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The work presented in this thesis is, to the best of my knowledge and belief, original except as acknowledged in the text. I hereby declare that I have not submitted this material, either in full or in part, for a degree at this or any other institution.



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Rearguard remix:
a practice of political listening

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To my mum who inspires me with her generosity and love.

To my nieces Zyanya, Alice, Rajeli and Matilda.

To the weavers of resistances who transform fear and pain into hope.

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Abstract

Rearguard remix is a creative practice that aims to be a non-extractivist form of inquiry and a practice of political listening that fosters activists' interpretations and conceptualisations of their situated political experiences. Video remix is used as a way to explore, research and create relations among diverse knowledges and political practices that resist colonial, capitalist and heteropatriarcal oppression. I consider these practices what Boaventura de Sousa Santos calls "knowledge born in struggle" (2014). These knowledges center on political, ethical and critical thinking in collective terms, and form a digital oral archive including anarchist, feminist and indigenous activist, intellectual activists/militant researchers and their collectives, mainly from Latin America. I examine the remix literature in relation to these sources and reconceptualise remix in terms of Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui's *Ch'ixi epistemology*. The practice of remix works with the logic of sharing, in this case of knowledge and media productions available on the internet, by remixing these videos and offer access to the original materials. Rearguard remix is also a way to recirculate both the articulation of knowledges by remixing them and the complete media productions shared online. I also reflect on my creative process through the use of the metaphors: aphorism and memory, weaving and the weaver, ingesting, and the idea of intimacy without proximity.

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Introduction: Rearguard remix practice

This practice-based research consists of two interrelated parts: First, a creative project in the form of a series of four video remixes of political ideas and experiences to be published on a website via YouTube along with embedded videos of all of my remix sources. And second, an exegesis where I engage with conceptualisations of the remix literature and I outline how my work can be thought of as a new form of remix practice. In this way, my work is an example of remix and a proposal regarding what remix can be in the age of online digital video sharing.

This is an interdisciplinary project informed by a range of areas of knowledge including propositional art, sociology, political theory, media theory and activist practice. One aspect of my practice and research is working with digital videos that have not been remixed before. By articulating relations between the speakers in my remixes I am making a contribution to the digital oral archive that the original videos are part of. This contribution involves the recirculation of the source materials. It also reconceptualises remix in relation to the political and ethical questions that are conveyed in the videos I have worked with, making a contribution to both remix theory and practice.

I work with a definition of video remix as the sampling and remixing of already published media materials (Gallagher, 2017a). Gallagher's definition includes two of the three aspects of remix that I will discuss in detail in this exegesis. The first is sampling which Gallagher sees as being one of the things that defines remix. The second is obviously remixing: the act of reordering and reconfiguring the samples. I add to Gallagher's definition by including what I see as a necessary third stage of remix: recirculation. By discussing these three stages of remix this project seeks:

- a) To re-conceptualise remix as a practice of listening that fosters activists' interpretations and conceptualisations of their situated political experiences (sampling)
- b) To use remix as a means to articulate different political projects and a diversity of ideas and practices in conversation with one another (remixing)

- c) To engage with and recirculate knowledge of collective forms of resistance found in activists' videos (recirculating)

I use remix practice as a means to explore a digital oral archive formed by critical, anarchist, feminist and indigenous activists/researchers and their collectives. Many of these political projects are from Latin America, particularly from Bolivia which has a long history of emancipatory struggles and several collectives whose work I have followed closely. The videos I have worked with have been produced and published by independent journalists, academics, militant researchers, activists and their collectives. Many of these materials deal with activists' debates that contrast ideas and practices among a diversity of projects, but that also might build a common ground for shared struggle. These conversations/debates are part of situated political practices. I consider these practices to be what Boaventura de Sousa Santos calls "knowledge born in struggle" in the context of the Epistemologies of the South (2014, p. x). The video remixes work with the conversations and debates and their differing conceptions of the political, democracy, ethical grounds for resistance, solidarity, conflict, violence, colonialism, capitalism, heteropatriarchy and extractivism. My remix practice sees the knowledge produced in conversation and shared through online platforms as material that can teach us important lessons. Remixing this material is a way to learn and internalise those lessons and to avoid the waste of experience. What I'm referring to here is both how remix avoids the waste of knowledge, as de Sousa Santos discusses in his theory of the Epistemologies of the South, and the waste of media productions that can be reconfigured and recirculated.

I engage with a political remix practice that is framed by socio-political resistances rather than the popular culture that has influenced much of remix practice and literature. This will be discussed in depth in my survey of the remix literature and in relation to definitions of the political by different activists. These definitions lead to my proposal of *rearguard remix* as a non-extractivist form of engagement with resistances that aims to learn from and recirculate the knowledge of different forms of political engagement. To develop this concept of remix I work with the ideas of an *active rearguard* articulated by Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui and the *rearguard researcher* as proposed by Boaventura de Sousa Santos. In her idea of an active rearguard Rivera Cusicanqui suggests that the researcher needs to listen first instead of

assuming that they must search for answers; and in the case of de Sousa Santos the rearguard researcher is committed to “know with” rather than “know about” (2014, p. ix).

Rearguard remix is proposed as a practice and research method that engages with the digital oral archive of media produced by grassroots collectives, activists, and militant researchers. This re-conceptualisation of remix is informed by the *Ch'ixi epistemology* of Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui (2018; 2014; 2015; 2010). The Aymara concept of *ch'ixi* questions the hegemonic idea of *mestizaje* and cultural hybridity. Instead Rivera Cusicanqui proposes *ch'ixi* (“spotted”) as the possibility of being two different things at the same time, the coexistence of contradictions without resolution (2010, p. 14). In my conceptualisation, I have reflected on this concept as a search and exploration of forms of knowledge that uses art, digital media (videos and editing tools) and orality. This research presents the theoretical and critical foundations and how these have been woven with a practice of remix that is in the making. *Ch'ixi epistemology* is then reflected by my own practice.

I have edited three original remixes and a fourth was made collectively for an installation in the context of my participation in the course “Sociology of the Image” facilitated by Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui and la Colectivx Ch'ixi in La Paz Bolivia in January 2019. Each remix deals with topics that I discuss in subsequent sections of this document. The four remixes are:

Remix #1 “Encuentros en tiempos de fragmentación” [Encounters in times of fragmentation]. In this remix I work with ideas of political terms that are associated with diverse activists’ practices.

<https://remediosremix.art/2019/12/19/encuentros-en-tiempos-de-fragmentacion/>

Remix #2 “Experiencing the world as our own”. This remix deals with the role of memory and storytelling, listening and justice.

<https://remediosremix.art/2019/12/19/experiencing-the-world-as-our-own/>

Remix #3 “Con las Guardianas del agua” [With the Guardians of Water]. This remix was collectively made in the context of the workshop ‘Water Conflicts in Abya Yala’ in Sociology of the Image, La Paz, Bolivia, 2019.

<https://remediosremix.art/2019/10/29/with-the-guardians-of-water/>

Remix #4 “Tenemos redes que seguir tejiendo”[Many threads to continue weaving]. This remix deals with experiences and ideas of community processes, autonomy and territory.

<https://remediosremix.art/2019/12/19/tenemos-redes-que-seguir-tejiendo/>

In the remix videos I work with knowledge that I consider important; much of this knowledge has permeated my exegesis. For example, Boaventura de Sousa Santos has been sampled discussing important ideas regarding his proposal of the Epistemologies of the South in the context of a conversation. I have sampled Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui extensively and remixed her conversations and presentations. Many of her ideas are part of my conceptual framework; they have been both been sampled (from recorded oral discourse) and quoted (from published texts). My exegetical work has been influenced by what I have read but even more by what I have *listened to*. This applies to many of the people quoted in my exegesis and sampled in my remixes. I would like to make a small note on how to differentiate between the oral (sample) and the written quotes in this exegesis: the oral samples are italicized.

I have come to know the activists that I work with through a sustained practice of listening to their radio programs, conversations, and presentations in a variety of contexts. The experience/ideas/knowledge I have sampled have also transformed my understanding of what a remix can do. In my remixes and the exegesis the reader will encounter a large number of different topics regarding *pueblos en movimiento* [Peoples in movement] (Zibechi, 2019) this concept refers to collective mobilisations with a Latin American genealogy of thought that is an alternative to the concept of “social movements”. Remix allows me to present and create relations among these collectives and their ideas. Rearguard remix is not a mapping of social struggles, it doesn’t compare or contrast but seeks to create relations. This leads me to understand my remix practice as the process of creating relations in what I call *activism of the political imagination*. Rearguard remix deals with a diversity of political thinking and practice but its main concern is in *relating* this diversity.

I am a Mexican-Australian citizen but my identification is with a long history of struggles by indigenous peoples, women's movements, students, teachers and campesino movements from Mexico where I was born. Living in Australia I cannot participate directly in these movements: *poner el cuerpo* as we would say, but remix has allowed me to understand and learn some of their lessons with a certain depth, commitment and affection. The desire to share these ideas here in Australia and also back to Latin America has been one of the main

motivations for this research, and the qualities of remix and of knowledges born in struggle have allowed me to convey this desire³.

The important qualities of remix from the point of view of my practice are that: it is composed of fragments, it has a logic of the multiple, it is unfinished, it produces new relations, it works through sharing. I have attempted to structure my exegesis in a way that reflects these qualities of remix while also negotiating the conventions of academic writing. There are many other qualities discussed in the literature regarding remix as a form (more on this later) but I highlight these aspects because they have been reconceptualised in light of the theoretical framework mentioned above and through my practice of the three stages of remix; sampling, remixing and recirculation.

These three stages of remix do not follow neatly one after the other. While sampling might be a necessary precursor to remixing, the remixing process itself often leads to the search for further samples and acts of recirculation can occur at any point in the process. This exegesis is structured with this process in mind and therefore does not have to be read in a linear way. The reader might choose to begin with any of the sections outlined in the table of contents.

I have structured this exegesis by beginning with a discussion of recirculation and the logic of sharing in remix. I also reflect on how this logic of sharing is expressed in the collective making of a remix. In section 2, I review the relevant literature regarding conceptualisations of remix practice and how the political is understood in this context. This leads me to move to different understandings of what the political can be and how these conceptualizations are situated in the practices of many socio-political struggles. In section 3, I follow the debates about the need to listen to the protagonists of these struggles and their own interpretations and critical thinking. Section 4 explores what remix can be as a practice that engages with these knowledges and resistances in a non-extractivist way. In the last section I reflect on my

³ I made a conscious decision not to discuss decolonial theory. My focus is on activist practice and the way these groups of activists conceptualise what they are doing. None of these activists discussed their struggles in terms of decolonial theory. The need for these knowledges to be heard not as “raw material” but from their own experiences and their own frame of interpretation is also discussed in chapter 3. There is a phrase that Gladys Tzul Tzul would use to refer to the analysis of their struggles by community members, “los pueblos se miran a sí mismos” [the people look at themselves]. This phrase was used in the context of her seminar “Política comunal indígena. Análisis sobre la capacidad de gobierno, recuperación y defensa de tierra y bienes comunes” Agosto 2020.

remix practice through the use of four metaphors: Aphorism and memory, weaving and the weaver, ingesting, and intimacy without proximity.

1. Recirculation

Recirculation is an important stage of remix which in my view has been under theorised. In this project I am not only recirculating the sampled videos through the remix but I am also providing the links to the complete videos with the conversations/interviews that I have sampled.

The logic of sharing of this research relates to both the Epistemologies of the South and the anti-copyright principle of remix culture. The sharing of the remixes in the case of the latter and the need to share the knowledge and experiences of political struggles in the case of the former. As I have discussed above, the samples in my remixes are a form of knowledge I would like other people to listen to. The processes of remix allows me to sample short phrases -some aphorisms- (more on this later) but also to relate ideas in ways that no other means of investigation allows me. In presenting my video remixes on a website along with their original videos, I am able to share the samples in an arrangement but also to let the viewer/listener access the original materials and explore them at length. By presenting both my remix and the original videos, I can share and keep circulating the knowledge I have encountered and valued. To discuss this aspect of recirculation I am using Joan Foncuberta's idea of *adoption* (2017). This idea marks a shift away from the term 'appropriation' and helps me to conceptualise rearguard remix in the light of the logic of sharing.

There is a second aspect of how this logic of sharing is expressed in the rearguard remix that comes to light by considering how knowledge is co-produced. This argument will be discussed in terms of collective ways of creating in non-hierarchical terms and in what Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui has referred to *communities of affinity*.

