

Unsettling the return: Alternative curation and counterarchives

Michelle Bigenho, Colgate University, Hamilton NY, mbigenho@colgate.edu

Henry Stobart, Royal Holloway University of London, Egham, Surrey UK, h.stobart@rhul.ac.uk

Abstract: In this article, we complicate the notion of sonic return in the context of postmillennial digital media technologies that have transformed how Indigenous people of the Bolivian Andes engage self-reflectively with their own music and dance practices. We take a capacious approach to the notion of the archive and argue that these media interactions, where people make and circulate their own audiovisual materials, represent a space of counterarchival work. We consider our distinct and changing approaches to sound recordings in our respective fieldwork and highlight how media-making agency has entered the hands of Indigenous actors. Notable here is a striking preference for the audiovisual over the solely audio, a preference that throws into relief the idea of the sound archive and its future. We point to alternative forms of audiovisual curation that may not be shaped to the ends foreign researchers might imagine, but that nevertheless might lead to more decolonized engagements of the future. We consider a video—created as part of a campaign for women’s singing of Potosí to be legally recognized in heritage law—and explore how this seemingly outsider-focused audiovisual production involved Indigenous people in its making, reception, and recursive recirculation. We approach these issues by drawing on our multidecade and cross-disciplinary research trajectories in the Bolivian Andes and our more recent collaborative research on heritage lawmaking during the government of Evo Morales (2006–2019).

Keywords: counterarchive, digital archives, alternative curating, intangible heritage, Bolivia

Resumen: En este artículo contemplamos la idea del retorno del sonido grabado, principalmente en un contexto donde las tecnologías digitales de comunicación *post-millennial* han transformado cómo las personas indígenas de los Andes bolivianos encuentran, en formas autoreflexivas, sus propias prácticas de música y danza. Tomando en cuenta un concepto amplio del archivo, sustentamos que estas interacciones con los medios de comunicación, donde la gente hace y circula sus propios materiales audiovisuales, representan un desarrollo del contra-archivo. Contemplamos nuestros modos diferentes y cambiantes de hacer grabaciones sonoras en nuestros trabajos de campo respectivos, y también subrayamos cómo la agencia de creación de los medios de comunicación ha entrado en manos de actores indígenas. Es notable aquí la preferencia por lo audiovisual sobre el audio solo; esto pone en relieve preguntas futuras sobre la idea del archivo de sonido. Señalamos formas alternativas de organización y selección de lo audiovisual que no se adhieren a los fines que imaginan los investigadores extranjeros, sino que podrían llevarnos a enfoques más descolonizados. Detallamos el caso de un video que fue creado como parte de una campaña para que el canto de las mujeres de Potosí pudiera ser reconocido por ley como patrimonio nacional. Mostramos cómo este video, supuestamente hecho para un público de afuera, contaba con la participación de protagonistas indígenas en su organización, recepción y recirculación recursiva. Tratamos estos temas en conjunto con reflexiones sobre nuestras trayectorias de investigación—de varias décadas, a través de dos disciplinas académicas, y también incluyendo nuestro trabajo colaborativo más reciente sobre la patrimonialización de la cultura a través de leyes promulgadas durante el gobierno de Evo Morales (2006-2019).

Palabras claves: contra-archivo, archivos digitales, organización alternativa, patrimonio inmaterial, Bolivia

The theme of this special issue poses questions about the return of sound recordings to Indigenous source communities, alongside their reactivation in the context of undoing coloniality. Such an inquiry might assume that the recordings had been preserved within a conventional archive, typically hosted by an institution or state, with implications of spatial, social, and epistemological distances from the communities where the recordings were made. However, if we conceptualize the archive in terms of the collection, curation, and preservation of something in a place or medium—be it in a diary, a photo album, or a video on a computer hard drive or server—some of these distances become negligible or are eliminated entirely, especially when digital technology and the Internet enter the frame. While such shifts do not erase coloniality, they do invite other conversations about recording practices and decolonizing processes.

The logistics of removal and return can look quite different depending on whether tangible objects or sound recordings are being considered. For example, a sense of resolution was achieved when sacred textiles that had been removed from the Bolivian village of Coroma by a dealer were eventually repatriated, after a major international campaign (Bubba Zamora, 1997). The recording of a live performance, however, necessarily involves separating the electroacoustic or digital signal from its original context—a process that R. Murray Schafer (from an audio perspective) has termed *schizophonia* ([1977] 1994, 90). Video recordings are similarly dislocated from the embodied people, time, and space of the performances they document—even if audiovisual formats retain more sensory coordinates for identifying the participants and contexts. In other words, the very process of recording a live performance always involves taking something away, just as it also involves creating something new, a very

partial analog or digital trace of the performance's lived multisensory experience. Yet those working in supposedly material returns—for example, in repatriation under the North American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA)—may not be so quick to mark the differences between the tangible and intangible, given the complexities of returning sacred materials and ancestors removed in violent settler-colonial processes. These projects share the urgent need to focus first on the social relationships involved in these encounters, relationships that we highlight here.

We draw on our multidecade and cross-disciplinary views developed over the years conducting fieldwork in Bolivian soundscapes. These combined years include the respective solo field engagements that started in the 1980s for Henry Stobart and the 1990s for Michelle Bigenho. Reflections on these earlier projects contrast with our more recent collaborative research that has focused not on recording musical sound, but rather on exploring heritage making through law as new archives of state (Bigenho and Stobart, forthcoming). In this article, we assess our own trajectories in relation to archiving soundscapes and analyze a 2011 video, *El canto de las mujeres de Puna, Potosí* (hereafter in English translation *Women's Singing from Puna, Potosí*) (Gobernación Autónoma del Departamento de Potosí, 2011). This video was produced as part of a campaign to have women's singing from a specific area of Bolivia declared as intangible cultural heritage. In its visual and sonorous existence, this video is considered next to its digital lives and in relation to an interview with one of its major protagonists.

We argue that in the broader conceptualizations of Indigenous heritage, it is vital to consider marginal and—since the early twenty-first century—digital archives. These may exist in worlds parallel to official archives or may serve as counterarchives in unexpected ways, even when located in official or semi-official places. Counterarchives are developed with the

marshaling of evidence coming not from institutions of power, but from people who have been systematically erased or made invisible within traditional state archives. We borrow the term “counterarchive” from scholars who today discuss a Black archival turn that occurred approximately 70 years before the more recent and more often cited theorizations on archival thinking (Castromán Soto, 2021; Lobo, 2020). We prefer the term counterarchive to other possible substitutions like “document” (see Schultz and Nye, 2014), because the former reminds us of the relationships of power that have not disappeared, despite decolonizing intentions. Although scholars have been unpacking the coloniality of the archive since the 1990s, the digital turn carries even more influence in thinking about how agency is articulated from a marginalized position.

