



LA PAZ SEPTEMBER

2

## INFORMATION NEEDS ASSESSMENT OF THE CITY OF EL ALTO (BOLIVIA)

# GENERAL INDEX

- **4** Executive summary
- 6 Recommendations based on the findings
- **10** Background and sociodemographic description of the city El Alto
- **16** Media and journalistic landscape of the city of El Alto
- **26** Findings on information needs in the city of El Alto
- **43** Consulted sources
- **48** Appendix 1: Methodology
- 49 Appendix 2: Institutions, organizations and politics in the city of El Alto
- **52** Appendix 3: Questionnaire survey
- **57** Appendix 4: Questionnaire interviews
- 60 Appendix 5: List of interviewed neighbors
- 61 Appendix 6: Map of the city of El Alto and its districts



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# EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

of El Alto, Bolivia" was carried out main social and media organizafrom June to September 2020 un- tions of the city; journalists from der two simultaneous circumstan- print newspapers, radio, television ces: the guarantine set by the Boli- and digital stations, as well as resivian government in response to the dents from the different districts. COVID-19 pandemic and political instability. The political instability in- There are close to 60 operating cluded an inconclusive election pro- print news media, radio and televicess after the 2019 national elections sion stations in El Alto, in addition were annulled due to suspicions of to a half dozen digital information fraud and the installation of a care-portals. There are approximately taker government after the resig- 200 journalists in El Alto, but most nation of the previous government. of them lack formal labor con-

research and telephone surveys of ducers, earning incomes from carried out and processed by IP-SOS APOYO Opinión y Mercado Traditionally, the main sponsors terviews with authorities and offi-vernment-affiliated actors, and Government of El Alto, Represen- tent. News media from La Paz and tatives of the Departmental Go- other area outside of El Alto have a

The "Information Needs Assessment rectors and representatives of the

tracts and perform their work as The study included documentary independent producers or co-proa representative sample (400) of re- sponsors and renting workspaces sidents from the 14 districts com- from radio and television studios posing the city. The surveys were to broadcast their news programs.

S.A. The study also included 42 in- for these news programs are gocials of the Autonomous Municipal this usually affects the news convernment, the Bolivian Police, and strong presence in the city which the Public University of El Alto; di- visibly influences the news cove-



rage model applied in El Alto and the agenda set by the media. Often external sources, issues of public order in other areas of the country, and issues of national interest

disproportionately prevail over Io- Journalists aspire to be able to carry out their work and live up to their cal issues and the voices of the city. professional goals as well as impro-Despite the indigenous Aymara ve their service to the population. Expectations for journalists and the roots of the older population and the media in El Alto are that they will Aymara identity that is the pride of provide information about what is the city, the Aymara language is only happening in their neighborhoods, partially used on news programs. listen to and broadcast the voices The majority of people consulted of the people, and help facilitafor this study indicated their preference for receiving news in Spanish. te dialogue with authorities in order to confront the city's problems.

According to the results of the survey, residents of El Alto say that they receive information first from TV (42%), then from Facebook (29%), then from radio (15%), although they have less confidence in Facebook (13%) and believe that radio best reflects what happens in the city (28%).

prefer news media from other ci-

ties rather than from local sources. The public is fragmented and does not acknowledge media that captures a majority viewership. To receive or exchange information about what is happening in the city itself, people tend to turn to their neighbors and family as they consider the news media to be out of touch with their daily lives, providing information that is biased and distorted.

This study, commissioned by Internews, was carried out by the Foundation UNIR Bolivia, researchers Guadalupe López Bustillo, Bernarda Poma Ulo and Erick Torrico Villanueva, and journalists Nelly Cori Castillo, Vladimir Alejo Cruz and José Luis Jihuacuti Gutié-The population of El Alto tends to rrez, members of the radio project, "Aruskipawi" (Dialogue), of El Alto.

# RECOMMENDATIONS **BASED ON THE** FINDINGS

This evaluation has identified a certain level of dissatisfaction among representatives of public institutions, social organizations, and residents of the city of El Alto regarding the work performed by the news media and journalists in the city.

This dissatisfaction affects the audience sizes and confidence levels that journalists can reach. Publishing information and local news that interests people without providing adequate coverage leads to people having doubts and even a certain degree of hostility toward the media and journalists and lends greater credibility to interpersonal networks of information access and exchange.

In turn, this study acknowledges the precarious conditions under which journalists in El Alto must carry out their work. This facilitates the predominance of thematic focuses and patterns that pertain to the major news media established in other cities, particularly La Paz, and makes it possible for the mostly public institutions that advertise in El Alto news media spaces to affect the contents of the information disseminated there. As such, this research makes the following general recommendations in four key areas:

#### \* CITIZEN AND JOURNALISTIC DEVELOPMENT

- the social organizations of El Alto.
- tion of official advertising.
- and community and investigative journalism ventures
- institutions and social and news organizations.

Drive the implementation of activities for reflection and training regarding freedom of expression, access to information, and the critical use of information and communication technologies by

Establish, with the support of international cooperation, a media observatory in the city of El Alto to monitor the quality of information, freedom of expression, access to information and the alloca-

Establish, with the support of international cooperation, public institutions and private companies, a fund to support small media

Establish a center specializing in the history of the city with the support of international cooperation and the participation of public

#### \* DIALOG AND TRUST

- Promote the development of opportunities for dialogue among journalists and representatives of institutions and social organizations to enable greater understanding, reciprocal respect, and cooperation in order to advance the reinstatement of trust.
- Encourage activities of self-critical dialogue regarding professio-nal performance among journalists in El Alto and between these journalists and journalists covering news in other cities.
- Encourage the production and diffusion of media spaces that facilitate pluralistic dialogue on the needs and problems of the city, including participation by authorities, experts, and representatives of social organizations.

#### **\* TRAINING IN JOURNALISM**

- Generate continual professional training and specialization opportunities for journalists and media workers in general in coordination with labor organizations in the media sector, local institutions, and those situated in La Paz who have the necessary experience.
- Promote specific training activities for digital information portal managers to empower "neighborhood journalism" supported by those media.
- Train young volunteers, both men and women, to act as correspondents for news media in the districts where they live.
- Promote active cooperation between the Communication Sciences Program of the Public University of El Alto and labor organizations for journalists.

#### **\* INFORMATION PRODUCTION**

- districts of the city and amplify citizen voices.
- different districts of Fl Alto.
- identity.



This set of actions and objectives, which will require consensus among all the actors involved, will contribute to the development of reliable and stable journalism specific to the city of El Alto for the benefit of transparent public institutions and social organizations and a well-informed public.

Encourage the production and diffusion of media spaces that prioritize information on existing daily problems in the different

Encourage, with the support of international cooperation, combining community communication media projects and social objectives to empower media coverage of issues of interest to the

Encourage the generation and diffusion of media spaces that provide knowledge of the history, institutions, organizations, and we-Il-known figures of El Alto, as well as an appreciation for Aymara

# SOCIODEMOGRAPHIC HISTORY AND DESCRIPTION OF EL ALTO

#### **GENERAL INFORMATION**

The municipality of El Alto is an Andean plateau located at an average height of 4,500 meters MSL, with a territorial area of 428.03 Km2. In 1985, it became the capital of the fourth municipal section of the province of Murillo and since 1988 it has risen to the status of city pursuant to Law No. 1014. El Alto established its own municipal administration and political agenda when it separated from La Paz but faced challenges as it struggled to build resources, had resource shortages, and saw an increase in population and migration from La Paz and the interior of the country. The city was fed mostly by the migration of Aymara people from the countryside, and residents worked mostly in trade, urban and rural transportation, crafts, and construction.

According to projections by the National Institute of Statistics (INE), in 2018, El Alto reached a population of 922,598 (51% women and 48.6% men), making it the city with the second greatest growth rate in Bolivia after Santa Cruz. El Alto is considered the youngest municipality in Bolivia because 66% of the population are between the ages of 6 and 39. Its most salient characteristics are its ability for civil organization and its self-identification as Aymara, although 71% of the population recognizes Spanish as its native language compared with 26% that recognizes Aymara.



When El Alto became a city, it only had 7 districts; currently, the territory is divided into 14 districts: ten urban districts (1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 12 and 14) and four rural districts (9, 10, 11, and 13), which are composed of 11 indigenous communities and conform a small percentage of the El Alto population (less than 7,000 people). The neglect and lack of comprehensive policies to address this population growth, in many disorganized areas and with insufficient planning, has generated urgent needs with respect to basic services, health, education, employment and citizen security.



#### **PROBLEMS AND NECESSITIES**

The INA establishes that 68% of the El Alto population lives in their own home, 15.4% live in a rented home and 10.8% live in a home that has been loaned to them by relatives or friends. Although a large percentage of the population has access to electrical energy and indoor plumbing with sanitary drainage, people still use firewood, public baths and cesspools.



According to the INE, 300,000 residents of the El Alto population (32%) live in moderate poverty with inadequate basic needs and 32,000 El Alto residents, or Alteños, (3.9%) live in extreme poverty. The Municipal Government indicates that rural communities present a poverty index greater than 89%. This shortage of basic services is accompanied by a weak health system that is composed of only 55 first-tier health centers for almost one million inhabitants, a population of which nearly half (48%)

patronizes the pharmacy, self-medicates, or seeks home remedies for their health problems, according to the INA.

With respect to education, secondary school degrees are obtained by the largest percentage of the population (46.5%), followed by completion of primary school (28.3%) and distantly by a university degree (6.7%), even though the city has 8 private universities and the Public University of El Alto, UPEA.