1.2 Adoption not appropriation

The concept of appropriation has been widely discussed in remix studies and in lesser degree the term of recirculation. In order to rethink these concepts I draw on the work of social scientist Shiv Visvanathan. In his presentation “In the Search for Cognitive Justice” (2009) he argues that knowledge should be shared. He explains that Indian law differentiates property in terms of *flock and flow*. Citing philosopher of law Chhatrapati Singh, he explains that Indian jurisprudence makes a distinction between *flock* as something that can be considered property, such as land, as opposed to water which is considered *flow*. This means that if water crosses a property it can be used by the owners of the property but cannot be possessed. Vishvanathan suggests that if we considered information and knowledge as *flow*, these should not be possessed and accumulated but shared. As the logic of sharing is expressed in the form of remix but also as an aim of the Epistemologies of the South, I have sought concepts that can express this logic in terms of *flow* and not as the *flock* that can become property.

In remix culture there is a strong element of anti-copyright activism. Remix artists have advocated for “fair use” and have helped to drive initiatives such as Copy left and Creative Commons licensing. “Appropriation” is a widely used term in remix theory that describes one of the creative strategies of remix practice (Navas, Gallagher, & Burrough, 2017). It refers to the sampling of pre-existing recorded materials and is discussed in terms of authorship, creativity and artistic practice. In my conceptualisation of rearguard remix I am using the term “adoption” instead of appropriation to better reflect a logic of sharing as opposed to the logic of property that the term appropriation brings and also to highlight that collective knowledge has to be shared and to *flow* in the terms of Visvanathan.

I follow artist and writer Joan Foncuberta in my use of the term “adoption”. Foncuberta’s reflection on post-photography allows me to think about how the practice of remix intersects with the proliferation of digital media. I think the term adoption is crucial to understanding remix. This term has not entered the discourse of remix studies. This is partly because Foncuberta’s book *La Furia de las Imágenes* (2017) [The Fury of Images] in which he discusses the term adoption has not been translated into English. The Fury of Images is a sociological, philosophical and political reflection on the changes in photography that stem

from digital technologies. These changes have dissolved notions of originality and property as well effecting a “dematerialisation of authorship” (Fontcuberta, 2017, p. 40).

While Fontcuberta’s proposal of post-photography is related to our use and experience of the digital image, from the point of view of my remix practice many of Fontcuberta’s arguments regarding post-photography equally apply to internet video. Fontcuberta echoes Walter Benjamin in his discussion of how the status of the work of art has changed in “the age of digital appropriability” (2017, p. 40). With this he refers to the easy access that allows us to download images or video from the internet.

Before discussing why Fontcuberta’s term adoption is a better description of the process of rearguard remix, I offer the following short account of the notion of appropriation in relation to art practice. The origins of the term can be traced to the works of Marcel Duchamp and Francis Picabia in the Cubist and Dada movements, and their techniques of photomontage, collage and ready-mades (2017, p. 57). These works were a critical response to the modernist concept of originality, noting that creation was a recombination of previous works (idem). Later examples of appropriation in art include Robert Rauschenberg, Andy Warhol and Pop Art. These artists worked with advertising and photographs in their collages and prints as a means of questioning “a visual order” based on consumerism and the society of the spectacle (Fontcuberta, 2017, p. 57) Guy Debord proposed a term, *détournement*, a strategy of “the reuse of pre-existing artistic elements in a new ensemble” (Noys, 2007, p. 396) by devaluing those elements and revaluing them to rupture dominant images of capitalist society.

All these practices, once considered subversive, became a trend in the art scene in the 80’s and came along with other concepts such as: “copy, cite, plagiarism, re-enactment, recycling, simulation, pastiche, parody, allegory, simulacrum, and revival” (Fontcuberta 2017, p 56). Fontcuberta points out that at the centre of the discussions of these practices was the issue of originality and authorship and how recently these discussions have been conducted in terms of intellectual property and authors’ rights. Lawyers base their arguments on a “capitalist value of property” while some artists question that logic, problematising the notion of authorship. For an increasing number of artists in the era of the digital image, authorship goes beyond individuality to include collective forms of art production (2017, p. 55). Fontcuberta

sees this position as a philosophical and political stance: "¿preferimos una sociedad que se base en el principio de poseer o en el principio de compartir?" (2017, p. 56).⁴⁵

In his idea of post-photography, Fontcuberta sees the "appropriability" of digital technologies not only as their condition but also as a paradigm that he calls an "aesthetics of access" that leads to recycling and remix (2017, p. 40). However, the term "appropriation" is associated with property and a sense of dispossession. Instead, the term adoption, in its Latin roots *ad optare*, not only captures better the sense of choosing but also of caring for something (2017, p. 56). In Fontcuberta's words,

[...] del mismo modo, podemos adoptar un imagen como se adopta un idea, un imagen que hemos elegido porque tiene un valor determinado: intelectual, simbólico, estético, moral, espiritual o político. (2017, p. 60)⁶

In the case of a rearguard remix, I would add that I also adopt certain clips because they have an ethical value. In my process of sampling and remixing, I can relate to many of Fontcuberta's arguments to the ideas, practices and knowledge sampled in my video remixes. Here Fontcuberta elaborates on the public dimension that the term adoption has in distinction to the term appropriation:

Adoptar un imagen equivale siempre reconocer de manera pública un valor simbólico, hacer profesión de un actitud hacia el prójimo [...] Si la apropiación es privada, la adopción, al contrario, es por definición una forma de declaración pública. Apropiarse quiere decir "captar", mientras que adoptar quiere decir "declarar haber escogido". En la adopción prevalece el acto de elegir, no de desposeer. (2017, p.60)⁷

By adopting the knowledges I have sampled, I am "declaring having chosen" the political practices and ethical values I care about and think are needed to enrich our political

⁴ All translations are my own unless otherwise indicated.

⁵ Do we prefer a society based on the principle of possession or on the principle of sharing?

⁶ In the same way we can adopt an image as we would adopt an idea, an image that we have chosen because it has a determined value: intellectual, symbolic, aesthetic, moral, spiritual or political.

⁷ To adopt an image is always equivalent to recognising symbolic value in a public way, professing an attitude to our neighbour [...] If appropriation is private, adoption on the contrary is by definition a form of public declaration. To appropriate means "to capture", while adoption means "to declare having chosen". In adoption it is the act of choosing, not dispossessing, that prevails.

discussions and imaginaries. The public choosing of these samples is reflected in the free sharing and publishing of my remixes. A rearguard remix is not about creating an argument but about articulating relationships that show the diversity of ideas, practices and struggles. I want other people to engage in a form of political listening to these knowledges and to get to know them better by accessing the original videos. Publishing the original videos with my remixes is another way for me to adopt, to publicly declare having chosen the original videos. In this way, while my remixes can be considered a way to spread ideas and video works through sampling, by gathering my sources I also take care of them, something that I discuss in the section on sampling in relation to the idea of “intimacy without proximity.”

The recirculation of these remixes and their original sources is a way to keep ideas and ethics in what Visvanathan suggests the flow of knowledge (2009). By sharing the reflections of people involved in resistances and other political projects in their own terms and voices, my aim is for other people to listen and nurture their political imagination, and hopefully to put some of these ideas into their own practice.

Having explained how the logic of sharing is expressed in terms of recirculation, I now introduce the second dimension of this logic in terms of knowledge as co-production with Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui’s idea of communities of affinity.

1.2 “Communities of affinity” and the collective making of remix

The collaborative aspect of remix can be thought of in various ways; on the one hand, remix always samples something that has already been created: videos or documentaries where participants, directors, producers, editors and other people have worked together. On the other hand, as is the case of many of the videos I use, many of the ideas conveyed are part of political projects that involve a larger group (Mujeres Creando, La Colectiva Ch’ixi, La Curva del Diablo as examples) or that are part of a collaborative project (Alice -Strange Mirrors, Unexpected Lessons; Brigada para leer en libertad).

In this way I recognise that my remixes are co-produced. The rearguard remix shares the diversity of ideas I have sampled and remixed but always acknowledging where these ideas come from while providing access to them. The role I identify with is that of remixer.

However, in Bolivia I came to experience a collective making of a rearguard remix for the Sociology of the Image course.

The course's program included four workshops about the different aspects of Bolivian culture and indigenous philosophies. These workshops also reflected the diverse research practices of La Colectivx Ch'ixi. The workshops were: "Water Conflicts in Abya Yala", "Imaginary of The Nation and The Revolution", "W'akas", "Andean Textiles", and screen printing. The optional workshops facilitated working in smaller groups but also helped to join affinities together with the purpose of producing a visual essay in collaboration.

My experience in these spaces of reflection and practice has given me a better understanding of what Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui refers to as "communities of affinities", a space with shared interests that leads to the discussion, organisation and creation of a common goal through collective work. Rivera Cusicanqui reflects on this term in her conceptualisation of *ch'ixi* where digs down to the roots of an indigenous episteme ("*episteme india*") from the Aymara philosophy and also acknowledges a "noratlantic" episteme which draws on the struggles of anarchists, workers, women and immigrants for equality (2018, p. 148). Rivera explains,

[e]sa idea de comunidad de afinidad es vital y se relaciona con la raíz anarquista. Pero además se trata de afinidades, digamos... no políticas, propiamente...sino afinidades de gesto. (2018, p. 151)⁸

Her understanding of communities of affinity goes beyond kin relations. Instead she sees that collective work can be the point of departure of weaving affinity among people. Rivera Cusicanqui explains:

A veces uno repudia a la familia sanguínea para entrar en la familia virtual de los hermanos, de las hermanas de lucha, eso es la afinidad. Para mí siempre ha sido una afinidad ética y estética, tanto con mis primeros hermanos y hermanas del THOA⁹, como actualmente, con la Colectivx Ch'ixi. Son afinidades que no están exentas de

⁸ The idea of community of affinity is vital and is related to the anarchist tradition. At the same time, these are not just, or not only, political affinities but a gestual affinity.

⁹ Taller de Historia Oral Andina [Workshop of Andean Oral History].

conflicto, pero son a la vez éticas y estéticas, más que afinidades ideológicas. (in Salazar Lohman, 2015, p. 146)¹⁰

Rivera Cusicanqui explains the need to promote these spaces, as she understands political action as something that happens at a small scale. This scale, she asserts, allows for more consistency between our words and our practice. But if our expectations are too great we risk becoming unproductive or cynical, she expands:

Entonces, para mí lo sensato es trabajar en los espacios micro en perspectiva de una suerte de espacio meso, un espacio que es *taypi*¹¹. *Taypi* es el lugar donde puedes dialogar con homólogos, ese es el espacio intercomunitario (in Salazar Lohman, 2015, p. 151)¹²

I think of the workshops as a short-term, small-scale implementation of these ideas. My experience made me reflect on the ways affinity and working together have the potential to produce non-hierarchical, collaborative projects.

In the Sociology of the Image course I participated in an “Andean textile” workshop facilitated by Violeta Montellano Loredó and also in “Water Conflicts of Abya Yala” facilitated by researchers Beatriz Chambilla Mamani, Elizabeth López Canelas and Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui. The workshop dealt with different scales of conflicts due to mega-projects and mining imposed on communities by the Bolivian State or by the transnational project IIRSA¹³. We also came to know aspects of how Aymara communities coexist with water through its communal management by indigenous structures of governance and also through the use of rituals as a relation of reciprocity with a non-human community¹⁴. We

¹⁰ Sometimes one rejects the kinship of family to be part of a virtual family of brothers and sisters in struggle, that is affinity. To me, it has always been an ethical and aesthetic affinity, from my first brothers and sisters in the Andean Oral History Workshop, and now with la Colectivx Ch’ixi. They are affinities that are not exempt from conflict, but are simultaneously ethical and aesthetic, beyond ideological affinity.

¹¹ “*Taypi*: from Aymara language, it can be understood as center or half” (in Salazar Lohman, 2015, p. 151)

¹² Then, for me the sensible thing is to work in the micro spaces with a view to a sort of medium space, a space that is *taypi*. *Taypi* is the place where you can dialogue with counterparts, it’s the intercommunity space[...]

¹³ Initiative for the Integration of Regional Infrastructure of South America.

¹⁴ Rivera Cusicanqui’s words regarding the specificity of the Aymara philosophy but also shared many other indigenous and *campesino* communities in the world, remind me of this relationship of reciprocity, “la íntima relación entre la vida humana y la pluralidad de seres (vivos o no vivos) que existen en el inconmensurable cosmos: animales y plantas, sustancias, sitios y paisajes, rocas y metales, el cielo y sus miríadas de mundos, las profundas oquedades y ríos subterráneos del desconocido interior del planeta [...] El mundo del espíritu (*ajayu*) y el mundo de la vida material (*qamasa o energía vital*) están unidos en el medio (*taypi*) por una zona de

learned how the spirituality of Andean and Amazonian people has an important role in the defence of water, bodies of water, rivers and their communities.

