

CULTURE INTERRUPTED: ASSESSING THE EFFECTS OF THE SHINING PATH
INTERNAL ARMED CONFLICT IN THE PERUVIAN HIGHLANDS

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This study was a qualitative examination of social, economic, political, and cultural dilemmas that face Peruvian survivors of the Communist Shining Path Revolution, an internal armed conflict that cut a swath of terror and destruction during the years 1980-2000, with a reported loss of 69,000 residents either killed or considered “disappeared.” The conflict affected primarily poor, uneducated Andean campesinos and townspeople in the highland areas of the Ayacucho District. In this study, I looked closely at the responsibilities of both government and NGOs in the facilitation of readjustment during and after times of instability. In addition, specific challenges the elderly, women and campesinos face in a post-conflict world are analyzed and possible social policies are discerned that might be developed to better implement the transition to a new form of community. Ideas that emerged from this research may assist policy shapers in other less developed countries involved in similar conflicts by examining how Peru dealt with its own issues.

Methodology included participant observation and interviews with long-term Ayacuchan residents who stayed-in-place during war time, along with migrants who went to live in shantytowns in more urban areas. The government-mandated Truth and Reconciliation Commission report serves as a framework as it outlined those ultimately deemed responsible and detailed what those affected may expect in the way of appropriate reparations and compensation in the future. Much emphasis is given to the emerging role of women and how ensuing shifts of gender specific cultural roles may affect familial and communal bonds in small-scale societies.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

“Kachkanirraqmi” (I Still Exist)

There is a famous Peruvian short story by renowned author Julio Ramon Ribeyro (1955) where he speaks of the presence of “featherless vultures” and one can almost see them hovering over the hunched-over Quechuan-speaking ladies who ply candies and home-made *helado* (ice cream) on the cobbled town square of Ayacucho, dressed in their ancient mantas, large fluffed skirts, and the ubiquitous long ebony double-braids. You can also see the shadow of these featherless vultures on the stoic faces of the magnificent tapestry makers for which Ayacucho is known; the weavers and their apprentices spinning tales of the war (and the glory days as well); the artisans in their spare concrete spaces where the big looms reside carrying with them a heaviness of the past that the most beautiful dyes cannot cover.

There are hundreds of towns, villages, and hamlets scattered throughout the foothills and mountainside corners in this part of Peru, with a population considered one of the poorest of the poor by those who measure such things. At first glance, there appears to be a sleepy sameness to Ayacucho and its sister villages, but every pueblo, however small, has its own unique flavor which sets it apart from the rest. Each has its own cultural and value systems rooted over hundreds of years of living a life filled with hardship and toil; but also with valued customs honed over time which make each province distinct.

The area is shaped by traditional customs. Festivals, unique costumes, foods, music, and traditional art can be found in the recesses of every town. Children run barefoot on the rocky and dusty streets and attend school if they can afford a uniform; women set out their homemade goods in the market square on the off-chance an idle tourist may pass their way; and men herd

their animals, run small community councils, and carry on traditions much like their *abuelos* (grandparents) have for hundreds of years. The people of this part of the global village are bound together in a myriad of ways, but have managed to keep their individuality as well. However similar they may appear to those looking in, each community has retained its own uniqueness, braiding the old ways with the new; the leaders of the next generation taking with them the remnants of the past culture into the 21st century.

But when the Shining Path revolutionary army burst into town in the late 1970s, brandishing guns and espousing communistic philosophies that the majority of these Andean residents never came close to understanding, war came swiftly and undeterred, and the campesinos knew deep down in their souls something had been forever altered and life as they knew it would never be the same again.

Statement of Problem

In any internal armed conflict (IAC), disenfranchised civilian populations are usually the first to suffer substantial hardships. This very often causes a mass exodus of the general population; leaving those left behind extremely vulnerable to crime, lack of food and shelter, and little or no financial support (Global Action on Aging, 2004). Plus, their very way of living is often irrevocably altered, and many may never recover emotionally. Those who are able may go to refugee camps, parts of their own country where they feel safe, or even cross the border to other countries altogether (Beswick & Jackson, 2011). While none of these options are optimal, at least there are some formal guidelines and resources waiting for those who leave, particularly for women and children.

This fragmentation of the community due to internal migration in the throes of war finds many residents caught between the old reality they once knew so well and the new world which

now surrounds them. They are virtually strangers in their own land whether they stayed in place during the conflict and attempted to cope, or moved on to another part of the country, trying to insert their values into a world they do not understand. Very often, there now remain only bits and pieces of a society they once knew, with nothing familiar and opportunities few. Those who remain in war-torn communities may face untold violence and physical and mental trials that often accompany such conflicts.

Those left behind are easy prey for violence and reprisals, and as familial and communal units begin to unravel, such individuals may become isolated, destitute, and without meaningful support systems. They may have a difficult, if not impossible time putting all the pieces of their lives back together even when the conflict is over and some of their community begins to return. Members of this group often cite the need to remain in a place they call home rather than go off into unknown territory in their latter stages of life.

Research Questions

The three research questions that guided this study were:

1. How did the IAC and its aftermath affect women in rural areas?
2. How did the IAC and its aftermath affect the elderly in rural areas?
3. How was the local culture altered by the IAC and its aftermath?

I focused on the rural groups who were most vulnerable to the actions of the Shining Path (SP), and also considered cultural impacts. My research was designed using an anthropological approach and framework. It followed the inductive logic of the social sciences, in which the research design is exploratory and bottom up, rather than the top-down testing of hypotheses (Popper, 1979). The research questions emerged during preliminary fieldwork and were deeply investigated during the extensive subsequent formal fieldwork.

Contributions to Literature

Findings from this study contribute to prior literature in three ways. First, the effects of the Shining Path conflict on women and the elderly in rural areas had not been examined deeply prior to my research (Kirk, 1997). Because of its in-depth ethnographic research approach, I was able to open a new window into the lived experiences of significant segments of the Peruvian population with my study. Secondly, my research extended theories on processes of aging in less developed countries (Robinson, 2007), women in developing countries (Mohanty, 2003), and culture change (Beswick & Jackson, 2011) that results from internal armed conflicts.

The third addition to previously published literature and one of the major contributions to this dissertation was an investigation as to what happened after the publication of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's report (TRC, 2003). Numerous books and articles on the history and trajectory of the Shining Path were written during the years 1980-1997, with more recent ones mentioning the so-called end of the conflict and the then current plight of the Peruvian people (Kirk, 1997; Palmer, 1994; Rochlin, 2003; Starn, 1998). However, there is little, if any, current literary information that describes what happened following the original 2003 TRC report, other than a few blogs and portions of journal articles (Bigda, 2013; Correa, 2013). The ethnographic fieldwork conducted for this dissertation sheds light on the changes, or lack of changes, that occurred in the lives of Peruvians as a result of the TRC report.

While the initial goal of the Shining Path was to overthrow the Peruvian government by turning poor, primarily Quechuan-speaking campesinos in isolated areas into rebels for a cause, this was a revolution most highlanders never really understood. Yet the return of armed conflict remained a constant threat for a majority of those I interviewed. SP, along with various other groups of militants, have quietly been learning from long-established drug cartels tucked away in

seldom visited Amazon River communities. These years of underground living have given the SP and similar smaller organizations intent on revolution plenty of time and opportunity to regroup and go fairly undetected, all the while establishing a powerful internal structure linked with long-established drug cartels. This hierarchy of criminals has now slowly crept into the disenfranchised neighborhoods of small-town Peru. The alliances which have been formed serve to supply funds to the rebels to support their various political causes. Reports of murder, kidnappings, robbery, and other insidious crimes across mostly Andean countryside towns are now frequently found on back pages of newspapers like *Caritas* and *The Economist*.

Young campesinos see few options for education or economic opportunities. They are easily seduced as drug mules, smuggling or selling the refined, highly profitable coca *pasta*, a commodity the Western world clamors for more every year. What at first glance appears to be a quick way out of their impoverished situations has turned many a well-meaning person into a drug criminal, with hefty prison sentences and little hope for rehabilitation or support when they get out.

Effect of Internal Armed Conflict on Women in Rural Areas

It is only fitting, perhaps, that a Chinese revolutionary, Mao Tse-tung (1952) coined the phrase, “Women hold up half the sky” (para. 4) which articulates the empowerment many Peruvian women experienced after the conflict, particularly Andean women, in this previously male-dominated society. The emergence of women as a powerful force in both small-scale Peruvian communities and large urban areas like Lima was a long time coming, but many proved to be quite formidable when faced head-on with seemingly insurmountable challenges. Women became more active politically, economically, and socially after the most powerful men were either killed or went missing. They were finally allowed to have a voice in the trajectory of their

lives, even if some wanted no part in ruling the community. Women slowly but surely began to take on an unprecedented role in revamping a developing nation. They have taken on a new face in politics and culture and are now considered part and parcel of the new generation of Peruvians. Much of this change is evident in the capital city of Lima, but it can be found in all parts of today's society, to varying extents.

This research contributes to the literature on the status of women in developing countries (Andreas, 1988; Barrett, 2002; Bourque & Warren, 1981; Cordero, 1998; Freed, 2008; Mohanty, 2003; Shemvakina, 2012). In nations with a history of patriarchal control, and particularly in Latin America, the river of disparity may run deep due to a long-held machismo mentality. The inequities of a largely patriarchal-based culture that does not see women at the forefront of mainstream policy-making creates a challenge for women who wish to move ahead in the work force. In a perfect world, women can pick and choose strategies to better themselves (Momsen, 1991). In developing nations, these strategies for empowerment may not be as easily attainable for average women. In the towns and villages of Ayacucho and much of rural Peru, the society had always been based on the men being in charge and the women taking on more traditional roles of the household and caring for the children. Yet when the war began, the strongest men were taken first, leaving women with the job of running the household, while at the same time finding often menial employment in towns that were increasingly run by women.

In this study, I also build on findings from the literature on the effects of IACs on women (Cordero, 1998; Freed, 2008; Gorriti, 1999; Kirk, 1997; Starn, 1998). The present study extends such research by illuminating the lives of rural women, whose experiences were in many ways different from those in urban centers such as Lima. Rural women received much less protection from the government during the IAC, and little support from the government in its aftermath. At

the same time, the SP and vigilante groups were able to engage in violent activities with much greater impunity in the highlands since their actions were less visible to the government.