Another difficulty facing the city is how to generate income. According to the Secretary of Economic Development for the Mayor's Office, **El Alto is described as having a predominantly informal economy** composed of business activity (400 fairs and 46 markets), transportation (697,000 passengers per day) and craft work (20,000 productive units). Meanwhile, the incipient formal economy mainly consists of small businesses.



The INA indicates that 42% of the El Alto population works as either as "a laborer or an employee." Still, employment is one of the most urgent problems facing the city: 162,000 people work as "self-employed" and 10,000 people work as "family workers or unpaid apprentices." In other words, **45% of the population does** 

not have formal employment, with young people being the most affected. A study by the Center for the Study of Labor and Agrarian Development, CEDLA, reports that in El Alto, 62.4% of young people work in conditions of extreme risk, the worst in the nation.

With a weak economy and an absence of formal employment, El Alto has become a high-risk area. The Bolivian Observatory of Public Safety reported that in 2018 El Alto was the area with the highest number of crimes in the country, mainly crimes of murder, domestic violence, human smuggling, and sex trafficking, which has transformed it into the most crime-prone and highest security risk city in Bolivia.



#### **RELEVANT EVENTS**

Among the El Alto population, there is a constant and apparent need for social and political recognition. This is a product of its growing needs and unmet demands that have produced episodes of extreme social conflict accompanied by crises and violent confrontations among the population as well as with various government entities, both locally and nationally.

Strikes, roadblocks, marches, and street rallies have all been direct consequences of the shortages characterized by the insufficient provision of basic services (potable water, drainage, and electrical power), health services, education, and housing. They are also related to the deterioration of public safety and inaction of the authorities paired with higher levels of social organization and increased politicization of the El Alto population. These shortages and problems have given rise to frequent protests and demonstrations that, when combined with political and partisan interests, generate conflicts that can affect national events.

One of the most significant events that took place in El Alto was the "Gas War," or "Black October," in 2003, when residents took to the streets to reject a sales contract of gas to the United States via Chile. The government ordered military intervention and 60 people were killed. The demonstration led to the resignation of the president and, in some ways, a change of political direction in the country.

In 2003, Evo Morales rose to power with tremendous popular support, particularly in the city of El Alto; but this was not a factor when, in 2010, the government announced a measure removing subsidies on some fuels which notably increased the cost of living and was known as the "gasolinazo." The population of El Alto again took to the streets and went so far as to demand Morales' resignation. The massive demonstration ultimately forced the government to rescind the measure.

El Alto residents, however, do not only demonstrate to reject government measures; they also demonstrate to make sure their demands are heard. In February 2016, a massive demonstration by parents of young children descended on the Mayor's Office demanding improvements in educational institutions. The protest led to the burning of the Mayor's Office. Another municipal building had previously been burned in February 2003 as the community rejected a salary tax. In the 2016 fire however, in addition to the destruction of property and documents, the city also mourned the loss of 6 city officials' lives. Another critical moment took place in November 2019, as following claims of fraud in the national elections, Morales resigned and fled the country. Some residents of El Alto demonstrated against the transitional government that was installed after his departure, as police headquarters were burned and some institutional buildings destroyed. The most serious incident took place on November 19, in District 8, when protesters attempted to take over the Senkata natural gas processing plant and the military moved in, resulting in the deaths of 10 people.

In this context and in the absence of timely attention from the government, El Alto has become a space in which the demands of the population are expressed in the streets, which has generated distrust in political parties, institutional weakness, and a rise in diverse and parallel social organizations.

The features described in this sociodemographic analysis provide a sense of the contexts of the journalists' work and the inter-institutional relationships of the media.

Mass demonstrations by the population together with economic hardships and increasing criminality have been and continue to be frequent issues facing information media, especially for national networks, which is largely what has projected a conflicted image of El Alto.

In this city, the institutions are both sources of information and sources of financing for the media, which often depend upon them for their survival. Meanwhile, social organizations both provide information to media and pressure them insofar as they frequently challenge the work of journalists, as they believe the media is operating to benefit political actors and not to accurately depict local interests. This complicated sociodemographic context affects the work of journalists in El Alto.



#### **GENERAL OVERVIEW OF THE MEDIA**

companies in El Alto. Most of these companies produce content in Spanish, reaching specific target audiences. Some of the radio organizations are considered illegal, as they lack operating licenses issued by the Authority of Regulation and Taxation of Transportation and Telecommunication (ATT).

The list of media organizations consulted for this study appears below:

#### News media of El Alto

	El Alteño	Sole local newspaper
Print newspapers FM Radio Stations	El Compadre	Weekly
Print newspapers	La Voz del Vecino	WeeklyoFortnightly. Recently discontinued. Weekly. Became a daily digital portalCommunity typeNeighborhood associationsPrivate commercial Private commercialFrom the departmental government2Catholic church, bilingual From the public university 
	Los Andes	Weekly. Became a daily digital portal
	CEPRA - 89.2	Community type
	FEJUVE - 87.5	Neighborhood associations
FM Radio Stations	Siglo XXI – 91.5	Private commercial
	Galáctica - 92.8	Private commercial
FM Radio Stations	Líder - 97	From the departmental government
	San Gabriel - 98.2	Catholic church, bilingual
	UPEA - 100	From the public university
	Mar - 100.3	Private commercial
	Cristo Viene - 100.6	Evangelical
	Andina - 101.2	Private commercial
	La Voz del Vecino Los Andes CEPRA - 89.2 FEJUVE - 87.5 Siglo XXI - 91.5 Galáctica - 92.8 Líder - 97 San Gabriel - 98.2 UPEA - 100 Mar - 100.3 Cristo Viene - 100.6	Directed to young people
		From the mining workers' union.
	Majestad – 105.7	Private commercial
	Pachamama - 106	Directed to women
	Comercio - 88.1	From traders
	COCEDAL – 87.5	From artisans
M Radio Stations	Studio - 94	Private commercial
	FUTECRA – 96.8	Butchers
	San Gabriel - 620	Catholic Church, bilingual
	Integración - 640	Private commercial
AM Radio Stations	Méndez - 660	Private commercial
	FEDECOMIN - 105.4From the mining workers' union.Majestad - 105.7Private commercialPachamama - 106Directed to womenComercio - 88.1From tradersCOCEDAL - 87.5From artisansStudio - 94Private commercialFUTECRA - 96.8ButchersSan Gabriel - 620Catholic Church, bilingualIntegración - 640Private commercialMéndez - 660Private commercialAndina - 680Private commercial	Private commercial
	Atipiri - 840	Women oriented

Although some media outlets, especially radio stations, have programs in the Aymara language or bilingual Spanish-Aymara, Spanish is currently the predominant language in the journalistic content broadcast in El Alto. However, there is an important movement that seeks to revitalize the Aymara language, which would have a universe of speakers estimated at 2.5 million distributed in different countries (Bolivia, Chile, Peru, Argentina) and even settled in migrant populations in Europe and the United States.

3 In April 2018, ATT dismantled 32 radio stations (commercial and evangelical) that were operating illegally and were considered "pirates". See: https://att.gob.bo/content/la-att-asesta-duro-golpe-32-radioemisoras-ilegales-en-la-ciudad-de-el-alto



## **NEWS AND MEDIA LANDSCAPE OF THE CITY OF EL ALTO**

# There are more than 50 regularly operating print, radio, and television

	Jacha - 920	Private commercial
	Bartolina Sisa - 920	Community-based, bilingual
	Mar - 980	Private commercial
	Таурі - 1000	Private commercial
	Bolivianísima - 1040	Private commercial
	APRACBOL - 1060	Provincial radio network
	Obra del Espíritu Santo - 1080	Evangelical
	Conciencia Universal - 1100	Evangelical
	Splendid - 1220	Private commercial
	Líder 97 - 1240	Departmental Government
	Radioemisoras Unidas - 1260	Private commercial
	Bolivia Folklórica - 1280	Private commercial
	Cordial - 1360	Regional Workers' Union
	Creo en Milagros - 1420	Evangelical
	Plenitud de Vida - 1460	Evangelical
	Dios es Amor - 1480	Evangelical
	Wiñay Jatha - 1490	Directed to women
	Luz del Tiempo - 1520	Evangelical
	Bendita Trinidad - 1540	Evangelical
	Luz del Mundo - 1560	Evangelical
	El Fuego del Espíritu Santo -1580	Evangelical
	Pachaqamasa -700	Educational, bilingual
	Inca - 880	Private commercial
	UNITEPC – Canal 15	From Cosmos Private University
	TV Norte - Canal 24	Private commercial
	UPEA TV - Canal 25	Public university
	Paceñísima de TV - Ca- nal 4	Private commercial
TV Stations	Poder de Dios - Canal 45	Evangelical
	Vos TV - Canal 49	Private commercial
	Solidaria TV - Canal 51	Private commercial
	Virgen de Copacabana - Canal 57	Catholic Church
	COTEL – Canal 99	Institutional

Sources: ATT website, journalists interviewed, General Media Survey (IPSOS, 2018), web monitoring and http://worldradiomap.com/bo/la-paz

#### The news media organizations of El Alto may be divided into the following types:

Newspaper	Radio stations	TV stations	Numbers	%
4	16	4	24	40.6
1	9	-	10	16.9
-	3	3	6	10.1
-	5	-	5	8.4
-	2	1	3	5.0
-	10	1	11	18.6
5	45	9	59	99.6
	4 1 - - - -	Newspaper stations   4 16   1 9   - 3   - 5   - 2   - 10   5 45	Newspaper stations TV stations   4 16 4   1 9 -   - 3 3   - 5 -   - 2 1   - 10 1	Newspaper stations Numbers   4 16 4 24   1 9 - 10   - 3 3 6   - 5 - 5   - 2 1 3   - 10 1 11   5 45 9 59

Source: Own elaboration

Likewise, there are several digital news portals that produce content regularly:

#### Websites with information in El Alto

Digital Portals

https://www.facebook.com/ ElAltodepienuncaderodillas- noticias/	It is a space on Facebook. It has more than 3 thousand followers. It shows affinity with the former Bolivian government and is an opponent of the mayor's office
https://www.elaltoesnoticia.com/	Has Facebook, Twitter and web page. It has more than 16 thousand followers
http://semanariolosandes.com/secciones.php?s=17	Former printed weekly.
https://www.facebook.com/ElAltoOficial/	SOY ALTEÑO only has presence on Facebook, it presents more video production, apparently it is a public group. It has more than 36 thousand members.
https://elalto.bo.com/nosotros/	The Alto.bo is on Facebook, Twitter and website.
http://amibolivia.com/AMI/	Agencia Municipal de Información, more than 12 thousand followers.
https://www.facebook.com/ElAltoInforma/	El Alto Informa, only on Facebook, more than 12 thousand followers.
https://noticiaelalto.blogspot.com/	Facebook, blog y Twitter.