Undoing colonial collectionism is clearly pressing work within repatriation projects, as current researchers often critique their own work undertaken decades ago. We reiterate the necessity of this work. In this article we consider our own fieldwork that involved sound displacements and calls for returns. At the same time, we turn our focus to the agency that has shifted already to Indigenous actors. Such shifts suggest other forms of audiovisual curating that serve not the ends foreign researchers imagine, but rather alternative projects that point to more decolonized engagements of the future. We use “alternative curating” to mean thinking about processes of collective and relational “caring activism” (Krasny, 2017, 3)—practices that center questions about what is valued, by whom, and for what ends. In this way, alternative curating moves away from a Western objective of collecting information for the world, a model in which the curators usually carry authorship’s authority (Krasny, 2017, 2). Instead, alternative curating cultivates different kinds of relationships. We develop this argument by contextualizing the question within Bolivia’s Plurinational State and its heritage-making practices; by examining our

own recording and collecting practices across our respective research trajectories in Bolivia; by reconsidering the archival turn through a counterarchival framework facilitated by the digital circulation of materials as posted and manipulated by Indigenous actors; and by considering a more recent archival activation in a heritage-making activity, a documentary video where the question of removal and return remains rather moot. We consider how counterarchives and alternative curating become deeply meaningful to Indigenous actors as they seek new ways to communicate across generations about their own cultural practices.

DECOLONIZE THE STATE, MAKE HERITAGE

Writing about the repatriation of sound in the Bolivian context involves discussions not only of colonial epistemologies that haunt researchers and their practices, but also of the very distinct cultural revolutionary project of the country's Plurinational State. During the presidency of Evo Morales (2006–2019), Bolivia declared itself a decolonizing state, brought many Indigenous people into the corridors of power, and instituted gender parity in Congress (see Postero, 2017). Over this period, Bolivians demonstrated great enthusiasm for heritage making and used laws to declare numerous music and dance genres as intangible cultural heritage. Notably, dance and music genres are governed under individual laws, and decision-making for national level heritage laws has taken place at the highest levels of government. At the time of writing this article, those wishing to propose a heritage law related to a dance or music genre submit a bill to an Indigenous-centered commission attached to the Chamber of Deputies. The bill must then be endorsed by the Ministry of Cultures, approved by vote in plenary sessions of both houses of Congress, and signed by the president. Not all heritage bills become laws within the Plurinational

State. However, we argue that these frenzied heritage-making activities, whether or not they culminate in a law, have multiple meanings that merit our attention.

We discuss a documentary video about women's singing that was produced in relation to one such heritage-making campaign. As a heritage object, "Women's Singing of Potosí" originally was thought to be a way to put the Potosí region on Bolivia's intangible heritage map, to gather a set of expressions under a heritage-making law that might provide a first step toward national recognition and possibly UNESCO fame. The heritage campaign featured various activities, including a video project with singers, a symposium on the topic, festival travels and competitions, and the Spanish Cooperation's attempt to hire a team of researchers on the topic (Bigenho and Stobart, 2018). These activities were well-supported by high profile institutions, but no heritage law emerged from these efforts (Bigenho and Stobart, 2022). Nevertheless, we argue that this video produced other successes through the activation of counterarchives and alternative curating projects.

The campaign to make women's singing heritage achieved other things in terms of participatory experiences in media-making and collective representational practices. This article considers the documentary video as a part of the aspirational archive (Appadurai, 2003), which carried significance for those who participated in its creation. The women's singing video—when interpreted beyond informational data that serves research or a symbolic reading of its contents—stands as a potential counterarchive that has other meanings related both to those who participated collectively in its production and to the networked associations that unfolded through its making. Before turning to this contemporary archive, we reflect on our own respective research engagements with recording sounds in the field, situating ourselves within the ongoing conundrums of sound repatriation (Barwick et al., 2019).

AN ETHNOMUSICOLOGIST, AN ANTHROPOLOGIST, THE ANALOG, AND THE DIGITAL

We begin with two brief stories of sonic removal that may call for returns and that lead to questions of how to think about current projects of return and reciprocity. Reviewing our research paths sheds light on different ways to ask questions about sonic return. In this whirlwind telling, we leap across almost four decades and two related but different disciplines.

The first story begins in 1986, when Henry made his first independent research trip to Bolivia, during which he recorded 60 hours of Bolivian music. In a noncommercial agreement with the United Kingdom's National Sound Archive (now part of the British Library), Henry was given blank audio cassettes and quick instruction on how best to record in the field, all with the expectation that he would deposit his recordings with this archive upon his return. In exchange, he received copies of his own field recordings. During this work, Henry felt compelled to bring back a collection of high-quality and well-documented recordings.

Most of the audio recordings from Henry's first year in Bolivia were made in festive contexts and featured ensembles of Indigenous farmers or herders rather than professional musicians. Musicians were not remunerated for their performances. However, as an expression of reciprocity, Henry would often offer Polaroid photographs of the performers, and these gifts were eagerly accepted. By contrast, musicians rarely asked to listen to the audio recordings of their performances. Although many rural people owned radio cassette players, nobody requested a copy of the recordings. In the early 1990s, Henry conducted extended PhD-focused research in a single Indigenous community, a project which aimed to enter much more deeply into the culture (Stobart, 2006). He continued to record local musical practices with an audio cassette

recorder, but was hesitant to share this more intimate experience with a public archive. With his concerns about being perceived as intrusive, he also refrained from using a video camera. When he returned to the community with a camcorder in 2002, however, his hosts greeted it with enthusiasm and repeatedly asked to view videos of their performances. We underscore the interest here in the combination of sounds and images, not so much in sound alone.

A notable aspect of this story is that Henry did not commence university studies in ethnomusicology until several years after his first independent research trip to Bolivia in 1986. Such study made him more aware of the sensitivities surrounding recording and archiving. Over 35 years have elapsed since he deposited his 1986 recordings in the now British Library Sound Archive. Following the recent digitization of these materials, Henry is now actively involved in addressing pressing questions about how such recordings might best benefit present-day descendants in Bolivia. These perspectives build on his research during the late 2000s, which investigated how Indigenous musicians exploited digital technology to produce and sell their own audiovisual productions, while giving visibility to their culture (Stobart, 2010, 2011, 2017).