My research found three common patterns in the ways rural women responded to the IAC. First, some women maintained their traditional roles of housewives, waiting stoically for the return of disappeared loved ones even while suffering at the hands of the rebels. These women had little interest in politics. Second, some women joined forces with the rebel groups and fought alongside them. Third, some women became involved in drug trafficking with many eventually ending up in prison. I examine these patterns in Chapter 5.

Effect of Internal Armed Conflict on Elderly in Rural Areas

I found in this study when forced to leave during the conflict, the elderly were oftentimes less able to adapt to new situations and customs than their younger relatives. In addition, the elderly felt accompanying their families to urban areas might slow down the young people's progress and they did not wish to become a burden. A large proportion of the elders wanted to return to their former communities and pick up their lives as they left them when the warring ended. Yet, after the lengthy conflict, the community ties that once bound everyone so tightly together had become so frayed and disjointed there might be no real semblance of home to go back to again.

In this study, I also found civil war served to escalate preexisting social and economic issues, bringing them more into the cultural forefront. Members of the younger generation often wanted to try to take advantage of new opportunities in the more urban areas, for both economic and social reasons, as opposed to going back to the old life. Internal migration may cause further issues down the road that surpass even the substantial ravages of war, as it leaves large groups of elderly rural residents alone and with few options. Very often, refugee camps and other social

service organizations assume the younger members will address the needs of their peripheral residents and therefore social services will not always be offered to the elderly (Global Action on Aging, 2004).

In this study, I build on the work of cultural gerontologists who examined the effects of trauma on the aging in culturally specific contexts (Arnson, 2012b; Cattell, 2009; Gutmann, 1997; Mohanty, 2003; Robinson, 2007; Shenk & Mahon, 1998). In the Peruvian highlands, the elderly were highly vulnerable during the IAC. Cultural gerontologists noted traditional values in many societies provide support for the elderly in terms of kinship ties and respect for their seniority (Sokolovsky, 1997). However, the IAC led to the destruction of traditional kinship structures, as many people died, and then many of the remaining younger survivors moved to urban areas that promised greater opportunities. The elderly who remained in the countryside were thus left with a greatly reduced support system. Furthermore, the government provided little support to the elderly in rural areas (Barbanti, 2004).

In Chapter 6, I examine two patterns in the experiences of the elderly. First I consider the lives of rural residents who were elderly at the start of the conflict. Members of this group suffered from the violence in many ways, ranging from the loss of family members to the need to take on new responsibilities for remaining family members, isolation, or the need to move in with extended family they barely knew. During the IAC, they lived in a state of fear due to the chaotic and constantly changing political circumstances around them. The second group examined were rural residents who were elderly at the time of the research in 2012. Members of this group were not yet elderly at the start of the IAC in 1980, but the trajectory of their lives was profoundly shaped by the upheavals they experienced. By 2012, however, many had achieved a

level of security. Of course, these people were by definition survivors of the conflict. Many members of their generation were not as fortunate.

Effects of Internal Armed Conflict on Andean Culture

My study found those who stayed behind in the countryside were left with little more than a shell of earlier social structures and cultural practices. Even after some migrants returned, the losses were palpable. A high percentage of older residents lost the sense of community they once had, and many of the smaller areas in the highlands may never come close to recovering no matter how many apologies are given by new government entities, nor how many reparation funds are offered in the names of their fallen family members. This shows how the lifeblood of a society, including the social meanings of kinship and reverence toward elders, can be seriously disrupted in the case of armed conflict. The SP movement has forever altered the course of these Andean communities, often with horrendous consequences, particularly for indigenous Indians (Kirk, 2004).

In this dissertation, I show how the Andean people attempted to adapt to the changes the Shining Path IAC wrought, particularly when so many of the younger members of this war-torn land have left behind the elderly to fend for themselves in the suburbs and shantytowns of Lima. The Andean community is very traditional in its customs and rituals, perhaps more so than some other less developed countries because of its location and lack of contact with large cities and visitors. Lima is a much more populated and publicized city, within the grasp of Western society, so perhaps it was not as big of a shock to their sensibilities when they were forced to deal with the SP. The people in the highlands have lived within a set of traditional rules and norms for over a century and their customs die hard, particularly since the towns and villages of the Ayacuchan District are off the beaten path compared to other small towns like Cusco that has

more tourists. Therefore, when the SP came into power, these campesinos were suddenly thrust into a world they had never envisioned, and forced to make rapid changes in order to keep at least a part of their culture alive.

One important area of cultural tradition that was affected by the IAC was the cargo system. This is a system of secular and religious positions held by elder males of households through which festivals and rituals are organized. Important organizing roles convey status and symbolic capital on the families that hold them. The cargo system has been extensively examined in its traditional form (Chance & Taylor, 1985; DeWalt, 1975; Friedlander, 1981; Smith, 1997). This dissertation contributes to the cargo system literature by describing the significant changes that have taken place since the armed conflict. In particular, women have taken on traditionally male roles due to the loss of many powerful male leaders during the conflict. In addition, increased poverty has in some cases led to less ostentatious displays than before the war.

With this study, I add to the discussion on culture change in developing countries by using Peru as a prime example of what happens to a culture that has been denied basic rights for an extended period of time. After IACs occur in any country, particularly in the poorest of the poor, there is a period of social recovery and peace building. The idea is to begin to slowly repair the damage done to the culture during the most tumultuous years and allow for a time of healing and reconciliation. Theoretically, the society will begin to recover from years of violence and upheaval, and with the return of refugees and the assistance of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and government on all levels, a semblance of normalcy will begin to take shape.

This reconciliation process is often a slow and painful one, and not always a success. Eastmond (2010) cites Cambodia, Rwanda, Afghanistan, and the former Yugoslavia as prime examples of countries slowly rebounding from civil war, but Peru can certainly be included as a country that falls under this umbrella of discord. For a country like Peru, especially in the highland areas, there is little concern for their development in the way of culture change as larger, urban areas like Lima are the first priorities for the government. Areas like Lima already have somewhat of an infra-structure in place and are used to at least some form of culture change because of their involvement with the Western or more developed nations. Even though a city like Lima, with a population of more than 8,000,000 as of 2012, still relies on traditions and cultures from their homeland, they have had years to adjust to the changes a society must make in order to prosper and become a leader on the world stage.

CHAPTER 2

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Overview

In order to understand how internal conflict can alter an entire society of people, even carrying over into future generations, one needs to investigate how Peru found itself in the midst of a war that is still smoldering in the jungles of the Amazon and on the backstreets of remote villages in the Andes. This war was initiated by the Maoist-inspired revolutionary group, Sendero Luminoso (Shining Path), which found its roots in the idealistic and mostly upper-class students of philosophy professor Abimael Guzman at the Universidad Nacional de San Cristobal de Huamanga (TRC, 2003). Over 69,000 people were killed over the course of the conflict, including children, the elderly, and ordinary citizens.

The historical background presented in this chapter draws heavily on the 2003 Truth and Reconciliation Commission report. This report thoroughly traced the history, purported philosophies of key members, reaction (or inaction) by the various Peruvian officials and those who were in charge during these turbulent years, and the reportedly epic failure by the government of Peru to do anything to quell the violence in any substantial manner. Although many people do not agree with all or part of the conclusions of this report, at least it serves as a framework to refer to when attempting to unravel the major complexities of the conflict and how the government responded to it.

In its early phases, the emerging conflict was not well-documented and received little media attention. The sporadic local and federal government reports, along with accounts by expats and non-governmental organization (NGO) workers who were in-country when the major conflict began to take form, were piecemeal at best. There were few NGO groups of note

present in the countryside then, mostly religious-oriented ones, along with short-term outsiders there to volunteer briefly, usually on their way to their next trek in the highlands (Kirk, 1997). Most present during this time were lone anthropologists, historians, and journalists who came to chronicle small-time life. These groups had little clout to deal with any evidence of internal strife and the growing revolution was well-hidden in the dusty streets and quiet countryside (Gonzales, 2013). Those who wanted to spread the word about the instability of the region were ignored by the federal government (TRC, 2003); therefore local ex-pats and human rights groups were often shut out in any effort to bring much-needed attention to the growing war factions as the federal government had placed the problem of Shining Path (SP) at the bottom of its list of pressing needs (Starn, 1998).

In this study, I examine the overriding question of how the SP group took on such a strong foot-hold so quickly. According to those experts on the subject of civil war (Arnson, 2012a), and the citizens who lived throughout the conflict, in reality most of the political ideas were formed quietly and underground during the 1960s and 1970s. When Guzman (nom de guerre President Gonzalo) and his most fervent of followers came into full power in the 1980s (TRC, 2003), there was already a network which had been constructed while no one seemed to be watching. The SP was also not seen as a real political threat at that time by the Peruvian federal government even as murmurs of its atrocities drifted towards more urban regions. The general consensus seemed to be if the group did, indeed, become too powerful, the local police and even the military, if necessary, could stop the conflict in short shrift (Huston, 1988).

One of the main goals I had in conducting this research was to understand how a culture could become so overwhelmed in such a short stretch of time with no one seeming to be in charge to stop the conflict in its tracks. As I show throughout this dissertation through literature

review and on-the-ground interviews, this slowness to act by the federal government proved to be a major flaw in policy making. By the time the leaders in the capital of Lima deemed the SP serious enough to truly get higher echelons of government involved, the local police and the military had already allowed unspeakable horrors and atrocities due to the heavy-handed ways which were employed by all of the groups involved in the internal armed conflict (IAC).

It was only when bombs began going off in affluent neighborhoods of Lima, and the later publication of government-mandated documents began circulating among the people, that the full impact of what was happening in the country became apparent to most Peruvians. Hopefully, this study's in-depth look at what really happens when a conflict is largely ignored by military advisers because of the lack of affluence in the area will assist other countries in similar straits.

As the history of what happened in small and large towns alike (and there is still so much that is unknown) came to light, it became evident this internal conflict far surpassed the tragedy and death tolls of numerous other more prominent countries involved in similar unrest (TRC, 2003). The SP has been listed as the third longest internal conflict in South America, behind Colombia and Guatemala (Arnson, 2012b). The country is still in crisis with new problems occurring every day as little progress of consequence has been addressed following the 2003 TRC report. The unusual aspect is all of this chaos has taken place under three democratic regimes. There has been scant protocol followed, as in many post-war countries (Arnaud, 2009), and even recommended tasks have often been mired in controversy. Prisoners languish in jail without due process, with no idea what their sentences might be, or even what the charges entail.

