

A Cholita Owning Her Story: The Indigenous Gaze in the Filmography of Delia Yujra Chura

Anderson Lopes da Silva

*Chulalongkorn University
Bangkok, Thailand*

Abstract

Delia Yujra Chura is a Bolivian filmmaker and activist, known for her work advocating for Indigenous women's rights, particularly the Cholitas. Her films explore the intersection of gender, ethnicity, and class, focusing on the resilience of Indigenous communities and offering a critical Indigenous perspective that challenges mainstream narratives. Yujra's work, especially her short films, emphasizes the Indigenous gaze, providing an alternative to marginalized voices. Therefore, the main objective of this study is to present an overview of her career, filmography, and activism for Cholita rights, with a specific focus on her films through Filmmakers' Theory. Methodologically, this approach examines films through the filmmaker's perspectives and ideologies, emphasizing the understanding of film as a personal expression rather than just a narrative product. In other words, the analytical exercise implemented here involves closely examining the interconnection between filmmakers' discourses and their audiovisual works. Despite Yujra's developing career and the limited recognition of her films, this study offers an opportunity to introduce the director and her work to scholars, while applying Filmmakers' Theory to a filmmaker from an underrepresented background, with an emphasis on films that have yet to receive significant academic attention. The research not only highlights Yujra's originality but also demonstrates the value of this approach in exploring less-discussed works.

Keywords

Bolivian filmmakers, Indigenous gaze, sociocultural and political activism, Cholitas, filmmakers' theory, Delia Yujra Chura

Resumen

Delia Yujra Chura es una cineasta y activista boliviana, conocida por su trabajo en defensa de los derechos de las mujeres indígenas, especialmente las cholitas. Sus películas abordan la intersección de género, etnia y clase, enfocándose en la resistencia de las comunidades indígenas y ofreciendo una perspectiva indígena que desafía las narrativas dominantes. El trabajo de Yujra, especialmente en los cortometrajes, destaca la mirada indígena, proporcionando una voz alternativa a los grupos marginados. Por lo tanto, el objetivo principal de este estudio es presentar una visión general de su carrera, filmografía y activismo a favor de los derechos de las cholitas, con un enfoque específico en sus obras a través de la Teoría de Cineastas. Metodológicamente, este enfoque examina los filmes desde las perspectivas e ideologías del cineasta, enfatizando la comprensión del cine como una expresión personal más que como un producto narrativo. En otras palabras, el ejercicio analítico que se implementa aquí consiste en analizar detenidamente la interconexión entre los discursos de los cineastas y sus obras audiovisuales. A pesar de la carrera en desarrollo de Yujra y el reconocimiento limitado de sus películas, este estudio ofrece una oportunidad para presentar a la directora y su obra a los académicos, mientras se aplica la Teoría de Cineastas a una realizadora de un contexto infrarrepresentado, con un énfasis en las películas que aún no han recibido atención académica significativa. La investigación no solo destaca la originalidad de Yujra, sino que también demuestra el valor de este enfoque para explorar obras menos discutidas.

Palabras clave

Cineastas bolivianos, mirada indígena, activismo sociocultural y político, cholitas, teoría de cineastas, Delia Yujra Chura

Introduction

Delia Yujra Chula is a prominent Bolivian filmmaker and activist known for her work in advocating for the rights of Indigenous women, particularly Cholitas. Her filmmaking journey is deeply intertwined with her commitment

to challenging social injustices and highlighting Indigenous cultures and experiences. Yujra's works primarily focus on the intersectionality of gender, ethnicity, and class, often portraying the struggles and resilience of Indigenous communities. Through her films, especially in the short documentary genre, she presents a unique perspective that foregrounds the Indigenous gaze, offering a critical response to the mainstream narratives surrounding marginalized groups. Yujra's contributions to both cinema and activism have made her an important figure in contemporary Bolivian filmmaking, pushing boundaries while amplifying the voices of those often left unheard.

This is an initial attempt to gather information and context in order to systematically present the director's contemporary production and, more importantly, maintain a formal, research-based record of her career, artistic concerns, aesthetic approaches, political activism for Cholitas' rights, and, as an analytical proposal, the critical unveiling of an Indigenous gaze in her filmography (particularly in relation to the short film format). Therefore, the three central objectives of this study are as follows: (A) to examine the current career of filmmaker Delia Yujra Chura, highlighting her artistic trajectory in relation to her activism for the rights of the Cholitas; (B) to provide an initial overview of her filmography and participation in festivals, offering a systematic approach to her work; and (C) to conduct a brief analytical exercise on one of three of her short films, namely *Superación* (2010), *Atipxawi* (2012), and *Jakawisa* (2020), exploring how the filmmaker connects her aesthetic concerns with intersectional issues through the Indigenous gaze. Regarding the three short films, it is important to note that these works were written, directed, and performed by Delia Yujra, with her as the lead actress (whether in a fictional or documentary perspective).

The main approach used here is the Filmmakers' Theory, as developed by Graça, Baggio, and Penafria (2015, 2023). This framework is used to analyze cinematic works through the perspectives and insights of filmmakers themselves. This approach centers on understanding film not just as a narrative or artistic product but as a reflection of the filmmaker's individual experiences, ideologies, and personal expressions. The emphasis is on how filmmakers contribute to the construction of meaning within their work, embedding their perspectives and worldviews in the films they create. In methodological terms, Filmmakers' Theory advocates for a close examination of filmmakers' discourses, both in interviews and other public statements, as well as in the textual and audiovisual features of their works (Graça, Baggio, and Penafria 2015).

Lastly, one of the challenges of studying a filmmaker like Delia Yujra through Filmmakers' Theory lies in the tendency to focus on directors with extensive filmographies and a wealth of publications already available (whether in the form of their own works in books, articles, or similar, or even interviews in both mainstream and specialized cinema journals). In this case, however, we are dealing with the complete opposite: we are discussing a filmmaker who is still striving to establish her place in the industry, coming from a socially and racially marginalized background (along with the gender-related issues that surround the filmmaking of female directors), and whose audiovisual work remains largely unknown to academic and intellectual circles beyond a few domestic or regionally focused festivals within the Latin American context. Thus, rather than merely identifying the issue as a challenge, it is possible to frame it as an opportunity to test the empirical elasticity of Filmmakers' Theory on research subjects and other audiovisual objects that have not yet been discussed in previous works. In other words, more than the originality of bringing Delia Yujra's work to the forefront, the use of this analytical perspective proves to be *sui generis* when applied to the case at hand.