Source: Web monitoring

Few of these media have space for news broadcasting. About 55% of the radio stations and 15% of the TV stations do not produce broadcast news programs. Approximately 65% of the broadcast time on radio and television is dedicated to national news and the remaining 35% is dedicated to news generated in the city.

Music and entertainment contents dominate the radio, particularly in a private commercial nature. Evangelical radio stations focus on preaching their faith. Media pertaining to the social organizations include space for subjects of interest for their respective sectors (neighborhoods, workers, craftspeople, etc.). Media that is dependent on non-governmental organizations are oriented toward education and the promotion of rights. Institutional media (the universities and department government) promote their own events. The information portals that are best organized, from the journalistic perspective, are "El Alto es Noticia" and "El Alto.bo." The portal pertaining to the Mayor's Office broadcasts news about local government activities. In addition, the El Alto public has access to the following media, which operate from El Alto's neighboring city, La Paz, the seat of the Bolivian government, as well as other provincial capitals, such as Cochabamba and Santa Cruz:

There is no disaggregated data for El Alto, but in Bolivia there are approximately 7 million Internet connections out of a population of 11.5 million inhabitants; 96% of these connections are made via cell phones (Quiroz, 2016, and interviews with Alteño journalists).

#### Other news media with a presence in El Alto

Extra		La Paz, sensationalist		
La Razón		La Paz, general information		
El Diario		La Paz, general information		
Página S	ete	La Paz, general information		
Print newspapers		Santa Cruz, general information		
El Día		Santa Cruz, general information		
Opinión		Cochabamba, general information		
Gente		Cochabamba, sensationalist		
ERBOL -	100.9 FM	La Paz, national network of popular radio sta- tions		
Fides - 10	01.3 FM	La Paz, national network of Jesuits		
ATB - 107 Radio stations	.3 FM	La Paz, of the television network of the same name		
Fides - 70	50 AM	La Paz, national network of Jesuits		
Metropol	itana – 940 AM	La Paz, private-commercial		
Panamer	icana – 580 AM	La Paz, national network, private-commercial		
UNITEL –	Canal 2	Santa Cruz, private national network		
RTP – Ca	nal 4	La Paz, private national network		
BOLIVISI	ÓN – Canal 5	La Paz, private national network		
BOLIVIA	TV – Canal 7	La Paz, governmental national network		
ATB – Ca	nal 9	La Paz, private national network		
		La Paz, private national network		
Red UNC	– Canal 11	La Paz, private national network Santa Cruz, private national network		
Red UNC TV Stations and TVU - Ca				
TV Stations and TVU - Ca		Santa Cruz, private national network		
TV Stations and TVU - Ca Networks Católica	nal 13	Santa Cruz, private national network La Paz, public university		
TV Stations and NetworksTVU - Ca CatólicaCatólicaCigavisió	nal 13 TV – Canal 18	Santa Cruz, private national network La Paz, public university La Paz, Catholic Church		
TV Stations and Networks Católica Cigavisió Cristo TV	nal 13 TV – Canal 18 n – Canal 21	Santa Cruz, private national network La Paz, public university La Paz, Catholic Church La Paz, Santa Cruz, private-commercial		
TV Stations and NetworksTVU - Ca CatólicaCatólicaCatólicaCigavisió Cristo TV Abya Yala	nal 13 TV – Canal 18 n – Canal 21 – Canal 27	Santa Cruz, private national network La Paz, public university La Paz, Catholic Church La Paz, Santa Cruz, private-commercial La Paz, evangelical		
TV Stations and NetworksTVU - Ca CatólicaCatólicaCatólicaCigavisió Cristo TV Abya Yala	nal 13 TV – Canal 18 n – Canal 21 – Canal 27 a – Canal 41 A – Canal 36	Santa Cruz, private national network La Paz, public university La Paz, Catholic Church La Paz, Santa Cruz, private-commercial La Paz, evangelical La Paz, private-commercial La Paz, national network,		

#### **NEWS INFORMATION IN EL ALTO**

The population of El Alto primarily teral perspectives from official sourreceives news related to "national ces prevail, while daily events in the interests," meaning decisions and city only constitute a small portion actions by State powers, from tele- of the news agenda. Even when daivision and radio media that opera- ly events do constitute part of the te in other cities, particularly La Paz news agenda, it is usually when and Santa Cruz. Information that is they present critical or high-impact local to El Alto, especially that rela- situations, such as social or politited to decisions and actions by the cal conflicts, or crimes and traffic municipal government and social accidents. This is the model that, for organizations of the city, is provided years, has guided news coverage of by local radio and television stations, El Alto by the media of La Paz and in that order. The print media is not other cities and which is reproduced a relevant source of information be- identically by the media based in El cause of its limited circulation and Alto who scarcely allot space to isthe deep-rooted cultural attach- sues and voices of direct interest to ment of the El Alto population to the the residents of the city. Another facoral tradition, among other reasons. tor that affects the practice and even The digital news portals, used pri- the content of journalism in El Alto is marily by the younger population, the pressure exerted by sponsors on do not always convey information journalists and, in certain cases, on that is considered "newsworthy," or the news media themselves. Accorthey engage more actively in politi- ding to 70% of those interviewed, cal confrontation. Journalists inter- this pressure from sponsors inhibits viewed for this evaluation indicated the possibility of developing "prothat the news agenda in El Alto may **bing journalism**" but instead tends be described as being at a critical to transform the news into "branjuncture (featuring "urgent" issues), ded-content" that serves as an adfavoring "national" issues and the fe- vertisement presented as journalisderal government, with news lines tic information. that focus on La Paz. In this sense, as one journalist noted. residents of El Alto feel that some blogs and portals reflect more of the interests of the population that lives in city districts, but there is a lack of "neighborhood journalism" in the media.

Thus, there are two levels of news information- national and localwhere political issues and the unila-



Several of the journalists consulted for this study indicated and appeared to agree that these obstacles and practices arise from public institutions (for example, the Ministry of Communication and the Mayor's Office), which have an overwhelming presence (more than 90%) in the advertising market financing journalism in the media of El Alto. Furthermore, those interviewed indicated that journalism is also subject to external pressures (threats, censorship, attacks) arising from social organizations that form part of local or national political struggles, which also affects the content they produce.

The main sources of information for El Alto journalists are the authorities or officials of the national and local governments in addition to their respective official news agencies (the Bolivian Information Agency and the Municipal News Agency), the Public Prosecutor's Office, State Government and the different police headquarters, the directors and leaders of non-governmental organizations specializing in economic issues, social development or human rights, as well as the leaders of social organizations in the city, such as those composed of neighborhoods, businesses, workers, transit workers, parents and high school students.

#### JOURNALISTS AND THEIR ORGANIZATIONS

The main organization representing the approximately 200 journalists working in El Alto is the Federated Union of Press Workers of El Alto (FS-TPEA), created in 2003 and composed of 5 sectorial organizations:

Sindicato de Trabajadores en Prensa, Fotoperiodistas y Medios Digitales (SINTRAPREN) Sindicato de Trabajadores de la Comunicación Alternativa y Comunitaria (STCAC)

Sindicato de Trabajadores Locutores en Medios (SILOCOM) Sindicato de Trabajadores en Televisión y Co-productores Sindicato de Trabajadores Independientes en Radio y Televisión.

Not all of the journalists are affiliated with this Federation, and about 80% of the journalists belong to the sector of "independents" and "co-producers." In both cases, these are groups of self-managed journalists who earn resources through the direct sale of advertising space featured on their radio or television programs. The independent journalists rent time to broadcast their news programs, and co-producers have agreements with the owners of media companies for which they exchange 40 to 50% of the advertising income they receive.

These "self-management" strategies" respond to the lack of a stable and solid media infrastructure in the city, a circumstance that is compounded by the absence, almost entirely, of any formal labor relationship. This explains both the situation of defenselessness in which journalists in El Alto find themselves as well as the enormous influence that economic, political and social pressures have on their work.

#### **SPONSORS OF EL ALTO JOURNALISM**

According to statements of 75% of These sponsors constitute the tradithe journalists interviewed, in addi- tional source of financing for journation to the national and local gover- lism carried out in the city. nments that sponsor El Alto news media spaces, there are other less significant and more sporadic sponsors: the Government of the Department of La Paz, hotels, restaurants, medical centers, non-governmental organizations and small businesses in the city that, occasionally and for short periods of time, launch institutional campaigns or specific advertising campaigns.



