportation as a state public sector, which would have restricted the informal sector even more so (Mann, 2022). However, the unions were not able to resist the construction of MT. Protests were held by blocking the streets, but this backfired: the protests only increased the use of the cable car system, as that would take them over the blockade (Grace, 2019). As of now, the future for the informal sector does not appear to be bright, since upcoming

transportation plans prioritize pedestrians and centrally-planned, government-supported public transportation. The informal transit sector does not receive any financial support from the government either, leaving it left to fend for itself (Mann, 2022).

Even though MT is a local project, citizens of La Paz and El Alto are impacted, both positively and negatively, by the national aspirations of Morales, which I will explore in the next section of this thesis.

MT promoted as a national project

The concept of MT was carried out by the government. Former president Evo Morales drafted the bill to commence the construction (Mi Teleférico, 2016). The Bolivian government is therefore a national stakeholder. In a report from the government (Mi Teleférico, 2016), it is said their interest in this project comes from the desire to strengthen the independence and economic power of Bolivia and to create a project to benefit all Bolivian people. Another report from 2021 (Mi Teleférico), notes the way the government understands the project. Four perspectives are given as to why the cable car has been built:

- 1) The Human Perspective – MT serves as an inclusive and safe form of urban transportation, which improves business opportunities and travel abilities;
- 2) The City Perspective – MT contributes to optimising the public space, reducing traffic on land, and creating urban centralities;
- 3) The Environmental Perspective – MT is an eco-friendly form of transport, as it is more efficient, less invasive, and promotes the use of alternative energy sources, such as electricity;
- 4) The Government Perspective – MT promotes La Paz and El Alto, which in turn financially strengthens the economy and the government.

These statements acknowledge different parts of Bolivia. The first two statements acknowledge the local scale as they refer to the people who travel in the metropolitan area and how the cities can be strengthened due to good infrastructure, especially since La Paz is the capital of Bolivia⁸. The third statement indicates a will to lower the carbon emissions. The fourth shows a more financial approach. These statements do not acknowledge two notions, that of race and the nation. This is odd, as these two have been denoted, as read in Chapter 1, as prominent subjects discourse in Bolivia. It has to be mentioned that the report wherein these four perspectives are mentioned was published after Morales's presidency ended. Even so, it is interesting to note how Morales's rhetoric shows discrepancies between how MT as a project is meant to serve, in the words of the current government.

This absence of Indigeneity and importance of the nation are the main findings in this thesis. In Chapter 4.2, I will dive deeper into the (in)significance of these two subjects in speeches given by Morales, as that section provides a deeper understanding of these two findings.

⁸ I acknowledge that Sucre is the constitutional capital of Bolivia, and that La Paz is the executive capital and seat of the government.

The power that the government has is that MT is fully state owned. This means the government has direct influence over MT and what happens to it (Mi Teleférico, 2016). It can therefore be concluded that the government has the most power over the project of all stakeholders. However, it is still dependent on several actors. Firstly, it needs the support from the local community, as a cable car system requires passengers to operate. The resistance from the previously mentioned informal Indigenous drivers and the white-mestizo citizens on social media show that a project, even though it provides numerous positives, cannot be built without proper discourse surrounding it. In other words, the government needs to convince the citizens why this project should be built. In this case, discourse could therefore be regarded as the government's power. Secondly, during the construction, the government was dependent on international actors during the construction. As the next section will show, Bolivia lacked the technical expertise and the funds to fully realise the project (Ministerio de Comunicación, 2014; Global Infrastructure Hub, 2019).

MT promoted as an international project

Bolivia lacking the technical expertise for MT is not a Bolivian problem per se, as most cable car systems in Latin America were built by non-Latin American companies. The French Poma, the Austrian Doppelmayr, and the Italian Leitner take the lead in constructing Latin American cable cars, with the first two having (co-)constructed both four, and the latter three systems. Constructora Colpatria and ICEIN are the only Latin-American companies to have built a ropeway in Latin America, both being Colombian and having worked on the cable car system in Bogotá, Colombia (World Bank, 2020). The sentiment of Latin-American not having the expertise to build cable car systems is backed up by Morales in S2, stating he had to look around the world for a ropeway company, as *"we don't have companies in Bolivia, perhaps not even in Latin America or the Caribbean, that can install cable cars"*. Therefore, it could also be concluded that there is a certain dependency Bolivia has on international actors.

The first of two international stakeholders that have been included in the analysis is Doppelmayr. The Bolivian government contacted the company to construct the cable car. It is important to note that I struggled to find information on Doppelmayr's interest and power in the context of MT. For that reason, I am merely speculating in this paragraph on what these two could be. While these speculations are beyond the scope of this project, I nonetheless want to point out that this lack of information on a public project can be seen as a lack of transparency. As a company, their interest would presumably be to make profit. Another point of interest could be that MT was a way for Doppelmayr to gain recognition, as an Austrian company building a Bolivian cable car. Before MT, Doppelmayr had done one project in Latin-America, namely the Metrocable in Venezuela in 2010. Since then, three more systems have been built, including MT (World Bank, 2015).

It is difficult to estimate the power Doppelmayr has over the project. The company itself does not, as they are not the sole ropeway company active in Latin America (World Bank, 2020). Their knowledge on how to construct a cable car system would then be the only form of power they have. Bolivia is dependent on expertise from foreign companies, though, as Morales

mentioned and can be seen by the sheer amount of foreign ropeway companies in Latin America.

The second international stakeholder is the IDB. It took interest in the project, as their goal, as described on their website, is to improve lives in Latin America and the Caribbean (IDB, n.d.-b). As a stakeholder, the IDB is not a neutral party: several authors (Jonakin, 2001; Menemencioğlu, 2009) suggest that the bank is invested in promoting a neoliberal approach, which, according to these studies, has more often failed than succeeded.

The IDB funded research, which proved the positive effects MT had on saving time, which in turn promoted recreational and educational activities (Martinez et al., 2018; Garsous et al., 2019). The power the IDB has over the project is shown in two different ways. Firstly, they are directly funding the Bolivian government. At this moment, a loan, called the ‘Solar Energy and Sustainable Electric Mobility Program’, has the objective of improving the quality of urban public transport. The IDB states the project will result in reduced travel times, operating costs, and GHG emissions. The public transport sectors that will benefit from this loan are the bus, train, and cable car system. The loan is estimated to be worth USD 59.000.000 (IDB, n.d.-a). The specifics of this loan are not known, as it is still in preparation. Questions regarding, for example, the distribution of the costs can therefore not be answered as of yet. Furthermore, this is the sole loan I found on the IDB’s website wherein MT is explicitly mentioned. The Bolivian government could have received funding from the IDB for other projects, and used that money for projects related to MT. Secondly, the IDB has provided the government with technical expertise on at least two occasions. The first technical cooperation project’s objective was to support MT in strengthening the urban planning and evaluation processes. This included the training in the implementation of urban transport development plans and impact assessment methodologies. The total cost of this project was USD 185.000 (IDB, n.d.-c). The second technical cooperation is adjacent to the loan that is being prepared by the IDB as of this moment, which means this technical cooperation is still in preparation as well. This project aims to support MT in the preparation of implementing more electric vehicles and provide technical assistance to optimize MT’s operational management. The total cost of this project is estimated at USD 300.000 (IDB, n.d.-d).

Summary: MT is promoted as a multi-scale project

What I have concluded from Chapter 4.1 is that MT could be regarded as a project relevant on local, national, and international scale due to the stakeholders involved in this project. In other words, MT can be seen as a multi-scale project. On a local scale, opinions are divided since most citizens welcome MT due to it having shortened commute time and provided a better alternative to the previous chaotic transportation system. This has especially benefited Indigenous people in El Alto, as most work in La Paz and had to commute between the cities. Two groups do not support the project. The informal transit sector fear for their livelihoods, as they have seen a drop in their businesses since the opening of MT. Moreover, some white-mestizo inhabitants of La Zona Sur are against the idea of Indigenous people being able to easily travel to their white neighbourhoods. The power local stakeholders have varies,

as regular citizens could only show their support by (not) using the project. The informal transit sector has the most power out of all stakeholders, as they have seats in the parliament and have been able to influence some laws and regulations.