Between films made about and by Indigenous people in Bolivia

The discussion surrounding Indigenous cinema and the role of non-Indigenous and Indigenous filmmakers in telling their own stories is crucial for the appreciation and preservation of Indigenous cultures and narratives. While there is an important discussion about the limits of what authors like Huijser and Collins-Gearing call "collaboration" and "appropriation" in the interplay between filmmakers and the Indigenous communities represented in cinema, the question posed in this article leans more towards examining productions that directly bring a perspective of genuine attention and care when working with Indigenous themes in the context of Latin American cinema.

Thus, cinema created by Indigenous people allows for a more authentic and faithful representation of their traditions, epistemologies, experiences, and perspectives—something that is often difficult to achieve with the same depth and nuance by filmmakers outside these communities. This is not to suggest that non-Indigenous filmmakers cannot produce high-quality, respectful films about Indigenous peoples. On the contrary, as D'Argenio shows, there are plenty of good cinematographic representations created by

contemporary filmmakers in Latin America who are not originally Indigenous, such as Claudia Llosa (Peru), Jayro Bustamante (Guatemala), Marco Bechis (Chile), and Ciro Guerra (Colombia).

In the context of Bolivia, a notable example is the work of the Ukamau Group, co-founded in the late 1960s by prominent Bolivian directors Jorge Sanjinés and Beatriz Palacios (Paranaguá; Seguí). As a key figure in the establishment and development of the Ukamau Group, Jorge Sanjinés, despite not being Indigenous himself, directed significant films such as *Ukamau* (1966), *Yawar Mallku* (1969), *Jatun Auka* (1974), and *Lloksy Kaymata* (1977). These works sensitively and collaboratively depict the realities of Andean Indigenous communities, using their native languages and featuring non-professional actors from these same communities, as explained by Seguí (2013); Gracia Landaeta and Tapia; Wood (2005, 2017), and Gabelia. Moreover, Sanjinés not only brought these stories to the screen but also involved Indigenous people in significant and prominent roles, resulting in meaningful films for Aymara and Quechua-speaking communities—in other words, “a cinema close to the people, serving as an expressive instrument and medium for them” (Sanjinés and Grupo Ukamau 80).¹

Even in terms of government policies, it is important to highlight the efforts made by the *Coordinadora Audiovisual Indígena Originaria de Bolivia* (CAIB) [Indigenous Audiovisual Coordinator of Bolivia], established on June 8, 1996, in Yotala, in the Chuquisaca Department of Bolivia. This initiative emerged in the context of the Fifth American Indigenous Peoples' Video Festival held in Bolivia, which played a crucial role in promoting Indigenous media representation. As a grassroots organization, the project was propelled by the *Centro de Formación y Realización Cinematográfica* (CEFREC) [Center for Training and Cinematic Production] as explained by Wood (2005). CAIB is dedicated to addressing the specific communication needs of Indigenous and Original Peoples throughout Bolivia. Its mission is to foster the development of alternative Indigenous audiovisual communication that originates from the communities themselves.

As studies by Himpele and Zamorano Villarreal indicate, the founding of this organization was significantly influenced by the efforts and support of three major national Indigenous and Original Confederations, reflecting a collective commitment to empowering Indigenous voices. By prioritizing community engagement and participation, the organization aims to create

¹ All translations from Spanish are my own unless otherwise indicated.

engage with an Indigenous gaze that is permeated with memory, resistance, and poetics.

In this context, it is also worth situating the idea of an Indigenous gaze within a broader discussion as is the case with Fourth Cinema,² a concept developed by Māori filmmaker and scholar Barry Barclay. Put differently, Fourth Cinema is a cinematic movement that seeks to represent Indigenous perspectives and experiences outside the constraints of mainstream, commercial cinema. This approach allows Indigenous filmmakers to challenge patriarchal and colonial narratives, offering a medium through which they can reclaim cultural identity, memory, and knowledge. Through the Indigenous gaze, Fourth Cinema enables filmmakers, particularly Indigenous women, to redefine what it means to be an Indigenous woman in the contemporary world (Gauthier). Using culturally resonant storytelling techniques, visual aesthetics, and thematic elements rooted in Indigenous traditions, Fourth Cinema creates a powerful space for Indigenous voices to share stories of resilience, resistance, and redefinition. “In using Fourth Cinema, Indigenous filmmakers can use the Indigenous gaze to create films that are revolutionary in subverting tropes and stereotypes that mainstream films are preoccupied with perpetuating” (Osborne 13).

Forwarding an argument made by José Luis Reza, in Latin America, Indigenous communities have long been engaged in a struggle for self-representation in audiovisual media, aiming to reclaim technology and communication tools to share their narratives authentically. This learning journey has enabled them to adopt and adapt visual language within their communities, reshaping their interactions with the wider world. Likewise, in the words of Castells i Talens, Latin American Indigenous cinema has evolved into a significant movement, transcending mere trends to establish a powerful force evident in the proliferation of festivals and projects both in the Americas and Europe. Central to this movement is the unique perspective of Indigenous filmmakers, whose narratives challenge and redefine historical accounts that have long been marginalized. This cinema serves not only as a medium

² Briefly explained, First Cinema refers to mainstream commercial films, primarily from Hollywood. Second Cinema encompasses independent films that focus on artistic expression, following European vanguard movements like the *Nouvelle Vague*. Third Cinema, in contrast, emphasizes social and political issues from the perspective of marginalized communities, particularly within the Global South. This includes movements such as *cinema novo* in Latin America, which aim to challenge dominant narratives and promote cultural identity (Buchsbaum).

of artistic expression but also as a communal tool for cultural and social empowerment, democratizing audiovisual production and allowing communities to reclaim their stories. As Indigenous cinema continues to flourish, it becomes a vital space for the training and development of future filmmakers, highlighting the importance of representation in reshaping the broader cinematic landscape (Castells i Talens).

Osborne further argues that the Indigenous gaze fundamentally challenges the dehumanization and objectification of Indigenous women, moving away from narratives that depict them solely as victims of violence devoid of agency. Instead, it provides Indigenous audiences with a liberating viewing experience that fosters feelings of inclusion, allowing for the expression and exploration of Indigeneity in ways that resonate with their lived experiences. By centering Indigenous perspectives, this gaze not only empowers individuals within the community but also reclaims their narratives, promoting a more nuanced and authentic representation in media. In other words: "Through Indigenous-made films, multiple and new perspectives surrounding Indigeneity can be explored and centered. No longer the objects of a white, colonial gaze, Indigenous filmmakers use their creative practices to embody the Indigenous gaze to tell their stories" (Osborne 15-16).