Our group was formed by Paz María Sintia Plaza Hernández, Daniela Morales and Andrés Rafael Muñoz Ortiz from Chile, Amalia Nivón Bolán y Daniel Godínez Nivón from Mexico, Edwin Choque Marquez from Bolivia and Ben Denham from Australia. Producing the visual essay was difficult to organise due to the short time available and the different practices we had. The best solution we found was to make an installation where we could integrate our contributions to the larger essay. I suggested working on a remix to keep exploring this form through the lens of what we were discussing in the course.

The time frame we had was tight so the collaboration on the remix came to be spontaneous. My friends Daniela and Paz both activists, were interested in the idea of a video remix and wanted to participate in the process. So we shared some videos we knew from our respective places but it was Dani who gave us a long list of documentaries about resistances to megaprojects related to water in Colombia and Chile. I think of Dani's sharing of these videos with us as an act of recirculation.

Paz and I watched these videos over the course of a day, listening and watching for samples. The process of deciding on what to sample was spontaneous and largely unspoken. When we were both struck by a particular clip we would turn to look at each other knowing that what we had just seen was something that we needed to include in the remix. Often when we looked at each other we would both have tears in our eyes. All the documentaries we were sharing had the same tone in defense of water by diverse communities against projects imposed from the top down. They all have strong indigenous voices with a spiritual connection with the rivers, lakes and territories they are defending.

contacto, encuentro y violencia. En este mundo tripartito, el choque u oposición deviene en una fuente de dinamismo: infunde incertidumbre y contingencia al mundo humano y al cosmos en su conjunto, y es precisamente ésta la razón por la que la acción colectiva y la transformación de lo existente se hace posible.” The intimate relationship between human life and the plurality of beings (living and non-living) that exist in the immeasurable cosmos: animals and plants, substances, sites and landscapes, rocks and metals, the sky and its myriads of worlds, the depth of cavities and underground rivers from the planet's unknown interior [...] The world of the spirit (*ajayu*) and the world of the material life (*qamasa* or vital energy) are joined in the middle (*taypi*) by a contact zone of encounter and violence. In this tripartite world, the collision or opposition becomes a dynamic source: infuses [a state of] incertitude and contingency in the human world and the cosmos altogether. This is the reason why collective action and the transformation of what exists is possible. (2015, p. 209-211).

It only took a minute for Paz and I to decide all the voices in our remix had to be women because of their important role in the defence of their communities but also because we wanted the voices of activist Bertha Cáceres (Honduras), shipibo healer Olivia Arévalo (Perú) and Pehuenche leader Nicolasa Quintremán Calpán (Chile) to be *present* again, (both Cáceres and Arévalo were murdered while the circumstances surrounding the death of Quintremán are uncertain). As Quintremán says in our remix: ‘Yo voy a estar siempre para que ellos escuchen nuestra conversación’ [I will be here always so they can listen to our conversation].

Paz and I edited our samples in La Paz with the help of Ben who was working from Australia. Our installation in the kitchen of “el Tambo”¹⁵ was a dialogue of many smaller projects that we brought together as a larger group. The kitchen with a handmade clay stove allowed us to present our installation in an intimate setting associated with the everyday reproduction of life. The remix was projected along with a poem, an audio recording, photographs and a series of water-related figures made of clay and seeds (*nengo dango*) created by the other members of the group. In this dialogue, the relationship with water was presented as memories of the past with references to the tragic hail storm in La Paz in February 2002, and evocations of the many ongoing struggles against megaprojects, and also in its spiritual dimension through some Andean rituals such as *ch’alla de alasitas*¹⁶ which in this case were the clay figures, as a means to wish for the future health of rivers, forests and their communities.

The sharing of the videos used in the remix was as important as the process of sampling and remixing. The affinity started in the choosing of a workshop but also went further in the making of the remix. I think of affinity in terms of my experience where there is a shared sensibility but it is only through the process of working that these sensibilities and affections are woven together. From the stage of sharing the videos we knew that we had a political

¹⁵ “El Tambo” is the cultural and political space that was built by La Colectiva Ch’ixi, in which they conduct their workshops, their intellectual activities, manual work and urban garden. This video has the testimony of Maestro Gabriel Ramos and records the beginning of the construction of el Tambo. Directed by Marcos Arnez. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=liFDxO7_XIY

¹⁶ *Alasitas* is a festival where miniatures represent projected wishes of productivity and abundance.. The *ch’alla* is a ritual of reciprocity where the miniatures are placed in the soil along with coca leaves, cooked potatoes, tobacco, flower petals and incense. These objects are blessed by a *yatiri* sprinkling beer and-or spirits, followed by the offering of dancing, music and collective happiness to the Pachamama.

affinity, and at the next stage, in the practice of listening, we found out that we had similar convictions. The result of this was that the decisions came more easily and this affinity grew further, along with our affection for one another.

An important condition for this work is a non-hierarchical way of relating to each other. In this line of thought, when working towards a common project the process is the most important aspect, that is to say how we do things together. I think of affinity, not only in terms of *what* we share but also *how* we work.

Raquel Gutiérrez's words in my remix #1 highlight the process as an important aspect to consider in terms of social transformation:

creo que no conviene confundir, y no conviene confundir si seguimos empeñados en la transformación social, ensayando maneras políticas de hacerlo[...] pero tratando de compartir y de coproducir un objetivo común de transformación social, no conviene perder nunca los cómo, nunca, por que en el cómo, en esta forma, se va produciendo también el contenido de lo que enuncias (Iglesias, 2017)¹⁷.

These ideas resonate with what Carnes Ross says about anarchism in remix #3,

One of the most important things to understand about anarchism is that it is about means not ends. Is not a picture of utopian society, I am not trying to describe the end point to you. What I would only suggest to you humbly is a series of methods about how we might run out our affairs. That we should do so without hierarchy. We should do so on the basis of complete equality and inclusion, attending to the most vulnerable first and doing so non-violently, and if you follow those principles you would get a different kind of society. I can't tell you what that would look like, but I can suggest to you the principles of how we might get there (Brand, 2017).

¹⁷ I think is not a good idea to mix up, if we are insisting on social transformation, testing political ways to achieve it ... but trying to share and to co-produce the same objective of social transformation, is not a good idea to forget the 'how', never, because in the 'how', in this form, the content of what you are trying to formulate is being produced [...]

The ideas of Gutierrez and Ross, among others, stress the importance of focusing on the means instead of an end goal. I see this as an ethical principle that privileges the way relations are created among subjects in order to produce common practices that can be organisational, creative and political, among others.

I think of non-hierarchical ways of working in terms of this kind of anarchist ethics and through the concept of autonomy. The subject of anarchism and autonomy is too large for me to deal with in depth here. Instead I offer the definitions and ideas I have adopted from the videos that I've remixed. I draw my ideas regarding autonomy from indigenous communities and struggles including the EZLN Zapatista Army of National Liberation where the political subject is the community, which seeks to produce and reproduce collective life. These are the words of a *Zapatista*:

Desde mi punto de vista, la autonomía es saber y hacer. Es tener confianza en el corazón de que aunque no sepamos pues vamos a aprender del otro y de ahí de ese nuevo conocimiento, vamos a hacer cosas. Yo creo que con la autonomía, esos son los pasos y es por eso que ya sentimos que valemos algo, que somos de valor. Sabemos que valemos porque de nuestro saber podemos hacer y aprender. Aunque aún no conozcamos el camino. (Mora, 2018, p. 37)¹⁸

This definition emphasises an ethics of working together that involves difference, trust, finding things out and the connection between knowing and doing. Here I think of a non-hierarchical relationality among collective efforts. It also introduces the relation between knowing and affection, a combination of elements that binary systems keep separate. This definition is political and affirmative, allowing autonomy to be understood in its collective dimensions and its role in creativity. The way autonomy is understood by the Zapatista suggests to me a process in which there is collective authorship. Zibechi (2019) points out in this regard:

¹⁸ To me autonomy is knowing and doing, it is trusting in one's heart that even though we don't know yet, we are going to learn from each other, and from this new knowledge we are going to create things. I think that with autonomy, those are the steps and that is why we already feel that we are worth something, that we have value. We know that we have value because from our knowing we can do and learn, even though we don't yet know the way.

es que estamos ante pensamientos colectivos comunitarios, que hacen casi imposible determinar quién acuñó tal o cual concepto, lo supera la inteligencia patriarcal/colonial legada por las academias. Ideas que van germinando por fuera de las instituciones aunque estas siempre pretendan cooptarlas, y que son fruto de las comparticiones entre los abajos cuando debaten y combaten¹⁹.

I think of the samples used in a rearguard remix as part of this kind of thought and knowledge. From this perspective a rearguard remix is always collective and my role is as a remixer who aims to recirculate these knowledges. A rearguard remix also has the potential to be a collective process as in the case of the visual essay we made for our workshop in Sociology of the Image.

In summary the logic of sharing in rearguard remix has been permeated with ethical principles that I have *adopted* : by *recirculating* the remixes and their complete videos, I allow the knowledge I care about to keep *flowing*. Rearguard remix is *collective* because the samples are part of collective projects but it can also be collective in its process. It is *non-hierarchical* in its form because of its fragmented composition, but also has the potential to be non-hierarchical as a practice of collective remix as was the case with the remix “With the Guardians of Water”. Also because the practice of listening is the most important aspect of this kind of remix allows for collective decision making.

2. Remix Conceptualisations

Many of the ideas introduced in relation to remix in the previous section have not been discussed in remix studies. In this section I survey remix literature focusing on those aspects that I use to contextualise my own practice.

Remix is a term that in its broadest sense refers to the practice of using existing sources to create a new composition. While the term originally designated a specific kind of music practice relating to the origins of hip hop and rap it has been used to discuss processes of

¹⁹ we have here collective, communitarian thought, that makes it impossible to determine who coined this or that concept, it goes beyond patriarchal/colonial intelligence linked to academies. Ideas that germinate outside of the institutions that always try to co-opt them, ideas that are the result of the sharing between the oppressed as part of their debates and struggles.

composition in music, film, literature and visual arts and processes of culture in the networked contemporary society.

At the centre of my discussion lies the conceptualisation of creativity, culture, media and resistance. Cultural studies, media and communications, art theory and most recently the emergence of remix studies offer numerous but often inconsistent accounts of the processes and products of remix. What is present in all these discussions is the role of technologies of reproduction and the abundance of digital media content which has made these materials available for the practices of remix.

The conceptualisation of remix and its processes is multidisciplinary and often confuses remix with other techniques or strategies of composition (Gallagher, 2017a). Remix theorists have discussed bricolage, montage, détournement, pastiche, collage and juxtaposition as modes of remix in different media *or* as being distinct from remix practice. Broadly speaking the positions of remix theorists range from the notion that remix can be a metaphor to understand all cultural processes to a narrow definition of remix that involves specific techniques like sampling.

Where theorists use remix as a metaphor to understand cultural processes, digital technologies and their artefacts are seen to create a “cut/copy/paste culture” (see Sonvilla-Weiss, Nava, Lessig). In this vein Manovich uses this metaphor in the context of the “digitalization of culture” where ‘many cultural and lifestyle contexts (music, fashion, design, art, web applications, user-generated media, food, etc.) are governed by remixes, fusions, collage, and mashups’ (cited in Campanelli, 2014, p. 69). This broad conception of remix includes the way that algorithms present content in Google, Amazon.com, YouTube’s ‘related content’ and Facebook (Markham, 2016, p. 71).

My remix practice involves working with a much narrower definition of remix as articulated by musician and theorist Owen Gallanger. For him “not everything is a remix” (2017a, p. 31). For Gallagher “sampling is a precursor to remixing”(2017b, p. 261) and there is no remix without sampling. Sampling refers to the “appropriation of an extant recorded artefact as source material” (2017b, p. 260). He points out that

[t]his distinction is important for a number of reasons, but perhaps the most significant of these is that by extending the definition to include non-sampled material, remix becomes potentially applicable to *all* forms of creativity, thus diluting the concept and minimizing the potential for useful theorization of the form (Gallagher, 2017a, p. 40)

Gallagher differentiates two compositional stages of remix: sampling and remixing.

Remixing involves

deciding which samples to use, where to place them in the composition, creating juxtapositions of meaning by placing two different samples in temporal or spatial proximity, or recombining them in some way to produce something novel (2017b, p. 261).

According to Gallagher some remix theorists confuse remix with intertextuality. Digital technologies have played a role in this confusion because digital media has blurred media specificity. Gallagher suggests that acts of sampling across different media have their own specificity:

the language and effects produced by sampling in music, film, art and literature can be quite different [however] the fundamental act of sampling is the same in any media form (2017b, pp. 269–270).