The national stakeholder is the Bolivian government. Their involvement in this project is the interest to strengthen Bolivia's economic position and independence, but also to improve citizens' lives by providing safe public transport and optimising the public space. Since MT is fully state-owned, it could be said that the government has the most power out of the five main stakeholder groups. Nonetheless, the government is dependent on other stakeholders. Local stakeholders can influence the project through their use of it. For that reason, they have a crucial role in the further existence of MT. During the construction process, though, international stakeholders played a crucial role.

Doppelmayr had to be contacted to build the project, as there are not many companies in Latin-America that are specialised in building cable car systems. Although interests can only be speculated upon, the technical expertise it brought to Bolivia is Doppelmayr's power in the project. Furthermore, the IDB showed their interest in the project through aiding in two different ways: technical expertise and funding. This was done in the name of improving lives in Latin-America and the Caribbean, as said on their website.

4.2 Sub-Question Two

Given the history of racism and the importance of nation, as discussed in Chapter 1.2, I now want to turn to Chapter 4.2, which answers the question: **To what extent is the subject of the nation, race and/or Indigeneity (not) deployed by Evo Morales?**. To gain insight into the importance of the nation, race, and Indigeneity in speeches held by Evo Morales, a CDA on three of Morales's speeches was carried out. The following section analyses the results from the CDA by pointing out patterns in the speeches and including relevant literature to strengthen the claims made in this chapter.

The nation

As established in Chapter 1.2, MT seemed to be project built to combat local problems such as congestion. What can also be read in the same chapter, is that the concept of the nation, specifically a plurinational state, was important in Morales's campaign and subsequent presidency. This sentiment can be seen throughout his speeches.

The importance of the nation can be seen in Morales's speeches in two ways. Firstly, Morales states MT is built for the Bolivian people four times. Comments such as "*A cable car for the whole of Bolivia*" or "*For the good of all Bolivian people*" appear in the speech. Tied to that are comments about how MT will benefit the image of Bolivia as a nation. Morales claims the cable car system will certainly promote internal tourism in Bolivia, as the "*people of La Paz are truly enviable*" to have a well-functioning cable car.

Secondly, Morales mentions the participation of several national actors seventeen times in his speech. These actors consist of the Bolivian Armed Forces, the public sector, and the private sector. The Bolivian Armed Forces are applauded by Morales in his speeches twice for their participation in the project by providing land for the cable car. From sentences such as “*the participation of our Armed Forces, also providing land for our cable car*” or “*We are trying to get a piece of land from the Army Military College, which will be another contribution from our Armed Forces to guarantee land for the cable car station*”, I concluded the military cleared land for the state to build the cable car system. However, this cannot be confirmed as I could not find any articles or document stating which specific role the Armed Forces had in the case of MT. This gap in the data could potentially be interesting for further research.

Same as the military, the public sector is mentioned twice. Both times, the municipalities of La Paz and El Alto are applauded because of their participation in the project and the land they provided for MT. An example of this has been provided in Chapter 4.1, wherein is said that El Alto had to deliver space for the construction of a station.

The private sector includes companies and business men that have participated in the construction of MT. These actors were mentioned five times by Morales. Businesses and companies are applauded for their contribution to the project by providing land. I could not find definitive proof which companies provided which plots of land. However, Morales does speak of the car company Toyota. I did not find much information on Toyota and what it has done for MT. There is one presentation by Doppelmayr that shows there is a plan for ‘Ciudad Toyota’ (tr.: Toyota City) at the Libertador station. I could not find any information on if it has been constructed, other than designs of a modern location with greenery and several skyscrapers in the previously mentioned presentation (Doppelmayr, 2017). Although a report from Mi Teleférico states that private companies did fund the project, the names of these companies are not mentioned. Morales mentioning Toyota could then be, again, a lack of transparency, as the company could be one of these unnamed companies. However, as Toyota City was never realised, it could be that the plan never went through.

Joint work on a national level is the most important part, according to the analysis. It is mentioned eight times. This includes the military, the public and private sector, but also all Bolivians. It is, according to Morales, “*important to all work together to see results*”. Morales calls for all Bolivians to aid in the project in any way they could and to solve problems jointly. This includes local actors, such as the neighbourhood associations. If any problems arise, “*resolve them jointly in a timely manner*”. The notion of joint work further encourages unity in Bolivia and the idea of the nation-state, which ties back to the unity Morales pled for during his presidency and comes up multiple times in this chapter.

This speech shows Morales’ desire to have a well-functioning nation, applauding several public and private actors for their contributions, as well as compelling them to work together to obtain desired results. Furthermore, it becomes evident how prominent national and international actors are in Morales’ speeches, as he welcomes foreign investments, such as Toyota. This is interesting, since Morales has nationalised other sectors such as the lithium industry (see Chapter 1.2). This formalisation of industries ties back to the Morales trying to regulate the mostly Indigenous transport sector, showcased in Chapter 4.1. This again

times. Furthermore, when analysing the amount of times words have been mentioned in the text. La Paz is mentioned forty-one times, while El Alto is mentioned ten times (see Figure 3).

- 2) The location of Morales's speeches stood out as well, as they were all held in places in La Paz. S1 is held at the Libertador station, S2 at the station Estación Central, and S3 Plaza Villarroel Plaza. These two patterns potentially show the importance of La Paz, which is inherently a white-mestizo space, against that of El Alto, an inherently Indigenous space (see Chapter 2.3). It is interesting to see how different the spaces of Morales's speeches are comparing them to his inauguration period, when he visited Tiwanaku (see Chapter 1.8).

From these findings, I concluded two types of frames that one could look through. Firstly, Morales is diminishing racial segregation through his speeches, not just between La Paz and El Alto, but perhaps for the entire nation. This ties back to his desire for Bolivia to be a plurinational state and the reason why Morales might not mention Indigeneity for the aim of unifying the nation. The reason why I have deduced this as one of the frames, is due to the locations Morales is holding his speeches, all of which are in La Paz. It is important to note that Morales held S3 on a plaza in La Paz. Discussed in Chapter 2.3 is how plazas are historically white spaces: the farther away from a plaza, the more Indigenous the place. Morales, as not only an Indigenous man, but also being the first Indigenous president, giving his speech on a plaza is therefore important to note. This could be done on purpose, as combating the discrimination against Indigenous people was a topic that Morales actively participated in during his campaign and presidency (see Chapter 1.2). One of his accomplishments in this field is the constitution from 2009, which had the goal of ending centuries of discrimination against the Indigenous population (Postero, 2019). It introduced measures to prevent and punish discrimination, including discrimination against both Indigenous people of American and of African descent. To prevent discrimination, educational measures and training of public officials were set in place. Furthermore, the law provided mechanisms for victims of racism in the form of complaint mechanism. To punish, the following acts of racism were made criminal: discrimination; incitement to or dissemination of racism; the organization of racist associations; and insults or other verbal aggressions with racial motivations (Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, 2011).

Secondly, Morales preferring La Paz over El Alto, subsequently ignoring the Indigenous. Morales mentions La Paz significantly more than El Alto. La Paz, as an inherently white space, is mentioned thirteen more times than El Alto, an inherently Indigenous space, even though MT crosses both spaces. Furthermore, the three speeches analysed in this research were all held in La Paz. These two factors could potentially encourage the thought that white space is superior to Indigenous. This thought goes hand in hand with the critique of Morales neglecting the Indigenous community during his presidency, in some instances sacrificing Indigenous land for capitalist projects – even though he has pled for equality among all Bolivians in his campaigns (see Chapter 1.2). In 2011, the government announced the construction of a highway between Bolivia and Brazil. This highway would pass through TIPNIS, one of Bolivia's largest and most diverse tropical reserves and home to sixty-three Indigenous communities. The highway is a controversial topic, as some Indigenous people were pleased

with potential connections to other cities and the subsequent increased access to education and healthcare. Others feared a greater ecological destruction to the region that was already affected by illegal forestry and farming. The main complaint regarding this project was that the government did not consult any Indigenous community. Morales responded to this, saying “*I want to tell you, like it or not, we are going to construct this road and this administration is going to deliver the Villa Tunari-San Ignacio de Moxos highway*”⁹ (Postero, 2017). The construction of the highway led to protests, which concluded horrendously. The police injured protesters and insulted them with racial slurs, which was eventually illegalised and penalised that same year (Defensor del Pueblo, 2011). The fact that a public institute such as the police would assault Indigenous people in that manner caused an outrage, as the head of the state was an Indigenous man whose original aim was to create a nation that treats the Indigenous as an equal (Postero, 2017).