#### **CURRENT SITUATION AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR PROFESSIONAL TRAINING**

Approximately 55% of all journalists in El Alto are men and 45% are women. The majority are self-taught and trained on the job (known in the business as "empiricals"). A smaller group is made up of young people with university degrees in Communication and another small group is made up of professionals from other areas who have entered the field of iournalism.





Journalists who have already earned their university diplomas or are still completing their studies generally pertain to the Programs in Communication Sciences of the Public University of El Alto or the Higher University of San Andrés (also a public university) in the neighboring city of La Paz, which are the two main professional training centers for human resources in the fields of broadcast media in El Alto. Nonetheless, the majority of university graduates opt to seek employment in the news media of La Paz or in the field of institutional communications in the public or private sectors, as these alternatives offer better and more reliable salaries.

Some individuals who practice journalism in El Alto also often participate in programmed informal training activities organized with international cooperation by the "Gregoria Apaza" Center for the Promotion of Women (Radio Pachamama), Radio San Gabriel, the Center for Communication and Education for Indigenous Communities and Peoples (Radio Atipiri), the Network of Radiophonic Education of Bolivia, or Foundation UNIR Bolivia...

#### JOURNALISM, CITIZENS AND INSTITUTIONS

Twelve of the sixteen journalists interviewed for this evaluation indicated that, although residents of the city generally value them for their work as informers and for the role the news media plays, this appreciation wavers in moments of conflict and due to political polarization. In this respect, the population is distrustful of journalism, which they accuse of distorting the facts, downplaying or exaggerating issues, or of partisanship, all of which gives rise to a climate of hostility. Although those consulted admitted that there is currently no one media

organization that may be considered the "voice" or "image" of El Alto, just as there are no "model journalists," they did affirm that social organizations require the presence and support of journalism when they have a need to increase their visibility and make their demands heard. Something similar occurs with the perspectives of representatives of public institutions that value the importance of the media and journalists but find their work unsatisfactory.

#### STRENGTHS AND NEEDS OF EL ALTO JOURNALISM

Despite the complex panorama des- income, development of a union cribed, 70% of the El Alto journalists identity that would fortify their orinterviewed emphasized the fo- ganizations, bolstering of profesllowing as their professional stren- sional self-esteem, defense of lagths: their commitment to the city bor rights and more opportunities and its development; their dedica- to continue seeking qualifications tion to journalism; their willingness and specializations. to serve as the "eyes and voice" of El Alto; their ability to adapt to the new technological environment; and their creativity for advancing initiatives that will enable them to perform their job with greater liberty.

They recognize among their needs the urgency to define "new models of business" which would enable viable alternatives for generating





At the time of this survey and according to the information gathered, the vast majority of El Alto residents (86%) primarily watch, use, and have access to traditional forms of media as well as internet. Most people preferred to access information via television (42%). Young people use mostly Facebook to access information, whereas people over the age of 40 mostly use television:



Base: Total respondents (400)

The emergence of the Internet and, particularly of Facebook, as sources of information in addition to mass media need to be considered. Additionally, Facebook is not exclusively a news platform, and the information it circulates does not always originate from verified sources.

#### Radio in the neighborhoods, an alternative to televisión

In the neighborhoods that are distant from the "center" of El Alto (La Ceja and surroundings in District 1), residents notice that network television signals are weak. Consequently, radio stands out as another option for accessing information. The following impressions were drawn from interviews with residents.



# **FINDINGS ON INFORMATIONAL NEEDS IN THE CITY OF EL ALTO**

#### Figure 1: Media to which you turn first to get information

nt to be informed about news from the city of El Alto, which of these media do you turn to first? (SINGLE ANSWER)

#### Do you receive news about the city of El Alto every day? How do you receive it?

"By television. Yes, I receive it. But the signal is quite weak, I don't get good reception. So, I receive information more by radio... because the television signal isn't very good around here" (Female, 29, businessperson and resident of District 8).

The audience, for different reasons, indicate television is their primary option to receive and fund news information, but they still turn to different media forms to find additional information. When an individual performs manual labor as their primary source of employment, they typically receive their news communications through radio, as described by the following interviewee:

"I would get the news by television, and also at the newspaper kiosks, as I would pass by I would try to read some headlines. Now, more than anything else, by radio, because of my work ..." (Male, 38, stone mason, resident of District 12).

#### **Frequency of Access to Traditional and Digital Media**



Figure 2: Frequency at which respondents receive news by traditional media

Question (3): How often do you get information through the following media? (SINGLE ANSWER). Base: Total respondents (400)

It should be noted that there is very little access to print news: respondents who read it generally do so once or twice per week (25%) or once or twice per month (23%). Close to one third of the population never accesses print news (28%). The only media form that is accessed generally and daily is television (62% of El Alto residents consulted). More residents of El Alto listen to the news on the radio once or twice per week (33%) than those who listen to it every day (30%).



El Alto residents consulted for this survey use Facebook with considerably more frequency than they use WhatsApp and Internet web pages in order to receive news. This access represents an investment in purchasing mobile information considering the current lack of free access points to Internet via Wifi. In districts that are distant from the "center" of El Alto with diminished resources, this investment may affect family and personal finances, as indicated by one of the interviewees:

"I use Facebook in order to see some news, but not all the time, because here we don't have WiFi... So, I buy data to get the news, but not all the time" (Female, 29, businessperson, resident of District 8).

It is also noteworthy that the residents of El Alto prefer the Facebook platform, which they themselves often challenge because it generates disinformation.

Some of those interviewed said they use WhatsApp in times of conflict to stay informed and contribute to vigilance in the neighborhood:

"With some of the neighbors on the block, who we know, we have a WhatsApp group, we tell each other what's going on, or we can launch small campaigns; or, at night, we can call each other (to say that) there is a vehicle circling around two or three times. At least, we can turn the lights on in all the houses. In this way, we can communicate among ourselves" (Female, 55, homemaker, resident of District 8).

#### Do you have a preference among the El Alto media?

By mentioning and recalling the specific name of the news media that El Alto residents prefer for receiving news about their city, respondents indicated a preference for television stations (67%), then radio stations (19%). Virtual social networks and print media each were only 5% of the audience's preferred medium for receiving news.



Based on this data, the El Alto audience does not express a preference for the media of the city of El Alto, but rather, especially in the case of television, mostly for national networks (Red UNO, Bolivisión, UNITEL, ATB, Gigavisión, RTP). When combined, the three stations with locations in El Alto (UPEA TV, Vos TV y CVC) only constitute a total preference of 4% of those surveyed.

Among the radio stations of El Alto, there is one station that stands out for its considerable history, Radio San Gabriel, which was the first choice for accessing news via radio. Of the eight stations mentioned by El Alto residents, only three are actually located in El Alto (Bartolina Sisa, Integración and San Gabriel). The others are national networks (Fides, Panamericana, Erbol) or are from La Paz (Gente and Metropolitana), and all of them have their headquarters La Paz.

#### **Presence of the Media in the Districts**

Several El Alto media companies were mentioned by interviewees for their coverage, proximity to the audience, and services to the residents and neighborhoods of the districts.

Radio Atipiri was mentioned mainly for its informative work in District 8. Radio FEJUVE, in District 1, received some dissatisfied reviews for its political affinity with the Movement Toward Socialism (MAS) in recent years.

The television stations that were most frequently said to cover local news in the El Alto districts were Channel 57 (CVC), Channel 49 (Vos TV) and Channel 25 (UPEA TV).

## Which media companies would you say provide news on what is happening in your district?

"Radio Atipiri is the one that gives us news about what is happening around these zones and in the district overall" (Female, 29, businessperson, resident of District 8).

"In print, there isn't one, there is no information. I think Channel 57 has a little bit of coverage, after that, no others" (Male, 47, craftsperson, resident of District 3).

"In truth, very few, only when there is a conflict do the media show up. Like I said, this a rural district" (Male, 36, farmer, resident of rural District 11).

#### Could you highlight the media outlet in El Alto that you consider to be doing an important job in the city of El Alto?

"Radio FEJUVE, I believe, but even so, sometimes its messages are directed at one particular political party. That makes it less credible. A media company that stands out for giving neutral information doesn't exist, at least not in this sector" (Female, 28, journalist, resident of District 5)

"Vos TV ... because they go on location, they go and do interviews, they tell you everything that's going on in the city of El Alto" (Woman, 27, salesperson, resident of District 4).

#### INFORMATIONAL NEEDS AND SHORTFALLS

#### **Issues of greatest concern for El Alto residents**



Source: Own elaboration (based on IPSOS data). Question (I): What are the issues that most concern you about the city of El Alto?

(MULTIPLE ANSWER: FIRST OPTION). Base: Total respondents (400)

According to the survey, the issue of greatest concern is health (27%), probably because of the situation of the Covid-19 pandemic. In a distant second place is concern for education (15%) followed by public transportation (13%). The interviews confirm the concern for the health problem:

#### What news do you look for in the media?

"For the moment, everyone wants the cure (for Covid-19). For me personally, I'm interested if there is some cure for this pandemic we're suffering. They talk a lot about the Oxford vaccines, they also talked about the Russian vaccine, but nothing happened, there's no clear date and it's a little sad that our authorities don't say anything about it" (Male, 36, farmer, resident of rural District 11).

"I would like them to speak more about health, since we have this COVID pandemic, so, again, I'd like them to talk about it. Also about education, there could be more schools because around here there is only one" (Female, 19, student, resident of District 3).