Gallagher argues that “sampling is a fundamental property that makes remix what it is and separates it from all other forms” (2017a, p. 31). His conception of the centrality of sampling as fundamental to remix allowed me to think remix beyond the popular culture context in which it is often discussed. It also helped me to move beyond the discussions of remix as a metaphor for all cultural processes. Drawing on Gallagher’s definition, I followed a line of inquiry that is concerned with the importance of specificity and differentiation in remix practice, activist debate and *ch’ixi* epistemology. This involves the need to see the role of sampling in relation to specific materials –video and audio produced by grassroots activists and activist intellectuals/militant researchers. There are other qualities that are relevant to distinguish remix from other techniques and strategies, such as the fundamentally unfinished aspect of remix. This has been discussed by theorist Annette N. Markham who uses this quality to distinguish between bricolage and remix.

This leads me to conceive remix as a *practice of listening* in relation to social struggles. Sampling has an important role to play in learning to listen and as a way of engaging with a digital oral archive that is being produced by people and collectives who are discussing their struggles and political practices. The creative component of this research aims to explore and discuss the question: can remix be an effective and non-extractivist form of engagement with social struggles? Before expanding on this, in the following section I offer an outline of definitions of video remix, their political or critical aspects and the ways in which these have been theorised.

2.1 Video Remix

Video remixes range from entertainment and aesthetic experimentation to remixes that involve reflection, commentary or critique of mainstream media sources. There are two categories of video remix that are relevant to my project but inadequate in describing the way I want to explore remix practice: *political* and *critical* video remix. Most works in these categories draw samples from mass media and popular culture. Visual artist Gustavo Romano for instance, explains how remix practitioners might use these materials to change our understanding of this mass media:

Though all remixing involves a change in meaning with respect to the original work there are certain works that wage decided attacks on the ideas conveyed by the originals. We will, thus, find works undertaking these attacks with tactics like sabotage, distortion, or aikido-like methods through which one uses his opponent's own effort against him, revealing his weak points (2014, p. 427).

In this way *political* or *critical* remix can be used as a reaction to the cultural products of mainstream media and their market-driven logic. This is related to an important thread in remix literature that discusses copyright and the advocacy of a “free culture” as evidenced in the works of Lawrence Lessig and Henry Jenkins. From this perspective remix is considered as anti-capitalist in that it “presents a direct sabotage to the cultural industries with its own instruments” (O’Dwyer, 2014, p. 325). These aspects of corporate cultural products as both

social constructions of particular images and the privatisation of cultural goods are present in the conceptualisation of political and critical remix.

2.3 Political and critical remix

According to several remix theorists (see Conti, Gallagher, Russell) political and critical video remix involves the appropriation of pre-existing audio-visual materials through sampling and their reconfiguration into a critical perspective in relation to the hegemonic discourse of mainstream media and popular culture (Conti, 2014; Gallagher, 2017b; Russell, 2014). There are three points to note about this discussion of political and critical video remix. Firstly, these discussions focus on works that use sample materials from commercial media and popular culture. Secondly the terms *political* and *critical* are understood in relation to “power structures” of corporate and government “media identities”. Thirdly these political/critical videos have been theorised largely in terms of discourse and rhetoric.²⁰

Political and/or critical video remix has been discussed in many ways. As a vehicle of ‘self-expression’ (Russell, 2014), as a set of “techno-political tools” (Peverini, 2014), as a “queer act” (Kreisinger, 2014), as discourse (Navas and Jenkins in O’Dwyer, 2014) and as a form of digital argument or rhetoric (Church, 2014; Conti, 2014; Gallagher, 2017a; Kuhn, 2012).

Rhetoric, or the “art of persuasion,” is historically associated with speech. Virginia Kuhn (2012) considers video remix as a “speech act” and draws on Walter Ong’s works on orality and John Berger’s language of images. Kuhn discusses remix as “a digital argument that works across the registers of sound, text, and image to make claims and provides evidence to support those claims” (2012). In the same vein other theorists see the products and practices of video remix in pedagogical terms related to “what students can learn about political rhetoric and activism by crafting video remixes” (Dubisar & Palmeri, 2010, p. 78).

²⁰ These remixes are examples that have been discussed as political/critical remix in the literature: “Don Loves Roger” by Elisa Kreisinger, 2012 <https://vimeo.com/38342068> ; “Buffy vs Edward: Twilight Remixed” by John McIntosh, 2009 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RZwM3GvaTRM> ; “Planet of the Arabs” by Jaqueline Salloum and Meghan Eckman, 2005 <https://vimeo.com/100777821>

Like Kuhn I am interested in exploring orality in relation to the videos I am using. However, instead of thinking in terms of rhetoric or argument, I follow a different path that is closer to the sources I am working with – videos produced by grassroots activists that can be seen in terms of what Boavetura de Sousa Santos has called Epistemologies of the South.

3. Epistemologies of the South

In the last three decades Latin America has seen the emergence of social movements and resistances against the appropriation and devastation wrought by neoliberal and extractivist economies. As a consequence, collectives and communities have been organising in defence of their land, common goods, biodiversity and collective survival. This is part of a broader pattern of struggles and collective practices by indigenous and Afro-descendent peoples in Latin America but also movements and resistances that seek the “revival of non-Western ethical, cultural, and political imaginations in Africa, Asia and the Islamic world” (Santos, 2014, p. 21). As sociologist Boaventura de Sousa Santos explains,

[t]his is the case of movements or grammars of resistance that have been emerging against oppression, marginalization, and exclusion, whose ideological bases often have very little to do with the dominant Western cultural and political references prevalent throughout the twentieth century (2014, p. 21).

These “grammars of resistance” are mobilised to recuperate a life with dignity eroded and violently disrupted by the continuity of different forms of colonialism, capitalism and heteropatriarchy. These resistances and their ethical and political concepts have brought a diversity of epistemologies and ontologies to the “insurgent political imagination” for the purposes of emancipation. Along with new conceptualisations of life and human dignity, they also bring new emotions and affections (Santos, 2014) and different pedagogies and sociabilities. This is broadly what de Sousa Santos has called epistemologies of the South (see 2009, 2010, 2014, 2018).

It is important to note that what de Sousa Santos refers to as the South is not the geographical South. In his words,

The vast and vastly diversified field of such experiences I designate as the anti-imperial South. It is an epistemological, nongeographical South, composed of many epistemological souths having in common the fact that they are all knowledges born in struggles against capitalism, colonialism and patriarchy. They are produced wherever such struggles occur, in both the geographical North and the geographical South (Santos, 2018, p. 1).

This idea of the south is manifest in my remix practice in the way that I draw on voices, expressing these struggles against capitalism, colonialism and patriarchy, from both the geographical North and South. De Sousa Santos explains that the objective of the epistemologies of the South is

to allow the oppressed social groups to represent the world as their own and in their own terms, for only thus will they be able to change it according to their own aspirations (2018, p. 1).

“Experiencing the world as our own” is the title of remix #2. This idea is central to my remix practice. The demand by people engaged in struggles to be understood in their own terms is one that has been expressed by many groups and individuals (see Martinez Luna, Visvanathan, the Zapatista movement, Waman Poma de Ayala to name a few). Emancipatory struggles in Bolivia provide us with another example.

3.1 A lesson from emancipatory struggles in Bolivia 2000-2005

In Bolivia between 2000 and 2005, important questions were raised by a series of engaged scholars and militant researchers in theorising socio-political struggles. Sociologist and activist Raquel Gutierrez discusses these questions in her article *The Rhythms of the Pachakuti* (2012). She describes how within the popular mobilisations people were discussing and interpreting their own experiences of resistance (2012, p. 52). Similarly militant researcher Raul Zibechi points to this as a general characteristic of anti-neoliberal social movements in Latin America:

New ways of thinking emerged from this other world. Up to now, the production of theory was undertaken by agencies of the state, the academy, and political parties. Now the movement[s] itself produces theories that are embodied in non-capitalist social relations. (2012, p. 53)

While Gutierrez's approach to research was developed as a *theoretical strategy* that sought "to present events and facts as practical productions and reflections of socially situated people, or in turn assume certain political intentions [...]" (2012, p. 53). Zibechi suggests that "our task is not to state what the political action of the excluded should be [...] but to determine what is happening among the social groups [...] that feed the most active movements." (2012, p. 76)

Both Zibechi and Gutierrez question the notion of objectivity and positivist paradigms of social inquiry in relation to social movements or as Zibechi refers to them "*pueblos en movimiento*"²¹ [peoples in movement] (2019). The questions that arise regarding how to engage with these theories, struggles and their political imaginaries are not only methodological but also ethical and political questions.

Similar discussions have been approached from different theoretical perspectives including postcolonial, feminist, subaltern and theories of decolonisation. Edward Said (1989) argued that very little of the literature produced in the Third World

reaches the inner chambers of and *has no effect* on general *disciplinary or discursive discussion* in metropolitan centres. Instead, the Western Africanist reads African writers *as source material* for their research, Western Middle East specialist treat Arab or Iranian texts *as primary evidence* for their research, *while the direct*, even importunate solicitations of *debate and intellectual engagement* from the formerly colonized are left largely unattended. (1989, p. 219) [italics are mine]

Bolivian activist, sociologist and historian Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui has been critical of the ways Bolivian social movements have been used as raw material by some academics from

²¹ Zibechi (2019), in his use of *pueblos en movimiento*, explains how he came across this term in a debate around the Eurocentric concept of social movement by a young student, Katherin Mamani, from the Quechua community of Abancay, Peru.

Western Universities. Rivera Cusicanqui's work forms the core of my thinking about Bolivia and remix practice. She participated as a "cultural militant" in the anticolonial resistances of the Katarista movement in the 70-80's and collaborated along Indianistas-kataristas activists in the Andean Workshop of Oral History²² (in Sarmiento, 2017, p. 1337). In her article *Ch'ixinakax utxiva: Una reflexión sobre prácticas y discursos descolonizadores*²³ (2014) she describes the use of Bolivian experiences by scholars based in North America in similar terms to Said:

Las ideas recorren, como ríos, de sur a norte, y se convierten en afluentes de grandes corrientes de pensamiento. Pero como en el mercado mundial de bienes materiales, las ideas también salen del país convertidas en materia prima, que vuelve regurgitada y en gran mescolanza bajo la forma de producto terminado. (2014, p. 73)²⁴

Rivera criticises how these scholars appropriate concepts from indigenous intellectuals in ways that not only depoliticise and decontextualise them, but that also preclude any kind of meaningful interaction. In her words, "[p]ero la academia gringa no sigue el paso de nuestros debates, no interactúa con la ciencia social andina en ningún modo significativo." (2014, p. 69)²⁵

I argue that both Said and Rivera, like many others (see Simpson) make explicit the need for an engagement with ideas, theories and practices not as *resources* but as critical and political projects. These demands are in line with the concerns of Gutierrez and Zibechi in the context of social mobilisation: how to engage theoretically with collective struggles and their own concepts and frameworks of reflection. One form of engagement that is "non-extractivist" in the terms that have been discussed above, is what Boaventura de Sousa Santos calls being a

²² In their book "El indianismo Katarista" (2016), authors Pedro Portugal and Carlos Macusaya describe Indianismo as a movement and discourse that focused their struggle and critique towards the racialised character of the social structure of Bolivia, while the katarismo movement focused in the economic and cultural disparities of the *campesinos* (2016, p. 26). One of the main intellectuals of Indianismo was Fausto Reinaga who would define Indianismo as "un movimiento indio revolucionario, que no desea asimilarse a nadie" [a revolutionary movement of *indios* that don't want to assimilate to anyone] (Reinaga 1970, p. 154, as cited in Gustavo R. Cruz's book *Los Senderos de Fausto Reinaga* (2013)). To see the differences between indianismo and indigenismo see Gustavo R. Cruz's "La crítica al indigenismo desde el indianismo de Fausto Reinaga" (2018).

²³ "Ch'ixinakax utxiva: A reflection on the Practices and Discourses of Decolonisation."

²⁴ Ideas flow like rivers, from South to North and become tributaries of large currents of thought. As in the world market of material goods, ideas also leave the country as source material that comes back regurgitated and very mixed up in the form of finished product.

²⁵ but the [US] academy doesn't follow our debates, it doesn't interact in any significant way with Andean social sciences.