Summary: the (in)significance of nation and race

What can be concluded from Chapter 4.2 is Morales’s desire for a united nation. Interestingly, from his speeches, it becomes evident his interests lie with the public and private actors. This could point towards another desire of his: the formalisation of the state. This is a topic that has come up several times with the nationalisation of lithium discussed in Chapter 1.2 the regulation of the informal transportation sector in Chapter 4.1.

The focus on local actors, and more specifically the Indigenous, is minimal. Indigeneity in itself is not mentioned, but can be found in underlying patterns, such as the importance of La Paz in both the texts and the location of the speeches. This insignificance of race in Morales’s speeches, but the prominence this topic had in his campaigns shows a disconnect between the two. This disconnect is not a stand-alone occurrence, as this is further shown in examples from situations such as the lack of communication between Morales and Indigenous communities during the construction of the Villa Tunari-San Ignacio de Moxos highway. The absence of Indigeneity, but the importance of the nation, points towards the Morales’s desire for Bolivia as a unified nation, focusing on Bolivia’s place on international scale through projects such as the forementioned highway.

4.3 Sub-Question Three

Morales’s speeches show a desire for Bolivia to present itself as a unified nation towards the world. The question that arises then is: **To what extent has Mi Teleférico been a way for Bolivia to ascent its place on the world stage?** This question is answered in this chapter using the results from the CDA and literature analysis. Using Bourdieu’s theory (see Chapter 2.2), symbolic capital is measured by using the three components it compasses:

⁹ This comment by Morales made me wonder and worry what potential destruction MT has done to Indigenous people’s property in El Alto and La Paz. However, I could not find any articles or research written on this particular topic, so I encourage further research to be done in this area.

economic, cultural (consisting of embodied, objectified, and institutionalised capital), and symbolic capital. Furthermore, it is stated which how these forms of capital that MT provided were distributed to understand who benefited most from the local, national, and international stakeholders.

Economic capital

In the case of MT, economic capital is present in two ways. Firstly, the money that was needed for the construction can be seen as economic capital. In his speeches, Morales brings up the economic state of Bolivia seven times. Four times he mentions how Bolivia is not doing bad economically or that Bolivia is in a good economic shape and could therefore afford the construction of MT. He thanks the Bolivian people twice, saying that Bolivia's economy is growing because of them. Once, in S1, Morales promises the public that the money for MT is guaranteed. As can be read previously, this turned out to partly be true. The first phase was completely financed internally by the Bolivian Government. However, financing the second phase was more difficult. Numerous actors had to be involved, including the IDB and unnamed universities and companies (Mi Teleférico, 2022). The latter's support for MT began before the first phase was officially concluded, though. In S1, Morales mentions and thanks businesses and Toyota in particular for their contribution to the project by providing land.

Secondly, MT itself can be regarded as economic capital for the government. It not only is a construction owned fully by the government (Mi Teleférico, 2016), which is economic capital in itself, but also generates more money. MT proved itself to be financially stable by generating an operating surplus of USD 5.8 million. Due to the profit, there is no need for any further government subsidies (Global Infrastructure Hub, 2018).

Cultural capital

Embodied capital is found in the knowledge Bolivian construction workers now have because of MT. Morales has said in S2 that, at the time of construction, there were no Bolivian companies that could construct the project (Ministerio de Comunicación, 2014). For that reason, Doppelmayr was contacted. Not only did the company construct the cable car system, the international experts transferred their knowledge to Bolivian construction workers. They were trained how to build and maintain the structure themselves through on the job training (Global Infrastructure Hub, 2019).

MT can be regarded as a cultural good for the reason that it has positively impacted Bolivia's image. Morales mentions four times in his speeches that MT has improved Bolivia's international image. He states that MT "*feels like the highest place in the world and that is why it is known, admired, and respected all over the world*" and that "*you can't even imagine the people, the celebrities who come to walk around, to see the cable car*". What can be read in these sentences is that MT has not just improved La Paz and El Alto's images, but also Bolivia as a whole. It is evident through these quotes that MT serves as not merely a local project, but also as an icon for the cities to attract foreign tourists and potentially investments.

Institutionalised capital has been gathered over the years in the form of several recognition. In 2018, it won the Latam Smart City Award, one of the more prestigious awards handed out to the most innovative and sustainable project in Latin America (Smart City Expo Latam Congress, 2023). As of 2019, MT is regarded as the longest ropeway project in the world, with a length of 33 kilometres (Guinness World Records, 2019). This ties back to Morales's previous comment on how MT feels like the highest place on Earth. The latest recognition was in April of 2023, when the cable car system received a distinction on its ninth anniversary from the parliament for the services it has provided for the country (Mi Teleférico, 2023).

Social capital

The Bolivian government has gained and strengthened connections internationally. Morales states in his speeches to have established communication with the Austrian government. It is mentioned twice how the president of Austria and Morales have communicated several times. Moreover, Morales says stated two times how "*the president [of Austria] promised to come to the inauguration, that is a debt that the president of Austria has*". It is unsure if the president ever did come to Bolivia, as there are no articles to be found online.

Capital for whom?

The capital MT produced was not distributed equally. Economic capital is mostly present on national and international level. It is difficult to conclude where exactly the money spent on MT came from, but it could be speculated that a part of this came from taxes from local actors. Moreover, the government had to take out loans from several national and international actors to construct MT. The economic benefits of the cable car system are the earnings, all of which go to the government as MT is fully state-owned. It is unclear for me where these earnings go: if it remains with the government or is invested in other projects that could potentially also benefit local actors.

Cultural capital seems to indirectly influence local actors more than economic capital. Embodied capital is passed on from Doppelmayr to the construction workers working for the government. MT being a cultural good and obtaining institutionalised capital could perhaps indirectly influence the local actors, as tourists could be attracted to La Paz and El Alto due to the heightened image the cities obtained because of MT.

Social capital is merely collected on a national level. The Bolivian government now has ties with Doppelmayr, but also the Austrian government. MT has therefore served not merely as a bridge between two cities, but also one between two governments.

Summary: Symbolic capital

What can be concluded from Chapter 4.3 is that MT has certainly provided local, national, and international with capital. The distribution is skewed, though. The Bolivian government benefits solely from the economic capital MT provides, as MT is fully state-owned. This could indirectly involve local actors by investments. However, these actors could benefit more from cultural capital, as MT could attract tourists, which in turn have to use local services such as hotels and restaurants. Social capital solely benefits national and international actors. The Bolivian government now has closer ties to both the Austrian government and Doppelmayr, creating a bigger collection of resources, according to Bourdieu's theory (see Chapter 2.2).

5. Conclusion

This research showed how MT was able to gain recognition on an international scale, but ended up prioritising national ambitions over the livelihoods of the Indigenous.

Positively, most local actors welcomed the change of transport, as they were now able to travel safer and quicker than before. However, two local groups did not support the project, several white-mestizo citizens in La Paz and the informal transit sector. The former saw MT as a breach of their own personal space, often paired with racist remarks towards the Indigenous living in El Alto who could now travel easily to La Paz. The local informal transit sector, mostly made up out of Indigenous drivers saw their business drop significantly due to MT, but does not receive any financial aid. Governmental plans show prioritising government-funded public transport and pedestrians with no mention of the informal transit sector.

The importance of the nation, international actors, and La Paz, but insignificance of El Alto and Indigeneity, continues in Morales's speeches, despite the importance of the latter two in historical and cultural context. He emphasises how both national and international actors have aided in the construction of MT. For these actors to work together was especially important to him. La Paz and El Alto are mentioned, especially the former which only strengthens the lack of Indigenous representation. La Paz and MT are mentioned fourteen times together. On the other side is El Alto, only being mentioned without La Paz regarding MT. It has to be noted Indigeneity is not mentioned in Morales's speeches, only El Alto is, which is the closest one could get to Indigenous representation in his speeches.