Education has been one of the areas in which there has been the highest degree of uncertainty in the current context of COVID-19, as the scholastic year has been suspended throughout the country. Transportation is a recurrent issue because of a lack of organization, vehicular chaos, poor service, excessive concentration in certain sectors and not enough access in the neighborhoods that are most distant from the center of El Alto (La Ceja). Other recurring issues of concern in El Alto are basic services and public safety.For women, the issue of health is of greatest concern (31%) and the second greatest concern is transportation (17%) whereas, for men, issues of great concern are public safety (10%) and potable water and sewage (10%), although they are both third in importance overall.

#### Issues of concern in the districts

Residents of El Alto are concerned by the perception of problems in their immediate surroundings, and these concerns are expressed in terms of demand for information related to needs including public safety, basic services, sewage and street lighting.

The incessant expansion of the city also increases the needs for basic services, security, and regulation of human settlements. Thus, the gap between provision of services and demographic growth is never completely resolved. The interviews clearly reflect these demands on the part of residents:

## Which problems or issues in your district deserve more attention and information from the news media?

"The issue of safety. Because there have been a lot of robberies around here lately, in the nearby zones there's a lot of crime that isn't reported in the news media" (Female, 27, salesperson, resident of District 4).

"There's a need for a lot of information because there's a lot of crime, especially in these times of crisis. People are most afraid in the zone. So, we need for the authorities, the press, and some radio stations to mobilize in the zones, but unfortunately we don't see that" (Male, 52, shoemaker, resident of District 5)

"The issue of water, because here we don't have potable water, plus we just have one well that provides water to the entire community (Male, 20, student, resident of rural District 11).

"They should report on the needs of the district, sewage, sidewalks, the misfortunes experienced by these families, because it is a very distant district and there are a lot of needs and there isn't much coverage" (Female, 31, homemaker, resident of District 12).

"These plots have two owners and we haven't decontaminated them. We want to decontaminate our land" (Male, 62, laborer, resident of District 7). The issue of health care, in the context of Covid-19, has not received the news coverage needed to ease the doubts and uncertainties of El Alto residents, particularly in the rural districts:

#### Which problems or issues in your district deserve more attention and information on the part of the news media?

"For me, it's the pandemic that we're experiencing here on both the national and global levels. In my district, there have been several deaths and really we don't know if they were from Covid or not, and in the cemetery they have already been buried, without permission, without any death certificate... The truth is that we're at great risk in this district. They've buried people without taking the corresponding measures" (Male, 36, farmer, resident of rural District 11).

#### How can the media help the city?

The media needs to provide coverage of specific issues concerning residents in the districts where they live, and this is reflected in the quantitative data gathered in the survey:



Question (15): How do you think the media could help the city of El Alto? (SINGLE RESPONSE). Base: Total respondents (400)

The interviews reflect the demands and proposals of the residents which have to do with providing information on neighborhood issues, prioritizing news sources within the districts and neighborhoods, and organizing the coverage of the various districts:

#### What activities could the mass media carry out to improve your district?

#### Prioritize neighborhood sources

"They should go to the different zones, they should speak to the neighborhood councils, the secretary generals, to see what the problems are and what they can do about them. They are the ones that are up to date about what's going on in our settlement and the different zones" (Female, 29, businessperson, resident of District 8).

#### Examine issues of neighborhood interest

"Provide coverage of the projects" (Male, 30, journalist, resident of District 4). "The needs of the people of the district, they should share information, to coordinate with the State, the Mayor's office, the Deputy Mayor's office" (Female, 31, homemaker, resident of District 12).

#### Work with transparency

"To be transparent so the population can trust the media; they aren't trustworthy anymore" (Male, 64, craftsperson, resident of District 6).

#### Creativity for receiving the demands and needs of residents

"Create points of contact where people can leave their ideas so that the mass media can broadcast them, places where (people) can leave their concerns, proposals and ideas so that a district can grow... and in this way the mass media will pay attention to them" (Male, 38, stonemason, resident of District 12).

#### Coordinate and organize coverage of the different districts

"I think the mass media should have an association among themselves, and they should make a plan to reach the districts" (Male, 52, shoemaker, resident of District 5).

#### Copy or improve good practices

"On UNITEL I like 'Yo periodista'... I think it helps the media, since they can't reach different parts of El Alto. ... I think it was a good idea, but they also have to confirm the validity of that news because there are other people with bad intentions" (Female, 27, salesperson, resident of District 4).

#### Recurrent criticism of the media

In addition to a lack of adequate, daily coverage of neighborhood problems in the districts of El Alto, the media was regularly criticized for focusing on the districts only when new projects were announced or where there was a conflict or event on the police feed. The criticisms also have to do with the concentration of coverage on the "center" of the city, La Ceja and its surroundings, where there are various government buildings and police stations.

#### Which media provide news on what is happening in your district?

"There is no daily news for my district, they only provide news when there is some project announcement" (Female, 31, homemaker, resident of District 12).

"They don't pay attention to our zone, but they do consider La Ceja and the seat of Government to be important" (Female, 29, businessperson, resident of District 8).

"They don't report on the districts. The agenda of journalists focuses on La Ceja, and their sources" (Male, 30, journalists, resident of District 4).

#### Languages in which the residents of El Alto receive and expect to receive information



Figure 7: Language preferred for receiving information

Source: IPSOS Question (6): In what language do you prefer to receive information from the media? (MULTIPLE RESPONSE). Base: Total respondents (400)

Most of the respondents preferred to receive their news in Spanish (98%). Although the preference for receiving the news in Spanish is quite large, this does not exclude the desire to have information presented in native languages. Many people surveyed expressed a desire to be able to receive information in Aymara (25%) and Quechua (3%).

In their interviews, El Alto citizens specified various reasons for valuing the native languages, in particular Aymara, and acknowledged its cultural role importance and the importance of broadcasting the news in indigenous languages. Nonetheless, the daily use of Aymara is becoming increasingly limited to older adults and migrants. Part of those surveyed admitted to not being able to speak Aymara.

Finally, residents observe that there is limited use of Aymara for delivering the news and it is often scheduled after midnight or very early in the morning. Aymara is rarely used in the news and in local and national media productions in general.

"Yes, it is important. It is mostly people advanced in age that communicate in Aymara. And the information provided on the radio and television is presented more in Spanish, so they don't use it. On television, they only give the news in Aymara in the morning but not during the day.

(Female, 29, businessperson, resident of District 8).

"Our language is recognized on the national level as a second language, in addition to Spanish. In El Alto, we mostly speak Aymara, particularly the elders because they are mostly the ones who understand it and communicate in the Aymara or Quechua languages. There aren't many stations that broadcast the news in Aymara, such as San Gabriel, Pachagamasa, Atipir and other small stations. The large companies rarely use (indigenous languages) in the news, such as the State channel which is not watched very much in the city of El Alto" (Male, 52, shoemaker, resident of District 5).

"I'm Aymara. We're proud. That's why (I prefer) Radio Tawantinsuyo, Radio San Gabriel, Radio Pachagamasa, Radio Bartolina Sisa. Tawantinsuyo and San Gabriel reach out to the countryside. If only there were a well-trained Aymara journalist" (Male, 46, teacher, resident of District 14).

"I don't speak Aymara, but there are people who do, and they can't communicate or listen to the news... because some of them don't speak Spanish. I believe they need a media company (in Aymara)... (Female, 27, salesperson, resident of District 4).

Do you consider it important to use Aymara or other indigenous languages for delivering the news?

#### **TRUST AND CREDIBILITY**

#### The Credibility of the mass media: the radio in order to "better reflect reality"

Respondents said the radio is the form of media that "best reflects the reality of the city of El Alto," with television in second place and Facebook in third. For young people, Facebook is the media that "best reflects reality."



Question (13): Which media best reflects the reality of the city of El Alto? (SINGLE ANSWER). Base: Total respondents (400)

#### Reasons for and consequences of distrusting the media

In the city of El Alto, perhaps more than in other districts, the residents have a high ability to mobilize (see "Sociodemographic History and Description") in order to express their demands through concrete action (marches, blockades, demonstrations). Lack of attention and comprehension with respect to their demands has contributed to the creation, both internally and externally to El Alto, of a stigmatized image of the city as being conflict-ridden, which is reinforced and amplified by the media, leaving other aspects of city life unattended and with minimum news coverage.

In this context, the **residents interviewed demanded that the mass media in general, both locally and nationally, contribute to showing positive aspects of El Alto:** 

## Do you think that the mass media adequately informs viewers of what is happening in the city of El Alto?

"No, I only hear the media say that El Alto is in the news because of the violence that takes place there... We're not all violent, not all of us commit crimes. And where is the news about good things, the good work that people do in El Alto? (Female, 55, home-maker, resident of District 8).

"Disgracefully, the image they have in the country's interior of the city of El Alto is to see us as aggressive and violent people. This is precisely because of the role the media portrays. But this has also been the news, because there have been protests and blockades, that journalists have provided. But they have forgotten the other sector of the population, the other side of the coin of the city of El Alto: the enterprising residents, the residents who work from early in the morning, who make sacrifices to generate their own resources, to support their homes, the residents who go to university, who study, who go to work, arrive at home and assume responsibilities." (Male, 30, journalist, resident of District 4).

#### Do you think that the news provided by the mass media of El Alto is trustworthy? Why?

"No, in many cases the news is distorted, it is not true. At one time, in the latest conflicts that took place in El Alto, we were described as bought off, or they generalized that we were from a political party. That's not true even though they focus on that. They think we're all the same, but that's not so" (Female, 31, homemaker, resident of District 12).

"In recent months I've seen that the information about what is happening here in El Alto is not so true because it has focused more on showing the bad side of the city. They don't show how the citizens of El Alto really are and in these last few months they have focused on attacking us..." (Female 29, businessperson, resident of District 8).