“rearguard researcher”. This involves a commitment to “knowing *with*, understanding, [...] sharing, and walking alongside” instead of vanguard theory that aims to explain and know *about* (Santos, 2014, p. ix) [italics are mine]. Rivera Cusicanqui also makes a connection between an *active rearguard* and the role of listening, as one way to engage with these practices and political projects. In her words,

Pero hay que tratar de articularse con esas redes desde la mejor actitud de retaguardia activa, escuchando primero. Tanto que nos han enseñado los zapatistas, el Óscar Olivera, etc. Todo eso que amamos tenemos que ponerlo en práctica en esta nueva etapa para rearticularnos con esas fuentes de pensamiento-acción. O atestiguar, no tener miedo a lo que uno no entiende...el camino es escuchar y no tener vergüenza de no entender. (in Salazar Lohman, 2015, p. 161)²⁶

The emphasis that de Sousa Santos places on the “rearguard researcher” and Rivera Cusicanqui’s “active rearguard” make listening a quality that is a necessary condition for engaging with political projects and their emancipatory practices. In relation to these ideas my creative project uses video remix as a form of engagement that, instead of explaining, works with the activist’s own interpretations of struggle and follows their debates. By creating relations between different projects alongside the original materials, I share these knowledges and experiences. This leads me to propose remix as a practice of listening. With this, I stress the importance of cultivating a practice that has been undermined by mainstream systems of knowledge and that has permeated our own sociability; but also as something that we can learn. Before explaining in further detail how the term rearguard is conceptualised in relation to my remix practice, I provide a short discussion of how listening is not considered as important in western societies in contrast to indigenous cultures and epistemologies where listening plays an important role.

3.2 Practices of listening

²⁶ We have to try to become articulated with those networks beginning with the active rearguard’s best approach, listening first. The Zapatistas, Oscar Olivera and others have taught us so much. Everything we love we have to put in practice in this new stage to re-articulate with those sources of action-thinking. Or witnessing, so that we are not afraid of what we do not understand... the way is listening and not being ashamed when we don’t understand.

In her book “The Other Side of Language” (1990) philosopher Gemma Corradi Fiumara argues that Western languages are more concerned with “the power of discourse” than with the “strength of listening”. She explains that,

[n]o one would deny that talking necessarily implies listening, and yet no one bothers to point out, for example, that in our culture there has always been a vast profusion of scholarly works focusing on expressive activity and very few, almost none in comparison, devoted to the study of listening. (Corradi Fiumara, 1990, pp. 5–6)

While Fiumara is making a philosophical argument it is one that equally applies to the literature of remix in which the practice of listening has been largely neglected. Reimagining practices of listening has important implications that go beyond Western knowledge systems. Fiumara argues that

If we were *apprentices of listening* rather than masters of discourse we might perhaps promote a different sort of coexistence among humans: not so much in the form of a utopian ideal but rather as an incipient philosophical solidarity capable of envisaging the common destiny of the species. (1990, p. 57)[My emphasis]

3.2.1 “Learning to listen”

Fiumara’s ideas are reflected in the work of linguist Carlos Lenkersdorf who worked among Maya-Tojolabal communities in Chiapas, in the southeast of Mexico. He shows that Tojolabal language and culture can be thought of not so much as a cosmovision but as a *cosmoaudition*. He considered Tojolabal as “language of the people that know how to listen” (Lenkersdorf, 2008, p. 122). In Tojolabal, the term language comprises both *k’umal* - the spoken word - and ‘*ab’al* – the word that is heard (2008, p. 13). Lenkersdorf describes Tojolabal philosophy as *we-centric* [nosotros-céntrico]:

[T]he expression ‘I tell you’ demands the *contemporaneousness* of two interlocutors, interpellated as: ‘I say, you listen’. Without a listener, there is no possible

communication. As we listen, we approach the other and we partner with him or her (cited in Gimeno Martin, 2017)[My emphasis]

Lenkersdorf points out that in contemporary European languages the “listening” part is subordinated to speaking (2008, p. 39). This has consequences in “a social, cultural and political context of speaking, of discourses and advertising that are flooding us”(2008, p. 39). Lenkersdorf encourages “learning to listen” along the lines of Tojolabal philosophy. The learning to listen has ethical and political consequences: “to enlarge *contemporaneity* means to amplify the field of reciprocity between the principle of equality and the principle of recognition of difference” (Santos, 2014, p. 13)[My emphasis]. Listening in this way creates a different space, a kind of “philosophical solidarity” necessary for a different kind of coexistence that Fiumara mentions above.

In relation to the idea of learning to listen there are other valuable lessons from a range of languages each of which carries its own ontologies. Linguist Nicholas Evans explains the word *ngurrahmalkwonawoniyán*, and with it gives us a glimpse into the world of Dalabon language, an aboriginal language from the Arnhem Land region of Australia. Dalabon is a polysynthetic language, so this word is composed by the agglutination of other words which in English can be translated as: “let’s listen, let’s attend carefully to this country, to this path’ and also ‘let’s think about where to go next” (Evans, 2017, p. 34). Evans explains that the word “wonan” refers to listening but also to all other non-visual forms of perception including thought or consideration (2017, p. 34). Both, Lenkersdorf and Evans translate listening as a practice that involves a different epistemological and ontological mindset or in the words of Lenkersdorf, in reference to Tojolabal language, as a *cosmoaudition*.

In relation to the discussion above and the demands of a non-extractivist form of engagement with socio-political struggles, I explore the practice of a rearguard remix that responds to these demands and draws on what de Sousa Santos calls a rearguard theory.

4. “Rearguard Remix”

I have already introduced the term *rearguard researcher* (De Sousa Santos) and Rivera Cusicanqui’s term *active rearguard*, and considered how listening is important to

understanding these terms. In this section I expand on why my practice of remix requires a new category beyond those I have found in the literature of remix studies.

De Sousa Santos articulates the idea of a rearguard researcher in relation to universalising tendencies of Western critical theory in his book *Epistemologies of the South: Justice Against Epistemicide*. He describes how the “Western-centric critical tradition[...]has failed to account for the emancipatory struggles of our time” and therefore “suppress(es) the cognitive dimension of social justice and thus renders universal the Western understanding and transformation of the world” (2014, p. ix). He contrasts this approach to what he calls

teoria povera, a rearguard theory based on the experiences of large, marginalized minorities and majorities that struggle against unjustly imposed marginality and inferiority with the purpose of strengthening their resistance. (Santos, 2014, p. ix)

I am using the term *rearguard* remix to differentiate my remix practice from the categories of *political* or *critical* video remix that I have outlined above. There are two reasons for making this differentiation; firstly the sources that I’m listening to are not products of popular culture or corporate media and secondly the kind of politics that I’m engaging with differs from the way that remix theorists define *the political*. For de Sousa Santos part of the practice of the rearguard researcher is following and sharing “the practices of the social movements very closely” (2014, p. 44). I use the term *rearguard remix* because my practice is not attempting to explain or know *about* but rather to know *with* through a practice of listening that involves following and sharing the debates and ideas of social struggles whose importance is underlined by Rivera Cusicanqui. I think of this kind of remix as a form of rearguard research and *retaguardia activa* that works with experiences of struggle and opens new spaces and possibilities for articulation between diverse voices.

Working with remix allows me to conjugate partial connections by listening for the resonance of ideas between differing practices and voices in social struggles. This relates to the unfinished character of remix as described by remix theorist Vito Campanelli, “in remix culture a work is never completed, it functions rather as a relay that is passed to others so that they can contribute to the process with the production of new works” (2014, p. 68).

Further to this, implicit in the remix form is the fact that the work is just one of many possible configurations of the material that is being remixed. Remix is a practice that can recognise what de Sousa Santos describes as the “incompleteness of knowledge”. This incompleteness is related to the fact that “the diversity of human experience includes the diversity of ways of knowing human experience” (2014, p. 110), therefore

[w]hat cannot be said, or said clearly, in one language or culture may be said, and said clearly, in another language or culture. Acknowledging other kinds of knowledge and other partners in conversation for other kinds of conversation opens the field for infinite discursive and non-discursive exchanges with unfathomable codifications and horizontalities. (Santos, 2014, p. 15)

In order to address the question of how we relate to other kinds of knowledge I draw on Donna Haraway’s use of “The Carrier Bag Theory of Fiction” by Ursula K. Le Guin. In my remix #2 Haraway contrasts the “The Carrier Bag Theory” to heroic narratives and stresses the importance of the small artefacts/actions such as

the shell that can hold some water that can be shared, the net bag that can carry food back to the camp, that can carry the baby. The kind of sociability that comes from communities making their lives together. (Evergreen State College Productions, 2016)

These are stories of collective knowledge for collective survival. They are not “the heroic story of the privileged signifier” but the stories that tell us about sharing and survival in community. This is related to what de Sousa Santos describes as “knowledge born in struggle”. He discusses the importance of social and political experiences of resistance to capitalist, colonial and heteropatriarchal oppression. Engaging with these forms of struggle is crucial to my conception of rearguard remix and to my definition of the political. Rearguard remix involves diverse conceptions of the political because the complex relationship between the three important forms of oppression (capitalist, colonial and heteropatriarchal) produces multiple and diverse forms to be experienced and resisted.

To underline the importance of how we define the political in relation to rearguard remix I offer the following definitions of the political. Firstly Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui’s definition of micropolitics which she sees as a means to

[La micropolítica es un] escapar permanente a los mecanismos de la política. Es constituir espacios por fuera del estado, mantener en ellos un modo de vida alternativo, en acción, sin proyecciones teleológicas ni aspiraciones a la transformación del conjunto de la sociedad. Es ese sentido es nada más ni nada menos que una política de subsistencia. (2017, p. 171)²⁷

In my remix #1 I have included three definitions from different intellectuals/activists. Donna Haraway sees the political as *doing something good in and for the world*. Juan Carlos Monedero responding to journalist Carmen Aristegui says that

la política es autoayuda colectiva. En un mundo donde nos dicen que deberíamos solamente cuidarnos a nosotros mismos, que tenemos que ser empresarios de nosotros mismos, la política es autoayuda colectiva. (Aristegui Noticias, 2017)²⁸

These two definitions of politics refer to collective action in order to improve our living conditions. Gladys Tzul Tzul defines the political in my remix #1 in the following terms:

[...]si pensamos la política como trama y no como sujeto individual de representación sino como una serie de relaciones y de estrategias, entonces uno podría comprender, podría acercarse a una interpretación no estado-céntrica de la política. La política no es únicamente aquella que tiene como horizonte tomar el estado y transformarlo[...] para mí el sujeto de la política no es el individuo sino las tramas comunales y las relaciones sociales que se establecen y se producen en el mundo comunitario, en el mundo comunal. (ALICE CES, 2016a)²⁹

²⁷ [Micropolitics] is to elude permanently the mechanisms of politics. It to constitute spaces outside of the state, to maintain in those spaces an alternative way of life, in action, without teleological projections or aspiring to the transformation of the whole society. In this sense it is no more and no less than politics of subsistence.

²⁸ The political is collective self-help. In a world that tells us that we should only look after ourselves, that we have to be entrepreneurs of ourselves, the political is collective self-help.

²⁹ If we think the political as a weft and not as individual subjects of representation but a series of relationships and strategies, then we could understand, we could get closer to a non-state-centric interpretation of the political. Politics is not solely the kind that exists within the horizon of contesting state power and transforming it [...]for me, the political subject is not an individual but the communal weft and the social relations that are established and are produced in the communitarian world, in the communal world

The last definition is from Maria Galindo, in my remix #4. She describes the political activity of the collective *Mujeres Creando* in relation to their graffiti slogan “Indias, putas y lesbianas: juntas, revueltas y hermanadas” [Indians, whores and lesbians: together, mixed up and in sisterhood](MACBA Barcelona, 2015) . Here the political is understood in similar terms to Tzul Tzul’s conception, the focus is not in the individual political subject but the dynamic relationship between these different forms of struggle.

Each of these definitions of the political comes from specific forms of collective experience. Drawing on de Sousa Santos I argue that all forms of struggle produce knowledge and should be shared. Maria Galindo agrees with this and states, “la única manera de regenerar, recrear y refrescar las luchas sociales es sí las podemos compartir” [the only way to regenerate, recreate and refresh social struggles is by being able to share them] (Radio Deseo, 2016). Rearguard remix is one way to share the experience and knowledge generated in struggle. This brings me back to de Sousa Santos and the importance of not wasting this experience and knowledge.

From different angles and perspectives I try to show how dominant epistemologies have resulted in a massive waste of social experience and, particularly, in the massive destruction of ways of knowing that did not fit the dominant epistemological canon. This destruction I call epistemicide. (2014, p. 238)

From the perspective of the rearguard researcher/remixer there is a huge archive of interviews, debates, and reflections that convey knowledge born in struggle and that are shared through audio visual media over the internet. This is experience that we cannot waste. The rearguard remixer engages with this material through a practice of listening by sampling and remixing.

I have already given a broad definition of how I understand rearguard remix: it is a process of inquiry that is non-extractivist, works with the process of listening to create relations among different political projects. I consider this creative practice as a means to “know with” and also as activism of the political imagination. In the following paragraphs I discuss a number of important ideas that relate to the practice of rearguard remix.

4.1 Political listening in sampling

I have described the concept of sampling according to Gallagher's definition in the section on remix theory. Remix culture is strongly associated with music production and other audiovisual practices. However, as my remix deals with different kinds of source material, the process of sampling has specific characteristics. Here I discuss the kind of listening I am doing and what happens in this process. I also reflect on the characteristics of a sample and its role in the articulation of rearguard remix.