There is no one agency in charge of completing the enormous task of retrieving and cataloging the estimated 69,000 bodies of the dead or disappeared (TRC, 2003). Many of the

recommendations by The Peruvian Forensic Anthropological Team (EPAF) in its 2002 annual report regarding the large-scale forensics necessary in the identification of the dead, including those found in mass graves, have been largely ignored (EAAF, 2002). Outspoken Peruvian scholars and renowned journalists, including Arnaud and Gorriti, have noted Peru's reticence to follow the normal rule of order in such instances. In addition, the state's weakness to foster non-conflict and the task of reconstruction still presents major hurdles in Peru's authority over decades of insurgency.

Peru has been slow in its reemergence largely because of the elongated time it took for the federal government to intervene. In addition, in other countries dealing with similar uprisings, a single group has generally been responsible for the instability that allows an IAC to flourish. In the case of Peru, there were so many players at work it became decidedly more difficult to discern who should be held accountable (Arnson, 2012a). In the midst of the government's assistance, or lack thereof, in dealing with these long-term issues, insurgent groups ranging from citizen peasants to mayors, community leaders, and local politicians continued to try to stay in power. All groups, including even large parts of the military, now have the same goal; but even after the TRC recommendations, there is still no real consensus or guidance from the top tiers of government (Febres, 2013).

Trajectory of the Conflict

The first visible inkling something was amiss was the initial sightings of what shocked most Peruvians to their core. In 1980, dogs whose throats had been cut were found hanging from light poles with ropes around their necks and crudely red painted signs in Peruvian and Chinese (Gorriti, 1999). The dogs first appeared in Lima and then increasingly throughout highland villages and towns, and the majority of the population had no idea what it all meant, except

something was terribly wrong. It was not until the founder of the group, Abimael Guzman, came out with a list of grievances against the mainstream government that some began to realize this act referred to the so-called running dogs movement under Mao in Communist China (Gorriti, 1999). The dead dogs were meant to symbolize the growing dissatisfaction of campesinos who felt like they were being left by the way-side and the upper echelons of the Peruvian government had forgotten them. The idea of a “New Democracy” built from the ground up served as the thesis for Guzman and his fervent followers and it quickly became the SP’s manifesto (Gorriti 1999, p. 120).

Guzman was regarded as an extremely charismatic professor. He was well-versed in Chinese politics, even going so far as to take field trips with other professors to China to understand the underpinnings of the revolution more fully. In a personal interview I conducted September 18, 2012, with former university colleague Dr. Fermin Rivera, an acclaimed expert on Peruvian politics and culture, spoke of a trip he accompanied Guzman on to China, where his philosophies for Peru were further honed. Rivera was amazed at Guzman’s excitement:

He was obsessed with the . . . Communistic way . . . of life and he had no qualms about employing it in his homeland of Peru, no matter what the cost. Many of us went to China as a sort of a cultural fieldtrip, but for Guzman it became an all-consuming passion. (F. Rivera, personal communication, September 18, 2012)

For most of Guzman’s followers, his charismatic approach was more inspirational than the actual dogma he preached. In the early days of the movement, his ideology spread to poor and disenfranchised campesinos who were tired of feeling oppressed and left out of a country whose government seemingly saw them as inferior. The university had been closed for over 50 years when, soon after re-opening, Guzman initiated the concept of a “people’s justice,” really a front for communistic ideologies, and one increasingly bent on revolution (F. Rivera, personal communication, September 18, 2012). His enthusiasm was contagious and soon these ideas were

taken by his best and brightest followers to the streets, where the average campesino was just trying to make ends meet. These grassroots revolutionaries offered what seemed to be a better option for some citizens as they thought it might open doors for the mostly poor and primarily uneducated Indians and mestizos of the Andes (Kirk, 1997).

As reported in the TRC (2003) and in other government documents and personal accounts, in the very early stages the people of Ayacucho and surrounding provinces went along with the SP Senderistas, as by all accounts, Peru's government was considered corrupt even by the standards of many other developing nations around the globe, particularly in South America. This new group seemed to fulfill the "political void left by the central government" and provided at least some form of interest in their activities (F. Rivera, personal communication, September 14, 2012) They could never have imagined their new leader would soon take them down a road filled with insurmountable obstacles for the people of Peru. Promises of equality turned into nightmares for most of the communities and they soon wanted out of the "new revolution" (F. Rivera, personal communication, September 14, 2012). This task was easier said than done, though, as the SP's stronghold approach to the people and their towns soon became evident. The heads of these communities early on realized they had signed on with the wrong kind of leader, and they very quickly began seeing signs of what a new revolution would entail. However, at this point, it was too late in the process for the people to go back to their old life, and tragedy soon escalated into horrific and unspeakable violence. After much repression, forced disappearances, rapes, torture, bombings, and the overhaul of local police departments and municipal governments, the SP took advantage of the continued absence of the federal government and escalated their power into widespread massacres of entire villages, including women and children.

The military were finally called to Ayacucho in December 1981. Unfortunately, the military groups that were sent were woefully untrained in weeding out terroristic activities. All too often they turned out to be even worse than the original revolutionaries as they had free reign to do what they considered necessary, and little training to interpret their mission (TRC, 2003).

Disillusioned and often times angry Peruvians in the countryside, who saw little help on its way, began to turn on one another as they did not know who was in charge. They organized their own militia, the Rondas campesinos, and these groups, along with some corrupt local police officers, were eventually found by the TRC (2003) report to be as guilty as the original core of SP terrorists. There were also various smaller bands of loosely-based splinter organizations that wreaked havoc on the nation in the name of revolution, but had entirely different motives, few of them being altruistic in nature. Even if the members of the smaller communities did not want to get involved, or did not understand what was even happening around them, they felt pushed to take action as well. Peruvian journalist and expert on the SP Gustavo Gorriti bluntly put it in an interview, “If your family is being held hostage, or if you get killed if you don’t fight, then you fight” (as cited in Ellison, 1991, p. 10).

Many in charge felt this long-term conflict finally ended in 1992 with the capture and imprisonment of the founder and leader of the group, now known as President Gonzalo, in the capital city of Lima. After several incidences, including kidnappings of noted journalists and dignitaries (R. Anyosa, personal communication, September 23, 2012), planned explosions which caused widespread blackouts near Lima, and other politically-motivated attacks in or near the city and the surrounding suburbs, a large bombing took place in an affluent area known as Tarata. This well-publicized bombing killed several people and injured hundreds. Only then did the federal government finally spring into action and capture Guzman and some of his associates.

It was not long after the entire original SP group dissolved that the local Rondas campesinos in the highlands, which had gained newfound backing by the federal government, thwarting many local catastrophes in the process, were sent shipments of guns to quell the continued violence in the highlands (Rochlin, 2003). Guzman's heir apparent, Oscar Ramirez, was captured by Peruvian authorities in 1999. The group still had various off-shoot organizations, but with the loss of its two major leaders, the activities of the guerrilla organization diminished significantly and the SP went back into hiding in the Peruvian jungle, even though they were still involved in criminal activity, particularly narco-terrorism (Rochlin, 2003).

Guzman and his closest associates were given life sentences with no chance of parole (Rochlin, 2003). Many other followers who had ties with SP and were caught and tried, received long jail sentences, typically up to 25 years and are currently imprisoned in the most notorious Limueno prisons. However, some will be out soon, in time to rekindle any remaining ties with the original organization, and many observers believe they will make their living and support their political activities through drug trafficking in the Amazon River basin (Rochlin, 2003).

Aftermath

In Ayacucho, many of the younger generation saw Guzman's capture as giving them freedom to migrate, and a large contingent moved to larger cities, particularly Lima. Many family members went along with them to find a new way of life. Yet when the migrants arrived at these new vistas of salvation, they found overpopulated shantytowns that were not all that welcoming to even more refugees. Furthermore, their departure left the countryside depleted.

Many Senderistas remained in the highlands, along with groups of former regional police; locally-formed and ill-equipped militia; would-be government representatives; and those

who professed to have the survivors of these new near-ghost towns in their best interest (TRC, 2003). Without familial support from those who had migrated, and minus any real governmental intervention, most Ayacuchans, particularly the uneducated Quechuan-speaking elderly, women, and children were all but powerless to put up much resistance to these new leaders.

There was also a strange feeling of understanding between some of the dissidents and the townspeople. In a personal interview, community leader and former professor Rudy Anyosa recounted the difficulty in seeing these people every day:

Many of those who wreaked havoc on the community were known to us. We had grown up with them; gone to school with them . . . and many we worked with, even at the university level. But there was nothing really to say and deep down a part of us understood that our neighbors who turned into rebels did so to protect their own houses. (personal communication, September 23, 2012)

However, some in the community were not as understanding of the underlying psychology which accompanied the terror and even Anyosa's own mother was adamant that these rebels would not infringe on her home. Rudy states:

I remember one day when the soldiers, some that we knew, some we didn't, came to our home and demanded our belongings, our sleeping quarters, and our food. They wanted to take over the house and leave some of their guns there, but my mother—she is very strong—would not allow it and took one of the guns and made them leave. They never really came back much to the house but it was hard to look them in the eyes on the streets, knowing what they had done. (personal communication, September 23, 2012)

Conclusions of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission

When the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's report was finally published in 2003, it had many detractors and the finished product had more than its share of controversy. One of the main arguments regarding the document was it listed the Shining Path as a political party, a point which infuriated most Quechuan-speakers (Human Rights Watch, 2003). Even the United States, the European Union, and Canada considered them a terrorist organization. The report

was panned by most political parties including former presidents, military personnel named in the report, and the Catholic Church (Agencia Peru-Reaction to the TRC, 2003). Almost immediately following the publication of the much-awaited report, social scientists who lived in Peru during the worst of the war, ex-pats, NGO workers, and even local government officials began to voice their opinions in important literary journals and news sources, including rebuttals by all the presidents who ran the government during the times of the SP.