Through literature research, I noticed how Morales, as an Indigenous man, seems to use Indigeneity to serve his narrative and invoke the nation for unity for international renown, subsequently attracting foreign tourists and investments such as Toyota. Occasionally, there seems to be no regard towards the livelihoods of Indigenous people, such as the forementioned Indigenous drivers in the informal transit sector. Another instance is the disregard towards the opinions of the Indigenous people living in TIPNIS. Morales saying that the highway to Brazil will be built no matter what, without consulting the people who live in the area, shows how capitalist plans are prioritised over the well-being of the Indigenous. However, on other occasions, Indigeneity does seem important to Morales. During his inauguration, he participated in a ceremony on a pre-Inca site. In 2015, he visited this site again when he won the elections that year.

By using Bourdieu's theory on symbolic capital, I analysed to which degree MT benefitted the involved actors when it comes to the recognition MT gained. From this analysis, it became evident the focus was once again on the national and international, with the local actors merely obtaining recognition indirectly. Economic capital was mainly for the government, the national actor. The local actors could potentially benefit indirectly as the government could invest in local projects with the money made from MT. Bolivian construction workers obtained embedded cultural capital, as they have learned how to construct and maintain a cable car from Doppelmayr. MT as a cultural good could potentially lead to benefits for local actors, as it could attract tourists which in turn invest in hotels, restaurants, and bars in the area. The same goes for institutionalised cultural capital, as recognitions could improve MT's image and potentially that of La Paz, El Alto, and Bolivia as a whole. The international actors and the Bolivian government obtain social capital, as their new collaborations lead to a broader

network from which they could obtain more capital. The local actors do not benefit, at least directly, from this.

All in all, MT was a successful project with obvious shortcomings. On the positive side, it not only lessened the congestion in La Paz and El Alto, but heightened (literally and figuratively) La Paz, El Alto, and Bolivia as a whole. As one of the poorest countries in Latin America, constructing one of the most expensive cable cars in that same area, I have to acknowledge and emphasise how impressive that truly is. Nonetheless, it is a project based on Evo Morales's national ambitions which ignores the livelihoods of the affected local, mostly Indigenous, populations. Paradoxically, Morales, as the first Indigenous president in Bolivia, attempt to put the nation on the map through international projects have led to him ignoring Indigeneity. The construction of this cable car system in Bolivia, meant to solve local problems, brought forth the national underlying issue of the insignificance of and racism against the Indigenous in Bolivian discourse, with the promise of equity being broken in the name of unity.

6. Recommendations

In this thesis, it is already mentioned several times where there are gaps in the knowledge, and which possible research could fill this. In this chapter, I summarise these instances.

- 1) I recommend for a more in-depth stakeholder analysis. Categorizing the stakeholders made me realize the lack of representation on a local level. Although literature did mention a few specific groups of people in the cities of La Paz and El Alto, such as the commuters between El Alto and La Paz, the informal transit sector, and the white-mestizo inhabitants of La Paz, I felt like there was a lack of representation in two cities of c. a million inhabitants. Therefore, I suggest a more thorough stakeholder analysis on a local level, where the researcher goes into the field to interview possible affected or involved parties regarding MT. This could also be done on an international level, as I felt this lacked as well. It was unclear, though, which international stakeholders did provide any aid to the project, as the sources regarding the financing of the project were vague and did not mention any companies specifically, even the IDB. Furthermore, this project only includes human actors. Non-human actors such as the nature in and around the city and the wildlife in the area could
- 2) I felt a lack of transparency on the national and international stakeholders side. I encourage for there to at least be research about this lack of transparency, pointing out the flaws in government documents (such as the ‘unnamed companies and universities’), and generally draw more attention towards the transparency of documents regarding public projects. There were instances where crucial details were left unanswered due to this lack of transparency. An example of this is the forementioned ‘unnamed universities and companies’. The interest of Doppelmayr in the project and the benefits it would get were also left unanswered, much like the role of the military in this project, even though that was mentioned several times by Morales in his speeches.
- 3) Lastly, a comment made by Morales on how the opinions of Indigenous people did not matter, relating to the TIPNIS-highway, made me wonder which houses had to be demolished to provide space for MT. There are no documents however on this specific topic. Especially regarding that comment by Morales, I am curious if there were any differences between Indigenous and white-mestizo neighbourhoods, or poor and rich neighbourhoods. I recommend for fieldwork to be done in La Paz and El Alto through the lens of environmental justice, interviewing people in the area who are or know people who had to or were perhaps provided financial compensation to move out and make space for MT.

7. Reflection

In this chapter, I reflect on the process of writing this thesis and the eventual outcome. I also provide an overview of the limitations I encountered during the project. I shortly mention the limitations of this project in the beginning of this project, mainly to inform you, as the reader, of how I approached this project.

Initially, I was excited to start this project. However, I soon felt overwhelmed, because even though Bolivia interests me, it was tough to fully understand Bolivian culture and history in a relatively short time span. Another obstacle came my way when I figured out my original research plan was not feasible. This was disappointing to say the least, since I had focused on writing about that specific subject for a couple of weeks. However, through brainstorming with my supervisor and fellow students, I am happy with what this project eventually became to be. Part of that research is therefore thanks to them, as they have helped me tremendously.

I encountered two main limitations whilst working on this project. The first limitation I encountered was the language barrier. Most, if not all, governmental documents were in Spanish. I had to use an online translating app to translate the documents for me. This was not ideal, as a translation could never be perfect. Even more annoying was not being able to find documents if I searched for them in English. This problem arose in the beginning, as I could not find a single speech transcript if I searched 'Evo Morales speech transcript'. I then tried to search the same sentence, but translated into Spanish, which worked.

The second limitation was the translated transcripts. I tried to create a comprehensible translation, but I could not find a proper translation in some cases. I ran the sentences through DeepL and Google Translate a few times, often splitting up the sentences or translating individual words to see if that would change anything. Often, this would work, but I do not think some sentences in the final version of the analysis are translated correctly.

Something to keep in mind when taking the findings from the analyses are the potential constraints Morales was under during his presidency. Although I could not find any documents on this, I speculate that, based on Morales being the first ever Indigenous president of Bolivia, could be surrounded by mainly white-mestizo politicians. On a broader scale, the negative discourse surrounding Indigeneity is in several ways still alive, such as the fleas-remark mentioned numerous times in this thesis. This sentiment towards the Indigenous could therefore also play a role in the decisions Morales eventually made during his presidency, even though he is an Indigenous man, in favour of fighting for Indigenous rights.

Additionally, I would like to add that I enjoyed writing this thesis and valued the collaboration with my supervisors and fellow students. It was extremely helpful to be able to ask others for feedback and see their view. I learned a lot from the way they approached this and their own projects, but I also learned more about the way I work. For the first time in my educational career, I have solely focused on exploring and writing about one topic I am interested in for a longer amount of time. Furthermore, writing about Bolivia as a nation stimulated me to think about the nation I live in, the Netherlands. Although I cannot compare the Bolivian and Dutch government, I can take the notion of serving the narrative and apply it

to any nation. Now, when watching a press conference or reading a news article, I am more aware of the potential underlying meanings of national projects, or the way the government is framing these plans to benefit their narrative. For this reason and more, this was an extremely eye-opening project in many ways and I am grateful to have been able to take part in it.

8. Bibliography

- Alemán, A. S., & Serebrisky, T. (2017). ¿Los teleféricos como alternativa de transporte urbano? : Ahorros de tiempo en el sistema de Teleférico urbano más grande del mundo: La Paz - El Alto. BID. <https://doi.org/10.18235/0000789>
- Anderson, B. (1983). *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Verso.
- Arbona, J. M., & Kohl, B. A. (2004). La Paz–El Alto. *Cities*, 21(3), 255–265. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cities.2004.02.004>
- Austrian Development Agency. (n.d.). WP Seilbahn der Geschichte: Aufbau einer Museumstour zu Luft und zu Boden durch Geschichte und Archäologie entlang der Línea Blanca von Mi Teleférico in La Paz, Bolivien. Retrieved May 18, 2023, from <https://www.entwicklung.at/en/projects/detail-en/wp-seilbahn-der-geschichte-aufbau-einer-museumstour-zu-luft-und-zu-boden-durch-geschichte-und-archaeologie-entlang-der-linea-blanca-von-mi-teleferico-in-la-paz-bolivien>
- Bebbington, A. (2012). Underground political ecologies: The second Annual Lecture of the Cultural and Political Ecology Specialty Group of the Association of American Geographers. *Geoforum*, 43(6), 1152–1162. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2012.05.011>
- Bjork-James, C. (2022). Reclaiming Their Future: Riotous Resistance and Indigenous Creativity in South America’s Highest Metropolis. *Architectural Design*, 92(6), 78–85. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ad.2877>
- Bourdieu, P. (1979). *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (R. Nice, Trans.). Harvard University Press.
- Bourdieu (1986). The Forms of Capital. In: Richardson, J., *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*. Westport, CT: Greenwood.
- Bourdieu, P. (1990a). In *Other Words: Essays Towards a Reflexive Sociology* (M. Adamson, Trans.). Stanford University Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1990b). *The Logic of Practice* (R. Nice, Trans.). Polity Press.
- Brugha, R. (2000). Stakeholder analysis: a review. *Health Policy and Planning*, 15(3), 239–246. <https://doi.org/10.1093/heapol/15.3.239>
- Caldeira, T. P. R. (200 C.E.). *City of Walls: Crime, Segregation, and Citizenship in Sao Paulo*.
- Campbell, D. T., & Stanley, J. C. (1963). *Experimental and Quasi-Experimental Designs for Research*. Houghton Mifflin Company.