In remix theory and practice, sampling is considered a distinctive part of the process. In the process of a rearguard remix, listening is a means to generate samples and an ongoing practice. In relation to what I have already said about the need to learn to listen, it is important for me to clarify the kind of listening that I am doing. It is what John Gibling calls political listening. In his book 'Historia Oral de la Infamia' [Oral history of infamy] he reconstructs the events of September 26, 2014 from testimonies of students of Ayotzinapa who survived police attacks in Iguala, Guerrero. In my remix #2 he explains:

Yo por lo menos pienso, para ubicar el trabajo, para orientar donde ir, a quien escuchar, pregunto ¿a quién le duele más esa historia? ¿quién lo sufre realmente? A las personas que lo vivieron en sus cuerpos y las personas que viven la ausencia de esa desaparición. (Para leer en libertad, 2016)³⁰

In this way Gibling gives me an ethical principle that guides my own listening. Gibling's words reflect the practices and conceptualisations of politics I am trying to engage with: those discussed by Rivera Cusicanqui, Galindo, Haraway, Monedero and Tzul Tzul. The act of listening in my rearguard remix practice involves paying attention to the struggles of those who have resisted multiple oppressions. The knowledge of these people is incorporated in bodies and subjectivity that have been experienced individually and collectively. It is important for me to listen to the words of the indigenous peoples, the anarchist and feminist activists, the relatives of the forcibly disappeared, and the women and people who have been affected by state violence in multiple ways. In other words the ones who have been *most hurt*.

³⁰ I, at least, think as a way to locate the work, to orientate where to go, who to listen to I ask, who does this story hurt the most? Who is really suffering? The people who lived it in their bodies and the ones that now live the absence of those who disappeared.

I have listened to hundreds of videos and have used only used a small fraction of those in the four remixes I am presenting here. The remixing of this archive has only just begun, and my practice of listening is ongoing. Other voices that are in my remixes belong to people who stand in solidarity with oppressed communities. Many of these have been witnesses or activists themselves. My remixes also include others who are researchers and intellectuals who are committed to *knowing with*.

5. Qualities and processes of rearguard remix

In previous sections I have mentioned some qualities of remix such as its logic of sharing and the importance of recirculation, and its unfinished quality. In this section I refer to other qualities I have mentioned: the logic of the multiple, and the capacity to create new relations. These qualities have been reflected through alternating stages of sampling and remixing. In this section I discuss four complementary metaphors that help me to think about what remix can be and do. My reflection on these metaphors intertwines the stages of sampling and remixing and allows for a more holistic view of remix practice.

The metaphors for rearguard remix practice are: aphorism and memory, ingesting, weaving and relationality, and intimacy without proximity. The remixing of samples, or fragments, creates a multiplicity of potential relations for both the remixer and the viewer. In this section I consider how the characteristics of the aphorism give certain fragments their sampleable quality. I use the metaphor of weaving to think about how I work with videos in the remixing process. My discussion of “ingesting” and “intimacy without proximity” is a reflection on how both sampling and remixing allow me to internalise the knowledge that I am working with.

5.1 Aphorism and memory: sampling in orality

I work with diverse forms of oral material that can be found in videos published online. These materials include conversations, interviews, masterclasses, lectures, debates and other kind of presentations.

My work is influenced by the Conversations of the World project produced by de Sousa Santos which is part of the research initiative ALICE: Strange Mirrors, Unsuspected Lessons³¹. This project is an exploration of dialogue and the co-production of knowledge. In these videos de Sousa Santos has conversations with researchers who feature in my remixes: Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui, Gladys Tzul Tzul and Mogobe Ramose, among others. De Sousa Santos explains that in his conversations with these intellectuals,

[...]the most important upshot concerns the comparison between the theories and ideas they have proposed in their books and the way in which they formulate them orally, particularly when engaged in dialogue. Written ideas are transfigured in remarkable ways when exposed orally and in dialogue. In general, through oralization, knowledge becomes more uncertain, incomplete, and less differentiated from other knowledges (2018, p. 188)

Conversation is a form of orality that is different from other oral forms such as interviews, political discourses or lectures. In her book *Un mundo ch'ixi es posible* (2018) Rivera Cusicanqui makes a distinction between different forms of orality

[h]abría que distinguir la oralidad dialógica, más íntima, la conversación de ida y vuelta, que ocurre en los contextos del hogar o del akhulli (consumo de coca en el descanso laboral o ritual) de aquella oralidad que se pronuncia, por así decirlo, con el dedo levantado. Me refiero al oralidad de los discursos estatales. (2018, p. 124)³²

Rivera Cusicanqui goes on to describe how this “orality of state discourse” is a form of orality delivered from positions of power. Certain kinds of academic discourse are also delivered from a position of power. In contrast the orality of conversation can be non-hierarchical, spontaneous and informal. In this way de Sousa Santos explores in conversations, a different form of producing knowledge. Rita Segato reinforces this point in remix #2 when she suggests,

³¹ <http://alice.ces.uc.pt>

³² We have to distinguish between a dialogic orality, a more intimate, a two-way conversation that occurs in a home environment or the akhulli (the consumption of coca leaves in the work break or ritual); from the orality that is enunciated in a finger-waving way. I mean the orality of state discourse.

una de las cosas que hemos perdido los académicos sobre todo, pero también la sociedad entera es el gusto, el placer, la fruición de pensar en conversación, que es la única manera realmente prolífica, fértil y productiva -en el buen sentido de la palabra- de producir pensamiento. (CLACSO TV, 2018)³³

In Rivera Cusicanqui's work on orality and ch'ixi epistemology, aphorisms have an important presence. She explains in an interview with Salazar Lohman,

Yo tengo mucha deuda con el mundo aymara, mucha deuda porque me ha brindado mecanismos de pensamiento y escritura que yo he hecho propios, y uno de ellos es el aforismo. El aforismo es, digamos, nuestro estado pre-socrático de pensamiento en filosofía, es un filosofar. (2015, p. 162)³⁴ [My emphasis]

An aphorism is a short sentence, synthetic in its structure, that might convey deep thinking. In the conversation of Rivera Cusicanqui and de Sousa Santos, she explains that in order to understand *suma q'amaña* (good living) we need to understand where this phrase comes from. Rivera Cusicanqui explains "it emerges from *las iujas* that are ritualised forms of discourse, they are aphorisms"(2014). In my remix #4 she states,

Suma Q'amaña, jakjam parlaña, jakjam sarnaqaña. Vivir bien quiere decir hablar como gente y caminar como gente. Y hablar como gente quiere decir: uno, escuchar antes de hablar. Dos, decir cosas que sabes y no hablar de lo que no sabes. Y tres, refrendar tus palabras con tus actos, eso quiere decir jakam parlaña. (CES Alice, 2014)³⁵

This aphorism has an important role in my research because it encompasses the ethical principle of listening that I have been engaging with in my remix practice. My proposal of remix as a practice of listening considers all of these assertions: the need to learn to listen, to

³³ One of the things we have lost, academics mainly but in the whole society too is the enjoyment, the pleasure, the fruition of thinking in conversation that is the only way in a really prolific, fertile and productive -in the good sense of the word - of producing thought.

³⁴ I have a big debt to the Aymara world, a big debt because they have provided me with mechanisms of thought and writing that I have made my own. And one of them is the aphorism. The aphorism is, you could say, our philosophic thought in its pre-socratic state, it's philosophising.

³⁵ To live well means to talk like people and walk like people. And talk like people means: one, listen before talking. Two, say things that you know and do not talk about things you do not know. And third, congruence between your words and your acts, that is what *jakam parlaña* means.

know with, and finally that this kind of listening is not tokenistic and can be transformed into action.

Rivera Cusicanqui's understanding of aphorisms as "mechanisms of thought" is important to my thinking. Aphorisms are memorable and invite the listener to a deeper reflection. In many cases aphorisms have a rhyming or phonetic structure that makes them easy to repeat and transmit (as is the case with *Suma Q'amaña*). These characteristics of the aphorism can also be thought of as *sampleable qualities*. In my remix works I have sampled many phrases I consider important because they are memorable reflections of political experience that also have implications for political action. Many of these phrases have the *sampleable qualities* of the aphorism. I have sampled many of these phrases in my remixes. These two are part of remix #2,

*...tú y todos estamos hechos de lo que amamos*³⁶. Mestiza healer in words of Mesturini Cappelletti (Chacrana, 2018)

It matters what story tells stories,

It matters what thoughts think thoughts,

It matters what worlds world worlds - Haraway (2016)

There are others that are in my remix #1

lo decolonial es una moda,

lo poscolonial es un deseo,

*y lo anti-colonial es una lucha, cotidiana y permanente*³⁷ - Rivera Cusicanqui (Intersticio Visual, 2019)

These examples contain all the characteristics of an aphorism. But there are other phrases in my remixes that are not as condensed in their expression of an idea. However, I think that their memorability and concision gives them an aphoristic quality,

³⁶ You and everyone are made of that we love.

³⁷ The decolonial is a fashion, the postcolonial is a desire, and the anticolonial is a daily and permanent struggle.

...we are what we remember...what you carry with you, the bastards can't touch -
Steiner (Krifko, 2011)

...this idea that philosophy is universal, is a subtle, almost inadvertent admission that those who have the power, have the power to create oneness out of pluriversality -
Ramosé (ALICE CES, 2014)

...philosophy, given the fact that it arises from the living condition of human experience, by virtue of this experiential diversity, different questions will arise and also different answers. Ramosé (ALICE CES, 2014)

*...yo no abandono la idea de la polémica ...si mis ideas no debaten con otras, se empobrecen*³⁸ Zibeche (RompevientoTV, 2015)

*...democracia es sustituir relaciones desiguales de poder por relaciones de autoridad compartida .*³⁹ - de Sousa Santos (ALICE CES, 2016b)

*...cuando verdaderamente se sabotea el poder, se viven como fiestas.*⁴⁰ - Tzul Tzul (ALICE CES, 2016b)

*...sin conflicto no hay emancipación.*⁴¹ - Monedero (Perez, 2013)

...philosophy or knowledges in general... is a reflection on the ways we can experience the world as our own - de Sousa Santos (ALICE CES, 2014)

*...la política es autoayuda colectiva.*⁴² - Monedero (Aristegui Noticias, 2017)

*...ni lo indígena es naturalmente comunal, ni lo comunal es naturalmente indígena; es una relación situada y concreta.*⁴³ - Tzul Tzul (ALICE CES, 2016b)

³⁸ I do not abandon the idea of controversy... if my ideas do not debate with other ideas, they are impoverished.

³⁹ Democracy is replacing unequal relations of power with relations of shared authority.

⁴⁰ When power is really sabotaged it's like a celebration.

⁴¹ Without conflict there is no emancipation.

⁴² Politics is collective self-help.

⁴³ The indigeneous is not naturally communal, nor is the communal naturally indigenous; it is a situated and concrete relation.

*...donde siempre cuidamos de cultivar cercanía y cómo gestionamos distancia, pero siempre cultivando cercanía.*⁴⁴ - Gutierrez (Iglesias, 2017)

I think of these phrases as aphorisms, not in the formal, literary sense of the term but in their capacity to be repeatable, memorable and as a means to produce deeper thought and reflexion. I consider that these samples are “knowledge born in struggle” and their role in the rearguard remix is to convey a situated practice by encouraging viewers to listen and observe the embodied voice, in relation, among the diverse ideas and practices included in the remixes.

5.1 Weaving and the weaver (remixing)

One of the understandings of the concept Ch’ixi comes from textile:

es un color producto de la yuxtaposición, en pequeños puntos o manchas, de dos colores opuestos o contrastados el blanco y el negro, el rojo y el verde, etc. Es ese gris jaspeado resultante de la mezcla imperceptible del blanco y el negro, que se confunden para la percepción sin nunca mezclarse del todo. La noción ch’ixi, como muchas otras (*allqa, ayni*) obedece a la idea aymara de algo que es y no es a la vez, es decir a la lógica de un tercer incluido. Un color gris ch’ixi es blanco y no es blanco a la vez, es blanco y también es negro, su contrario.⁴⁵ (Rivera Cusicanqui, 2014, p. 75)

In this description of ch’ixi in textile there is no fusion of colour, the grey is the result of an optic illusion between black and white threads. Weaving is a way of intertwining threads without losing their original colour and the material integrity of the thread. Similarly a remix video is arranged with fragments that belong to different contexts, conversations or presentations. In my remixes, these fragments have been arranged to form a new conversation. Before remixing, I have sampled fragments in a way that keeps the original

⁴⁴ Where we were always careful to cultivate closeness and also how we managed distance, but always cultivating closeness.