The idea of a Truth and Reconciliation Commission following a lengthy internal conflict was not a new one (Hayner, 2002). At the time of the drafting of the Peru document, over 20 different reconciliation commissions were in progress around the globe, with the idea to thoroughly investigate what happened, punish those responsible, and to make amends, of sorts, with the people most affected by the war.

The TRC (2003) found the government must right the wrongs they had made throughout the years. Its aim was similar to the Rwanda Tribunals held in Tanzania in the 1990s (Eastmond, 2010), although in Peru's case, this report was about the only thing of substance to come of the investigations at first glance. In the tribunal accounts of Rwanda, persons responsible were made to come out in open court to explain their actions (Eastmond, 2010). In the lengthy TRC (2003) document, only the most obviously corrupt groups were named and very little was done to actual participants known to be involved in the tragedy.

The TRC recommended reparations for various groups affected during the turmoil (Arnaud, 2009). Monetary settlements are outlined for those who were tortured, sexually assaulted, taken as hostages, for bodies or persons never found ("the disappeared"), widows, orphans, and those who were left socially and economically scarred. According to local

residents, little, if any, of that recommended money has reached the affected persons as of the writing of this study.

For many years following its initial publication, the 9-volume, 2003 TRC document was available only in Spanish (Comision de la Verdad y Reconciliacion, 2003) and was not liberally disbursed to those in affected communities. The 12 member TRC panel was headed by noted academic Lerner Febres with experts and professors in the fields of law, medicine, sociology, anthropology, journalism, women's rights, and even several members of the clergy; all considered prominent members in their respective fields. In an interview in the *Andean Air Mail & Peruvian Times* (2013), Febres examined whether any of the major recommendations made by his commission were being implemented. He believes very little, if anything, has been done that was recommended by the committee.

The commission asked for reform by all factions of the government, including reparations for the "victims and their families" (*Andean Air Mail & Peruvian Times*, 2013, para. 2). Febres cites three former Democratic presidents have been in term during the years since the melee, and none of them have taken the initiative to begin the reformation process in any way. Febres stated, "There is a series of reforms . . . public policies, health, education, justice and also a fair treatment of the victims, paying them reparations" as per the TRC and believes the country is not only failing to fulfill these reforms, they are not even making an effort (*Andean Air Mail & Peruvian Times*, 2013, para. 5).

My research examines how the average campesino and townspeople has reacted to such a lack of interest in their future, or if perhaps there are some changes that have taken place which have not been documented thus far. Many dissenters, including those who were in-country during the worst of the conflict, long-time Peruvian journalist and scholar Gustavo Gorriti;

sociologists and anthropologists Robin Kirk, Steve Stern, and Orin Starn; prominent author and activist Carlos Degregori along with numerous NGO members and indigenous leaders offer testament to the fact that much of the TRC was not wholly representative of the truth. Most of the critics viewed the report as having suppressed important facts of record. By examining what is on record as having actually occurred during war-time, a pattern of attempted cover-ups by the federal government began to circulate (*The Economist*, 2012). There was also much disagreement as to the amount of monies that would be disbursed to those most severely affected in the form of reparations (Salazar, 2011) and how these monies were to be allotted to the appropriate parties since so many had no way to prove their loved ones were involved or were considered among the “disappeared.”

Lasting Legacies: Profound Ambiguities

Those who experienced the conflict were left with a lasting conundrum of whom to consider responsible for the brutality and corruption (Gorriti, 1999). On one side were the revolutionaries, who said they were there to rescue campesinos from the corrupt Peruvian government. On the other side was the federal government, which claimed to protect the countryside from the SP. Then there were the many splinter organizations and locally organized vigilante groups. According to the literature outlined here and the formal TRC findings, all sides involved could be equally brutal as there seemed to be no real rules or loyalties (Gorriti, 1999). Most of the peasants who were eventually killed or caught up in the conflict in some form did not ever fully understand the basis for the war, nor who was doing the killing. Besides the obvious tortures, murders, and disappearances, part of the systematic unraveling of the communities was no one knew what would happen next or in most cases, even why. It was as if all of the rules of normal society were thrown out, and concepts of law and order became even

more blurred as time passed. The people waited patiently for the TRC to guide local governments in these issues, but, by all accounts in the research conducted here, opportunities may have been lost to address at least some of the injustices and indignities the people of Peru suffered during war time.

CHAPTER 3

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

In this study, I build on and contribute to three areas of literature: aging in developing countries, women in developing countries, and the aftereffects of internal armed conflict. By observing the plight of the elderly, the role of women, and small-scale societal variants first-hand, my research offers insights about what still needs to be accomplished in the future in regards to positive development following such a conflict as wide-spread and systemic as the Shining Path (SP). Prior studies for the most part concentrated on how urban areas have attempted to rebound following violence and threats to cultural traditions. My direct observation with the highland people, going into corners of a society often overlooked or ignored by previous researchers, offers meaningful and useful contributions to the existing literature and can provide an important contribution to our understanding of small-scale societies in the new millennium.

In conducting my research for this dissertation, it was particularly helpful to employ the concept of the “levels of analysis” (Rourke, 2005, p. 65) whereby social scientists group the social structures of a society into three nested categories: a) the micro level (the individual or family), b) the meso level (kinship and societal clans; communities and local organizations), and c) the macro level (large scale entities including governmental agencies and international development groups). By utilizing the parameters of these structured levels in my fieldwork, I was able to better determine which population groups might benefit most from both previously published literature and new findings gleaned from my own research in the highland areas.

Aging in Less Developed Countries

My research with the elderly builds on the work of cultural gerontologists interested in the effects of trauma on the aging (Cattell & Albert, 2009; Fry, 1997; Kinsella, 1997; Shenk & Mahon, 2009; Sokolovsky, 1997). The elderly were perhaps the hardest hit group in this internal armed conflict (IAC) as they were accustomed to a way of living that included cultural kinship ties and a more informal means of economy than evidenced in large urban centers like Lima. A concerted effort is made here to combine insights from my ethnographic study of Ayacucho and existing literature in regards to the SP with the principles of cultural gerontologists who have examined developing nations as a compass for insights into the situations of the displaced and aged of the new millennium.

Cultural gerontologists, also termed the “new gerontologists,” consider how older adults function as social actors in the settings of diverse societies, and how conceptualizations of aging and the role of elders are culturally specific (Sokolovsky 1997, p. xiv). Cultural gerontologists argue aging can be viewed as a “primordial need for elders to pass on their kinship and societal identity ties in an effort to forever bind their community” (Sokolovsky 1997, p. xiii). Gutmann (1997) called this “the strong face of aging” (p. 221) with Sokolovsky (1997) underscoring elders are “a vital link to the transmission of a socially-learned system of belief and behavior that imbues children with the essence of humanity” (p. xii). Sokolovsky outlined the importance of tradition within the cultural framework and noted that social groups “construct shared expectations that interweave . . . inter-generational relations, dependency and death” (p. xv).

I extended these foundational theoretical insights in examining the cultural and structural shifts induced by the IAC. While Sokolovsky (1997) surmised old age does not necessarily have to be thought of “in the catastrophic terms of abandonment and loss” (p. xii), I found that in

Ayacucho, when the aged were torn away from what they knew best, this often had a negative effect on their lives. I found traditional values assumed by cultural gerontologists, such as social kinship and an overall reverence for elders in the community, could be seriously disrupted in the case of traumatic external forces. The break-up of highland village life as centuries of Peruvians have known it may forever alter the course of growing old in a society built so tightly around human values and expectations. Within these cultural contexts, I delved into the loss of both the communal identity and collective memory that severely affected Peruvian IAC survivors of a certain age.

I also reviewed the demographics of present-day elders in less developed countries (LDCs), analyzing data from the most recent reports on population aging by country and available international indices, including Global Action on Aging (2003, 2004), the United Nations Development Programme (2013), Global Age Watch Index (2013), the Population Reference Bureau (2012), United Nations Population Fund & HelpAge International (2012); the NGO Committee on Ageing, (2011) and Global Action on Ageing (2011) that deal with seniors in the aftermath of an IAC like the Shining Path. This subset of older and mostly indigent populations is growing much faster than in many developed countries, particularly in regions like Latin America. It is important to take note of these rising demographic markers as “social security . . . requirements for health care services and for long-term housing care and income security” will be affected significantly in (future) policy plans (Shenk, 1991, p. 347). The latest UN reports indicate that more than 248 million of the approximate 418 million persons worldwide who are 65 and older (59%) now reside in LDCs (United Nations Population Fund & HelpAge International, 2012). Projections indicate by 2020, over 67% of these countries will be comprised of the elderly (World Health Organization, 2012).

Studies have found seniors face a myriad of issues when they find themselves inadvertent victims following a prolonged civil unrest. Older persons in LDCs have a great deal to contribute to their own social networks, but they are often the most susceptible and vulnerable groups in times of crises. While exposed to the same struggles as other citizens, they have the added burden of accessing much-needed health resources and familial support that puts them into a distinct category (HelpAge International 2003). Internal armed conflicts “take a heavy toll on civilian populations giving rise to tens of thousands of refugees and displaced persons” or those who had no choice but to stay in place during the ensuing times of hardship (Global Action on Aging, 2004, para. 3).

In my research on effects of the SP in Peru, I found that while IACs are found throughout the world, whether it be a new and short-lived civil disturbance or one deeply rooted and longer-lasting, there often appears to be a lack of realistic and substantial policy change for rural groups who have little clout in the dynamics of the overall government infrastructure. These groups are “often left in dire straits with few resources available to them in comparison to more visible urban centers” (Shenk & Mahon 2009, p. 260). The indigent and elderly in the poorest and most isolated areas, who are most susceptible to repercussions from traumatic violence and repression are very often left with promises and governmental guidelines that are impractical for the population at hand and offer no viable long-term solutions. Goals of the UN Programme of Action included recommendations elders receive humane treatment and opportunities to contribute to post-conflict reconciliations and development (Kaneda, 2006). My research suggests that for the most part, the elderly in Ayacucho have seen little change at the local level regarding these promised policy reforms and few suggestions or involvement by the most-

affected residents have thus far been solicited by any macro-level institutions, particularly the federal government.