The second story follows Michelle, who made audio cassette recordings for two rural Indigenous regions of Potosí, Bolivia, as part of her first ethnographic project in 1994 and 1995. As an anthropologist who studies music as a window into understanding social life (Bigenho, 2008), Michelle did not intend to collect these sounds for outside audiences or researchers. Michelle's production of these audio recordings during fieldwork in the 1990s was motivated by a desire for reciprocity rather than being driven by music research's expectations to collect sound recordings (Gunderson and Woods, 2019; Landau and Topp Fargion, 2012, 127). She wanted to give something in return to the two rural communities where she had been undertaking research on ideas about music performances in relation to ethnic and national identities (Bigenho, 2002).

With the technical support of a professional studio, her audio field recordings were edited into two commercial-style audio cassettes. Approximately 600 copies were given to each community. For one community, the contents of the printed cassette insert were shaped in part by preferences expressed during collective consultation meetings about the recording process. In this case, the idea of repatriation might seem moot, as the recordings were quickly made available to the community. However, if we approach any live recording as a dislocation from the original performance context, it becomes clear that the commercial-style, collaboratively produced cassettes that Michelle returned to the communities involved displacement and the creation of something ontologically different from the lived performance. Indeed, it is possible that the sense of outsider or quasi-institutional acknowledgment communicated by this commercial-style production, for local people, was one of the most significant aspects of this initiative. One community expressed a desire to have their recording officially registered with state entities, an issue that then opened questions of authorship and the role of the state in managing cultural expressions within its borders (Bigenho, 2002, 199–225).

Both stories of sonic displacement and transformation of Indigenous music as undertaken by non-Indigenous researchers underscore the need to think about repatriation and consider what more decolonized engagements might look like. Contrasts between the two stories can be attributed to the decade separating their initial fieldwork and the scholarly debates that occurred during that decade (Clifford, 1988; Rosaldo, 1989; Starn, 1991). Having studied—or not—at the university before conducting initial fieldwork likely also led to divergent approaches. Differences may also signal varied disciplinary histories in ethnomusicology and anthropology, a discussion of which is beyond the scope of this article. However, even Michelle’s attempts at reciprocity cannot erase the unequal terms of the engagement in which her own position of

power meant that she ultimately made decisions that affected the cassette production for the communities.

Since the turn of the millennium, neither of the two authors of this article has been involved in making or formally archiving music recordings.¹ In part, this move away from recording and archiving Indigenous music reflects shifting research questions and increased sensitivity to the complex ethical, ownership, and rights issues surrounding ethnographic music recordings (Brown, 2003; Feld, 1996; Guy, 2002). The hesitation to record also reflects the emergence of accessibly priced digital technologies that permit ever increasing numbers of Indigenous people to record, circulate, consume, and sometimes commodify their own local musics. For outsider ethnographers, recording Indigenous music in a collectionist mode reproduces coloniality. But such field recordings also have become largely redundant given the ubiquity of recordings available on social media platforms such as YouTube. A long-term view of our own research endeavors reflects shifting ethics in both our disciplines. Equally relevant for the case we discuss is the dramatic upsurge of digital archives and their opening to multiple participatory practices.

COUNTERARCHIVES AND DIGITAL ARCHIVES

In the last 20 years, the archive has moved from being merely a physical place where things are stored and protected as a source of history and power to being a *subject*, a space of aspirational and sometimes contestatory political work (Appadurai, 2003; Derrida, 1995; Foucault, [1972] 2000; Mbembe, 2002; Stoler, 2002, 2009; Trouillot, [1995] 2015). The archive in its traditional seat of power has been connected to colonialisms and their successors in state governance (Cánepa Koch and Kummels, 2020; Featherstone, 2006, 591–92; Motha, 2018; Stoler, 2009, 29).

The counterarchive can be traced back even further than this more recent archival turn. Black Studies scholars point to the “Black archival turn” for example, with a close focus on the early twentieth century work of Arturo A. Schomburg, a Black Puerto Rican historian and archivist (Castromán Soto, 2021, 73; Holton, 2007). We draw parallels between collecting for Black counterarchives and Indigenous ones, as these communities have so often been invisibilized and silenced in the archives that anchor power (Lobo, 2020, 13). Black and Indigenous peoples create counterarchives that importantly “denaturalize traditional archives” while substituting visual and audible presence for these systematic erasures (Lobo, 2020, 13).

Additionally, counterarchival strategies suggest different ways of thinking about projects of repatriation. Anthony Seeger and Shuba Chaudhuri have commented on the future orientation of archives (2015, 23). Similarly, the dossiers assembled in Bolivian heritage-making campaigns are suggestive of what Arjun Appadurai (2003) called the “aspirational archive,” materials shaped by the desires of the protagonists. Some people aspire to place their cultural expressions on UNESCO’s intangible heritage list, yet another value-assigning international archive involving projects that aim to capitalize on what is visibilized for the world (Coombe and Kisin, 2021; Norton and Matsumoto, 2018).

Audiovisual representations of music and dance, captured in digital forms and uploaded online, enter yet another “potentially unstable” archive of the Internet (Featherstone, 2006, 593; see also Geismar, 2016), an “emergent archive” that opens opportunities for marginalized actors (Cánepa Koch and Kummels, 2020) and facilitates “social archiving” (Pietrobruno, 2013). We consider this digital cultural presence as part of what Haidy Geismar calls the self-aware archival model that builds on “recursivity and reflexivity” (2016, 333). Such digital archives can be

mobilized for counterarchival work, particularly when one pays attention to how these archives circulate, who participates in their making, and who feels themselves represented in them.

We take this capacious view of archives and counterarchives because this perspective poses multiple questions about the locus of power in the decolonizing processes that Bolivians claim to be undergoing, and particularly in a digital landscape where literally anyone might add audiovisual representations to the Internet. Concurrently with the Bolivian state's decolonizing "process of change," digital technology, the Internet, and then social media developed at high speed. Smartphone use has become widespread, even in rural areas. Video recordings of Indigenous music and dance, from both ritual contexts and commercial productions, have become ubiquitous on social media platforms such as YouTube and Facebook.

YouTube's prioritization of transmission and navigation over permanent storage has led some users to regard the platform as a library, database, or distribution infrastructure (Kessler and Schäfer, 2009). However, parallels with the archive remain compelling, especially if YouTube is approached as a "first glimpse of the possibility of a democratic archive" (Schröter, 2009, 343). YouTube passes for an archive of the world's media, even if aspects of its structuring belie that characterization (Prelinger, 2009, 272). YouTube and other videos of Indigenous music and dance that circulate on social media lack formal curating in a traditional sense. Little information is provided regarding the place, people, time, genre, instruments, or context of the expression featured. The lack of coordinates for making sense of the sounds and images may leave bewildered those who are outsiders to the tradition. Curatorial cultural translation is crucial to sending Indigenous music and dance expressions on interethnic journeys where they might acquire wider value. However, we propose to see in these digital circulations not an obsolescence of curators (Fossati, 2009, 461), but rather an alternative form of curating, one that is not aimed

at crossing cultural differences for settlers’ “hungry listening” (Robinson, 2020), but rather more about moving recordings into circulation for internal transfer, education, and pleasure. The articulations of this digitized and Internet-linked nexus unsettle any straightforward idea of sound archives and their repatriation. In the following section, we turn our focus to a documentary video, one of its protagonists, and the digital archival lives of this audiovisual representation.