⁴⁵ Is a colour that is a product of juxtaposition, in small points or patches, of two opposite or contrasting colours such as white and black, red and green, etc. It’s the speckled grey that results from an imperceptible mix of white and black, which are confused in perception without ever completely mixing together. The notion of ch’ixi, like many other (*allqa, ayni*) belongs to an Aymara idea of something that is and is not at the same time, that conforms to the logic of the included third. A ch’ixi grey color is white and is not white at the same time, it’s white and also white’s opposite: black.

idea or phrase (aphorism) of a particular conversation. Once the samples are remixed, I think of them as maintaining their own specificity but *also* becoming part of something else, a larger conversation. This is more visible in the blog where I am presenting my video remix along with the original videos and the viewer can see the original context but also a new articulation of the samples.

Textile is also a very useful metaphor to explain the connection between the materials and the processes of remix. As I mentioned before, in the Sociology of the Image course, I participated in the Andean Textile workshop facilitated by Violeta Montellano Loredo to learn and practice weaving techniques.

As in many other art forms, in textile the process is as important as the result. An understanding of material processes is equally important in both textile and remix. To a large extent remixing involves relating fragments that were not connected before. Thinking of textile as a metaphor – a metaphor widely used in relation to text – I can see how in a remix video there is a “common thread” among conversations, discussions or lectures that belong to different contexts, subjects, temporalities and experiences. In weaving practice, much of the technical skill is developed through the hands knowing the materials: the qualities of the thread and the tension. The technique is intimately related with the materiality of the thread and its tension which in turn “leads” the body. Weaving relies on embodied knowledge as Montellano Loredo would tell us in her workshop: “the body remembers with the materials” (2019).

In the workshop, I spent a lot of time in the trial-and-error process of setting the warp (*urdimbre*) which is the basis of weaving. The only way I could get to know that the warp was adequate was when I was in the middle of weaving with the weft (*trama*): if the warp is too tight from the beginning every time the weft goes through the tension becomes tighter until it makes it impossible to continue weaving. If the warp is too loose, it becomes harder to organise the threads, making it difficult to weave. As I was learning I had to set the warp again and again until the tension was right. I only learnt this by letting my hands repeat the process of warping the thread (*urdiendo los hilos*) until that process was incorporated into my body.

This process of setting up the warp makes me think about how important familiarity with the video materials I have listened to is to my remix process. There are two levels of this familiarity. Firstly when listening to video material I relate it to what I have viewed and listen to previously. Secondly familiarity leads to the interiorisation of the ideas (“ingesting”) [more on this later]. In regards to creating relations in my video remixes, this process occurs when editing but the possibility of a connection occurs while listening. As I have mentioned earlier I have listened to far more videos than I have remixed. I have actively searched for many of these videos but others have been encountered following “threads” of certain topics, struggles or researchers and current events. When I listen there will be ideas that resonate strongly with other ideas I have listened to. When I am listening, I am also taking notes or transcribing phrases I find interesting, then I will download, organise and register the video’s details in my digital archive.

As I am remixing I don’t have a plan of the connections that will be made, instead I follow a few questions/topics that I have been thinking about while listening. These ideas/phrases are the starting points of a new video. Once these ideas are sampled and placed in a sequence of the editing program, I start with the process of creating connections with other ideas that I think might resonate. I think of the first key samples as a kind of “warp” that holds the rest of the samples. While remixing and weaving have their own logic and technique, the knowing of the samples (in case of remixing) and the tension of the thread (in weaving) is what helps to “weave” them.

To take this metaphor further, I am thinking of the role of the weaver in my role as a remixer and what this role does in terms of remix practice. Rivera Cusicanqui refers in many of her conversations and interviews to the weaver. In her interview with Kattalin Barber she explains the weaver,

(e)s una gran metáfora de la interculturalidad. Las mujeres siempre tejen relaciones con el otro, con lo otro [...] Siento que hay una capacidad de las mujeres de elaborar relaciones de interculturalidad a través del tejido. Es un reconocer también que el

cuerpo tiene sus modos de conocimiento. Aquí, en el colectivo, decimos que “la mano sabe”.⁴⁶ (2019)

In my remixes I am relating ideas that might belong to the same discipline but are situated in different practices. There are also experiences from different histories, temporalities and geographies. Here I think not only in terms of geographical/cultural diversity but also diversity of political practices. In a section of remix #2 I have sampled Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui (Bolivia), Guadalupe Perez Rodriguez who is an activist from H.I.J.O.S. Mexico (Hijos por la Identidad y la Justicia contra el Olvido y el Silencio) [Children for Identity and Justice against Forgetting and Silence], Boaventura de Sousa Santos (Portugal) and Donna Haraway a feminist scholar and historian of science from the United States.

In this section of remix #2, Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui begins speaking about how the experiences of Bolivian social movements are used as raw material by academics and politicians instead of recognising their agency. The next sample is from Guadalupe Perez Rodriguez whose father was forcibly disappeared in 1990 in Mexico. He describes his experience with an academic who came “to study them”. Perez Rodriguez responds by saying that they are not a “thing” to be studied and what they seek is solidarity not charity. Boaventura de Sousa Santos then speaks about how if the world is not experienced as our own we cannot transform it and the importance of reclaiming knowledge and philosophising in our own terms. And finally Donna Haraway talks about non-hierarchical contact zones between ideas and practices.

This way of working with remix is not about equating one experience with another. It is instead a way of creating non-hierarchical relations between ideas, experiences and cultures. Remix is similar to weaving in that it is a way of creating relations with otherness through a form of intercultural dialogue. Political ideas from different geographies and thinking practices are placed together without losing their own concepts, experiences and languages. Video remix allows me to put together these ideas/practices in an embodied voice, to hear them in their use of language and gestures, the tone and speed of their voice. In writing, these voices and their peculiarities are lost, so is the context of their conversation. In remix terms I

⁴⁶ Is a metaphor that stands for interculturality. Women always weave relations with the other, with otherness [...] I feel that there is a capacity of women to elaborate intercultural relations through weaving. It's a recognition that the body has its ways of knowing. Here, in the collective, we say that “the hand knows.”

think that the remixer, inspired by the weaver, has the capacity to create relations. I see this as a possibility to understand difference and to articulate plurality in a non-hierarchical way. The possibility of creating relations reflects the logic of the multiple and also reminds us of the incompleteness of experience and knowledge.

With regard to Andean textiles, many researchers have described weaving's transformative capacity, "*transformar lo Otro en lo propio*" [transforming otherness in our own] (Arnold, Yapita, & Espejo Ayca, 2016, p. 61). This integration of the other involves the domestication of animals and other creatures and spirits of the world (see Arnold and Auza Aramayo 2010) the revival of something dead as a new being, and mediating conflict through textile as creative resolution. Another point of connection between textile and remix is in the possibility of transforming something of the other into our own as I have described in terms of adoption instead of appropriation. I also relate the capacity of weaving to "transform otherness in our own" to the metaphors of "ingesting" and "intimacy without proximity" which helps me to reflect on what happens in the sampling and remixing of the videos I am working with.

5.3 "Ingesting"

In remix #2 literary critic George Steiner explains the process of memory in relation to Ben Johnson's use of the term *ingest*. He says: "ingest is like digest but is more powerful, you ingest it, you eat it, it becomes part of your fibre, heart of your heart, *cor cordi sursum* and it will stay with you". Steiner's ideas resonate with the process of familiarisation with material that comes from listening, sampling and remixing. This process involves a lot of repetition as I play back the sample in different contexts until I find an arrangement that I'm happy with. This repetition is an aid to memory. In video remix there are words and the body of the person speaking. Their gestures, their intonations, their interactions, their surroundings all say something beyond the content of the words they speak. These aspects of the video also serve as memory prompts.

Editing a video remix becomes a means to internalise the words of the speakers. *I have them in me* as Steiner would say. *Ingesting* is a result of the process of sampling and remixing. The words of a mestiza medicine woman in Peru, narrated by anthropologist Silvia Mesturini

Cappo included in my remix #2 resonate strongly with this: *tú y todos estamos hechos de lo que amamos, nuestros seres queridos, las personas, los lugares, las cosas, las palabras, los cuentos, los cantos, estamos hechos de los que amamos* (2018)⁴⁷. All of the videos that I work with are part of articulations of experiences that I value and that I would like to become a part of me as I have described above employing the idea of adoption. Ingesting these words through the process of sampling is a way to learn to listen and also to integrate them into my search for other ways of worldmaking.

5.4 “Intimacy without proximity”

Familiarising myself with the work of activists, researchers, collectives and their ideas, requires repetition but also contextualisation. Reading publications or blogs, listening to interviews and following debates have all been part of my remix practice. The sustained listening I have developed is a practice started before working on remix. This involves following YouTube channels, blogs, social media, and internet radio. It also demands a regular search for online videos sometimes published by organisations hosting a masterclass, an exhibition, a public meeting or interview. In some cases, such as programs posted by *Radio Deseo* or *Jichha* collective, I am able to follow the discussions that reflect the political life of Bolivia through the lens of their feminist-anarchist and *Indianista-katarista* visions. Their programs discuss topics like racism, indigeneity, democracy, patriarchy and political events occurring in Bolivia and Latin America. Other searching is done with keywords including names of indigenous organisers, and collectives that also come up in relation to political events and/or as part of a discussion in a talk that I have already listened to.

The sustained listening and ingesting of these materials has developed into a kind of “intimacy without proximity” (Haraway, 2016, p. 79). Donna Haraway uses this concept when describing the collective artwork Crochet Coral Reef organised by twin sisters Margaret and Christine Wertheim (2005). Around eight thousand people from twenty-seven countries have participated in crafting a series of crochet coral reefs. The act of crocheting produces the same kind of mathematical structure (hyperbolic space) that is found in the reef

⁴⁷ You and everyone are made of that we love: our beloved ones, people, places, things, words, stories, songs. We are made of what we love.

itself. In this way to crochet the reef is to become intimate with its structure and to create a relationship between the crafters and the coral reefs in the oceans. Haraway explains,

[...] but not by practicing marine field biology or by diving among the reefs or making some other direct contact. Rather, the crafters stitch “intimacy without proximity”, a presence without disturbing [...]. Intimacy without proximity is not “virtual” presence; it is “real” presence, but in loopy materialities[...]The crochet reef is a *practice of caring* without the neediness of touching by camera or hand in yet another voyage of discovery. Material play builds caring publics. (2016, p. 79) [My emphasis]

The art project Haraway is describing is quite different from my rearguard remix. However, she describes a kind of relationality through a creative practice and a ‘practice of caring’ that I see reflected in my own work. I care for the knowledge these activists, collectives and researchers are producing and enacting. I come to an intimate knowledge of the words, gestures, intonations and rhythms of speech of the people in the videos I’m editing. I internalise the emotion and conviction with which they say their words. This is an empathic connection between my body and their bodies.

Through the processes I’ve described earlier I’ve been able to follow the works, ideas, practices and ethical proposals of the people in my remixes. These ideas and practices change, adapt or confront the realities of the moment. I’ve heard and seen Maria Galindo as a radio producer and as an activist being confronted by the Bolivian police as a consequence of her public performances. Although the remix works I am presenting don’t contain all this information, the familiarisation has made me understand in a broader sense the political projects of the people in my remixes. I have been able to understand them not only in their discourses but also in their actions. I also have learned from their own web of relations with other collectives and researchers through their debates, their attempts at articulation or through their critiques.

Living in Australia I make sense of the Mexican and Latin American realities from a distance by listening. The processes I describe above are means of knowing with the struggles that I care about. The kind of *intimacy* Haraway describes is the relationship I have created and maintained with my practice. I understand *proximity* not only in relation to a geographical distance but also in terms of temporality. *Intimacy without proximity* makes

possible not only knowing with closely, without being in the same place but also engaging with historical events and collective memory. By this I mean that events and/or resistances that have occurred in the past can be understood through their current consequences.

In my remix #1 Rivera Cusicanqui says,

pensar la rebeldía como una brasa que una vez que se ha apagado el fuego, debe ser arrojada con cuidado, guardada, cuidada. Y en esa ética del cuidado, creo yo, tenemos las mujeres un papel muy importante junto aquellos indígenas y aquellas mujeres indígenas que están manteniendo en sus comunidades la reproducción cotidiana de la vida. Y contaminar a ese mundo masculino que nos permita hacer una articulación desde abajo para luchar contra el autoritarismo. (chaski clandestina-o, 2017)⁴⁸

Rearguard remix in its processes is a means of engaging with a practice of care in the way that Rivera Cusicanqui describes here. It is a way to care for the embers of rebellion. Despite the limitations of distance and temporality, I think that the creative work we pursue and share can be part of these efforts of “philosophical solidarity” described by Corradi and the political imagining of emancipatory practices.