This study also draws on Barbanti's (2004) work on development and conflict theory, and his analysis of the millennium developmental goals. Barbanti assesses the recommendations by emphasizing that all levels are intertwined and "variables such as economic, social, political, gender, environment and culture" all play a part in social change (Barbanti, 2004, para. 5). My findings build on his argument that "development is at the core of post-conflict intervention" and to be successful, these policies must be supported by a strong infrastructure, especially in emerging societies like Ayacucho (Barbanti, 2004, para. 3). In order to initiate meaningful development in any group, but particularly one still in the post-conflict phase, the players at every step need to embrace the notion that while change may be difficult and often painstakingly slow, it is most certainly necessary if the state wants to advance to the next level of social and economic development.

Barbanti (2004) surmises that often the problem is that intervention after a conflict begins at the local (micro level) and is not sustainable. This is particularly true in a developing country like Peru. Therefore, it is imperative members at the macro level recognize the problems early on and come up with feasible solutions that enable the success of long-lasting interventions. Barbanti also notes indigenous organizations and international aid agencies are often overlooked in implementing structural changes. As early as 2002, at the UN Madrid 2nd World Conference on Ageing, the UN adopted the Madrid Plan of Action on Aging which called upon all governments to "protect and assist older persons caught up in armed conflicts and foreign occupations" (p. 3).

Barbanti (2004) cites the 2003 human development report in reviewing these issues and reinforces the view that while the United Nation's proposals generated during the Madrid 2nd World Conference on Ageing reflect a "deep concern with armed, violent, and military conflicts" (para. 16), little has been done in the way of assisting indigenous groups in any significant manner. Various global organizations have weighed in on development strategies following civil unrest, but they often may take very different approaches as to how to expedite the process (Barbanti, 2004).

Macro level government-sponsored bodies also receive substantial attention in such war time situations as the major source of economic flow originates in large urban areas (Eldis, 2010). Since the mostly Quechuan-speaking and mestizo populations of highland Peru seemingly have less to offer in the way of economic largesse or political prowess on the world stage, they often take a back seat to the dispensing of social services and general assistance. There is then less emphasis given to people living in more remote areas, particularly in the realm of monetary-based contributions or the reinstatement of institutions destroyed in the conflict. Since most of the assistance and monies go to larger urban centers, people in remote areas have had to deal with these types of issues on their own.

When attention is shifted to rural groups, most of the responsibilities for rebuilding and assisting those living in the recesses of society, like the indigent elderly, are transferred over to non-governmental organizations (NGOs), municipal governments, and private sectors. These groups are often ill-equipped to deal with the enormity of the problems because they either lack basic training in restructuring fractured societies or they do not have the full support of those at the macro level. Many developing countries face "an imbalance between where services are provided and where the most in need actually live" (Shrestha, 2000, p. 211). This inequity is

evident in preventative care plus treatment for chronic conditions, particularly for those who may suffer from undiagnosed post-traumatic syndrome following an elongated conflict like the SP.

It has been documented that elders in rural areas of LDCs generally have a higher percentage of seniors in crisis as health care and other services are mostly concentrated in densely populated urban centers (Kaneda, 2006). There is a severe lack of doctors, nurses, and other trained medical personnel with few, if any, sufficient hospital facilities, not only in Peru, but all throughout the global south. These factors contribute to a health care system that is woefully inadequate. This only underscores the idea “globalization has not yet reached the least developed countries” (Shenk & Mahon, 2009, p. 259). In small-scale societies like Ayacucho City and the surrounding villages and towns, 48% of the elderly have no connection to public sewage, 25% have no running water; and 33% have no electricity (MIMDES, 2007). Seniors are most highly concentrated in the highlands and other rural areas, with 60% considered poor, 80% living in extreme poverty, and barely 10% of rural residents covered by any health or government-sponsored care (Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada, 2007). The latest census index in Peru notes the population that falls below the poverty line is 31% with 54% of those living in the highlands.

Three out of five seniors in Peru live with no form of social security or pensions of any kind, leaving them to live alone or with extended family, and forcing them to work well past old age. Therefore, jobs with little or no pension plans or social security allowances, which generally subsidize the nation’s elderly, are firmly entrenched in places like Ayacucho and these elders have no choice but to rely on the local informal economy to survive (HelpAge International, 2005). In addition to traditional health services and elder care, the World Health Organization projects that globally, LDCs will have 55 million people suffering from mental

health issues as early as 2020, and developing countries including Latin America will have a significant rise of elders with indications of senile dementia (Kaneda, 2006).

By taking into account the sheer volume of poor elders in isolated parts of Peru as evidenced by existing data, I can better recognize the flaws and shortcomings of the available assistance offered to these at-risk groups, and attempt to address vulnerabilities and inherent dangers for this population. While governing bodies and international organizations have set up specific guidelines in dealing with elders following an IAC like the Shining Path, a majority of people of all ages interviewed for this dissertation felt that while the laws may be there, no one is following them. The general consensus by those I spoke with is in the world's eyes, they are "the forgotten ones." Shenk and Mahon (2009) noted some members of the higher echelons of government feel "elders should help themselves and poor elders are too used to asking for help" (p. 261). This thought process leaves some of the most vulnerable populations in the poorest areas of the country to live out their lives in the shadows of the Andes with little hope for lasting interventions from those at the highest levels of government.

The Role of Women

In the present study, I also build on and extend literature on the role of women in developing societies by examining the changing role of gender in Peru in the years since the Shining Path. There has been a great deal of literature written about how women were negatively affected by the SP's reign of terror (Cordero, 1998; Freed, 2007; Gorriti, 1999; Kirk, 1997; Starn, 1998). "Most women continued on in their role as caregivers and workers in the informal economy" (Cordero, 1998, p. 352). However, some researchers have found for a certain sector of women, the IAC turned into a fortuitous event which enabled those with opportunity, means, and/or the willingness to become more empowered the ability to prosper on

their own terms, and my work extends this argument (Andreas, 1988; Blondet, 1998). In looking at the circumstances of the women during and after the IAC, I attempt to incorporate the dual roles that women played during these years.

Previous studies found women who stray outside the informal economy still get paid a smaller wage and have fewer job opportunities than their male counterparts, especially in indigenous areas (World Economic Forum, 2013). There is still evidence of physical and mental abuse and females have little to say when it comes to matters of contraception or in the way their children are raised (Organization for Economic Cooperation Development, 2010). Peru ranks 74th out of 148 on the gender inequality index (United Nations Development Programme, 2013) and only 47.3% of females over 35 had a secondary education as of 2010. However, women in the informal labor force rank 67.8% of the population in rural Peru (World Economic Forum, 2013).

At the same time, during the height of the IAC, families shifted to largely matriarchal-based systems, if only for a time, with 78% of those who migrated to urban shantytowns from the Andes being headed up by females (Barrett, 2002). Out of necessity, these women became organized, forming alliances to ensure their families were fed and housed. These groups were largely responsible for the emergence of *comedores* (soup kitchens) and *vaso de leche* (a glass of milk a day for children) programs and these were run entirely by women. These programs began in the early 1980s at the time of migration from the mountains to urban shantytowns (Crabtree, 2002) and continue to this day, particularly in Villa El Salvador, one of the largest and most successful shantytowns in South America.

Previous research has also emphasized a majority of the poorest of the poor women continue to live in rural, isolated areas, including Ayacucho and surrounding villages (Cordero,

1998, Del Pino, 1998). Since these indigenous women have for the most part not strayed far from home, they are less likely to be fluent in Spanish, the official language of Peru. Another roadblock in the advancement of rural women is that as late as 2007, 18% of women still did not possess mandatory identification papers which were purposefully destroyed during the SP conflict (Amnesty International, 2009a). These papers are necessary for voting and employment purposes. While “discrimination based on gender” is officially outlawed by the federal government, it is still very much in evidence and the average woman of Peru continues to see little change in job opportunities outside the informal economy, especially if they come from indigenous or extremely poor areas (Amnesty International, 2009b, p. 22).

While most agree for uneducated rural women, there are still scant opportunities for jobs compared to their male counterparts, researchers differ as to whether women during the SP period entirely lost out in the struggle for power and visibility (Burt, 1998, 2006). Published reports show women who found themselves in the middle of the struggle for power had a window of opportunity opened for them, if only briefly, but now that the war is over men have resumed customary kinship roles (Freed, 2008, McClintock, 1984). My findings support the argument that the Shining Path conflict, as horrific as it was, opened up “a space,” allowing those who wanted to assert their independence in a larger context, a much-needed visibility, while offering at least some support for those in the Andean regions who remain in “local spheres of power,” even if that power lies within an informal economy and offers them less affluence and opportunity (Andreas, 1990-1991, p. 21).

In order to understand where the women of the Andes stand politically today, it is useful to review studies of their situation in the late 1960s and 1970s. Women who lived in what Enrique Mayer (1992) calls “deep” or indigenous Peru, as compared to “official” or Hispanic

Peru, experienced “depths of poverty; discrimination; abuse and arbitrariness and/or indifference by the state” (p. 188). For disenfranchised Andean women, there was a general lack of respect with little or no decision-making powers or true membership in the society. Perhaps most telling, the lack of rights of indigenous women was considered “virtually insurmountable” (Kirk, 1997, p. 78).

Studies have noted that women in the Andes were not receptive to the ideology of the SP at first as they were more concerned about just making ends meet to feed their families and continue on with life as they and their mothers and grandmothers had known it (Cordero, 1998; Kirk, 1997). SP leaders slowly introduced themselves into these reluctant communities by luring the female sector with a way out of this deep poverty, “one where wife-beaters, adulterers, and rapists were brought swiftly to trial” (Kirk, 1997, p. 80). Since most of these townspeople did not fully understand the political leanings of the SP, they were more than happy at first to embrace a system where they finally would have a voice in their way of life. Before the SP came to town, these women were “invisible” (Cordero, 1998, p. 352) and were trapped within a system where only their motherhood status and work in the informal market was recognized.