A POLISHED VIDEO

We first viewed the 2011 video *Women’s Singing from Puna, Potosí* on the website of Crespial, the UNESCO-funded Cuzco-based organization that supports intangible cultural heritage initiatives throughout Latin America. From a technical perspective, the video is a polished production, especially compared with the numerous low-budget Indigenous music videos that have saturated local popular music markets since the early 2000s (Stobart, 2017). This noncommercial documentary was commissioned by the Potosí Department Autonomous Government, coordinated by the Ministry of Cultures, and supported by CARE International’s project for “the rights of girls and women to education” (Gobernación Autónoma del Departamento de Potosí and Comunidades del Municipio de Puna, 2011). The video both showcases women who sing in the Quechua language and incorporates a didactic Spanish narrative. The sponsors of this video hired the La Paz–based production company Fama Comunicación, a company with a track record for heritage-making success. Their slogan is as follows: “We convert your ideas into videos of high quality” (*Convertimos tus ideas en videos de gran calidad*). A year earlier, Fama had produced the nomination video for Bolivia’s Ichapekene Fiesta de San Ignacio de Mojos, which in 2012 was inscribed in UNESCO’s Representative List

of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity (Gobierno Municipal de San Ignacio de Moxo, 2010). In his study of filming music as heritage, Barley Norton (2018) underscores how UNESCO, until recently, has privileged written documentation for intangible heritage dossiers, providing ample information about what should enter the written record, while leaving open-ended instructions about videos; accordingly, a video stands as supporting documentation that serves to “increase visibility” and “make the intangible tangible” (Norton, 2018, 80). Nonetheless, as Anthony Seeger has observed (2009, 124), the 10-minute video has proved crucial for the decision-making of UNESCO’s time-pressed international jury.

Although it is not like the fully participatory video Norton (2018) explores, we argue that the women’s singing video still holds significance for those who participated in its making and circulation. It features mostly camera-staged representations of women, dressed in hand-woven clothing, singing in the Quechua language. Live takes in ritual or festival contexts are featured in the last six minutes. Indigenous people from the communities and villages of the Puna area did not film or make final production decisions. We do not see images of tech-savvy natives pointing cameras at themselves or turning their lenses on representatives of power (Turner, 1991), popular tropes that have appealed to Western eyes since the late 1980s (Schiwy, 2009, 1–3). Nonetheless, the overwhelming presence of camera-staged takes reveals how community members were deeply involved in imagining and making this video.

At first viewing, *Women’s Singing from Puna, Potosí* appears aimed at an outside audience. Like Freya Schiwy’s notion of “Indianizing film,” this video follows a conservative representational genre of “cultural rescue,” as it also carries transformational promises (2009, 5, 15, 21). The video does the work of cultural translation through its framing, its Spanish narration, and its Spanish subtitled translations of Quechua language interviews and song texts.

However, the video has other meanings as a counterarchive in relation to those involved in its staging and its subsequent viewing, but less in regard to its representative content. A closer look at the video reveals how classic Indigenous genres have been reworked to reach both outsider and insider publics.

In this 21-minute video, a *charango* (small guitar) is strummed in the background as several images roll on the screen: A young girl spins thread. A weaver's hands move through threads held taut by a loom. An elderly woman spins wool. A woman's voice begins singing in Quechua and her lyrics, translated into Spanish and added as subtitles, mention how women show off their spinning and weaving. Other images flash by: A man plows a field with two oxen. Water cascades over a rock. A woman plants seed potatoes in a plowed field. Then a male voice begins to narrate the video in Spanish, claiming that these women's songs are used to teach someone's first words, that they "recall the message of the birds, of the earth, of the sun, the moon, and the stars." (All translations to English are provided by the authors.) The only words spoken in Spanish are those of the male narrator. The narrator announces that women's songs create "an intimate union with nature." Women's songs are said to "emerge almost spontaneously" and "conserve the memory of centuries." Referring to the women's voices, the narrator states, "These authentic anonymous voices, lost in time, demand recognition of an identity that is being forgotten in the communities." Toward the end of the video, the narrator says, "Woman's singing from Puna is transcending borders to become intangible heritage of humanity."² In moving to this heritage construction, women's song "recovers the unions with the *Pachamama* [Mother Earth] and the message that brings a new dawn."

While agricultural production is a major theme in the video, no mention is made that the filmed moments of singing with *charango* and flute are also about young people flirting,

courting, and coupling. Human reproduction, often part of the anthropological narratives about these ritual moments, is substituted by an asexual conversation of “the ancestral.” Sex disappears from the heritage-framed video about women’s singing, and salience is given to what passes between generations of tradition-bearing women.

The video features familiar and now well-critiqued tropes about the closeness of women to nature (see Ortner, 1972) and the position often assigned to them in relation to the transmission of Indigenous traditions (Schiwy, 2009, 14; Zamorano Villareal, 2017, 164). The nature-culture divide has been shown to be a largely Western construct and far from a universal point of departure for discussing women’s marginalized positions (see Strathern, 1980), and yet the video reproduces this construct, along with Indigenous women’s special cultural burden, often signaled through their clothes or “typical dress” (see De la Cadena, 1995; Nelson, 1999; Schiwy, 2009, 29; Weismantel, 2001).

Focusing only on the critique of these essentializing tropes about women, nature, modernity, and tradition runs the risk of overlooking the video’s broader meanings as a counterarchive. The Spanish-speaking narrator, the Spanish subtitles of the Quechua utterances, and the repetition of familiar exoticizing tropes all bring this video within reach of external non-Indigenous publics. However, several features of the video are aimed at Indigenous publics as well. The predominant use of Quechua, even by speakers who could speak in Spanish, signals Indigenous language politics of audibility and visibility, while also assuring comprehension among Quechua-speaking community members. Additionally, several women are filmed speaking in Quechua with statements that call on young people to remember their traditions. One woman states, “I teach the young people who don’t know this today. I tell them we must take care of our culture, so it is not lost. This is what I want the new generation to know.”