Some residents observe that polarization and politicization has especially affected the media at the management level. In this way, they understand and differentiate the work of the journalists as separate that of the editors, which may be assumed by the media companies and which generate "filters" as the coverage is produced and the information is broadcast:

#### Do you think that the news provided by the mass media of El Alto is trustworthy?

"I cannot judge if it is reliable or not reliable because each media has a direction or a management and knows how it is managed. This time all the media are politicized through the managements, we are not going to blame the reporters nor much less the cameramen" (Male, 52 years old, shoemaker, neighbor of District 5).

In times of social crisis, distrust of the media, accentuated by polarization and/or political stigmatization, leads to rejection of coverage and even of the presence of some communication media. The journalism profession can become risky under these conditions:

#### Do you think that the media adequately inform the public about what is happening in the city of El Alto? Why?

"No. For example, in October [the political crisis of 2019] they didn't even come here to conduct a single interview. There had been many confrontations and they didn't want to see UNITEL. When there have been recent protests, they only want to see media from El Alto and have them come and conduct interviews" (Female, 27, salesperson, resident of District 4).

#### Trust in the virtual media. Facebook, often visited, but hardly credible

Based on data from the survey and perceptions expressed in the interviews with residents, it can be verified that these respondents access Facebook regularly looking for news.

Respondents noted that they have begun to be more cautious with respect to virtual networks, particularly Facebook, because of the circulation of fake news and disinformation. So, although Facebook is visited frequently, it has less reliability and credibility on the part of residents, at least with respect to news

#### And information that circulates on Facebook and WhatsApp, is it credible and useful for you? Why?

"No, not all the information on social networks is trustworthy because a lot of the information is false, I don't trust it" (Female, 31, homemaker, resident of District 12).

"Some is not real because they upload videos that are 'fake."" (Female, 19, student, resident of District 3).

#### Do the virtual networks, like Facebook and WhatsApp, serve to inform you about what is happening in the city or neighborhood? Why?

"They give me some perspective on the news... but there is also 'fake' news, or false information... it seems to me to be a way to create controversy from some circumstances. You have to know how to choose what type of news to believe and what not to believe" (Male, 38, stonemason, resident of District 12).

#### Trust in groups and institutions: the family first and foremost

Residents of El Alto receive and exchange information about their city from three main social groups: family, friends and neighbors, and neighborhood councils. The most trusted group is the family.

From the data, it becomes evident that the Mayor's office and the departmental government are hardly mentioned as sources from which to receive or exchange information:



Source: IPSOS Question (9): Besides the media, do you receive information about the city of El Alto from any of the following groups or institutions? (MULTIPLE RESPONSE) Question (10): And which of these groups or institutions do you trust the most to receive information about what is happening in the city of El Alto? (SINGLE ANSWER)

Base: Total de entrevistados que reciben información de algún grupo (295)

This relationship with both social groups and institutions is illustrated in the interviews:

Do you share and exchange information with your neighbors about what is happening in your district or in the city of El Alto? In which social organizations, institutions or places?

"Yes, sometimes with my landlady, on the bus, at the market, on Facebook, with four of my lady friends... In some meetings with community advocates for women, at Sartasim Warmi" (Female, 37, homemaker, resident of District 2).

"Mainly in my home and then with my work companions we talk about the news and exchange opinions, there are also discussions, everyone has their own point of view" (Male, 38, stonemason, resident of District 12).

The relationship that residents of El Alto have established with the mass media is complex and dynamic. News information is not only received but also questioned and contrasted with different sources, including the mass media, Internet, and the social groups to which the residents belong. The more sources of information and exchange the audience consults, the more prudent they seem to be about the media.

The current conflict-ridden context and health crisis lay bare the great need for precise, impartial and in-depth news on the part of the El Alto population. Although residents may be able to detect possibly false information, some of the population may fall victim to disinformation and confusion.

It remains necessary to construct adequate bridges to meet the information needs of the residents so they can be part of the mass media agenda, the traditional media agenda, and that being developed on virtual platforms.



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#### Web Pages

Autoridad de Regulación y Fiscalización de Telecomunicaciones y Transporte ATT: <a href="http://att.gob.bo">http://att.gob.bo</a> Consultado el 20 de agosto de 2020.

Instituto Nacional de Estadística: <u>https://www.ine.gob.bo/ Consultado el 3 de</u> agosto de 2020.

Órgano Electoral Plurinacional: <u>https://www.oep.org.bo/ Consultado el 6 de</u> agosto de 2020.



#### **People Interviewed**

Director de UPEA Televisión. Entrevistado el 2 de septiembre de 2020.

Director Radio Copacabana y Sistema Cruz Andina. Entrevistado el 28 de agosto de 2020.

Responsable del proyecto periodístico "Huellas" y periodista de la radio APRACBOL. Entrevistado el 27 de agosto de 2020.

Presidenta de la Federación de Padres de Familia – FEDEPAF. Entrevistada el 11 de septiembre de 2020.

Jefe Operativo de la Fuerza Especial de Lucha contra el Crimen – El Alto. Entrevistado el 10 de septiembre de 2020.

Secretario Ejecutivo de FEJUVE – El Alto. Entrevistado el 29 de agosto de 2020.

Responsable de la Secretaría de Atención Ciudadana y Gobernanza, GAMEA. Entrevistado el 28 de agosto de 2020.

Periodista de Radio UPEA (Universidad Pública de El Alto). Entrevistada el 25 de agosto de 2020.

Periodista digital. Entrevistado el 28 de agosto de 2020.

Director de la Carrera de Comunicación Social de la Universidad Pública de El Alto. Entrevistado el 28 de agosto de 2020.

Periodista de la red televisiva UNO. Entrevistada el 31 de agosto de 2020.

Periodista, historiador de la ciudad de El Alto. Entrevistado el 11 de septiembre de 2020.

Docente de la Universidad Pública de El Alto. Entrevistado el 4 de septiembre de 2020.

Comunicadora Social de Radio Copacabana y Sistema Cruz Andina (Provincia Manco Kapac, Ira, 2da. y 3er. sección). Entrevistada el 28 de agosto de 2020.

Periodista de radio. Entrevistado el 2 de septiembre de 2020.

Miembro del Proyecto Jagi Aru. Entrevistado el 4 de septiembre de 2020. Periodista del diario El Alteño. Entrevistado el 30 de agosto de 2020. Máximo dirigente de la Asociación de Gremialistas de El Alto. Entrevistado el 28 de agosto de 2020. Representante de la Gobernación del Departamento de La Paz. Entrevistado el 25 de agosto de 2020. Secretaria Ejecutiva de la Federación de Juntas Vecinales de El Alto. Entrevistada el 29 de agosto de 2020. Director del proyecto periodístico Buena Fuente. Entrevistado el 1 de septiembre de 2020. Bloguero alteño. Entrevistado el 4 de septiembre de 2020. Responsable de la Secretaría de Economía de GAMEA. Entrevistada el 26 de agosto de 2020. Secretario Ejecutivo Central Obrera Regional – COR. Entrevistado el 31 de agosto de 2020. Periodista y productora de la radio Wiñay Jatha. Entrevistada el 27 de agosto de 2020. Director del periódico El Compadre y la revista Oxígeno. Entrevistado el 28 de agosto de 2020.

Secretario Ejecutivo de la Federación Sindical de Trabajadores de la Prensa de El Alto. Entrevistado el 28 de agosto de 2020.



Conducted during guarantine due to the COVID-19 pandemic, and in a climate of political and electoral conflict, this "Information Needs Assessment of El Alto, Bolivia" gathered information and opinions from diverse documentary sources, representatives of public institutions and social organizations, and residents and journalists.

Documentary research included reviewing newspapers, books, institutional reports, and web pages.

Interviews were conducted in person or by telephone with officials of the Municipal Government, the Police, members of social organizations (FEJUVE, COR, FEDEPAF and Unions), journalists working in print media, radio, television and digital formats, as well as residents from different districts into which the city is divided.

With the support of the specialized company IPSOS APOYO Opinión y Mercado S.A. (www.ipsos.com.bo), a telephone survev was conducted with a representative sample of 400 residents of the city-men and women, 18 or older and pertaining to all different socioeconomic levels. The survey was conducted with a probability sample by listing with a confidence level of 95% and a margin of error of +/-5.0.

The questionnaires used in this process and the final list of sources of documentary and personal information consulted are included in the Appendices of this report.

The health restrictions established by government authorities regarding the movement and congregation of people did not permit our meeting with focus groups, as originally planned.

The evaluation was conducted from June 15 to September 30, 2020.

# **POLITICS IN EL ALTO APPENDIX 2: INSTITUTIONS, ORGANIZATIONS AND**

#### **Public Institutions**

thority.

Attorney General's Office National Customs of Bolivia Military Institutions (Air Force, Army) Supreme Court of Justice El Alto Magistrates Council / Regional Office Departmental Court of Justice / Courts of El Alto. El Alto Regional Command / National Police (Special Force for the Fight against Crime, Directorate, National Directorate for the Prevention of Vehicle Theft, Citizen Cooperation Assistance Patrol) Departmental Government / Regional Office

National Tax Services / El Alto District Office Autoridad de Supervisión del Sistema Financiero - Regional El Alto (Financial System Supervisory Authority - Regional El Alto) Water and Sanitation Public Social Company - EPSAS. National Telecommunication Company / ENTEL Regional El Alto El Alto International Airport Mi Teleférico Transportation Company Ministry of Labor - Regional El Alto. District Directorate of Education / Regional El Alto Ombudsman's Office / Regional El Alto Public University of El Alto - UPEA Autonomous Municipal Government of El Alto - GAMEA

Additionally, various non-governmental organizations (NGOs) working mostly in political, economic, gender and generational empowerment have been established in El Alto. There are also many religious institutions, most notably the Catholic church (the El Alto diocese) and 21 Christian and Evangelical organizations.