The Shining Path leaders’ main goal was to recruit all the citizens who felt a lack of empowerment, and women were an added bonus to their well-spring of support (Palmer, 1994). While the majority of the women in small towns and villages were largely uneducated and apolitical, young students who were fortunate enough to attend school at all went to the local university where Guzman’s treatise on Communist-based philosophies was being honed. These students took their message of equality for all into the living quarters and the streets of poor peasants and townspeople who had little to lose (TRC, 2003). Ironically, these were very often the daughters and sons of the campesinos who were ultimately caught up in the worst part of the

crossfire. The ideas of the Shining Path were quickly embraced by traditionalists, particularly women who seemingly had the most to gain in societal changes in small-town life. Later on, there remained a small group of loyalists who helped to bring women into the public sphere (Freed, 2008).

Jose Carlos Mariategui, the philosopher that Guzman used as his prime inspiration for the Shining Path, had categorized Andean women as war-like, writing, “Lacking a sense of justice . . . women’s flaw is to be too indulgent or too severe. And they, like cats, have a mischievous inclination for cruelty” (Kirk, 1997, p. 74). While Guzman did not set out to recruit women as over half his base, he also did nothing to dispel this characterization of the ruthless female Senderista. He utilized the women as a warrior image to appeal to those in the indigenous communities by “employing (both) a fear of women’s innate cruelty, and pride in Andean resistance and independence” (Kirk, 1997, p. 74).

The irony of women’s initial political involvement was that soon after discovering a bit of new-found freedom and choice, the SP ran rampant over the towns and villages these women had sought to have a part in running. Previous beatings, rapes, and murders paled in comparison to what the SP brought to the streets in the most violent of the period in the mid-1980s. When groups began mobilizing in a variety of directions, each with its own agenda, it was almost impossible to determine who was committing the most heinous acts in the name of social justice (TRC, 2003).

Once women in the Andes began to see what terror the SP had brought to their region with the ensuing massacres of whole families; disappearances of their loved ones along with rapes, kidnappings, tortures, enforced curfews, public floggings, and bombs going off in schools and town squares did they pull back and begin to realize they needed to look towards the

legitimized government to assist them (TRC, 2003). Unfortunately, by this time, much of the local government, police, and poorly trained military sent in to help had blended in with various terror groups and off-shoots of the SP, and according to the TRC (2003) report committed almost as many flagrant human rights violations as the original SP group.

Once again, it was up to the women to step up and organize the Rondas campesinos, local groups who set out to stop the violence wherever they found it. They did so reluctantly, but they had little choice but to take matters into their own hands. *More Than Half the Sky: The Power of Women in Peru* editor Feather Crawford Freed (2008) said it best when she summed up the role of the average Peruvian woman during this time: “The power and significance of Peruvian women may have previously been invisible, dormant or even repressed, but was now brought to the forefront by women’s compelling resistance to the Shining Path” (para. 12).

Maria Elena Moyano was an important female figure and ultimate martyr in Peru’s history during the worst times of the conflict (Moyano & Tupac, 2000). Moyano initially organized the original soup kitchens and a glass of milk a day program for children in Villa El Salvador, and her altruistic work and popularity among women of all of Peru became a thorn in the side of SP leaders (Moyano & Tupac, 2000). Moyano’s programs in Villa El Salvador were so successful that she was the perfect target for rebel forces, even though she knew full well the inherent danger it brought to her family and community (Moyano & Tupac, 2000). The day before her untimely death, she gave a speech in which she began, “There have been threats . . .” (Starn et al., 1995, p. 372). Moyano was very public in her activism, and besides her organization of Villa El Salvador into a viable place to live, she was president of the Villa El Salvador Women’s Federation, and served as vice-mayor of the town in 1987 (Starn et al., 1995).

While a powerful force, Moyano was careful to work within the system to pursue social change (Starn et al., 1995). After leading a very vocal march against the SP and its violence involving the running of the soup kitchens, she was assassinated by female SP members at a public barbeque that she herself had organized. To illustrate the insidious tactics this group could display, not only was she shot in view of her small children, her body was then placed atop a stack of bombs and blown up to emphasize the point women had no real role in the group without the male leadership's approval. It was of course a very tragic and public death with over 300,000 people attending her funeral procession (Moyano & Tupac, 2000).

Moyano was one of the few women who, because of her well-earned political clout and visibility in the community, was allowed to carve out a "political space" for herself (Moyano & Tupac, 2000, p. 3). Most of the other women who participated in the overthrow of the rebels early on were not to be remembered in such a grand way, if at all, but their participation was crucial to the success of women's roles during this period. Maritza Villavicencio, a Peruvian researcher interested in the dynamics of women's rights, speaks of the "watersheds of the movement" (Moyano & Tupac, 2000, p. 3). These watersheds represent the "diverse spaces that women have occupied" (Moyano & Tupac, 2000, p. 3).

Loss of Cultural Traditions Following Internal Armed Conflict

Finally, this study's findings contribute to the literature on the effects of IACs by highlighting the loss of cultural traditions that may result. In particular, I examined effects of the Peruvian IAC on the cargo system, which has been extensively investigated by previous researchers (Chance & Taylor, 1985; DeWalt, 1975; Friedlander, 1981; Smith, 1997). The cargo, commonly referred to as the *fiesta* or *mayordomia* system refers to a group of both secular and religious positions held by the elder males of the household in rural villages

throughout Latin America. The cargo system (from the Spanish verb *cargar* which means to carry out or be in charge of), encompasses a set of obligations a person of import goes through to achieve recognition and status (Chance & Taylor, 1985). DeWalt (1975) refers to these ceremonies and rituals as “one of the more exotic parts of the peasant culture of the region” (p. 87). DeWalt (1975) echoes Waldemar Smith’s (1997) work with the fiesta system as celebrations in which “poor peasants generally spend considerable time and money sponsoring fiestas to honor the saints” (p. 92). Ethnographers who have studied cargo systems stress the “social, political and religious integrative aspects . . . within this . . . conspicuous consumption” to explain what may seem irrational to outsiders who see poor peasants lavishly expending scarce resources (Chance & Taylor, 1985, p. 7).

While cargo positions are unpaid, there is much notoriety and attention given to those who are active in the civic life of the community (Chance & Taylor, 1985). The responsibilities vary from region to region, but generally it is quite the honor to have a lead role in the major festivals, carnivals, religious ceremonies, and other symbolic rituals, which are passed from generation to generation. Much respect is given to a *pasado*, a male who is greatly respected in the town and who has served at all levels of the system during his lifetime (Chance & Taylor, 1985).

My research extends the literature on the cargo system by examining how it was affected by the IAC in the Peruvian highlights. Described in more detail in Chapter 7, I found in my study the loss of men and elders from rural communities led to a profound reshaping of cultural traditions. These findings extend previous literature on IACs by highlighting their effects on long-standing traditions that historically guided the cultural, social, and economic life of rural communities. Ultimately, I argue rituals play a large part in keeping a community together, and

when abandoned, there is very often a huge impact on the society. The series of events set into motion by the Shining Path (i.e., taking the most powerful in the community first and leaving the infirm and defenseless to keep the community afloat) began the slow and painful unraveling of the kinship and filial unit which made up the core of village life (Palmer, 1994).

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY

Overview

The research conducted for this study was ethnographic in nature, drawing primarily on participant observation and in-depth semi-structured interviews over an extended period of time. I chose to use the qualitative approach for this particular analysis, due to the nature of the research questions I set forth, and armed with the knowledge there is still a great deal of residual sensitivity and reticence on the part of those who dealt with the Shining Path (SP) in some way. After my initial contact in the country, it became evident to me the conflict is still very much a personal topic for both urban and rural residents; therefore, a majority of those affected by the IAC would be unlikely to share personal anecdotes or pertinent history to a casual visitor.

In addition to revealing kinship and social structures, the use of ethnographic methods allowed me a better understanding of the importance of rituals and customs embedded in the culture. This knowledge of the players in the aftermath of the armed conflict contributed to some of the more crucial conclusions of the research. My time in-country was helpful in establishing a rapport which enabled me to gain access to research participants who normally would not have spoken to an outsider and gave them the impetus to talk about their experiences. My goal was to glean as much meaningful information as possible in order to contribute new and useful data to the existing literature. I believe quantitative methods would have not allowed for as much credibility or cooperation by the locals in this particular scenario. I utilized the qualitative paradigm which is by nature participatory and includes not only participant observation and the interview method, but can also include the analysis of texts and other previously published relevant data.

There is continuing debate in the social sciences in regards to the use of qualitative versus quantitative methods; however, I was influenced in my decision due to the works of Miles and Huberman (1994) regarding the dichotomy of these two research approaches. Qualitative methodology can be more time-consuming and sometimes less efficient than quantitative analysis. Qualitative research is often used when there is a larger import to the study other than just cataloguing people's life histories. In addition, I found the utilization and application portion of the results better served my particular research questions due to the nature of interviewing those in such a close-knit community as it allowed me better insight and more ways to research and inquire while collecting necessary data. This insider approach then allowed me to hone in on specific research questions that might have otherwise gone unanswered. By using this multi-layered method, I was able to garner much usable information as to the person's lived experiences, making for a richer study (Miles & Huberman, 1994).

Fieldwork Trips

The findings in this study are based on knowledge gained during four trips to Peru from 2007-2012. The first three trips were preliminary investigations that provided a background and context for the final trip in 2012 which is when I collected official data for the dissertation. During the first three trips (2007-2011), I worked with an organization called Cross Cultural Solutions (CCS), a non-governmental organization (NGO) based out of New York which places interested volunteers in settings that allow for service and a better cultural understanding of the country in question.

The findings in this study are based on knowledge gained during four trips to Peru from 2007-2012. The first trip I took was to Lima, Peru, July 8-August 22, 2007, where I spent six weeks working in a shantytown called Villa El Salvador (VES). VES was initially populated by

masses of migrants who came in droves seemingly overnight and put up rudimentary housing in order to escape the guerilla war going on in their own backyards. Located within VES is a day-care center for the indigent elderly called Los Martincitos, run by a Catholic nun and a local activist. I spent my time there assisting the staff with preparation and serving of meals, planning activities for the elderly, and going on home visits. This is when I first became aware of the Shining Path as a majority of those who came to the center had found themselves abandoned by their families or had come to the city with a spouse who had since died or children who had gone onto other parts of the country. For this group, many were alone in a place they did not feel was their home.