Documentary videos that engage communities in their making and viewing can become powerful counterarchives. Such moving images can motivate new cross-generational engagements. For example, a member of the Q'eros community in Peru asked Holly Wissler (2009) to make a documentary film like the one produced by filmmaker John Cohen in 1979. Moved by seeing images of his ancestors in Cohen's film, he asked, "Can we make something like this for my children and grandchildren to see?" This led Wissler to make her DVD (2009, 41–42). These case studies suggest that a video's legitimacy should not be reduced to the identity of the videographer (Indigenous or not Indigenous). Well-intentioned efforts to decolonize archives might make this assumption. But other factors should be considered in relation to the production, circulation, and valuation of recorded Indigenous images and sounds (see Poole, 1997). To consider such videos as counterarchives, one needs to engage meanings fashioned during participation and viewing, today and into the future.

VIDEO WORK: PARTICIPATING IN THE ARCHIVE

In Sucre, we had a chance to interview Nilda Romero, a principal protagonist in the video who spoke forcefully, calling on others to "conserve our cultural identity." Although Nilda spoke only in Quechua in the video, she spoke in Spanish with us during the interview. She was born in Otavi, a village located approximately 12 kms from Puna in southern Potosí, where several nonstaged sections of the video were filmed. Otavi proudly claims to be the "capital of the *fandango*," the principal song genre featured in the video. From a very young age, Nilda had been drawn into political activism with "the Bartolinas," a women's native Indigenous peasant union (Confederación de Mujeres Campesinas Indígenas Originarias de Bolivia-Bartolina Sisa).

Her educational trajectory had included partial medical studies in Cuba. She was working toward a law degree at the time we interviewed her.

Nilda was very excited about having made the video and saw it as important work “so the children will remember.” She mentioned that after the video was made, people in the communities were quite animated about their own culture. Rather than expressing a defeatist attitude in the face of a failed attempt at securing a legal heritage declaration for women’s singing, Nilda was upbeat and optimistic about the activities that had occurred so far. She expressed enthusiasm for returning to political work and to singing. She knew, however, that these ambitions might have to be postponed for a while, as she balanced her studies with caring for her young children. Nilda’s perspective reveals that even if this video had been made for interethnic travel, it also has served as a counterarchive aimed internally at a community that enthusiastically viewed its own cultural expressions and shared them online.

ARCHIVAL LIVES: INDIGENOUS AUDIOVISUALS IN DIGITAL CIRCULATION

As we consider the mediated archival lives of this video and its viewers who create connections through it, scholars’ works on media, indigeneity, and circulation lend insights to our analysis. When social media was in its infancy, Deborah Poole had already written of an “image world” and a “visual economy” that revealed systematic organization, unequal relations of power, community meanings, and global flows of images (1997, 7–8). In her study of a visual political economy of an Andean image world, she emphasized the production, circulation, and valuing of images, already pointing to the significance of technological innovations when considering circulation (Poole, 1997, 9–10). Today, the research that she conducted in a pre-social-media era seems particularly prescient with regards to media-circulated images.

Applying Poole's framework, we argue that the video's content and context carry multiple interethnic meanings. The video is hosted on the website for UNESCO's Latin American unit, Crespial, that has a center in Cuzco, Peru. Unlike other examples of Indigenous-made videos or films that might feature the Indigenous person behind the camera (Himpele, 2007; Turner, 1991), we see a different assertion of agency in *Women's Singing from Puna, Potosí*. Our interview with Nilda reflects her political activist trajectory, as well as a commitment to what Rachel Lobo might call the "political act of memory building" (2020, 19). We might then read this "cultural rescue" genre (Schiwy, 2009, 15) alongside political and cultural activism. As such, the video evokes something akin to what Michelle Raheja called "visual sovereignty," by which she referred to Indigenous "self-representations that interact with older stereotypes" to rework them in projects that may strengthen Indigenous claims (2010, 30). Nilda may not have been behind the camera, but she talked about other viewings and circulations of this video and their effects within her community. Much like Wissler described for the Q'eros case (2009), an Indigenous viewing community formed to watch, remember, and reclaim their own culture, even if they did not control the video's entire filming and production.

It is notable that this YouTube video—posted on the Crespial website since 2014—has received over one million views as of 2022. This suggests that it has an audience not only of curious outsiders, but also of insider participant networks that include the people of Puna and its broader diaspora. The video also has been hyperlinked to the website of the US Embassy in Bolivia and to various Facebook pages. Some of these websites include *Sabías que Potosí*, a site that covers Potosí history, environment, culture, tourism, and happenings, including road accidents; *Sonoridades Narrativas de PachaKamani*, a resource site hosted by musician and anthropologist Richard Mújica Angulo; *Meliden Los Andes*, an initiative dedicated to

“strengthening Andean identity through native music and ancestral identity”; *Puna te da la bienvenida*, a logo-marked page connected to the Puna Municipality; and *OTAVI capital de fandango*, a page that promotes Otavi village as the “capital” of the *fandango* song genre, as declared by Potosí Department in 2007 (see also Sigl and Mendoza Salazar, 2012, 733).

The circulation of this video depends on Bolivians’ Internet connectivity, which has increased in the last decade, but which still lags in global terms. Estimates of the proportion of the Bolivian population using the internet range from 66 to 73.9 percent (World Bank, 2021; Internet World Stats, 2022). The heightened use of mobile and smartphones around the country—where in 2021 the number of mobile subscriptions approximated one per member of the population—also keeps this video circulating to specific publics within and outside Bolivia (Statista 2023).³ We posit that the video’s circulation since 2014 has contributed to the upsurge of other YouTube videos featuring women’s singing from the communities around Puna. The striking unstaged footage from the final section of *Women’s Singing from Puna, Potosí* was filmed during the Fandango Festival, an event that, since about 2008, has been held annually on June 24 in Otavi, Nilda’s home village. A quick search on YouTube with the phrase “Festival de Fandango Otavi” brings up dozens of low-budget, lightly edited, regionally produced videos from 2015 onward. The videos from this festival feature differently named community groups of women who sing *fandangos* and who are accompanied by men playing *charangos*. Several videos have received hundreds of thousands of views and most have received tens of thousands, suggesting a great desire among people of the region to watch themselves expressing their local culture and to have it showcased publicly in audiovisual form. Unlike *Women’s Singing from Puna, Potosí* which explicitly aspired to authorized heritage status (Smith, 2006), almost no

translation or editing work has been undertaken to make these modest videos accessible to outsiders. Local agency is present in these counterarchiving and alternative curating processes.