- Clarkson, M. (1995). A Stakeholder Framework for Analyzing and Evaluating Corporate Social Performance. *Academy of Management Review*, 20(1), 92.
<https://doi.org/10.2307/258888>
- Colona, F. (2020). Police guns and private security cars. Ordering the state through socio-material policing assemblages in Nairobi. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 38(3), 436–452. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0263775820923374>
- Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination. (2011, February 16). Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination considers report of Bolivia. United Nations. Retrieved May 26, 2023, from <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2011/02/committee-elimination-racial-discrimination-considers-report-bolivia>
- Conklin, W. E. (2013). The Legal Culture of Civilisation: Hegel and his Categorization of Indigenous Americans. In *Europe in Its Own Eyes, Europe in the Eyes of the Other* (pp. 55–79). Wilfred Laurier University Press.
- Daily Writing Page Seven. (2015, February 14). La caída de un árbol afecta a Mi Teleférico y causa pánico. www.paginasiete.bo. Retrieved April 13, 2023, from <https://www.paginasiete.bo/sociedad/la-caida-de-un-arbol-afecta-a-mi-teleferico-y-causa-panico-FFPS47412#>
- Defensor del Pueblo. (2011). Informe Defensorial: Respecto a la Violación de los Derechos Humanos en la Marcha Indígena. In Defensoria Del Pueblo. Retrieved May 30, 2023, from <https://www.defensoria.gob.bo/uploads/files/informe-respecto-a-la-violacion-de-los-derechos-humanos-en-la-marcha-indigena.pdf>
- Di Maddaloni, F., & Davis, K. (2018). Project manager's perception of the local communities' stakeholder in megaprojects: An empirical investigation in the UK. *International Journal of Project Management*, 36(3), 542–565.
- Dominguez, C. (2020, November 8). Bolivia's Luis Arce sworn in as president as socialists return to power. *CNN*. <https://edition.cnn.com/2020/11/08/americas/bolivia-luis-arce-inauguration-intl/index.html>
- Doppelmayr, F. (n.d.). Mi Teleférico. Doppelmayr.
<https://www.doppelmayr.com/en/reference-projects/reference-project-mi-teleferico/>
- Doppelmayr. (2017, October 26). The La Paz cable car network [Slide show]. Civitas.
https://civitas.eu/sites/default/files/civitas_forum19_session_18_marc_funda.pptx.pdf
- Forero, R., Nahidi, S., De Costa, J., Mohsin, M., FitzGerald, G., Gibson, N., McCarthy, S., & Aboagye-Sarfo, P. (2018). Application of four-dimension criteria to assess rigour of qualitative research in emergency medicine. *BMC Health Services Research*, 18(1).
<https://doi.org/10.1186/s12913-018-2915-2>
- Freeman, R. E. (1984). *Strategic Management: A Stakeholder Approach*. Cambridge University Press.

- Galeano, E. (1997). *Open Veins of Latin America: Five Centuries of the Pillage of a Continent*. NYU Press.
- Garsous, G., Fageda, X., & Serebrisky, T. (2017). Cable cars in urban transport: Travel time savings from La Paz-El Alto (Bolivia). *Transport Policy*, 75, 171–182. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tranpol.2017.05.005>
- Global Infrastructure Hub (2019, May 24). *Mi Teleferico Cable Car, Bolivia*. https://inclusiveinfra.gihub.org/case-studies/mi-teleferico-cable-car-bolivia/#foot-ref-*3
- Grace, M. (2019, October 19). Bolivia’s aerial transit system casts shadow on elections. *Evo Morales | Al Jazeera*. <https://www.aljazeera.com/economy/2019/10/18/bolivias-aerial-transit-system-casts-shadow-on-elections>
- Graham, T. (2023, January 25). Bolivia’s dream of a lithium future plays out on high-altitude salt flats. *The Guardian*. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2023/jan/25/bolivia-lithium-mining-salt-flats>
- Guinness World Records. (2019, March 9). *Largest public transit cable car network*. Retrieved May 30, 2023, from <https://www.guinnessworldrecords.com/world-records/451860-largest-public-transit-cable-car-network>
- Hassan, M. (2023, March 29). *Discourse Analysis - Methods, Types and Examples - Research Method*. Research Method. [https://researchmethod.net/discourse-analysis/#Critical discourse Analysis](https://researchmethod.net/discourse-analysis/#Critical%20discourse%20Analysis)
- Hidalgo-Tertero, C. M. (2021). Google Translate vs. DeepL. *MonTI - Monografías De Traducción E Interpretación*, 154–177. <https://doi.org/10.6035/monti.2020.ne6.5>
- Horn, P. (2021). The politics of hyperregulation in La Paz, Bolivia: Speculative peri-urban development in a context of unresolved municipal boundary conflicts. *Urban Studies*, 59(12), 2489–2505. <https://doi.org/10.1177/00420980211031806>
- Instituto Nacional de Estadística. (2022, August 8). *Censos - INE*. INE. <https://www.ine.gob.bo/index.php/censos-y-banco-de-datos/censos/>
- Inter-American Development Bank. (n.d.-a). *BO-L1229 : Solar Energy and Sustainable Electric Mobility Program for Mi Teleférico of La Paz | IADB*. Retrieved May 18, 2023, from <https://www.iadb.org/en/project/BO-L1229>
- Inter-American Development Bank. (n.d.-b). *About Us*. <https://www.iadb.org/en/about-us/overview>
- Inter-American Development Bank. (n.d.-c). *BO-T1262 : Support for the Preparation of Urban Transport Studies*. <https://www.iadb.org/en/project/BO-T1262>
- Inter-American Development Bank. (n.d.-d). *BO-T1413 : Support for the preparation of the Mi Teleférico Sustainable Electric Mobility and Urban Integration Program (BO-L1229), and technical assistance for the optimization of the company’s operational management*. <https://www.iadb.org/en/project/BO-T1413>