The Indigenous gaze, therefore, is a concept that permeates not only the processes of planning, creation, and development of a work but also influences the field of reception both within and beyond the frameworks intrinsically experienced by indigenous communities and those from outside them. "With their cameras, this new generation of [Indigenous] filmmakers is capturing Indigenous worlds imperiled but resilient," affirms NoiseCat (2020, 97). In this regard, the use of indigenous languages by the peoples who produce and see themselves represented in cinematic works can serve as a means of increasing visibility and, indeed, enabling the preservation of these languages. Indigenous knowledge takes shape through the language of a community and is also materialized in their methods of creating images and sounds that connect with this knowledge. Furthermore, beyond merely preserving the language, cinema produced from an Indigenous gaze enables filmmakers to experiment aesthetically and to contemplate issues related to elements such as "form, audience, and access" to their own works (NoiseCat 2019). Through this form of agency, Indigenous cinema not only preserves and celebrates cultural diversity but also functions as a powerful tool for resistance and identity affirmation concerning sensitive topics that affect these communities in various ways.

Associating indigenous culture with cinema provides the opportunity for indigenous peoples to engage historically in a larger human experience. As Keraj (22) states, the interconnection between Indigenous peoples and cinema allows them to link their narratives to a broader world, transcending a definition of their experiences that solely emphasizes “primacy or the past.” This connection not only enriches the cinematic landscape but also fosters a more inclusive understanding of contemporary Indigenous identities. By integrating indigenous stories into the cinematic narrative, Indigenous filmmakers can highlight the dynamic and evolving nature of these cultures, showcasing their relevance and resilience in today's world while inviting audiences to explore diverse perspectives and histories. Finally, according to Osborne (12): “Filmmakers can confront patriarchal colonial narratives to demonstrate what it means to be an Indigenous woman in the contemporary era using the Indigenous gaze and film elements such as Fourth Cinema to tell their stories.” In this context, the work of Bolivian filmmaker Delia Yujra Chura emerges as a prominent example of cinema where the intertwining of ethical and aesthetic concerns is intricately woven into the essence of her audiovisual language.

Delia Yujra Chura: A Cholita filmmaker from the Escuela de Cine de El Alto

In his reflections on what constitutes an Indigenous gaze, NoiseCat (2020) poses three questions that, indirectly, not only seem relevant to the trajectory of filmmaker Delia Yujra Chura but are also central to her connection between artistic creation and the political and socioeconomic issues surrounding her. Based on the three questions raised by NoiseCat, as a kind of possible dialogue between the two audiovisual creators, we can outline Yujra's trajectory as a filmmaker deeply influenced by the Andean identity of a *mujer de pollera*, the *Cholitas*. The first question concerns: “What is the responsibility of filmmakers to their community?”. The second question prompts us to consider: “How do we tell stories about worlds collapsing under the weight of colonization, resource extraction, mass extinction, and climate change?”. And the final and third question relates to: “[W]ho has the right perspective to tell those stories?” (97).

Regarding the first question, it is impossible to discuss Delia Yujra's artistic career without correlating her trajectory with the identity that precedes her—namely, being a cholita woman in Bolivia. In this sense, the ethnic-racial

identity of Cholitas in Bolivia is rooted in a long history of resistance and the revaluation of Indigenous culture, particularly that of Aymara women (McDonough). Cholitas, recognized for their traditional attire—featuring the wide-brimmed hat, the *pollera* (a multi-layered skirt), and the *aguayo* [a shawl]—represent one of the most visible expressions of Indigenous identity in the country (Canavesi de Sahonero; Díaz Carrasco). Historically, they have been subject to discrimination and marginalization in a society that prioritizes Eurocentric values, as explained by Rodríguez García and García Recoaro. However, in recent decades, Cholitas have emerged as symbols of empowerment and cultural reclamation, challenging stereotypes and fighting for the visibility and respect of their traditions and their position within Bolivian society.

Thus, Delia Yujra's story also intersects with the broader process of decolonization in Bolivia, particularly in relation to the recognition and acceptance of Cholitas—a process that has gained momentum since the presidency of Evo Morales (between 2006 and 2019), the country's first Indigenous president (Buitrago). Through various public policies, the visibility of Indigenous communities and their cultures has been promoted, allowing Cholitas to occupy spaces in politics, culture, and the economy (Soruco Sologuren). Their identity, far from being merely a symbol of subordination, has become an emblem of resistance against racial discrimination and a powerful affirmation of Aymara heritage. It has emerged as a key reference in the struggle for Indigenous women's rights within a historical context that has long denied them, even giving rise to what has been termed *estética chola* (Sánchez Patzy).

Born in Huatajata, province of Omasuyos, in 1982 (or, as the director often says, a *mujer de pollera from the orillas of Lake Titicaca*), Delia Yujra's journey in cinema began with an effort to hide her film studies from her own family (Machicado). According to the director, the only person who was aware of her dream and supported her education was her mother. The rest of her family, including her father, not only had no knowledge of her pursuit of cinema but also assumed she was following a career in sewing and garment making.³

³ Later, in a second interview, the director explained how she finally revealed to her father that she was studying cinema. While reflecting on his recent passing, she stated: "One random morning, I decided to talk to my dad. I showed him news reports about me and a newspaper article that had written a piece on me. When he saw and read them, he felt happy—proud of me. And from that moment on, he started supporting me. He even

"In my hometown, I'm just a regular woman, nothing special. But when I'm in the classroom, I feel so different. Through film, I can show discrimination, suffering, my culture, my traditions, what life is like in my village, and the challenges we face. That's why I chose cinema" (Yujra Chura 2011). Moreover, in one of her interviews, the report states:

After graduating from high school, Yujra felt the desire to continue her studies. "One of my dreams was to become a lawyer, and later I wanted to be a literature teacher, but my father told me that a woman's place was at home," she commented. Later, she came across an opportunity to study film, which led to her pursuing that path. "I arrived in El Alto for the first time. At that time, I didn't even know how to cross the street," she recalls. (Machicado)

Graduating from the *Escuela Municipal de las Artes* (EMDA), specifically in the field of Cinematographic Arts (which is also part of what is known as the *Escuela de Cine de El Alto*), the director explains that it took her 3 hours to travel from her village to El Alto, in the metropolitan area of La Paz (specifically to the *Centro de Recursos Pedagógicos* Bartolina Sisa in the Villa Adela neighborhood of El Alto) (Palacios). In relation to this issue, it is important to highlight the significance of public policies that provide access to artistic education (especially cinema) free of charge for students and communities who, through other means, would remain marginalized from a film education predominantly dominated by white individuals and families from elite backgrounds.⁴ In her own words, when interviewed: "Getting here hasn't been easy—it's cost me a lot. Sometimes tears, sadness, even cold and hunger. Everything I've had to go through to get here Some people understand, but others don't appreciate the sacrifices I've made. Traveling from my village just to attend my classes" (Yujra Chura 2014, 46:53). Equally important, during the same interview, she recalled the period of studying at EMDA, saying:

helped with the documentary I made in my village—it's called *Leñas frágiles y cenizas*." (Yujra Chura 2014, 45:19).