While some scholars may suggest that the expanded concept of archive has gone too far (see Zeitlyn, 2012, 467), other authors continue using the metaphor to bring greater understanding to “the archival recursivity of image circulation” (Geismar, 2016, 339) on social media platforms. Multiple self-referencing connections, despite market-related algorithms, still show how such multimodal networks open to counternarratives on the Internet (see Bonilla and Rosa, 2015), even if such constructs may highlight “findability” over “preservation” (Pietrobruno, 2013, 1264). Alternative curating of digital archives and the activation of counterarchives suggest that efforts to return sonic recordings are better conceptualized by taking into account these points of already articulated Indigenous agency.

UNSETTLING THE RETURN

As highlighted by the critical scholarship on the archive discussed above, the conventional institutional archive is by no means the only site or medium where cultural expressions or traces may be collected, curated, preserved, and (re)circulated. The archive here can be seen as breaking out of the constraints of officialdom, institutionality, or the state. Instead, the archive, in the words of Appadurai, returns to “its more general status of being a deliberate site for the production of anticipated memories by intentional communities” (2003, 17).

In the video we have discussed, the idea of sonic return is unsettled, with little sense of “reparation” for past wrongdoing or theft (Diamond and Tulk, 2018). In such videos, cultural traces are not so much “taken away” as curated, reconfigured, and repurposed. Anthony Seeger has observed that source communities are “not overwhelmingly positive” about receiving

historic recordings; they may even cause great distress (2018, 6–7). On the other hand, Aaron Fox’s sound repatriation work mentions both the anguish and joy that Indigenous peoples experience upon hearing their own repatriated recordings (2017, 197). While ambivalence surrounds sound repatriation projects, these considerations should guide but not shut down such efforts. Along the lines suggested by Beverley Diamond and Janice Esther Tulk (2018, 4), the recirculation of recordings can be approached productively in terms of “opportunity” for human engagement and the “construction of memory across time,” emphasizing alternative curation rather than repatriation per se.

Curation here implies selection and editing of materials with particular audiences or recipients in mind. This was certainly the case for *Women’s Singing from Puna, Potosí* which was curated for national and international Spanish-speaking audiences, while it simultaneously appealed to more local Quechua-speaking viewers. Its digital afterlives directly involve Indigenous agents who archive and curate their own audiovisual recordings.

CONCLUSION

A critical long-term view of our own research trajectories reveals shifting ethics within both anthropology and ethnomusicology. We underscore the importance of relationships that should come first in present and future projects. This work looks more like collaborative caring activism, as delineated in Elke Krasny’s (2017) work, and less like a return in the traditional sense. This requires ongoing reassessments of what the scholarly community validates as “research” in the academy. We recognize that—even while paying attention to the ethics of fieldwork relationships—we have advanced our careers through writing about others. For example, only as more senior scholars did we take on the organization of a workshop with

Bolivians and summarize the workshop's dynamics for the more public output of a bilingual website, "Rethinking Creativity, Recognition, and Indigenous Heritage" (Bigenho and Stobart, 2014). Even on this website, however, we figure as "curators."

We also have found that Indigenous Bolivians with whom we have worked prefer interacting with audiovisual rather than solely audio recordings of their cultural expressions (see also Schultz and Nye, 2014, 310). This is not surprising given that Indigenous festive performances are multisensorial events where much time is invested in presenting oneself in appropriate traditional dress. People like to see images of themselves and their communities in videos and photographs. Such considerations shape alternative curation practices in digitized social media contexts, and they should inform how we approach the mono-sensorial notion of the sound archive as we move further into the twenty-first century.

We have argued for an alternative way of thinking about curating where we, as non-Indigenous scholars, get out of the way and consider Indigenous actors as their own curators, particularly as they gain greater access to digital archives and the technological tools for their own use of such archives. This alternative curating (caring) does not privilege the presentation of information to outsiders, necessarily, but rather works first with intentions of building community memories across multiple generations.

The women's singing video, as a counterarchive, structures visual and audible presence for those usually erased from state archives. While the 2011 video started as a more general project of making heritage out of "women's singing," the video's filming location in Puna, Potosí eventually led to a successful law, framed in more specific terms. In August 2017, the San Lucas Municipality (Nor Cinti Province, Chuquisaca Department) submitted to the Chamber of Deputies a heritage bill proposing that they declare the *fandango* as intangible cultural heritage

of the Plurinational State of Bolivia. Aware of regional rivalries between Chuquisaca and Potosí Departments in relation to this proposed bill, the Ministry of Cultures ensured that Law 1233 (2019), declaring the *fandango* as national heritage, explicitly stated that the genre was performed in both departments. While the category of “women’s singing of Potosí” was deemed too vague and unwieldy to achieve legal standing as heritage, activities conducted during the campaign—like the filming and dissemination of the video and the alternative curation in the video’s digital afterlives—led to a successful law based on the specific *fandango* genre and a broad naming of the regions where it is performed.

The 2011 video—its making, its circulation, its participants—intersected with processes of social archiving as an abundance of videos documenting Otavi’s Fandango Festival were produced and circulated. The *fandango*’s increased circulation, as related to a contested heritage bill, activated audiovisual archives and showed how these are shaped by timing, selection, and different publics (see Himpele, 2007, 23). As we pay more attention to digital archives and their activation as counterarchives, we should recognize alternative curatorial processes. Our work as an anthropologist and an ethnomusicologist may indeed be more related to finding positions of allyship and collaboration, as we continue to consider the distance and potential power inherent in our research processes and in curatorial work of any video productions.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Research for this article was supported by a Collaborative Research Fellowship through the American Council of Learned Societies (2015). We thank our Bolivian research participants who generously talked with us about music and heritage. We are grateful to Ingrid Kummels, Gisela

Cánepa, and the journal's anonymous reviewers, who provided comments that were invaluable as we revised this article.

REFERENCES

- Appadurai, Arjun. 2003. "Archive and Aspiration." In *Information is Alive: Art and Theory in Archiving and Retrieving Data*, edited by Joke Brouwer and Arjen Mulder, 14–25. Rotterdam, Netherlands: NAI Publishers.
- Barwick, Linda, Jennifer Green, Petronella Vaarzon-Morel, and Katya Zissermann. 2019. "Conundrums and Consequences: Doing Digital Archival Returns in Australia." In *Archival Returns: Central Australia and Beyond*, edited by Linda Barwick, Jennifer Green, and Petronella Vaarzon-Morel, 1–27. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Bigenho, Michelle. 2002. *Sounding Indigenous: Authenticity in Bolivian Music Performance*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Bigenho, Michelle. 2008. "Why I'm Not an Ethnomusicologist: A View from Anthropology." In *The New (Ethno)musicologies*, edited by Henry Stobart, 28–39. Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press.
- Bigenho, Michelle, and Henry Stobart, curators and editors. 2014. "Rethinking Creativity, Recognition, and Indigenous Heritage" (website)
<https://intranet.royalholloway.ac.uk/boliviamusicip/home.aspx>
- Bigenho, Michelle, and Henry Stobart. 2018. "Archivando la pericia con miras al patrimonio: Procesos de patrimonialización, conocimiento experto y el archivo como aspiración." *TRANS-Revista Transcultural de Música/Transcultural Music Review*. 21–22:1-14.
<https://www.sibetrans.com/trans/public/docs/5d-trans-2018.pdf>