My second trip with CCS was for six weeks, August 23-October 3, 2009, where I was sent to the Andean highlands in the Ayacucho District, volunteering in Ayacucho City where I worked in a variety of settings including a women's prison, a *wawa wasi* (children's day care center), a nearby nursing home, and local clinics and schools. I met a variety of people in Ayacucho including those I worked with in my daily volunteer placements, the staff of the NGO and their families, as well as university professors and other experts on the subject of the SP who came to give us background on the subject of the war and Peruvian culture in general.

I returned for my third trip to the mountains in May 2010, where I spent three and a half months working at the same volunteer locations, but this time primarily in the women's prison. During this extended stay, I met a large number of people who seemed to recognize me from my previous visits and allowed me more access into their social network. These included elders who lived at home or with extended family, and a contingent of women who run what is termed by locals as the Memory Museum, a place where the relatives of the disappeared had originally

gone to await the return of their loved ones. The women still run the small museum and they meet every day to commemorate the victims and inform visitors of the SP's reign of terror.

I also became acquainted with many artisans, painters, and musicians who were more than willing to discuss the past, with quite a few of these craftsmen incorporating themes of the SP days into their works. This group began to introduce me to a large sector of the society in Ayacucho. During these months in the highlands, I was slowly beginning to be accepted as more than just a *gringa*, and continued to meet experts and locals in my role as a volunteer.

I ultimately chose Ayacucho as the location to conduct the bulk of my research as those in the urban areas, particularly Lima, had largely adapted to the new ways of living and they had, by all accounts, attempted to move on both emotionally and socially, at least to the naked eye. They also were fortunate in they had more access to official assistance and had developed more of a federally-sponsored social network to turn to in times of crises; largely due to the efforts of the Los Martincitos Center, other NGOs, and various government-sponsored social service agencies. I felt by using the highland people as my focus, I could gain access to a previously ignored group of participants whose untapped knowledge could only add to current literature on the subject.

My fourth trip, September 3-December 2, 2012, was when I conducted the official IRB-approved data collection for this dissertation (see Appendix A). I spent three months interviewing people I knew might be receptive to interviews. By this time, I was recognizable to most of the local townspeople in Ayacucho so I had managed to become privy to a pool of study participants I used to employ the snowball technique, otherwise known as chain sampling (Brown, 2008). I had learned from previous personal experience that this was not a group of

individuals who were likely to willingly share private and painful anecdotes of their turmoil-filled past to an outsider, even one they knew in passing.

Participant Observation

In addition to interviews, I also utilized the process of participant observation as outlined by DeWalt and DeWalt (2002) as a data-gathering technique. DeWalt and DeWalt (2002) contends using this approach not only “enhances the quality of data obtained during fieldwork . . . it enhances the quality of the interpretation of the data . . . and encourages the formulation of new research questions and hypotheses grounded in on-the-scene observation” (p. 264). However, I had to be careful in injecting as few of my biases and worldview into the field as is possible in any study of this nature.

Participant observation allows a researcher to get closer to the subject at hand, but there remains a fine line of distinction between establishing a rapport and becoming too much a part of the study for the results to be valid. While using participant observation can prove difficult if not done thoughtfully, it enabled me to observe aspects of these people’s lives that they might never have talked about in initial interviews. It gave me a rich context to dwell on when deciphering the results of the research. Gaining their trust, particularly dealing with a topic as sensitive as the IAC, would have been difficult at best and the fact that I had been a presence in the community without becoming too much a part of their daily lives as I was working during the day and staying near new volunteers in a large house in the evenings, allowed me to maintain ethical considerations by not becoming too immersed in the study to lose my research perspective.

The fact I had spent so much time before in the field, if only on the periphery by assisting townspeople with daily needs in my volunteer work, made gaining the trust of the interviewees much more fruitful than it might have been within a shorter time-frame in the field, or in a larger

setting like Lima. Ayacucho had remained off the grid as far as visitors went for the past two decades, not only for security concerns, but also because it is not a stop-over town on the way to major tourist attractions like some Andean villages.

I took informal field notes in both Lima and Ayacucho, but more so in Ayacucho as that is where I spent the bulk of my time. On my first three trips to Peru, I took fewer notes as I was not sure that is where I would conduct my dissertation research. Only after I began my official approved work did I begin recording more reflexive field notes. I followed the suggestions of experts in the field of participant observation in using initial informal journals to help me decide in advance how my own experiences, ethnicity, gender, and overall worldview might influence the ensuing line of inquiry. This approach helped mold my final interview questions and made for a better and more effective study.

Semi-Structured Interviews

Thirty-six interviews were conducted for the dissertation in 2012. Interviewees were selected for the breadth and diversity of their experiences and perspectives. In Lima, I interviewed 10 persons and then concluded I would have better access to informants in the town of Ayacucho for the purposes of this study. Since my first trip in 2007, I observed little research had been done with these specific residents in previously published literature.

The interviews in Lima included:

- 2 migrant Peruvians who lived in the Villa El Salvador shantytowns
- 3 NGO workers who lived in Lima throughout the conflict
- 2 workers who had fled the Ayacucho area to find work with various agencies in Lima
- 1 Lima-based journalist who covered the SP

- 2 experts and policy makers in the Lima area present during the conflict

The interviewees in Ayacucho included:

- (3) residents who stayed in-place during the war years in the area of the Ayacucho District and are now aging-in-place in their homes, either alone, or living with extended family
- (3) seniors working in the privately-run Memory Museum
- (1) older street vendor who traded her homemade goods on street corners in the main square
- (2) people who went on to university and are now responsible for getting Ayacucho and surrounding areas up to par with the rest of the country
- (4) representatives of a large population of vibrant and enterprising artisans who continued on with generations of family crafts for which the area is known
- (2) women previously incarcerated in the local Yanamilla Prison, many who were hired out as “*mulas*” to carry small amounts of drugs back and forth from the Amazon Region
- (3) retired professors and policy makers in Ayacucho
- (2) musicians who were able to find work both during and after the revolution subsided
- (2) experts in coca production and narco-terrorism groups
- (4) NGO workers who were present during and after the conflict

Interview Process

All interviews in this dissertation were conducted in English and/or Spanish. The majority of highland Peruvians speak Spanish or English only if they have attended formal

school, so in several cases where I could not translate, either because of the dialect or the fact the interview subject did not feel comfortable enough to be left alone during our interview session, I had the assistance of a professional translator. For those who spoke only Quechua, the indigenous tongue of the highlands, the CCS cultural liaison assisted me in translations, accompanying me on several interview sessions and translating the questions into Spanish from Quechua so these subjects (most of them elderly) might be able to participate in the interview process.

Each interview took approximately one hour and all but three took place in either the neutral location of a local tapestry maker who served as one of my informants, in the interviewees' place of business, or in a private room at my place of residence following scheduled cultural or policy making discussions with large groups of new volunteers. Three of the interviews were conducted by email after I returned to the United States. I audio-taped and transcribed many of the interviews. For those who did wish to be audio-taped, I wrote notes. The IRB-approved questionnaires (see Appendix A) and informed consent forms (see Appendix B) are both in English and "back-translated" into Spanish. Copies of the informed consent form notices were either handed out in person or mailed to the volunteer center in a sealed envelope to be delivered by the NGO's cultural liaison. Participants also received a copy of their signed consent form, if applicable.

It was vital to this study that the interviewees did not feel they were under any pressure to participate, as the nature of some of the questions might have been perceived as intrusive by certain individuals. Ethical concerns were paramount and are crucial in any research involving human participants, particularly when interviewees have possibly undergone severe psychological or physical duress. Informed consent and voluntary participation are of the utmost

importance in a study such as this (DeWalt, 1975). I wanted to make certain the subjects did not feel exploited in any way and they could stop the interview at any time if they felt uneasy with the line of questioning. Much emphasis was given to making certain the participants fully understood the interview process and that anonymity would be maintained during and after the research. Pseudonyms were used in most of the interviews; however some persons wanted their full names to be used and in those cases I complied with their requests.

Twelve people that I approached declined to be interviewed. Out of the 36 actual interview subjects, 22 agreed to the entire process, and 14 persons completed the interview but did not answer every single question, either because they considered some of the questions too personal or painful in nature, or because they veered off the line of questioning and talked about other parts of their life histories during the sessions. Of the latter group, some concentrated more heavily on certain aspects of the questionnaire and ignored the rest. For example, they may have wanted to talk more about their own case history during the SP conflict itself while others wanted to discuss more fully what the government did (or did not) do for them.

Benefits and Limitations

Employing the participant observation approach over several extended visits allowed for a myriad of opportunities for me to get to know the people and observe their customs from a distance and to gain a foothold in the community before formalized research questions even began to take place. Spradley (1980) maintains to be considered a “moderate participant” in a researcher role; the observer should have a “good combination of involvement and necessary detachment” (p. 58). There are limitations, of course, to this type of qualitative research as it is virtually impossible to remove one’s worldview entirely from the scenario and in this case have interview subjects view me completely as an insider. In addition, my line of inquiry was

invariably tinged somewhat with what I believed was relevant to the importance of the study and the nature and interpretation of the research questions. However, after following all of the procedures including informed consent, assessment of risks and benefits, and selection of subjects as advised by the ethical considerations put forth in the Belmont report (National Commission for the Protection of Human Subjects of Biomedical and Behavioral Research, 1978), I feel comfortable all possible standards were followed in maintaining the validity of this research.

CHAPTER 5

EFFECTS OF WAR AND GOVERNMENT ACTIONS ON WOMEN: HOUSEWIVES, EMPOWERED WOMEN, AND DRUG TRAFFICKERS

Introduction

Presented in this chapter are findings from my study concerning the effects of the internal armed conflict (IAC) on women in Peru. These contributions are distinct in that any seminal publications regarding the Shining Path (SP) are nearing a decade old, and little, if any research of importance has been initiated as to how the IAC played out in the highlands other than the original 2003 TRC report which has not been updated nor did it address any specific recommendations for the affected women (Gorriti, 1999; Kirk, 1997; Palmer, 1994; Starn, 1998; Starn et al., 1995). This chapter reveals a new contribution to how women in highland villages and small-scale societies were ultimately affected by the upheavals from the 1980s to the present and incorporates the interviews of a variety of women to illustrate their present-day conditions.