Conclusions

In this research I have engaged with a great diversity of ideas and practices from different disciplines: social sciences, philosophy, art practice and activism. I see my remix practice, and my reflection on it, as a way of articulating different modes of knowing.

The diversity of ideas that I have discussed here in my exegesis could not have come together unless I had remixed them first. This exegesis is a reflection on the processes of developing a remix practice out of a listening practice that I have developed over a much longer period.

⁴⁸ To think of rebellion as an ember that, once the fire has gone out, has to be carefully wrapped up, saved, cared for. And in this ethics of caring – I think – we women have an important role along with those indigenous people and indigenous women who are maintaining the reproduction of life every day in their communities. And we have to contaminate the masculine world, that’s what allows us to articulate from below to fight against authoritarianism.

This has involved listening to ideas/practices that have sparked and nurtured my political imagination.

Remix in this sense has allowed me to present a temporary articulation of ideas. I reflect on the fragmented composition of remix in relation to Rivera Cusicanqui's discussion of fragmentation:

este encuentro se llama “encuentro en tiempos de fragmentación” y yo soy partidaria del fragmento, no postulo las unidades ficticias y discursivas muy típicas de las izquierdas, pero pienso que el fragmento puede florecer si trabaja la memoria comunal, si profundiza la reflexión que nos permita ser nosotros mismos a partir de una búsqueda epistémica de nuestra alteridad, de nuestra diferencia. Por eso no postulo la unidad, postulo la articulación de diferencias. (chaski clandestina-o, 2017)⁴⁹

This quote/sample is important to my understanding of remix as a practice of articulating fragments and different perspectives. What is relevant is not diversity per se but how we articulate difference in a common project without losing the specificity of particular political projects. I see remix as a means to do this. I have named my remix #1 with the words, “Encuentros en tiempos de fragmentación” [Encounters in times of fragmentation] precisely because I relate to those words in the way I see video remix as a medium of relating diverse ideas and the need to learn from different forms of political perspectives and practices.

I see the articulation I have proposed in each of the video remixes as provisional. This articulation is about questioning and creating relations regarding political practices and the ideas that surround them. By presenting the remixes with the originals, I am inviting the viewer to explore them and make their own inquiry into these ideas, adding her/his own references.

⁴⁹ This encounter is called “encounters in times of fragmentation” and I am in favour of fragments, I do not postulate the kind of unity that is fictional and discursive, so distinctive of the left. But I think that the fragment can flourish if the communal memory is at work, if we deepen the reflection that allows us to be ourselves through an epistemic search for our alterity, our difference. That is why I do not postulate unity but the articulation of differences.

I also relate to Rivera Cusicanqui's words in describing the various influences in her proposal of the Sociology of the Image as

Una práctica teórica, estética y ética que no reconozca fronteras entre la creación artística y la reflexión conceptual y política.(2015, p. 27) ⁵⁰

Rivera Cusicanqui told us at the end of presentations of the visual essays in the Sociology of the Image course:

Yo siento que investigar o crear son la misma cosa. Que crear o descubrir son la misma cosa. Y ponerse en sintonía con lo que una ha descubierto es la clave ¿no es cierto? Donde se disuelve ya las fronteras entre el arte y el conocimiento, en sintonía cognitiva que permite el grupo (2019)⁵¹

I think the practice of remix can be one expression of this too. I consider that remix in ch'ixi terms is a form of propositional art (Kosuth 1969) that interrupts binarisms, it is a proposition of what remix can be and also a form of research.

I see each of my remixes as temporary and virtual affinity-based communities of ideas, practices and ethics that I have adopted. If "we are made of what we love," the processes of remix have brought me closer to places and people that I came to learn from and have a great affection for. I am aware of the distance in time and geography, remixing does not replace direct, experiential engagement, but is a way of caring about and learning from these political projects. There is a tension here that remains unresolved, but from which I hope to have made something creative.

The urgent times we are living through, in addition to an excess of information, make it difficult to process and articulate a collective response. In this urgency, against its very logic, I think that what we need is to make the time to listen. This research tries to situate our debates not only in possible solutions but also in the process of how we articulate difference

⁵⁰ A theoretical, aesthetic and ethical practice that does not recognise borderlines between artistic creation and conceptual and political reflection.

⁵¹ I feel that to investigate or create is the same thing. That creating or finding out are the same thing. And to be in tune with what we have discovered is key, right? Where the frontiers between art and knowledge are dissolved, in the cognitive consonance that the [working] group allows.

in its plurality and how we can reflect reality as our own so we can transform it in collective terms. The articulation through remix of political diversity in the practices of individuals and groups has led me to understand their knowledge not as formulas to reproduce but as ethical principles that can be reconfigured in our own contexts and practices.

This brings me back to three important ideas about listening that have come up in my remixes and exegesis and that I would like to end with. Firstly the Zapatista notion of autonomy, where, when we are confronted by a situation in which we don't know the solution, we have confidence that we can learn from each other and with this knowledge work through our problems. Secondly the Aymara aphorism of Buen Vivir, *Suma Q'amaña, jakjam parlaña, jakjam sarnaqaña*. Here "talking as people" means to listen first before talking, to talk of what we know and not talk of what we don't know and finally that our words are congruent with our practices. And thirdly the Dalabon word *ngurrahmalkwonawoniyan*, "let's listen, let's attend carefully to this country, to this path" to these struggles and knowledges, and then "let's think about where to go next."

Appendix

List of links for each remix.

Remix #1 “Encuentros en tiempos de fragmentación” / Encounters in times of fragmentation:

Encuentro en tiempos de fragmentacion Mesa 1 Participacion Virtual de Silvia Rivera
Cusicanqui

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CCffw4NSrMg>

Conversations of The World - Mogobe B Ramose and Boaventura de Sousa Santos (Part
1).mp4

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UEDNoZg3G4Y>

Clase Magistral. Teoria del estado. Juan Carlos Monedero1

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0VXoxXYVMzQ>

Donna Haraway - Staying with the Trouble_ Making Kin in the Chthulucene

<https://vimeo.com/214924486>

María Galindo en Lima -Conversa sobre A despatriarcar y Espejito Mágico en La Libre de
Barranco

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HnYFUDbbL2s>

Olvido, Memoria y Conflicto

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mM10Hl4hx3c&feature=emb_logo

A Contracorriente -13 de agosto 2015- Entrevista a Raúl Zibechi - Movimientos
antisistémicos

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lZdGWPXQgk>

Manifiesto de sedición feminista

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZqpCUDnuYt4>

Otra Vuelta de Tuerka - Pablo Iglesias con Raquel Gutiérrez

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NtAETkGTOFI>

Habla Berta Cáceres

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NvIUOc5jrno>

Conversation of The World - Gladys Tzul Tzul and Boaventura de Sousa Santos Parte 2

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yLabZLEXbl0>

La independencia de Cataluña no se puede decretar de un día para otro, nadie cree en eso
Subirats

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TO5laDJ3oRo>

TV MICC CANAL 47 LEONIDAS IZA EN LA MANA COTOPAXI

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Duobct7BfuI>

Conversa del Mundo - Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui y Boaventura de Sousa Santos

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xjgHfSrLnpU>

Dwayne Donald - On What Terms Can We Speak

<https://vimeo.com/15264558>

Diálogo Silvia Federici y Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui

<https://vimeo.com/335774684>

Presentación de Libro Indianismo Katarismo. De Pedro Portugal y Carlos Macusaya

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YyoCZKEZKFc>

“México ha sido engañado demasiadas veces” J.C. Monedero

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LXO5HIPseBc>

2016 Anthropocene Consortium Series Donna Haraway

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fWQ2JYFwJWU>

Conversation of The World - Gladys Tzul Tzul and Boaventura de Sousa Santos Parte 1

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yLabZLEXbl0>

Rita Segato _ Eva Illouz - El impacto del capitalismo en la vida del siglo XXI

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8oqqpCAP2iI>

2011_Boaventura de Sousa Santos _A postcolonial conception of citizenship

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ref8zloyaPA>

Remix #2 “Experiencing the world as our own”/ Experimentando el mundo como nuestro.

George Steiner _ _I summon up remembrance of things past

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3xUzVfxwm_k

2016 Anthropocene Consortium Series Donna Haraway

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fWQ2JYFwJWU>

Ayahuasca, Power and Globalization Plantas Sagradas en las Américas

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=K7rY9fDJtr4>

Donna Haraway, “Anthropocene, Capitalocene, Chthulucene: Staying with the Trouble”,
Anthropocene: Arts of Living on a Damage

<https://vimeo.com/200992946>

Conversa del Mundo - Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui y Boaventura de Sousa Santos

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xjgHfSrLnpU>

Conversations of The World - Mogobe B Ramose and Boaventura de Sousa Santos (Part 1)

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UEDNoZg3G4Y>

4to. Coloquio Internacional de movimientos sociales, memorias y procesos de resistencia

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hHyJcDK0S2s>

Guadalupe Perez Rodriguez (H.I.J.O.S) 1:09:XX

Conversation of The World - Gladys Tzul Tzul and Boaventura de Sousa Santos Parte 2

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=P_19onHEBs8

María Galindo/Mujeres Creando: "No se puede descolonissar sin despatriarcalissar"

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pg8qf9NhcbM>

Rita Segato, antropóloga feminista, en Rumbo a #CLACSO2018, diálogos con Jorge Gestoso

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ownun24r-wY>

JOHN GIBLER Una historia oral de la infamia

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=B3VGRrTGagw>

Del 1 al 43... ¡Justicia para Ayotzinapa! [720p].mp4

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wtTk7aTx0TY>

Remix #3 “Con las Guardianas del agua” / With the Guardians of Water.

Sigo Siendo - Icaros amazónicos

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hGamDCSCWYs>

Ralco (2000)

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qei-M7_Xmo

El camino es el río

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Mco5-n0Tl64>

Berta Cáceres, galardonada del Premio Goldman 2015, Honduras

https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=291&v=S-2Muwo1jls

IIRSA, la infraestructura de la devastacion

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qDw8pHuc4cI>

Cuando los sapos se fueron a la guerra

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yY4JzVkACkY&t=444s>

Rio Blanco en resistencia.. legado de Berta Caceres

<https://vimeo.com/204134970>

Hija de la laguna

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mrt-nbxnjs8>

Remix #4 “Tenemos redes que seguir tejiendo” / Many threads to continue weaving.

Conversando con la hermana Gladys Tzul Tzul

<https://www.facebook.com/LaCurvaDelDiablo/videos/991194314356319/>

Conversation of The World - Gladys Tzul Tzul and Boaventura de Sousa Santos Parte 1

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yLabZLEXbl0>

1er Congreso Internacional de Comunalidad 2015

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HPZkfN1KZ6w>

Conversation of The World - Gladys Tzul Tzul and Boaventura de Sousa Santos Parte 2

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=P_19onHEBs8

The Globalization of Ayahuasca, Coca and Tobacco Plantas Sagradas en las Américas

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2X0D5XtiuMc>

CNI-CIG Chiapas se moviliza en contra de los megaproyectos y en defensa de la vida

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Pgu5TgRyfB0>

Velasco presume logros; policía reprime a manifestantes

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ceaSH1yZzmU&feature=emb_logo

Bruce Pascoe on the environment

<https://www.facebook.com/radionational/videos/10155658389717378/>

Conversa del Mundo - Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui y Boaventura de Sousa Santos

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xjgHfSrLnpU>

Patricio Mery Bell - Entrevista a Leonidas Iza. (España)

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uBXiGLtz9bs>

The oral history of Clarence Walden RN Awaye

<https://www.facebook.com/radionational/videos/375818096470306/>

TV MICC CANAL 47 LEONIDAS IZA EN LA MANA COTOPAXI

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Duobct7BfuI>

Marichuy, vocera del CNI en Madrid

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Igt-xhumfxI>

Sacred Plants in North Mexico Plantas Sagradas en las Américas

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gwLz3ubwZ0w>

Mesa Miradas e Imágenes Trastocadas

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7v904UhhbkA>

Territori i espiritualitat en les comunitats indígenes

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eBKhVh5hfl4>

32_34 Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=joXCm5hpg6A>

María Galindo_Mujeres Creando__No se puede descolonissar sin despatriarcalissar

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pg8qf9NhcbM>

Conversations of The World - Mogobe B Ramose and Boaventura de Sousa Santos (Part 1)

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UEDNoZg3G4Y>

SILVIA RIVERA CUSICANQUI EN BUENOS AIRES - ABRIL 2017

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=p2JTXy3Oyms>

La Curva del Diablo El indigenismo dentro del M.A.S Reinvidicaciòn política o pachamamismo

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YnrKWf0vA-A>

Does The Establishment Know Anarchy Is The Answer? | Under The Skin with Russell Brand

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6F73Z1BKHIs>

Bruce Pascoe speaks at the 2017 Southeast Harvest

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=j_fcOgY1eOU

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