- Bigenho, Michelle, and Henry Stobart. 2022. "Gender-Marked Heritage and Intersectionality: Women's Singing as Heritage." *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 28 (10): 1121–135. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13527258.2022.2131873>.
- Bigenho, Michelle, and Henry Stobart. Forthcoming. *Heritage Fever: Law and Cultural Politics in a Decolonizing State*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Bonilla, Yarimar, and Jonathan Rosa. 2015. "#Ferguson: Digital Protest, Hashtag Ethnography, and the Racial Politics of Social Media in the United States." *American Ethnologist* 42 (1): 4–17.
- Brown, Michael. 2003. *Who Owns Native Culture?* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Bubba Zamora, Cristina. 1997. "Collectors Versus Native Peoples: The Repatriation of the Sacred Weavings of Coroma, Bolivia." *Museum Anthropology* 20 (3): 39–44.
- Cánepa Koch, Gisela, and Ingrid Kummels, eds. 2020. *Antropología y archivos en la era digital: Usos emergentes de lo audiovisual*. Lima, Perú: Fondo Editorial de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú.
- Castromán Soto, Margarita M. 2021. "Schomburg's Black Archival Turn: 'Racial Integrity' and 'The Negro Digs Up His Past.'" *African American Review* 54 (1–2): 73–90.
- Clifford, James. 1988. *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Coombe, Rosemary J., and Eugenia Kisin. 2021. "Archives and Cultural Legibility: Objects and Subjects of Neoliberal Heritage Technologies." In *Objectification and Standardization: On the Limits and Effects of Ritually Fixing and Measuring Life*, edited by Tord Larsen, Michael Blim, Theodore M. Porter, Kalpana Ram, and Nigel Rapport, 257–92. Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press.

- De la Cadena, Marisol. 1995. “‘Women Are More Indian’: Ethnicity and Gender in a Community Near Cuzco.” In *Ethnicity, Markets, and Migration in the Andes: At the Crossroads of History and Anthropology*, edited by Brooke Larson and Olivia Harris, with Enrique Tandeter, 328–48. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Derrida, Jacques. 1995. *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression*. Translated by Eric Prenowitz. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Diamond, Beverley, and Janice Esther Tulk. 2018. “Rethinking Repatriation and Curation in Newfoundland: Archives, Angst, and Opportunity.” In *The Oxford Handbook of Musical Repatriation*, edited by Frank Gunderson, Robert C. Lancefield, and Bret Woods, 63–82. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780190659806.013.4>.
- Featherstone, Mike. 2006. “Archive.” *Theory, Culture & Society* 23 (2–3): 591–96.
- Feld, Steven. 1996. “Pygmy POP. A Genealogy of Schizophonic Mimesis.” *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 28: 1–35.
- Fossati, Giovanna. 2009. “YouTube as a Mirror Maze.” In *The YouTube Reader*, edited by Pelle Snickars and Patrick Vonderau, 458–65. Stockholm: National Library of Sweden.
- Foucault, Michel. (1972) 2000. *The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language*, translated by A. M. Sheridan Smith. New York: Vintage Books.
- Fox, Aaron. 2017. “The Archive of the Archive: The Secret History of the Laura Boulton Collection.” In *The Routledge Companion to Cultural Property*, edited by Jane Anderson and Haidy Geismar, 194–211. New York: Routledge.

- Geismar, Haidy. 2016. "Instant Archives." In *The Routledge Companion to Digital Ethnography*, edited by Larissa Hjorth, Heather Horst, Anne Galloway, and Genevieve Bell, 331–43. New York: Routledge.
- Gobernación Autónoma del Departamento de Potosí and Comunidades del Municipio de Puna. 2011. *El canto de las mujeres de Puna, Potosí*. Video 21:32. Last accessed July 6, 2023. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BDR6KxDsEv4>
- Gobierno Municipal de San Ignacio de Moxo. 2010. *Ichapekene Fiesta de San Ignacio de Mojos*. Video 29:43. Last accessed July 6, 2023. <https://www.unesco.org/archives/multimedia/document-3776-spa-2>
- Gunderson, Frank, and Bret Woods. 2019. "Pathways toward Open Dialogues about Sonic Heritage: An Introduction to The Oxford Handbook of Musical Repatriation." In *The Oxford Handbook of Musical Repatriation*, edited by Frank Gunderson, Robert C. Lancefield, and Bret Woods, 1–15. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Guy, Nancy. 2002. "Trafficking in Taiwan Aboriginal Voices." In *Handle with Care: Ownership and Control of Ethnographic Materials*, edited by Sjoerd Jaarsma, 195–209. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Himpele, Jeff D. 2007. *Circuits of Culture: Media, Politics, and Indigenous Identity in the Andes*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Holton, Adalaine. 2007. "Decolonizing History: Arthur Schomburg's Afrodiasporic Archive." *The Journal of African American History* 92 (2): 218–38.
- Internet World Stats. 2022. "Internet Usage and Population in South America." Website. Last accessed July 6, 2023. <https://www.internetworldstats.com/stats15.htm>

- Kessler, Frank, and Mirko Tobias Schäfer. 2009. "Navigating YouTube: Constituting a Hybrid Information Management System." In *The YouTube Reader*, edited by Pelle Snickars and Patrick Vonderau, 275–91. Stockholm: National Library of Sweden.
- Krasny, Elke. 2017. "Caring Activism: Assembly, Collection, and the Museum," *Collecting in Time*, edited by Vera Lauf and Franziska Zólyom, Museum for Contemporary Art Leipzig. <https://collecting-in-time.gfzk.de/en>.
- Landau, Carolyn, and Janet Topp Fargion. 2012. "We're all Archivists Now: Towards a more Equitable Ethnomusicology." *Ethnomusicology Forum* 21 (2): 125–40.
- Lobo, Rachel. 2020. "Resisting Erasure: Photographic Archives and Black History in Canada." *International Journal of Canadian Studies* 58: 7–36.
- Mbembe, Achille. 2002. "The Power of the Archive and its Limits." In *Refiguring the Archive*, edited by Carolyn Hamilton, Verne Harris, Jane Taylor, Michele Pickover, Graeme Reid, and Razia Saleh, 19–26. Dordrecht, Netherlands: Kluwer Academic Publishers.
- Motha, Stewart. 2018. *Archiving Sovereignty: Law, History, Violence*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Nelson, Diane. 1999. *A Finger in the Wound: Body Politics in Quincentennial Guatemala*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Norton, Barley. 2018. "Filming Music as Heritage: The Cultural Politics of Audiovisual Representation." In *Music as Heritage: Historical and Ethnographic Perspectives*, edited by Barley Norton and Naomi Matsumoto, 79–101. London: Routledge.
- Norton, Barley, and Naomi Matsumoto. 2018. "Introduction: Historical and Ethnographic Perspectives on Music as Heritage." In *Music as Heritage: Historical and Ethnographic Perspectives*, edited by Barley Norton and Naomi Matsumoto, 1–17. London: Routledge.