⁴ It is worth noting that the experience of precariousness present in Yujra's life and work also permeates her educational background. In a story published in 2013 in *Página Siete* in which the director (who was still a cinema student at the time) was interviewed, it was stated that the school, at that time, lacked adequate materials (in terms of laboratories and technical tools), faced a high rate of school dropout, and received little attention from the public authorities regarding the maintenance of the school's infrastructure and the allocation of funds for teachers and activities carried out there. (Palacios).

Now that there are only a few months left, I've been thinking about how fast time has gone by. I never thought I'd make it to the end. At the beginning, I wanted to give up. Along the way, I faced so many obstacles, and sometimes it felt like thorns piercing me. But at the same time, those challenges gave me more courage to keep going—to fight and show what I want to express through film. (Yujra Chura 2014, 43:06)

Spending between 20 to 25 bolivianos on nearly daily transportation, the director stated in one of the interviews that her financial situation, in addition to her of gender, almost became an obstacle to continuing her studies: "At first, I wanted to give up because I had neither the time nor the money, and I also had to take care of the farm" (Machicado). Outside her home, the issue of discrimination also played a significant role in the director's life. Regarding this topic, she mentions: "I've experienced discrimination—within my own family and in society. Not just that. Even when I had an accident and ended up in the hospital, they saw me wearing a pollera, coming from the countryside, speaking Aymara, and I was always pushed to the back of the line." (Yujra Chura 2011). In this sense, discrimination has always been a central theme in Yujra's work, reflecting both her ethical and aesthetic concerns, as evident in her early works from the early 2000s to her contemporary productions. When asked about this subject in relation to how non-Indigenous people identify her within cinematic spaces, the director goes on to say:

Let's say I'm on a film set, and I meet people who aren't from the same social background as me. Some treat me like I'm part of the cleaning staff, like I don't belong there. It still happens, you know? I've been in different offices, and just because I wear a *pollera*, speak Aymara, and come from the countryside, people ask me: What do you want? Where are you trying to go? In those moments, I've thought about walking away. But the first thing that comes to mind is: How many others go through this? What I'm doing matters. I have to keep going and keep showing these realities. And so, I write my scripts. For every act of discrimination, every humiliation—I turn it into a script. (Yujra Chura 2014, 48:06)

Ultimately, it is important to note that the director's aesthetic horizon is not solely confined to Indigenous filmmakers. On the contrary, among the references cited by Delia Yujra, the Bolivian filmmaker Juan Carlos Valdivia and the American director Tim Burton emerge as key sources of inspiration in her cinematic practice (Yujra Chura 2014, 49:57). The director's influences, as observed, draw from authors who are not Indigenous. Rather than being rooted in Indigenous thought, these eclectic influences engage her within other

aesthetic spheres. These external references challenge her artistic vision, pushing her to explore diverse forms of expression that, in turn, shape and enrich her unique creative perspective.

Yujra's Filmography and the Indigenous Gaze: Works, Genres, Formats, and Language

Regarding the second question raised by NoiseCat (2020), Yujra's works discuss, both directly and indirectly, how the situations and stories of colonization, colonizers, and those who were colonized (or are still colonized in different ways beyond the historical fact) are interconnected. Therefore, before mentioning the works, especially those screened at festivals and those available to the public online, it is necessary to clarify that Yujra's cinematography has yet to be thoroughly defined and studied. Given that she is a filmmaker still striving to establish her place in the cinematic landscape, there are challenges to locating all the works mentioned. Additionally, many projects may have undergone title changes over the years, been temporarily put on hold, or even abandoned altogether.

In relation to Delia Yujra Chura cinematography, it is important to note that there is a peculiarity regarding the availability of her works for viewing or even other documentation (such as fragments, news articles, viewers' reviews or similar materials) that provide insight into the entirety of her body of work up to this point. This can largely be explained not only by the independent nature of her films but also by the difficulty in finding distribution channels that might provide greater visibility for Delia Yujra's films. I have created the following Table to present the filmmaker's work by categorizing the results into at least four major categories: (1) Films showcased at festivals, (2) Films available to the public, (3) Films mentioned by the director but not found or unavailable online, and (4) Films mentioned by third parties but not found or unavailable online.

Title	Genre	Duration	Language	Categories	Observations
<i>Superación</i> (2010)	Fiction	Short film (3 min)	Spanish	(1), (2)	
<i>Atipxawi</i> (2012) ⁵	Fiction	Short film (duration?)	Spanish & Aymara	(1), (3) ⁶	
<i>Jakawisa</i> (2020)	Poetic Documentary	Short film (6 min)	Aymara	(1), (2)	
<i>Melancolía</i> (2021)	Documentary	Feature film (65 min?)	?	(4) ⁷	
<i>Jikisiña Chuymampi</i> (2024)	Documentary	Short film (12 min)	Spanish & Aymara	(2)	Co-director: Mauricio Ovando
<i>Ojo Sangre</i> (2024)	Experimental	Short film (10 min)	Spanish	(2)	Collective works (Escuela Popular de Cine Libre, in a workshop directed by Mauricio Ovando)
<i>Sol</i> (2024)	Experimental	Short film (25 min)	Spanish	(2)	
<i>La humillación y el coraje</i> (s.f.)	Documentary	Feature film (duration?)	?	(3) ⁸	
<i>Oscuridad en el amanecer 4:24</i> (s.f.)	Documentary	Short film (duration ?)	?	(3) ⁹	
<i>Leñas frágiles y cenizas</i> (s.f.)	Documentary	Short film (duration ?)	?	(3) ¹⁰	

⁵ Information gathered through the cross-referencing of Yujra's interviews and other sources from the screening of the short film during the cultural event organized by the Bolivian Cinematheque in 2014. During the interview, the director mentions that the short film was selected as the *Corto Brasil 2012* (Yujra 2014). Therefore, the closest date, given the impossibility of confirmation, falls within this period.