- Inter-American Development Bank. (2023, April 30). BO-T1262 : Support for the Preparation of Urban Transport Studies | IADB. Retrieved May 18, 2023, from <https://www.iadb.org/en/project/BO-T1262>
- Johnson, M. L., & McLean, E. (2020). Discourse Analysis. Elsevier EBooks, 377–383. <https://doi.org/10.1016/b978-0-08-102295-5.10814-5>
- Jonakin, J. (2001). The Inter-American Development Bank's Assessment of Structural Adjustment: Questionable Theory and Pre-Ordained Policy. *Canadian Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Studies*, 26(51), 49–81. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/41800158>
- Kaijser, A. (2014). Who is Marching for Pachamama? An Intersectional Analysis of Environmental Struggles in Bolivia under the Government of Evo Morales
- Kimberlin, C. L., & Winterstein, A. G. (2008). Validity and reliability of measurement instruments used in research. *American Journal of Health-system Pharmacy*, 65(23), 2276–2284. <https://doi.org/10.2146/ajhp070364>
- King, D. S. (2006). Activists and emotional reflexivity: Toward Touraine's subject as social movement. *Sociology*, 40(1), 873–891.
- Klein, H.S. (2011). *A Concise History of Bolivia*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Komadina, J., & Geffroy, C. (2007). El poder del movimiento político: estrategia, tramas organizativas e identidad del MAS en Cochabamba.
- Krawczyk, P., Maslov, I., Topolewski, M., Pallot, M., Lehtosaari, H., & Huotari, J. (2019). Threats to Reliability and Validity of Mixed Methods Research in User eXperience. <https://doi.org/10.1109/ice.2019.8792676>
- Lazar, S. (2008, January). *El Alto, Rebel City Self and Citizenship in Andean Bolivia*.
- Llanque Zonta, V. E. (2017). Does Mass Transit Counter the Educational Effects of Residential Segregation in the Metropolitan Area of La Paz-El Alto, Bolivia? - ProQuest. <https://www.proquest.com/openview/a948be552bd1c940baefc2ba26f68c74/1?pq-origsite=gscholar&cbl=18750>
- Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (1985). *Naturalistic Inquiry*. SAGE Publications, Inc.
- MacArthur, J. (1997). Stakeholder analysis: Stakeholder analysis in project planning: origins, applications and refinements of the method. *Project Appraisal*, 12(4), 251–265.
- Mann, A. (2022) "Mi Teleférico: Public Transportation, Social Change, and the Making of Modern La Paz". Undergraduate Student Research Awards. 84. https://digitalcommons.trinity.edu/infolit_usra/84
- Martínez, S., Sánchez, R., & Yáñez, P. T. (2018). Getting a Lift: The Impact of Aerial Cable Cars in La Paz Bolivia. Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), Washington, DC. <https://doi.org/10.18235/0001481>

- Mauthner, N. S., & Doucet, A. (2003). Reflexive accounts and accounts of reflexivity in qualitative data analysis. *Sociology*, 37(3), 413–431.
- Menemencioglu, R. K. (2009). *A critique of Inter-American Development Bank's neoliberal discourse of exclusion*. <https://hdl.handle.net/11511/19329>
- Meurs, H., & Stelling, C. (2015). Mobiliteit en de stad. In G. Hospers, R. v. Melik, & H. Ernste, *Visies op de stad: Van tuindorp tot smart city*, 127-140.
- Ministerio de Comunicación Estado Plurinacional de Bolivia. (2014, May 30). *El Presidente inauguró oficialmente la Línea Roja de Mi Teleférico, dando inicio a las operaciones que unirá a las ciudades de La Paz y El Alto*. [Press release]. <http://www.comunicacion.gob.bo/sites/default/files/media/discursos/I.DISCURSO%20DEL%20PRESIDENTE%20EN%20LA%20INAUGURACION%20DE%20LA%20LINEA%20ROJA%20DEL%20TELEFERICO.pdf>
- Mi Teleférico. (n.d.). *Homepage*. Retrieved June 19, 2023, from <https://www.miteleferico.bo/>
- Mi Teleférico. (2016). *PLAN ESTRATÉGICO EMPRESARIAL 2016 - 2020*. Retrieved May 17, 2023, from <https://www.miteleferico.bo/institucion/plan-estrategico>
- Mi Teleférico. (2018). Un Instrumento de Cambio para los Bolivianos. Memoria Institucional 2017-2018. *Empresa Estatal de Transporte por Cable “Mi Teleferico”*. Technical report.
- Mi Teleférico. (2019, August 13). Teníamos una deuda con las junta vecinales, para devolverles espacios públicos, para los niños, jóvenes, para que las personas puedan desarrollar actividades sociales en espacios libres. *Twitter*. Retrieved May 23, 2023, from <https://twitter.com/miteleferico/status/1161299819064954882>
- Mi Teleférico. (2021). *PLAN ESTRATÉGICO EMPRESARIAL: EMPRESA ESTATAL DE TRANSPORTE POR CABLE “MI TELEFÉRICO” 2021 – 2025*. Retrieved May 17, 2023, from <https://www.miteleferico.bo/institucion/plan-estrategico>
- Mi Teleférico. (2022a). *Información Institucional: fuentes de financiamiento*. Retrieved April 9, 2023, from <https://www.miteleferico.bo/institucion/fuentes-de-financiamiento>
- Mi Teleférico. (2022b). *Indicadores de Gestión e Impacto: Del 29 de Mayo de 2014 al 31 de Diciembre de 2021*. In Mi Teleférico.
- Mi Teleférico. (2023, April 21). *MI TELEFÉRICO RECIBE DISTINCIÓN DE LA BRIGADA PARLAMENTARIA EN SU 9o ANIVERSARIO*. Retrieved May 23, 2023, from <https://www.miteleferico.bo/noticia/MI%20TELEF%3%89RICO%20-%209%20A%3%91OS>
- Mullet, D. R. (2018). A General Critical Discourse Analysis Framework for Educational Research. *Journal of Advanced Academics*, 29(2), 116–142. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1932202x18758260>

- Noble, H., & Smith, J. (2015). Issues of validity and reliability in qualitative research. *Evidence-Based Nursing*, 18(2), 34–35. <https://doi.org/10.1136/eb-2015-102054>
- Oficio Municipal de La Paz. (2018). *Manual de Diseño Vial La Paz*. Retrieved May 20, 2023, from <https://www.scribd.com/document/478054300/MANUAL-DE-DISENO-VIAL-pdf#>
- O’Haire, C., McPheeters, M., & Nakamoto, E. (2011). Engaging Stakeholders To Identify and Prioritize Future Research Needs. *Agency for Healthcare Research and Quality*.
- Overseas Development Administration (1995a). *A Guide to Social Analysis for Projects in Developing Countries*. HMSO, London.
- Postero, N. G. (2006). *Now We Are Citizens: Indigenous Politics in Postmulticultural Bolivia*. Stanford University Press.
- Postero, N.G. (2017). *The Indigenous State: Race, Politics, and Performance in Plurinational Bolivia*. University of California Press.
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1525/j.ctt1pq34b0.11>
- Prada, P. (2006, May 2). Bolivian Nationalizes the Oil and Gas Sector. *The New York Times*.
<https://www.nytimes.com/2006/05/02/world/americas/02bolivia.html>
- Project Management Institute. (2008). A Guide to the Project Management Body of Knowledge (4th ed.). *Project Management Institute, Inc.* (Original work published 1995)
- Radcliffe, S., & Westwood, S. (1996, September 5). *Remaking the Nation: Identity and Politics in Latin America*. Routledge & CRC Press.
<https://www.routledge.com/Remaking-the-Nation-Identity-and-Politics-in-Latin-America/Radcliffe-Westwood-Westwood/p/book/9780415123372>
- Ramos, D. (2023, January 20). Bolivia taps Chinese battery giant CATL to help develop lithium riches. *Reuters*. <https://www.reuters.com/technology/bolivia-taps-chinese-battery-giant-catl-help-develop-lithium-riches-2023-01-20/>
- Ravindran, T. (2015). Beyond the Pure and the Authentic: Indigenous modernity in Andean Bolivia. *AlterNative*, 11(4), 321–333. <https://doi.org/10.1177/117718011501100401>
- Ravindran, T. (2019). Geographies of Indigenous Identity: Spatial Imaginaries and Racialised Power Struggles in Bolivia. *Antipode*, 51(3), 949–967.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/anti.12517>
- Reinharz, S. (1992). *Conclusions. In Feminist Methods in Social Research* (pp. 240–269). Oxford University Press.
- Rodgers, D., O’Neill, B. (2012). Infrastructural violence: Introduction to the special issue. *Ethnography*, 13(4): 401–412.
- Sabatini, F. (2006, January 1). *The Social Spatial Segregation in the Cities of Latin America*. ResearchGate.