- Ortner, Sherry B. 1972. "Is Female to Male as Nature Is to Culture?" *Feminist Studies* 1 (2): 5–31.
- Pietrobruno, Sheenagh. 2013. "YouTube and the Social Archiving of Intangible Heritage." *New Media & Society* 15 (8): 1259–76.
- Poole, Deborah. 1997. *Vision, Race, and Modernity: A Visual Economy of the Andean Image World*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Postero, Nancy. 2017. *The Indigenous State: Race, Politics, and Performance in Plurinational Bolivia*. Oakland: University of California Press.
- Prelinger, Rick. 2009. "The Appearance of Archives." In *The YouTube Reader*, edited by Pelle Snickars and Patrick Vonderau, 268–74. Stockholm: National Library of Sweden.
- Raheja, Michelle. 2010. *Reservation Reelism: Redfacing, Visual Sovereignty, and Representation of Native Americans in Film*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- Robinson, Dylan. 2020. *Hungry Listening: Resonant Theory for Indigenous Studies*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Rosaldo, Renato. 1989. *Culture and Truth: The Remaking of Social Analysis*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Schafer, R. Murray. (1977) 1994. *The Soundscape: Our Sonic Environment and the Tuning of the World*. Rochester, VT: Destiny Books.
- Schiwy, Freya. 2009. *Indianizing Film: Decolonization, the Andes, and the Question of Technology*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Schröter, Jens. 2009. "On the Logic of the Digital Archive." In *The YouTube Reader*, edited by Pelle Snickars and Patrick Vonderau, 330–46. Stockholm: National Library of Sweden.

- Schultz, Anna, and Mark Nye. 2014. "Musical Ethnography and Recording Technology in the Unbound Digital Era." In *The Oxford Handbook of Mobile Music Studies*, vol. 1, edited by Sumanth Gopinath and Jason Stanyek, 298–314. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Seeger, Anthony. 2009. "Lessons Learned from the ICTM (NGO) Evaluation of Nominations for the UNESCO Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity, 2001–2005." In *Intangible Heritage*, edited by Laurajane Smith and Natsuko Akagawa, 112–28. London: Routledge.
- Seeger, Anthony. 2018. "Archives, Repatriation, and the Challenges Ahead." In *The Oxford Handbook of Musical Repatriation*, edited by Frank Gunderson, Robert C. Lancefield, and Bret Woods, 145–60. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
<https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780190659806.013.8>
- Seeger, Anthony, and Shuba Chaudhuri. 2015. "The Contributions of Reconfigured Audiovisual Archives to Sustaining Traditions." *The World of Music* 4 (1): 21–34.
- Sigl, Eveline, and David Mendoza Salazar. 2012. *No se baila así no más . . . Danzas de Bolivia (Tomo I y II)*. La Paz, Bolivia: self-published.
- Smith, Laurajane. 2006. *The Uses of Heritage*. London: Routledge.
- Starn, Orin. 1991. "Missing the Revolution: Anthropologists and the War in Peru." *Cultural Anthropology* 6 (1): 63–91.
- Statista. 2023. "Number of mobile cellular subscriptions in Bolivia 2000-2021." Website. Last accessed July 6, 2023. <https://www.statista.com/statistics/186103/number-of-mobile-cellular-subscriptions-in-bolivia/>

- Stobart, Henry. 2006. *Music and the Poetics of Production in the Bolivian Andes*. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate Publishing.
- Stobart, Henry. 2010. "Rampant Reproduction and Digital Democracy: Shifting Landscapes of Music Production and 'Piracy' in Bolivia." *Ethnomusicology Forum* 19 (1): 27–56.
- Stobart, Henry. 2011. "Constructing Community in the Digital Home Studio: Carnival, Creativity and Indigenous Music Video Production in the Bolivian Andes." *Popular Music* 30 (2): 209–26.
- Stobart, Henry. 2017. "Creative Pragmatism: Competency and Aesthetics in Bolivian Indigenous Music Video (VCD) Production." In *Music, Indigeneity, Digital Media*, edited by Thomas Hilder, Henry Stobart, and Shyr Ee Tan, 127–55. Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press.
- Stoler, Ann Laura. 2002. "Colonial Archives and the Arts of Governance." *Archival Science* 2: 87–109.
- Stoler, Ann Laura. 2009. *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Strathern, Marilyn. 1980. "No Nature, No Culture: The Hagen Case." In *Nature, Culture and Gender*, edited by Carol P. MacCormack and Marilyn Strathern, 174–222. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Trouillot, Michel Rolph. (1995) 2015. *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Turner, Terence. 1991. "The Social Dynamics of Video Media in an Indigenous Society: The Cultural Meaning and the Personal Politics of Video-making in Kayapo Communities." *Visual Anthropology Review* 7 (2): 68–76.

Weismantel, Mary. 2001. *Cholas and Pishtacos: Stories of Race and Sex in the Andes*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Wissler, Holly. 2009. "Grief-Singing and the Camera: The Challenges and Ethics of Documentary Production in an Indigenous Andean Community." *Ethnomusicology Forum* 18 (1): 37–53.

World Bank. 2021. "Individuals using the Internet (% of population)." Website. Last accessed July 6, 2023. <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/IT.NET.USER.ZS>

Zamorano Villareal, Gabriela. 2017. *Indigenous Media and Political Imaginaries in Contemporary Bolivia*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Zeitlyn, David. 2012. "Anthropology in and of the Archives: Possible Futures and Contingent Pasts. Archives as Anthropological Surrogates." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 41: 461–80.

ENDNOTES

¹ However, both authors have recorded many interviews using digital audio recorders. Henry has also made video recordings, especially under the direction of Indigenous musician Gregorio Mamani for use in his music videos intended for the local market.

² Note here that "women's singing" becomes "woman's singing" (*canto de las mujeres* to *canto de la mujer*).

³ Unfortunately, these statistics do not permit differentiation between old format mobile phones and smartphones with Internet access.