⁶ This work was mentioned by Delia Yujra in the TV program *El Ojo del Alma* (Yujra Chura 2014). The synopsis of this work was presented at the cultural event organized by the Bolivian Cinematheque, in the same year, and a segment of the work was featured in the television program previously mentioned.

⁷ Work mentioned by the Chilean director Camila José Donoso in the *Berlinale Talents Project*, in 2020 (<https://www.berlinale-talents.de/bt/project/profile/247863>).

⁸ Work mentioned by Delia Yujra in a report published by *La Prensa*, in 2013 (Machicado).

⁹ Work mentioned by Delia Yujra in the TV program *El Ojo del Alma* (Yujra Chura 2014).

¹⁰ Work mentioned by Delia Yujra in the TV program *El Ojo del Alma* (Yujra Chura 2014).

As can be seen, a crucial aspect of all of Yujra's digitally available interviews across various platforms and social media channels is the prominence of Indigenous identity, particularly the intersection of gender, race, and class through the figure of the Cholitas. It can also be stated that the director shows a preference for making short films (even though she still holds the dream of creating feature films). Moreover, equally important, the singularity of analyzing a short film lies in its ability to tell a complete story within a limited timeframe, typically ranging from one to thirty minutes. This conciseness compels filmmakers to be extremely deliberate in their narrative, visual, and auditory choices. Every element, from the script to the editing, must serve a clear and immediate purpose, creating an intense and impactful experience for the viewer. This economy of time not only challenges directors to be creative and innovative but also offers analysts the opportunity to explore how each aesthetic and narrative decision contributes to the overall meaning of the work, as Grande-López explains. In other words, as an exercise in critical discussion about the Indigenous gaze present in the director's filmography, it is possible to say that this ethical-aesthetic movement is clearly visible, at least in three of her main works:

(A) The issue of the Indigenous woman seeking to leave a toxic relationship and aspiring to study to become independent is a central theme in the short film *Superación* (2010). This narrative highlights the intersection of gender, ethnicity, and social constraints faced by Indigenous women in Bolivia, where they are often caught in cycles of domestic abuse and economic dependency. The protagonist's journey reflects a broader societal challenge, one in which Indigenous women must navigate not only personal struggles but also structural barriers to education, autonomy, and social mobility. By focusing on her determination to break free from an oppressive relationship and pursue education, the short film underscores the importance of personal empowerment as a means of resistance against patriarchal and colonial forces. Through the lens of the Indigenous gaze, *Superación* provides a critical commentary on the resilience and agency of Indigenous women, offering a nuanced portrayal of their struggles and aspirations for a better future, while also shedding light on the importance of education as a tool for social and economic independence.

(B) The solidarity among Indigenous women fighting against domestic and gender violence perpetrated by a non-Indigenous man against Cholitas is a central theme in *Atipxawi* (2012). This short film powerfully explores how Indigenous women come together in resistance to both personal and collective

violence, particularly within the context of racial and gendered oppression. The narrative portrays the daughter of a cholita who, after witnessing her mother endure abuse at the hands of her Mestizo stepfather, decides to subject him to the same conditions he imposed on her mother, seeking retribution and a better life. By uniting with her peers, she engages in an act of vengeance that can also be interpreted as a form of historical reparation.¹¹ This solidarity not only emphasizes the importance of collective action in confronting patriarchal and colonial violence but also symbolizes the reclaiming of power and agency within a society that has long marginalized Indigenous peoples. The film's depiction of vengeance is nuanced; it moves beyond mere retaliation, suggesting a deeper, more complex process of healing and justice that challenges the socio-political structures that have long oppressed Indigenous women. Through this act, the film underscores the strength and resilience of Indigenous women as agents of social change, providing an alternative to conventional narratives of victimhood.

(C) *Jakawisa* (2020), her most widely screened work, offers a more poetic representation, less didactically direct than the others. It addresses themes such as ancestral knowledge passed down through generations of Cholita women and their connection to nature. Rather than focusing on an experience of expropriation, the film emphasizes coexistence and memory. The narrative highlights three generations of Aymara women from the Titicaca Lake region in Bolivia, who work the land and continue a longstanding family tradition. The textures of their hands and feet, along with the materiality of the film itself, take center stage in the portrayal, reflecting the director's personal and intimate perspective on her family and culture. In this context, concerns about representation—and more importantly, the interrogation of pragmatic realities through the aesthetic choices in her cinema—emerge as recurring themes in Yujra's discourse.

¹¹ Although there is no direct access to this work, information regarding the central plot relies on a fragment shown on the TV program *El Ojo del Alma* in 2014, which includes a scene from the film featuring the Bolivian actor Antonio Peredo Gonzalez as the antagonist. Additionally, critiques provided by viewers (students from Spain participating in an exchange program and volunteering in Bolivia) who attended the screening at the "2ª Muestra de Cine Indígena Brasil-Bolivia" organized by the Bolivian Cinematheque in 2014 also inform the analysis. According to the account of the viewers: "The first short film [Atipxawi] ends with the daughter's rebellion, in which she strikes her abusive father on the head with a plow, leaving him stunned. The grandmother, mother, and daughter tie him to a chair hidden in the house and leave. However, they flee, hurried and fearful of being discovered." (Betricartrig).

Furthermore, one of the challenges of this research is precisely locating the complete filmography of the director, whether through distribution and exhibition channels or even through interviews and other related materials. Based on information published in an article about the director in *La Prensa* in 2013, up until that point, Delia Yujra had produced and directed five fiction short films and two documentaries (Machicado). According to the director herself, in an interview conducted in 2014, she had, up until that point, five short fiction films, one documentary report, and two documentaries. Based on this disputed information, the table presented here is certainly an incomplete work and still part of an ongoing process, as, according to Filmmakers' Theory, this is a continuous activity. In the case of Yujra, it is a more complex one due to the specificities of the social, gender, and racial realities that permeate her artistic practice.