<https://www.researchgate.net/publication/254421281> *The Social Spatial Segregation in the Cities of Latin America*

- Sandelowski, M. (1993). Rigor or rigor mortis. *Advances in Nursing Science*, 16(2), 1–8. <https://doi.org/10.1097/00012272-199312000-00002>
- Sarhadi, M., Hasanzadeh, S., & Hoseini, S. J. (2021). Stakeholder Analysis in the Feasibility Process of Projects: A Structural Evaluation of the Power-Oriented Relationship. *Project Management Journal*, 52(4), 323–339. <https://doi.org/10.1177/8756972821999499>
- Schmeer, K. (1999). Guidelines for Conducting a Stakeholder Analysis. *Bethesda, MD: Partnerships for Health Reform, Abt Associates Inc.*
- Smart City Expo Latam Congress. (2023, April 17). *Awards - Smart City Expo Latam Congress*. <https://smartcityexpolatam.com/en/awards/>
- Stahl, N. A., & King, J. R. (2020). Expanding Approaches for Research: Understanding and Using Trustworthiness in Qualitative Research. *Journal of Developmental Education*, 44(1).
- Stoessel, S. (2019). The steering wheel class in Bolivia: Revolutions in Bolivia. *Anglo-Bolivian Society*. https://www.academia.edu/40404654/The_steering_wheel_class_in_Bolivia
- Swinehart, K. F. (2019). Decolonial Time in Bolivia’s Pachakuti. *Signs and Society*, 7(1), 96–114. <https://doi.org/10.1086/701117>
- Tahmasseby, S. (2021b). Aerial ropeway system — feasibility study in Doha, Qatar. *Journal of Unmanned Vehicle Systems*, 9(2), 92–111. <https://doi.org/10.1139/juvs-2020-0028>
- Tang, R., & John, S. (1999). The ‘I’ in identity: Exploring writer identity in student academic writing through the first person pronoun. *English for Specific Purposes*, 18, S23–S39. [https://doi.org/10.1016/s0889-4906\(99\)00009-5](https://doi.org/10.1016/s0889-4906(99)00009-5)
- United States Geological Service. (2022). *Mineral Commodity Summaries*. <https://pubs.usgs.gov/periodicals/mcs2022/mcs2022-lithium.pdf>
- Van Leeuwen, T. (2018). Moral evaluation in critical discourse analysis. *Critical Discourse Studies*, 15(2), 140–153. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17405904.2018.1427120>
- Varela-Salinas, M. J., & Burbat, R. (2018). *Google translate and deepL: breaking taboos in translator training* [Slide show]. <https://hdl.handle.net/10630/16310>
- Vennix, J. (2019). *Research methodology: An introduction to scientific thinking and practice*. Pearson.
- Wang, J., Ge, J., & Lu, Q. (2012, October 1). A review of stakeholder analysis. *IEEE Conference Publication | IEEE Xplore*. <https://ieeexplore.ieee.org/stamp/stamp.jsp?tp=&arnumber=6340802>

- Williams, E. N., & Morrow, S. (2009). Achieving trustworthiness in qualitative research: A pan-paradigmatic perspective. *Psychotherapy Research*, 576–582. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10503300802702113>
- Winter, J. N., Sesma, I., & Funda, M. (2016). A Case Study of Cable-Propelled Transit to Be an Alternative Application to Conventional Means of Public Transportation. *Automated People Movers and Automated Transit Systems*. <https://doi.org/10.1061/9780784479797.025>
- World Bank. (2015). *Poverty headcount ratio at urban poverty line*. Retrieved April 13, 2023, from World Bank: www.worldbank.org
- World Bank. (2020). Urban Aerial Cable Cars as Mass Transit Systems. *World Bank*. <https://ppiaf.org/documents/6024/download>
- World Bank. (2021). *GDP (current US\$) - Latin America & Caribbean, Bolivia | Data*. Retrieved April 9, 2023, from <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.CD?locations=ZJ-BO&year=2020>
- Yañez-Pagans, P., Martinez, D., Mitnik, O. A., Scholl, L., & Vazquez, A. (2019). Urban transport systems in Latin America and the Caribbean: lessons and challenges. *Latin American Economic Review*, 28(1). <https://doi.org/10.1186/s40503-019-0079-z>

Appendix A: Transcript S1

Transcript one

Speaker: Evo Morales

Place: Libertador station, La Paz

Date: 16th of August, 2013

[...]: title in speech

--

Speech by the President of the Plurinational State of Bolivia, at the beginning of the construction of the 'El Libertador' station of the cable car system La Paz-El Alto, Holguín Curve

Comrade Álvaro García Linera, vice president of the Plurinational State, ministers, commanders of the Armed Forces, commanders of the National Police, senators, deputies, assembly members of the department, to the Confederation of Private Entrepreneurs of Bolivia. To all the invited businessmen, the ambassador of Ecuador, thank you very much, the councillors of the city of El Alto, the residents of this area.

Today we are consolidating our cable car for the cities of El Alto and La Paz. Happily it is already up and running, one year after the decision taken by the government. We welcome the support of the residents of the city of La Paz, as well as of the city of El Alto. Listening to the words of the company 'Toyosa', I welcome the participation of the private sector. We welcome the participation of businessmen who want to contribute to our country, welcome! This provision of land to guarantee the cable car is recognised by the government. We need businessmen who contribute, not for the government, but for the Bolivian people, in this case for the people of La Paz. A round of applause for the private enterprise that is contributing.

This is how we came together: national government, authorities, and businessmen. We are trying to get a piece of land from the Army Military College, which will be another contribution from

Appendix B: Transcript S2

Transcript two

Speaker: Evo Morales

Place: Estación Central / Taypi Uta, La Paz

Date: 30th of May, 2014

[...]: title in speech

--

The President officially inaugurated the Red Line of Mi Teleférico, beginning the operations that will unite the cities of La Paz and El Alto.

Thank you very much, sisters and brothers from the department of La Paz, greet all the authorities from the municipalities, the governor's office, the ministries, special greetings to the brother Vice President, Álvaro García Linera, brother commanders of the Armed Forces, of the Police, welcome brothers from Peru, assembly members, social movements, to all of you.

It is indeed a great joy that a line of our ropeway 'Mi Teleférico' has been completed.

When we are doing well economically, who knows how easy it is to make political decisions to implement this kind of work, to guarantee financing, to award a company, then comes the very difficult work of executing the corresponding work.

Happily, thanks to the struggle of the Bolivian people, we are not so bad economically, now the municipalities have sufficient economic resources, the governor's offices, although some governorates always have economic difficult, governorates that have a large population such as La Paz, Cochabamba, Santa Cruz, but the mayor's office is better in some municipalities and departments, what do you say, it is better to be mayor than the governor of a department because its economy is doing well thanks to the struggle of the Bolivian people.

Brothers and sisters, when we are in good economic shape, we can guarantee financing this type of work, the cable car in the city of La Paz and the city of El Alto.

But it is not only a cable car for the people of La Paz, these days I have been listening, thanks to the company, thanks to our colleagues, to the free use of this cable car, authorities from all over Bolivia have come to visit. Authorities from all over Bolivia have visited and the cable car of the department of La Paz and the people of La Paz are truly enviable, they want to come to the country from other departments, a cable car for the whole of Bolivia, and it will certainly promote and encourage local tourism, internal tourism among the Bolivian people.

[Municipalities have to guarantee land]

It is always difficult to understand each other, if we check to see how the first station in El Alto has been guaranteed, but the second station is on state property, YPFB is and this also in the railway station, it belongs to the National Government.

I heard at some point that some of our brothers wanted to sell the station, we have defended it, I want to say to all the Bolivian people, if the mayor's office, if the governor's office or the national government has land in the cities in particular, we have to take care of it because it will help us build new mega-works for that city.

And down there, I had to disturb, also remove a part of the Army Military College, a company has donated it to us, but it is also worth the opportunity for reflection. The municipalities have to help us and guarantee land and not use some neighbours to oppose this kind of work and do harm. It does not harm Evo or the government, it harms the people of La Paz.

And we have endured, you can't even imagine, that at some point the company, the minister, the governor, will explain how it tries to harm the people of La Paz.

[We have a project to build a stadium]

I want to take advantage of this opportunity, for example, we have a project for a coliseum for 5.000 people for just basketball, I have asked the Mayor Revilla to guarantee us land, we just need land to do this work.

Taking into account that I love sport, we have an architectural project for a new stadium for more than 60, 70 thousand people for the people of La Paz and I can't find land. I hope that brother mayor Revilla will guarantee us before damaging the land, I am not asking for money, we only need land to make great works because La Paz deserves it. It needs to be the seat of government and we have to make investments, brothers and sisters.

How good it would be to work together to meet the demands for our people, regardless of the demands, regardless of the claims, we must continue to plan new projects and initiatives.

And we salute social control, I have information from brothers of the social control, the social movements of the city of La Paz, you cannot imagine how they had to work to explain to some neighbours to convince them that it is important that they give us their land to build the corresponding towers and sometimes it is difficult to explain, it is difficult to understand, but patience, patience based on the project that the national government has or any project that can be shared for the good of the people of La Paz.