#### 49

#### In El Alto, there are national public institutions, the majority of which are regional entities, with the Autonomous Municipal Government of El Alto (GAMEA) as the highest municipal au-

#### **PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS**

Source: Own compilation

#### **Social Organizations**

The El Alto population has a strong sense of community among the residents which has enabled permanent civil organization.

There are many diverse social organizations in El Alto. Nonetheless, three are distinguished for their historic presence, political activism, and numerous members: the Federation of Neighborhood Councils (FEJUVE), the Regional Workers Central (COR) and the Federation of Parents of Families (FE-DEPAF).

The longest-standing social organization is the FEJUVE, established in 1957 and under the current name since 1979. The Federation's main objective is to improve living conditions for residents and to secure needs for the neighborhoods, composed of 1,000 neighborhood councils, with a presence in 14 districts of the city.

The COR was founded in 1987 to advocate for the labor demands of its members before municipal authorities and the central government. It is composed of associations, unions, and federations, bringing together salaried and non-salaried workers. Currently, it consists of 67 organizations.

The FEDEPAF was created in 1990 to work for improvements of the educational units and allocations for needed teaching personnel. It is composed of 315 school boards, composed of parents of children receiving education in El Alto.

These social organizations have been the main proponents for the demands of El Alto and active participants in the numerous conflicts that the city has experienced. In recent years, these organizations have been affected by political co-optation, causing divisions among their ranks, as in the case of the FEJUVE.

#### **Political Inclination**

In the country's general elections, residents of El Alto have historically voted for the populist parties of Aymara identity. Evidence of this is the support shown for the Conscience of the Nation party (CONDEPA), which has won three consecutive elections in El Alto and four consecutive victories with the Movement for Socialism (MAS), the party of ex-president Evo Morales.

General	Elections /	Department	of	La	Pa

Year	1985	1989	1993	1997	2002*	2005	2009	2014
1st Place	MIR	CONDEPA	CONDEPA	CONDEPA	NFR	MAS	MAS	MAS
	34.35%	34.90%	34.29%	40.15%	25.30%	65.21%	74.97%	72%

\* In the 2002 elections, NFR wins at department level, but in El Alto, MAS wins. Own elaboration based on "Atlas Electoral", volumes I, II, III, IV

In the elections for local government, the Mayor's office of El Alto had the support of the populist parties (CONDEPA and MAS) for 8 consecutive municipal elections, as well as the support of the center-left (Movement of the Revolutionary Left [MIR], and Progressive Plan [PP]). Surprisingly, in 2015, the elections were won for the first time by a center-right party, National Unity (UN), defeating MAS at the polls:

#### **Municipal Elections El Alto**

Year	1987	1989	1991	1993	1995	1999	2004	2010	2015
1st Place	MIR	CONDEPA	CONDEPA	CONDEPA	NFR	MAS	PP	MAS	UN
	34.35%	64.81%	35.55%	61.78%	49.15%	45.58%	52.57%	52.57%	54.49%

Elaboración propia en base a "Atlas Electoral", tomos I, II, III, IV.

El Alto is the second largest city in the country based on population, but it has the youngest population with a high ability for civil organization and proud Aymara identity, aspects that drive the city's growth. Nonetheless, it has confronted urgent needs and unsatisfied demands: 35% of the population lives below the poverty line, receives insufficient basic services, has few educational and health centers, subsists in an informal economy, and faces worsening public safety conditions.

#### z - Province Murillo, including El Alto

#### PRESENTATION

READ: Good morning / afternoon. My name is... and I'm calling on behalf of Ipsos Bolivia, a company that conducts public opinion and market surveys. On this occasion, we're conducting a study on people's opinions on current affairs. Would you like to participate in a brief survey?

(WAIT FOR RESPONSE AND THEN BEGIN THE SURVEY. ONLY IN CASE THE INTERVIEWEE ASKS ABOUT HOW LONG THE SURVEY WILL TAKE SHOULD YOU INDICATE A MAXIMUM OF 10 MINUTES. IF NECESSARY, RESCHEDULE THE CALL. IF THE INTERVIEWEE INQUIRES ABOUT HOW YOU OBTAINED THEIR NUMBER, YOU MUST EXPLAIN THAT THEIR NUMBER WAS SELECTED RANDOMLY FROM A DATA BASE). Thank you very much for answering my call. First, I'll ask you some questions for the purpose of organizing your responses with those of other people with similar characteristics to yours.

F0. Which city do you live in most of the time? (VERIFY WITH THE LIST, NOTE THE RESPONSE OF THE INTER-VIEWEE ) (SINGLE RESPONSE)

F1A. Age Range

F2. Sex

EL ALTO	OTHER
1	99 <mark>(END)</mark>

F1. What is your exact age?

#### (BY OBSERVATION)

Masculine	1
Femenine	2

(GENERATE THROUGH SYSTEM ACCORDING TO RESPONSE IN F2)

Less than 18	1	(END)
From 18 to 24	2	(CONTINUE)
From 25 to 39	3	(CONTINUE)
From 40 upward	4	(CONTINUE)

WRITE DOWN EXACT AGE

F3. What is your current employment status? (READ OPTIONS) (SINGLE RESPONSE)

Employed in the private sector	1	In charge of household	5
Employed in public sector	2	Out of work & seeking employment or starting a business	6
Indepent worker	3	Out of work, not seeking employment	7
Owner of own business with at least one employee	4	Doesn't know / no answer (DON'T READ)	99

READ: Taking into account that the HEAD OF THE HOUSEHOLD OR FAMILY is the person who is the main contributor to the household income or who makes the main financial decisions.

N0. Who is the head of your household or family? (READ OPTIONS) (SINGLE RESPONSE)

You	1	Ot

#### N1. What is the highest academic level reached by the head of your household? (CLARIFY "COMPLETE OR INCOMPLETE") (SINGLE RESPONSE) (READ THE OPTIONS IN CASE THE INTERVIEWEE DOES NOT KNOW HOW TO RESPOND)

None / Preschool / Primary school incomplete	0	Higher university complete	4
Primary complete / Secondary incomplete / Secon- dary complete / Higher technical (non-university) incomplete	1	Post-Graduate complete (VALIDO ONLY FOR POST-GRADUATE OF	7
Higher technical (non-university) complete / Higher university incomplete	2	MORE THAN 1 YEAR)	

#### N2. Generally, where does the head of your household go when they need medical attention? (SINGLE RESPONSE) (READ THE OPTIONS IN CASE THE INTERVIEWEE DOES NOT KNOW HOW TO RESPOND)

Does not go anywhere / Pharmacy / Natu- ropathic / Healer / Yatiri / Self-medicates		Social Security / Private Insurance / Air Force Hospital / Police Hospital	2
General Hospital / Health Center / Medical Post / Municipal Hospital / Solidarity or Cooperative Hospital or Clinic	1	Private doctor's office (office only) / Private doctor in private clinic	5

#### READ: Let's talk about the city...

OPTIONS)

Housing	1	Employment	8
Electricity	2	Business	9
Potable water and sewage	3	Public safety	10
Transportation	4	Policy	11
Internet	5	Other (SPECIFY)	94
Health	6	None (DONT READ)	96
Education	7	Doesn't know / no answer <b>(DON'T</b> <b>READ)</b>	99

other person	2

#### Q1. What are the issues of greatest concern for El Alto? (READ OPTIONS, ROTATING) (MULTIPLE RESPONSE, UP TO 3

#### READ: Let's speak about the mass media...

Q1. When you want to access news about El Alto, which media do you go to first? (READ ROTATING OPTIONS) (SINGLE **RESPONSE**)

Radio	1	Web sites	6
Television	2	Twitter	7
Print newspapers	3	Other (SPECIFY)	94
Facebook	4	None (DONT READ)	96
WhatsApp	5	Doesn't know / no answer <b>(DON'T</b> READ)	99

Q2. How often do you get news from the following media? (READ OPTIONS) (SINGLE RESPONSE PER LINE)

(ROTATE MEDIA)	Daily	Once or twice per week	Once or twice per month	Sometimes during the year	Never	DK/NA (DONT READ)
Print newspaper	1	2	3	4	97	99
Radio	1	2	3	4	97	99
Television	1	2	3	4	97	99

Q3. Could you tell me the name of the media form you prefer for getting news about the city of El Alto? (SPONTANEOUS) ((SINGLE RESPONSE)

Q4. And how often do you get news from these other media? (READ OPTIONS) (SINGLE RESPONSE)

(ROTATE MEDIA)	Dialy	Once or twice per week	Once or twice per month	Sometimes during the year	Never	DK/NA (DONT READ) <b>)</b>
Facebook	1	2	3	4	97	99
WhatsApp	1	2	3	4	97	99
Web sites	1	2	3	4	97	99

Q5. In which language do you prefer to get news from the mass media? (READ OPTIONS) (SINGLE RESPONSE)

Spanish	1	Other (SPECIFY)	94
Aymara	2	None (DONT READ)	97
Both	3	Doesn't know / no answer <b>(DON'T</b> READ)	99

#### Q6. What type of news most interests you? (READ OPTIONS) (SINGLE RESPONSE)

Political	1	Sports	6
Economic	2	Cultural	7
Police	3	Other (SPECIFY)	94
Education	4	None (DONT READ)	96
Health	5	Doesn't know / no answer <b>(DON'T</b> <b>READ)</b>	99