Beyond her authorial work, Delia Yujra has been gradually making a name for herself in the film industry, demonstrating both talent and versatility. She served as the cinematographer for the documentary *Voices: Bolivia* (2012), directed by Benjamin Oroza, where she played a key role in shaping the film's visual style. In 2024, she broadened her work to include camera operation and acting in *Cuando todo se destruya*, directed by Antonio Barrero. In this film, she portrayed the character of "mujer de pollera," showcasing her ability to represent various aspects of Bolivian life while working both in front of and behind the camera (Barrero, Gutiérrez, and Olarte 28-30).

Yujra's Participation in Festivals, Awards, and Distribution Channels of Her Work

Finally, in relation to the third question proposed by NoiseCat, that is, regarding who has the right perspective to tell the stories of the struggle of indigenous communities and the past and present challenges they face, it is important to understand the limited but relevant visibility that Yujra's work has gained over the years in an Ibero-American context.

Delia Yujra has actively participated in numerous film festivals across Latin America and beyond, showcasing her work not only in Indigenous-driven cinema festivals but also in other film events that highlight diverse cinematic expressions. Her journey began in 2012 with her participation in the *XII FENAVID - Encuentro de Producción Cinematográfica Santa Cruz 100X100* (Santa Cruz de la Sierra, Bolivia). In 2014, her work was featured in the *2ª Muestra de Cine Indígena Brasil-Bolivia* at the Bolivian Cinematheque in La Paz,

which took place from June 30 to July 2, 2014, where she screened the short film *Atipxawi*. She later took part in the *Festival de Cine Radical* in La Paz, first from November 20 to 28, 2020, where she was awarded an Honoric Mention for her short film *Jakawisa*, and then as part of its catalog in 2022 and 2024. Her film *Jakawisa* was also included in the programming of the *5th Aricadoc - Festival Internacional de Cine Documental* in Arica, Chile, which ran from August 27 to September 12, 2021. That same year, she participated in the *Muestra de Cine Perú – Bolivia*, a digital event held from November 16 to 30, 2021, and in the *Muestra de la Plataforma Audiovisual Colaborativa CoCine*, which took place at the Bolivian Cinematheque from December 16 to 18, 2021.

Her international recognition expanded further when she crossed the Atlantic to present *Jakawisa* at the *XXIII Festival Corto* in Ciudad Real, Spain, from June 21 to 26, 2021. In 2022, this same work was showcased at the *Bienal de Imagen en Movimiento* at the Universidad Nacional del Tres de Febrero (UNTREF) in Buenos Aires, Argentina, from November 10 to 20, 2022. That same year, she contributed to the Latin American Short Film Program at the *Primer Congreso Internacional GADU*, which took place at the Universidad de Buenos Aires, Argentina, from September 28 to October 1, 2022, also with *Jakawisa*. In 2023, this work was featured in *La Potencia de la Memoria: Muestra de Cine Boliviano Contemporáneo Realizado por Mujeres* at the Centro de la Cultura Plurinacional Santa Cruz in Santa Cruz de la Sierra, Bolivia, on March 29, 2023. Later that year, she participated in the *Mostra Povos Originários da América Latina*, held at the Brazilian Cinematheque in São Paulo, Brazil, as part of the *Festival Cultura e Sustentabilidade*, from July 10 to 16, 2023, once again with *Jakawisa*.

As shown, in recent years, Delia Yujra's work has primarily been showcased through local and regional film festivals rather than through screenings formally linked to the mainstream film industry. In other words, given the independent nature of her work, which is still in its early yet promising stages, and considering the various identity markers that shape it, it is understandable that Yujra's cinematography predominantly circulates within the festival circuit and other niche artistic spaces in Bolivia and throughout Latin America, with an initial circulation in Spain. Equally important, in terms of the distribution of her cinematography, her work can primarily be found on her YouTube channel (@DeliaYujraChura, created in May 2024, where recent works such as *Jakawisa* (2020), *Sol* (2024), *Jikisiña Chuymampi* (2024), and *Ojo Sangre* (2024) are available. Also on YouTube, her documentary titled *Superación* (2010), created during her early years of study,

is available on the channel *Entertainment* (@raulmovil). More officially, *Jakawisa* was available on streaming platforms such as *Retina Latina* (November 2021) and *Mullu* (currently available), both dedicated to Latin American and Indigenous cinema. Additionally, it is possible to find this documentary on the YouTube and Vimeo channels of director Sergio Bastani, who was responsible for the image and editing of the work.

Conclusion

After presenting the career, filmography, and a brief discussion of some of Delia Yujra Chura's short films, it can be stated that her work is deeply permeated by a vivid and potent Indigenous gaze, which shapes both her narratives and artistic approach. It is essential to address the importance of Indigenous issues in the intersectional representation of elements such as class and gender in the director's work. The artistic process—particularly in the construction of scripts—creates a connection between Yujra's work and the ethical and aesthetic concerns expressed, as well as the desires and dreams she has articulated in interviews over the years.¹² This approach allows the director to engage deeply with both the social realities and the aspirations of the indigenous communities she represents.

Moreover, it is impossible to conclude this work without recognizing that Yujra's work cannot be reduced solely to the indigenous or identity-based aspects of her being a Cholita. While these elements undeniably inform her perspective, it is equally important to consider the aesthetic dimensions that shape her cinema. Her filmmaking goes beyond representation and explores the complex intersection of form, narrative, and cultural identity. The distinctiveness of her work lies not only in the themes she addresses but also in the way she crafts her storytelling through cinematic techniques, visual style, and sound. These aesthetic choices are integral to understanding the depth

¹² Future research could explore why the director, despite her growing presence in film festivals (2020–2023), has not been widely interviewed, except for those conducted between 2013 and 2014. The only exception consists of television reports, interviews, and social media posts related to fundraising efforts for her mother's medical treatment, specifically in connection with a solidarity screening of *Mi Socio 2.0* (directed by Paolo Agazzi), organized by the Bolivian Cinematheque in November 2022. This raises the question of whether Yujra's visibility regime is once again shaped by an ongoing process of limitation or by a potentiality in flux—one deeply entangled with the precarious conditions that define both her professional practice and personal life.

and breadth of her artistic vision, which transcends simplistic categorization and speaks to broader concerns within the cinematic landscape.