Brothers and sisters, I have perfectly understood the message of our leaders, of our social movements: the second phase of the cable car is going to be built for the people of La Paz.

Last week, as always, sometimes initiatives and concerns arise, and I was already thinking about the second phase and we agreed with Víctor Flores, the representative of social control, and we have to continue planning to see how to guarantee this desire, this dream that the people of La Paz have.

[Important to work together]

Sisters and brothers, our brother governor said, all the people of La Paz are happy, even the opposition, that's why our fellow mayor is also here to celebrate with us. Let's hear it for the celebration that accompanies us.

When there are projects that benefit and resolve some difficulties in some way, it is really important to work together to see results, such as the cable car.

I just wish them a lot of facilities, especially for the workers, something has gone wrong, my complaint to the company, a problem, a debt still, because after we decided, after we signed the contract, after a lot of research, we followed up with companies around the world because we don't have companies in Bolivia, perhaps not even in Latin America or the Caribbean, that can install cable cars.

After some follow-up, we decided that this company would be the one to execute the project, and I had to speak two, three times with the Austrian president, and we said in due course that there would be double control by the Bolivian and Austrian governments.

And the president promised to come to the inauguration, that is the debt that the president of Austria has, whether it is for the yellow line or the green line, he has to be present, my request to the company, we are also going to communicate.

I would like to say to you, brothers and sisters, when the companies finish, you know that above the company, not only the minister, but also the national government is in charge, they comply, the company has already complied, a round of applause for the company because the execution has been completed in a short time, the delivery of the first line, which is the red line.

Sisters and brothers, once again I wish many facilities, I want to tell you, the most important thing is that we already have the red line, soon we will have the yellow and the green line. I would like to say to you, for my part, mission accomplished with the people of La Paz, let us continue working together for the good of the people of La Paz and from here for the good of all the Bolivian people.

Thank you very much.

Appendix C: Transcript S3

Transcript three

Speaker: Evo Morales

Place: Plaza Villarroel, La Paz

Date: 28th of May, 2015

--

Speech by President Evo Morales at the start of work on the White Line of Mi Teleférico.

Thank you very much brothers and sisters from the department of La Paz, brother Álvaro García Linera, our vice president, our governor of the department of La Paz, César Cocarico, known worldwide as 'Sexar Cocarico'.

Brothers Presidents of the Chambers of Senators and Deputies, brothers national and departmental assembly members, to the company, good mayor did not comply with the time Evo, punished in his intervention, to you.

I want to tell you on behalf of the national government, when we have proposed any important work for La Paz, we are fulfilling it, because once again I must tell you that we are not so bad economically, if we had economic problems we would not be able to guarantee this kind of work and when our authorities participate, especially municipal authorities, the execution of this second phase of the cable car can be accelerated.

We would like to publicly thank the Mayor of El Alto, who guaranteed the land, as well as the Mayor of La Paz, a round of applause for the Mayor, who guaranteed the land.

So let's get to work, we will soon be inaugurating, as always, a great party and when there are results in management, when development is seen, it is the joy of the people of La Paz, the people of la Paz deserve this kind of work, they deserve more, and I would like to say once again, brothers and sisters, fortunately the President and the Vice-President have five more years to continue working for the people of La Paz and Bolivia.

Always listening to the different demands, the great dreams of the department in terms of integration and productive issues, I would like to say to them that on Monday we were with brother César Cocarico in Ixiamas delivering a 2,500-meter runway, no longer for light aircrafts, but for airplanes, we entered without too much trouble, a joy for the companions of Ixiamas.

We have already started paving from San Buenaventura to Ixiamas, and brother Álvaro, I committed myself this year to begin the study and final design of the paved road from Ixiamas to Puerto Chivé, and we are going to complete and integrate with a paved road to the department of Pando, a great investment for the integration.

I am sure brothers and sisters, that when we already have airports, paved roads, that satellite communication is no longer a problem, guaranteeing drinking water and growth, new intermediate cities will appear in the north of La Paz, a great projection for the development of our department.

We are not only in the city, but also in the rural areas and we can comment on the new projects we have for this new management. I would just like to thank the company and our colleague Cesar Dockweiler for the work, for his commitment to his team. Comrade César, it is difficult to pronounce his surname, I think we are going to change Mamani, Quispe, Quisbert, we have to nationalise, nationalise.

I feel that he is leaving his military career to contribute to our department, to our city. We hope that professionals and personalities committed to their people, to the department, will continue to join us.

I greet the social movements, the Civic Committee, the neighbourhood councils, all the sectors that are accompanying this event, which, in the face of the people, guarantees major investments.

Once again, congratulations to the department and to the company. We hope to have these new lines, but we also hope to tell the company that we are awaiting the visit of the President of Austria, he has promised to come, hopefully we can inaugurate a line together for the good of the department, the city, the Bolivian people, but also for the new image of Bolivia before the world, we hope he can accompany us, practically the cable car is the heritage of the people of El Alto.

It is a good image, you can't even image the people, the celebrities who come to walk around, to see the cable car, I feel that it is the highest place in the world and that is why it is known, admired, and respected all over the world.

Our obligation is to take care of our Teleférico, I know that the people of La Paz take care, if any brother is not taking care, we all have to call that brother's attention, to give a good image of our Teleférico to Bolivia and to the world.

Congratulations and thank you very much, brothers and sisters.

Appendix D: Code Book

Code Group	Code Name	Description	Criteria (and/or)	# of Times Mentioned
Limitations during construction	Lack of space	This code includes any mention of MT being built despite there being little space to do so.	Mention of: Lack of space	5
MT centred around El Alto	MT for El Alto	This code includes any mention of MT being for the city and citizens of El Alto.	Mention of: - MT and El Alto - Citizens from El Alto benefiting from MT	6
MT centred around Bolivia as a nation	MT for Bolivians	This code includes any mention MT being for the whole of Bolivia.	Mention of: - MT and Bolivia - Bolivians benefiting from MT	4
	MT improves Bolivia's national image	This code includes any mention of MT improving Bolivia's nation image.	Mention of: - MT and national image - MT and local tourism	2
Availability of money	Bolivia doing well economically	This code encompasses any sentence wherein the economy of Bolivia is talked about positively.	Mention of: - Good economy; - A 'not so bad' economy.	4
	Bolivians' struggle	This code includes any mention of when the struggle of Bolivian citizens is mentioned. This regards the economy that improved thanks to the Bolivian people, according to Morales.	Mention of: - Bolivians struggling to improve economy	2
	Money MT available	This code includes any mention of money being available for the construction and upkeep of MT.	Mention of: - Money available for MT's construction - Money available for MT's upkeep	1
MT centred around internationality	Austria's promise to visit Bolivia	This code includes any mention of Austria promising former president Evo Morales to visit Bolivia.	Mention of: - The Austrian president promising to visit Bolivia	2

			- The Austrian president promising to open one of the lines	
	Bolivia and Austria collaborate	This code includes any mention of Bolivia and Austria collaborating. This can be in the form of communication or mentions of constructing or maintaining MT.	Mention of: - Communication; - Co-construction.	2
	MT improves Bolivia's international image	This code includes any mention of MT improving Bolivia's international image.	Mention of: - MT and international image - MT and the world - MT and international tourism	4
National participation	Importance joint work	This code includes any mention of actors participating together, or being encouraged to do so.	Mention of: - Joint participation - A desire for joint participation	8
	Participation military	This code includes any mention of the military participating in the construction of MT.	Mention of: - The military providing land - The military contributing in any other way	2
	Participation private sector	This code includes any mention of the private sector participating in the construction of MT.	Mention of: - The private sector providing land - The private sector contributing in any other way	5
	Participation public sector	This code includes any mention of the public sector participating in the construction of MT.	Mention of: - The public sector providing land - The public sector contributing in any other way	2
MT centered around La Paz	Harming MT is harming La Paz	This code includes any mentions of the people of La Paz being harmed when the construction of MT is in any way obstructed.	Mention of: - La Paz and MT being harmed. - Construction MT being obstructed,	2
	MT for La Paz	This code includes any mention of MT being for the city	Mention of: - MT and La Paz	19

		and citizens of La Paz.	- Citizens from La Paz benefiting from MT	
	Speech locations	This code includes the speech locations.	Mention of: - Speech location	3