Give information	1	Other (SPECIFY)	6
Request information	2	None (DONT READ)	7
Express a demand or complaint	3	Doesn't know / no answer <b>(DON'T</b> <b>READ)</b>	94
Express your point of view or opi- nión on some issue	4		

Q8. In addition to the mass media, do you receive information about the city of El Alto from any of the following groups or institutions? **(READ OPTIONS) (MULTIPLE RESPONSE, UP TO 5 OPTIONS)** 

Family	1	1
Friends and neighbors	2	2
Neighborhood council	3	3
Social organizations and associations	4	4
Churches	5	5
Education and cultural institutions	6	6
Leaders of the community	7	7
Central government	8	8
Departmental government	9	9
Mayor's Office	10	10
Other (SPECIFY)	94	94
None (DONT READ)	96	96
Doesnt know/ no answer (DONT READ)	99	99

#### P7. Have you ever contacted a media company in order to ...? (READ OPTIONS, ROTATING) (SINGLE RESPONSE)

#### Q9. And which of these groups or institutions do you trust most for receiving information about what is happening in the city of El Alto? (READ OPTIONS) (SHOW ONLY OPTIONS MENTIONED IN P9) (SINGLE RESPONSE)

Family	1	Education and cultural institutions	6
Friends and neighboors	2	Leaders of the community	7
Neighborhood council	3	Other (SPECIFY)	94
Social organizations and associations	4	None (DONT READ)	96
Churches	5	Doesnt know/ no answer (DONT READ)	99

Q10. In which of the following groups do you most often share or exchange information about what is happening in the city of El Alto? (READ OPTIONS, ROTATING) (SINGLE RESPONSE)

P11. Of the following media forms, which do you think is most credible? (READ OPTIONS) (SINGLE RESPONSE)

P12. Which media form best reflects reality in El Alto? (READ OPTIONS) (SINGLE RESPONSE)

P13. Which of these media do you prefer for receiving information that interests you? (READ OPTIONS) (SINGLE RESPONSE)

(ROTATE OPTIONS)	Q12	Q13	Q14
Radio stations	1	1	1
Tv stations	2	2	2
Print newspapers	3	3	3
Facebook	4	4	4
WhastApp	5	5	5
Web sites	6	6	6
Twitter	7	7	7
Other (SPECIFY)	94	94	94
None (DONT READ)	96	96	96
Doesnt know/ no answer (DONT READ)	98	98	98

Q14. How do you think the mass media could help the city of El Alto? (READ OPTIONS, ROTATING) (SINGLE RESPONSE)

Informing about what happens in each district	1	Other (SPECIFY)	6
Gathering the voices of residents	2	Doesnt know/ no answer (DONT READ)	7
Encouraging dialogue with the authorities	4		

READ: Before finishing, please tell me the name of the zone or neighborhood where you live and the number of the district where it is located.

ZONE/ NEIGHBORHOOD	DISTRICT

S	1. <b>Q</b>
<b>DNNAI</b>	For how long has El Alto Wh
ESTI	And which media comp What kind of advertisin
B	Profes
INTERVIEW	What type of tra What opportunities How would you describ condit What difficulties What are the How is journalist access
<b>APPENDIX 4:</b>	What unusual of Are there sources of info El Alto? N What technolog Is there b What are the strengt How much do you think

What is your relationship to the political parties?

\*Not all the questions were applied to all the journalists interviewed, but the questionnaire was adapted to the characteristics and experience of each person.

#### uestionnaire for journalists

#### **General references**

had its own news media? What are the roots of this history? nat are the main news media of El Alto?

57

panies from La Paz have a news media presence in El Alto? ng do the media have in El Alto? And in journalistic spaces?

#### ssionalism and working conditions

- aining or preparation do journalists have in El Alto? s for training or updating do journalists have in El Alto? be the work of journalists in the media? Under what kind of
- tions do journalists have to do their work?
- s do journalists face as they do their work in El Alto?
- main sources of information in the city of El Alto?
- s to information about the social institutions and organizations of the city of El Alto?
- or alternative sources do journalists use in El Alto?
- ormation or sponsors who affect the way journalists work in Who are they mainly? How do they do that?
- gical resources do journalists use in their daily work?
- pilingual journalism (Aymara-Spanish)? Why?
- ths of journalism in El Alto and what are its weaknesses?
- residents of El Alto trust the news media and the journalists of the city? Why do you say that?

#### Organizations in the sector

What associations constitute your organization? What are their characteristics? How many members does your organization have? Why are there parallel organizations?

#### 2. **Questionnaire for Officials of Institutions and Representatives of Social Organizations**

#### **General References**

Currently, how many institutions are there in El Alto and what are their names? What are their characteristics? Currently, how many social organizations are there in El Alto and what are their names? What are their characteristics? What is the goal of your institution / social organization? In which areas does your institution / social organization work?? How does your institution relate to social organizations? How does your social organization relate to the institutions?

#### Organizations in this sector

What associations constitute your organization? What are their characteristics? How many members does your organization have? Why are there parallel organizations? What is your relationship to the political parties?

#### Information needs

What are the issues that the news media shows about the city of El Alto? What are the issues that the news media should reflect better in their coverage? How would you evaluate the work of the news media in El Alto? How much coverage does your institution receive from the news media or do you not receive any? How does your organization inform the residents of El Alto of your activities? How does your organization communicate with residents of El Alto, in Aymara, Spanish, or both? Why? Through what channels does your institution/organization receive opinions or requests from residents or your members?

- In your opinion, what is the best media form for communicating with the population?

\*Not all the questions were applied to all the people interviewed, but the questionnaire was adapted to the characteristics of the institution and social organization.

#### 3. Questionnaire for residents

#### Sources of information

Do you receive news every day about the city of El Alto? In what way? Which news media give the most information about what is happening in El Alto? Which news media provide information about what is happening in your district? Do the virtual networks such as Facebook and WhatsApp inform you about what is happening in the city or your neighborhood? Why?

#### Informational needs

For you, what problems or issues in your district deserve more attention and information from the mass media?

Do you consider it important to use Aymara or some other indigenous language in the news? Why?

#### **Unsatisfied demands**

Do you think the mass media adequately covers what is happening in the city of El Alto? Why? Do you think the mass media adequately covers what is happening in your district or neighborhood? Why do you think that is?

Do you recall any news company coming to your district?

#### Trust in the mass media

Do you think the news broadcast by the mass media of El Alto is reliable? Why? And do you think the information that circulates on Facebook and WhatsApp is credible and useful for you? Why?

Have you ever contacted a media company? Why? How?

Can you name an El Alto journalist that you think does important work for the city of El Alto?

#### Trust in local and neighborhood information and communication

Do you share and Exchange information with your neighbors about what is happening in your district or in the city of El Alto? In which social organizations, institutions or places?

is happening in the city of El Alto or your district?

Which social organizations and institutions in your district or neighborhood provide information and communicate about their activities? Do you think this information is useful and reliable for you?

And does the government provide the information that residents need? Why do you think that is?

59

What news do you look for in the media? Do you generally find what you are looking for?

- What kinds of activities do you think the mass media could engage in to improve your district?

- Can you name an El Alto media company that you think does important work in the city of El Alto?
- In which organizations or institutions do you Exchange information with your neighbors about what
  - Does the city provide the information that residents need? Why do you think that is?

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N°	Age	Occupation	District	Date of Interview
1	37	Housewife	District 2	30/08/2020
2	19	Student	District 3	29/08/2020
3	47	Craftsman	District 3	29/08/2020
4	27	Saleswoman	District 4	26/08/2020
5	30	Journalist	District 4	27/08/2020
6	52	Shoemaker	District 5	27/08/2020
7	28	Journalist	District 5	26/08/2020
8	64	Craftsman	District 6	08/09/2020
9	62	Farmer	District 7	10/09/2020
10	29	Merchant	District 8	26/08/2020
11	55	Housewife	District 8	02/09/2020
12	31	Household worker	District 12	31/08/2020
13	38	Bricklayer	District 12	30/08/2020
14	36	Farmer	District 11	05/09/2020
15	20	Student	District 11	10/09/2020
16	46	Teacher	District 14	30/08/2020

MUNICIPAL AUTONOMOUS GOVERNMENT OF EL ALTO MUNICIPAL SECRETARIAT OF URBAN PLANNING AND INFRAESTRUCTURE

DIRECTORATE OF LAND MANAGEMENTAND STRATEGIC PLANNING

13

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9

# **APPENDIX 6: MAP OF THE CITY OF EL ALTO AND ITS DISTRICTS**

Source: Gobierno Autónomo Municipal de El Alto (2017). Territorial Plan for Integral Development. El Alto: Secretaría Municipal de Planificación e Infraestructura Urbana- p. 291.ial de Desarrollo Integral. El Alto: Secretaría Municipal de Planificación e Infraestructura Urbana- pág. 291.

#### Map N15 - POLITICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISION

#### POLITICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISION





Conventions

Man O Jurisdicción Municipal 🔿 Límite de Distrito Municipal



Μι	unicipal District	Surface Km2
•	Dis. Mun. 1	10,23
•	Dis. Mun. 2	11,98
•	Dis. Mun. 3	17,64
•	Dis. Mun. 4	18,47
•	Dis. Mun. 5	15,76
•	Dis. Mun. 6	15,38
•	Dis. Mun. 7	29,86
•	Dis. Mun. 8	41,01
•	Dis. Mun. 9	13,26
•	Dis. Mun. 10	38,34
•	Dis. Mun. 11	9,83
•	Dis. Mun. 12	8,30
•	Dis. Mun. 13	183,91
•	Dis. Mun. 14	14,96