Regarding the methodological challenges faced by this research, it can be said that the approach of Filmmakers' Theory also emphasizes the importance of context in film analysis. It considers how cultural, social, and historical backgrounds influence the filmmaker's vision and, consequently, the construction of the film. In this sense, connecting to the idea of Indigenous gaze, Filmmakers' Theory offers a framework that goes beyond surface-level interpretation, instead prioritizing the intent and meaning that filmmakers consciously (or subconsciously) integrate into their works. This methodology is particularly valuable for analyzing Yujra's work with distinct thematic or aesthetic inclinations, as it allows for a more nuanced appreciation of the cinematic language she developed over time in her short films. By focusing on these sources, it is possible to understand the specific thematic preoccupations and stylistic choices that are often central to a filmmaker's oeuvre. This perspective acknowledges that filmmakers are not just craftsmen but also intellectual agents who bring unique insights into their creative decisions, thus enabling a more profound understanding of their films.

A key area for future research is how partnerships between the director and non-Indigenous collaborators, both within and beyond Bolivia, may expand the visibility of her work in festivals and circuits that often overlook Indigenous filmmakers. While Yujra's artistic achievements—in screenwriting, directing, and performance—are undeniable, as seen in *Jakawisa*, which has featured in at least nine festivals in recent years, it is also worth considering how the presence of non-Indigenous allies, such as Antonio Peredo, Sergio Bastani, Mauricio Ovando, and Camila José Donoso, might consciously or unconsciously facilitate access to broader networks. In a system still shaped by colonial structures, these collaborations may play a role in extending the reach of Yujra's films. Once again, this is a working hypothesis that does not undermine or seek to diminish the artistic, technical, and narrative quality of the director's work, or her own agency, but rather focuses on a macrostructure that is prevalent in the Global South.

Furthermore, Yujra's short films often tackle themes or cultural issues in a direct and incisive manner, reflecting contemporary realities or personal experiences, serving as potential vehicles for social inclusion (Grande-López). Finally, in relation to the main element discussed here, a highly relevant point is that all three short films—*Superación* (2010), *Atipxawi* (2012), and *Jakawisa* (2020)—used as illustrations of a strong Indigenous gaze are protagonized by

Delia Yujra. In other words, beyond writing the scripts and directing the narratives, she is the central actress who brings these stories to life. Even the language—starting with Spanish as the main language in the first work, alternating between Spanish and Aymara in the second, and transitioning to fully Aymara in the latest work—represents the importance of the indigenous language in Yujra’s cinema, highlighting the intersection between content and expression in her cinematic art. It is as if, piece by piece, through words, images, and the body, the director weaves and reclaims her own story on multiple levels.

As a final point, in relation to her projects, in her first television interview, the director once said: “My dream is to make a feature film and write a script about discrimination. That’s all I want. That would make me truly happy . . . I love writing scripts . . . I’m more determined than ever. It’s not just a thought, I’m sure of it. I’m going to keep going, keep learning, keep making films. I’m going to do it. I will make films” (Yujra Chura 2011). A promise fulfilled, with a dream yet to be fully realized.



Works Cited

Delia Yujra Chura Cinematography

Superación. 2010. Documentary.

Jakawisa. 2020. Short film.

[<https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCzKA6CJJHdk7oUabGYVaTbg>]
downloaded October 27, 2025.

Melancolía. 2021. Feature film.

Jikisiña Chuymampi. 2024. Documentary.

[<https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCzKA6CJJHdk7oUabGYVaTbg>]
downloaded October 27, 2025.

Ojo Sangre. 2024. Experimental.

[<https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCzKA6CJJHdk7oUabGYVaTbg>]
downloaded October 27, 2025.

Sol. 2024. Experimental.

[<https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCzKA6CJJHdk7oUabGYVaTbg>]
downloaded October 27, 2025.

La humillación y el coraje. (n.d.) Documentary.

Oscuridad en el amanecer (n.d.) Documentary.

Leñas frágiles y cenizas (n.d.) Documentary.

BARRERO GARCÍA, Miguel Antonio, Laura Sofía Gutiérrez Cabrera, and Víctor Fernando Olarte Márquez. 2024. Cuando todo se destruya: Cortometraje de ficción que usa la corporalidad expresiva como elemento central. Proyecto de Grado. Universidad Mayor de San Andrés.

BETRICARTOIG [mononym/nickname]. 2014. "Cine y Protesta." *Asorochados – Tocando el sur para encontrar el norte*. July 8.
[<https://5asorochados.wordpress.com/2014/07/08/cine-y-protesta/>]
downloaded October 27, 2025.

BUCHSBAUM, Jonathan. 2011. "One, Two... Third Cinemas." *Third Text* 25(1): 13-28.

BUITRAGO, Miguel A. 2006. "El significado de la llegada de Evo Morales al poder en la República de Bolivia." *Iberoamericana* 6(22): 159-164.
[<https://journals.iai.spk-berlin.de/index.php/iberoamericana/article/view/943/624>]
downloaded October 27, 2025.

CANAVESI DE SAHONERO, M. Lisette. 1987. *El traje de la cholita paceña*. La Paz: Editorial Los Amigos del Libro.

CASTELLS i TALENS, Antoni. 2003. "Cine indígena y resistencia cultural." *Revista Latinoamericana de Comunicación – CHASQUI* 84. 50-57.

- [<https://www.redalyc.org/pdf/160/16008407.pdf>] downloaded October 27, 2025.
- D'ARGENIO, Maria Chiara. 2022. *Indigenous Plots in Twenty-First Century Latin American Cinema*. London, New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- DÍAZ CARRASCO, Marianela A. 2014. "Mujeres de pollera y la propuesta de descolonización del género en el Estado Plurinacional de Bolivia." *Ciencia Política* 9. 133-156.
- GABELIA, Aleksandre. 2023. "Whispering without a Body, (de)Colonization of the Indigenous Language and Cultural Codes: Jorge Sanjinés from Manifestos to Third Cinema." *Central Asian Journal of Art Studies* 8(1): 15-29. [<file:///C:/Users/ELM15/Downloads/whispering-without-a-body-decolonization-of-the-indigenous-language-and-cultural-codes-jorge-sanjin-s-from-manifestos-to-third-cinema.pdf>] downloaded October 27, 2025.
- GARCÍA RECOARO, Nicolás. 2014. "Las cholas y su mundo de polleras." *Cuadernos del Centro de Estudios en Diseño y Comunicación* 47. 181-186. [<file:///C:/Users/ELM15/Downloads/Dialnet-LasCholasYSuMundoDePolleras-5232263.pdf>] downloaded June 27, 2025.
- GAUTHIER, Jennifer L. 2015. "Embodying Change: Cinematic Representations of Indigenous Women's Bodies, A Cross-Cultural Comparison." *International Journal of Media & Cultural Politics* 11(3): 283-298.
- GRAÇA, André Rui, Eduardo Baggio, and Manuela Penafria, eds. 2023. *Filmmakers on Film: Global Perspectives*. British Film Institute. 1-8.
- . 2015. "Teoria dos Cineastas: Uma abordagem para a teoria do Cinema." *Revista Científica/FAP* 12(1): 19-32.
- GRACIA LANDAETA, Oscar, and Andrés Laguna Tapia. 2016. "Medio siglo de Jorge Sanjinés: Una revisión al cine y a la sociedad boliviana a partir de los largometrajes del autor." *Revista Ciencia y Cultura* 20(36): 105-134. [http://www.scielo.org.bo/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S2077-33232016000100005&lng=es&tlng=es] downloaded October 27, 2025.
- GRANDE-LÓPEZ, Víctor. 2019. "El cortometraje como vehículo de comunicación para la inclusión social." *Periférica Internacional* 20. 250-261.
- HIMPELE, Jeffrey D. 2008. *Circuits of Culture: Media, Politics, and Indigenous Identity in the Andes*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- HUIJSER, Henk, and Brooke Collins-Gearing. 2007. "Representing Indigenous Stories in the Cinema: Between Collaboration and Appropriation." *The International Journal of Diversity in Organisations, Communities, and Nations* 7(3): 1-9.
- KERAJ, Sokol. 2015. "Indigenidad y cine indígena." *Poliantea* 10(18): 11-32.
- MACHICADO, Giannina. 2013. "Cineasta alteña contará su historia en un documental." *La Prensa*, Dec. 14. [www.culturaenlasalturas.blogspot.com/2013/12/cineasta-altena-contara-suhistoria-en_15.html] downloaded October 27, 2025.

- McDONOUGH, Courtney. 2019. "Las Cholas de Bolivia: The Uphill Battle Against Racism, Sexism and Commodification in Contemporary Bolivia." *PLVS VLTRA* 5(1): 74-87.
- NOISECAT, Julian Brave. 2020. "The Indigenous Gaze." *Aperture* 240. 92-97. [<https://archive.aperture.org/article/2020/03/03/the-indigenous-gaze>] downloaded October 27, 2025.
- . 2019. "Can Film Save Indigenous Languages?" *The New Yorker*. Nov. 14. [www.newyorker.com/culture/culture-desk/can-film-save-indigenous-languages] downloaded October 27, 2025.
- OSBORNE, Tiana L. 2023. *Looking with the Indigenous Gaze: An Exploration of Indigenous-Made Films*. MA Dissertation. Toronto Metropolitan University and York University.
- PALACIOS, Margarita. 2013. "Jóvenes alteños quieren hacer cine pero sufren limitaciones." *Página Siete*. Nov. 17.
- PARANAGUÁ, Paulo Antonio. 2003. *Tradición y modernidad en el cine de América Latina*. Madrid: Fondo de Cultura Económica de España.
- REZA, José Luis. 2013. "Una mirada al cine indígena: Autorepresentación y el derecho a los medios audiovisuales." *Cinémas d'Amérique Latine* 21. 122-129.
- RODRÍGUEZ GARCÍA, Huascar. 2010. "Género, mestizaje y estereotipos culturales: El caso de las cholas bolivianas." *Maguaré* 24. 37-67.
- SÁNCHEZ PATZY, Mauricio. 2014. "Aproximaciones a la estética chola. La cultura de la Warawa en Bolivia, a principios del siglo XXI." *Estudios Sociales del NOA: Nueva Serie*. 13. 5-32. [<https://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=5060032>] downloaded October 27, 2025.
- SANJINÉS, Jorge y Grupo Ukamau. 1979. *Teoría y práctica de un cine junto al pueblo*. México D.F.: Siglo XXI Editores.
- SEGUÍ, Isabel. 2021. "Beatriz Palacios: Ukamau's Cornerstone (1974–2003)." *Latin American Perspectives* 48(2): 77-92.
- . 2013. "Jorge Sanjinés, actualización biofilmográfica." *Archivos de la Filmoteca* 71. 39-54.
- SORUCO SOLOGUREN, Ximena. 2017. "La chola boliviana en la primera mitad del siglo XX: De femme fatale a madre de la nación." *L'Âge d'or* 10. 1-15. [<https://journals.openedition.org/agedor/1693?bZQx354=danmYEsYOoUtCh>] downloaded October 27, 2025.
- WOOD, David Michael J. 2017. *El espectador pensante: El cine de Jorge Sanjinés y el Grupo Ukamau*. México D.F.: Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas, UNAM / La Carreta Editores.
- . 2005. *Revolution and Pachakuti: Political and Indigenous Cinema in Bolivia and Colombia*. PhD Dissertation. King's College, University of London.
- YUJRA CHURA, Delia. 2024. YouTube@DeliaYujraChura. [<https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCzKA6CJJHdk7oUabGYVaTbg>] downloaded October 27, 2025.

- . 2014. "El Ojo del Alma." Interview by Paula Valdez, Gobierno Autónomo Municipal de La Paz / Red ATB. 38:10. [<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NjJ3UazudFA&t=3259s>] downloaded October 27, 2025.
 - . 2011. "El Ojo del Alma." Interview by Paula Valdez, Gobierno Autónomo Municipal de La Paz / Red ATB. [<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ShDuJGNXqZI>] downloaded October 27, 2025.
- ZAMORANO VILLARREAL, Gabriela. 2018. "Bolivian Indigenous Film and the Aesthetics of the Precarious." Constanza Burucúa and Carolina Sitnisky, eds. *The Precarious in the Cinemas of the Americas*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 201-220.
- . 2017. *Indigenous Media and Political Imaginaries in Contemporary Bolivia*. Lincoln, NE.: University of Nebraska Press.
 - . 2014. "Crafting Contemporary Indigeneity through Audiovisual Media in Bolivia." Helen Gilbert and Charlotte Gleghorn, eds. *Recasting Commodity and Spectacle in the Indigenous Americas*. London: Institute of Latin American Studies, School of Advanced Study, University of London. 77-95. [<https://sas-space.sas.ac.uk/6079/1/09%20Chapter%204.pdf>] downloaded October 27, 2025.



New articles in this journal are licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 United States License.

Pitt

Open
Library
Publishing

This journal is published by Pitt Open Library Publishing.