Patterns in the Experiences of Women

The women of Ayacucho District were witnesses, victims, and at times even active participants to some of the worst human rights violations catalogued in this modern age. Women reacted in different ways to the chaos surrounding them and in the course of my research, three distinctive patterns emerged. The first pattern includes traditional “housewives” who remained mournful and stoic victims, waiting with remaining friends and family for “disappeared” loved ones to return home, even while suffering physically and emotionally at the hands of the rebels. The members of this group that I interviewed had little, if any, interest in politics. The second pattern includes the “empowered” women who chose a different stance altogether and that was to join forces with the rebel groups and fight alongside them, many rising to the top echelons of

power within the organization. The third group includes those that followed a path that ultimately led them to prison or to go underground as they became involved in the illegal trafficking of drugs so prevalent in this part of the country. Of course, within these three distinct groupings, there remain variables and nuances that make each woman unique. This chapter is organized around a description of these three patterns in the experiences of women. For each pattern, an overview is provided and then followed by several case studies that illustrate both the commonalities and unique aspects of each woman's history. The case studies are drawn from interviews.

Housewives

The women who stayed home and watched and waited for the war to end had a difficult road to follow as they were accustomed to the men in this patriarchal society making all of the major decisions while they stayed home to take care of the family. Suddenly thrust into heads-of-household roles and sole providers for their children and extended family, most women attempted to retain their dignity while facing rebel forces that wreaked havoc on their city, their families, and themselves. In my interviews with these women, I heard stories of both despair and survival, many remaining courageous and adaptable, with others crumbling under the weight of the long conflict.

Marisol

One night in 1980, I heard gun shots for the first time. I thought they were fireworks, but I guess I was wrong. It was one of the first attacks to a police station in the town I lived. The next morning the first thing I saw was horrible; blood on the walls of the police station and the place was destroyed. Everybody was running to the school. Someone innocent was killed and so I also ran there to see what happened. Oh, my God. What I saw there was even more horrible. A man and his baby were lying on a table, dead. For a 5 or 6 year old girl, things can be so confusing. I didn't understand very well in that

time, but after many other horrible events, I learned all the violence that my country was living, especially my city.

Marisol and her family were ones who chose to stay in Ayacucho throughout the duration of the war, as that was their home and except for a few forays into Lima her parents, her sister, and her extended family lived there throughout the worst times of the IAC.

I have witnessed many horrible events that are hard to forget. I saw dead people on the streets, bombs every night, black-outs and nightly curfews, among other things. We left Ayacucho for a short time to see relatives in Lima but it was no better there. It was a hard life, but we had no option but to return. We wanted to forget and overcome all the problems we had. In Lima, it was just another long story, full of danger, poverty, and fear. We thought by going there we had escaped from the horror, but it was the same there, too, so we came back to our home. In Lima, we learned that one of our cousins disappeared and lost contact with the family because he was recruited by the SP and he could not say no. It was very sad for us to know that. We never knew what happened to him.

Once back in their home in Ayacucho City, the family saw the situation there had deteriorated since they were gone. Not only had SP members taken over the entire town, there were now additional groups with no agenda that Marisol and her family could determine.

We had curfews every night and no one could be out on the street after dark. Everyone locked themselves in their homes, but sometimes the men forced their way in and we could say nothing as we did not even know what side they were on. They would come in, eat the food, and take what they wanted. And they had all these rules that you could not have any books that even looked like they were suspicious. One time when I was very young, they came into my uncle's house and searched everywhere. They finally found a red book they thought was contraband and so they took him, even though he had forgotten he even had the book. They dragged him away and we did not know if he was coming back. They tortured him and hung him up by his arms and when he came back he could never really raise his arms again the rest of his days. He never talked about it again. Most of the people did not want to talk about it.

The worst thing I saw was me and my sister was just walking across the crowded town square one day to get ice cream after school. I was about 8 so my sister was 6. She asked me why the little girl running across the middle of the square was wearing something around her waist. I looked around to see the child, about my sister's age, running by herself from the middle of the square towards us and the storefronts. And then there was a loud noise like a huge truck backfiring during a parade, and then everything seemed to go into slow motion as the bomb the Senderistas had taped to her small body exploded. I smelled smoke and then saw crowds of people running in the streets in all directions. I pushed my little sister down and we managed to get into a

small corner and watched in horror as part of the square became covered in a sort of black fog, and several people near us were lying on the ground. I tried to calm *mi hermana* and tell her everything was fine, that we were lucky, and we got up to run home to our mother. But before we could do anything, my sister started shaking and crying with huge sobs, and in all of the commotion of the people running and yelling, with pieces of debris whirling around like confetti, I did not realize why exactly, until the smoke cleared a little and I saw bits of something I could not identify at first on my sister's legs and her uniform. She was pointing at my head, crying hysterically. I slowly touched my face and felt small chunks of the dead girl's flesh on my cheek and in my long hair. We ran all the way home to my mother and she tried her best to comfort us. But some time later, the two of us were suddenly told we would be returning to Lima to live with an aunt and attend school there for a while. I did not return to Ayacucho for a few years, and my sister and I never really talked about it until much, much later. But sometimes, when I come to the square the whole thing comes back to me and I start to shake and cry again. I do not think I can ever get that picture from my mind or understand why the guerrillas had to use someone so young and innocent to carry out their twisted plans. And we were lucky. In Lima it was bad when my sister and I were there, but my aunt had a real house with running water and a school to go to. Most of our old friends we saw there who also came to Lima to visit but stayed had to live in the shantytowns and we were not allowed to go visit them.

Upon their return to Ayacucho they saw little change, but now the violence had spread out to the *Rondas campesinos*, local citizens, many of them women, who with the assistance of the municipal government, had decided to take matters into their own hands. Marisol continued on through school, got a job at an American-based non-governmental organization (NGO) located in Ayacucho, and was a big source of assistance to all of the local women who tried to organize their lives, or in many cases, just forget. Most of her family still lives in the city there. In 2013 she moved to New York to be with her husband and 14-year-old son, but she says, "Ayacucho will never leave me."

Sabina

I was so happy when the SP and the others came to town that I already had my two children. I was about 22, I think and I had already met my husband and had a nice celebration and we had our son and daughter who were good children. When the first groups came to the town, I was very afraid of the rebels because we or no one else knew who they were or why they were here. I was at my little house in the city and we would hear stories and then the lights started to go out at night and then they made a public

announcement that we had to be off the streets by dark. This was okay, I guess, but we were not sure who they were or why we could not go to visit friends at night. Many of the *vecinos* (neighbors) told of stories from the countryside, that these were people who would save us from the poverty and take the money from the big government. So we did not know what to think. But then there were fires and bombings and screamings in the night and to my husband, it was like a war. They had these councils, the SP, and they would try to talk the men into joining to save their families from all the corruption, but to me this corruption was the regular life. So he said he would join and I begged him not because I heard many bad things about them already. But he left to go with them and I never saw him again. I guess he was killed or kidnapped, but I don't want to know, too, you understand? Maybe he will come back some day. So I had our two children and we waited. Another time my boy might have gone, too. I worked in the streets selling the ice cream when we still had some tourists and my children would cry for the ice cream but I said no because we could not afford these luxuries. But the tourists stopped coming and *los vecinos* said it was because we were on a danger list. So I worked at the big market selling other people's *verduras* (vegetables) when they had to take a break for sleep. There was not enough money but we got to eat what some of the market people had. But then they had nothing to sell, too, so I had to find my way. All my family life was here, but all the men went with my husband and it was just us left as the women and then the little children who do not understand the war. The worst thing was if you were left alone, the SP and others, they knew you were alone, so they would come to your house and just eat the food and make it like they lived there. You could not argue because they might beat you or maybe even your children in front of you so you just choked on the tears and you did it. And I was raped so many times, by people with uniforms and some with not. Even those with the red bandanas on their leg came to rape me and my children saw, too. That was the worst when my children saw. My husband had big plans for us but that never happened. I finally got a job working at a little store that sold *refrescos* and some local food. I did that for many years until it seemed like the men stopped coming to the house. After many more years, I worked for a lady with a nice store and now part of the store belongs to me and I am happy, but with happy it comes much sadness. I see the tourists coming back and I am happy and my two children went to school in Lima because of money some people gave us. Some people they say that was charity they gave me, but at least my two kids will be better than I was. So I think we might be okay someday. But for me, the worst day was when the SP came to save us. From what, I always ask? We were fine before. Some people, many of my friends and family, all they want to do is live in the past days when things were so bad. But life cannot be done again.

Others came from small villages to find assistance in Ayacucho City, either because they had relatives there, or because they heard it was a good place. Some people stayed and made a home for themselves and a few even managed to open up their own businesses in order to help not only their families but others as well.

I have lived in Ayacucho City for over 12 years. I have seen everything since I was four years old and yes, we suffered a lot. When the rebels came, we couldn't sleep in our own houses. We hid in the forest scared to death from the army. They would come to your house searching for anything that was valuable, money, food, and if you had animals they would take them too and eat them. We couldn't deny services to them. If we did, they would say, do you want to live or die? So we would just accept it. Most of the people from my town (Vinchos) just got scared and left their things and looked for other places to live. My grandmother, being an elderly lady, was very hard to get around so she wanted to stay. In February there was a lot of fruit and vegetables and other types of plantation but since there was little food from other parts, the animals started to eat this and we had nothing. My grandmother took care of a certain area where she could eat from those trees since there was no one there to claim it. We lived then up on the mountain and from way down, the army could look up and observe us from far away to see how many people were living there but as they would see my grandmother they would leave us alone. We lived that way until one July when we started noticing some people coming back to their homes, but the crop fields were all empty because the animals had eaten everything of value.

We thought then or we hoped that more people we knew would return, or someone from the government would come to help us. My grandmother always told us the government was coming. And then our life would go back to normal and the children and all the people would be back and we would be happy and could play like it was. She thought the army would get tired and stop coming and we could go back to the old life, but that never happened for us. The army started to come back around again and I know she was scared then but we did not know who they were with or why they came. We lived this way for about 4 years or five, but then it seemed a little calmed for a while. There was a leader from our village who was about 22 and the army came back to search for him. They came up to where we stayed and asked us where he was but we had no idea about this. But one night they found him in the middle of the old corn field in a little shack that was covered with leaves and my grandmother, I think she knew him, but she didn't tell us. He was living there with his mother in the fields and under the trees like us and when they came to take him away, he was crying like a baby and holding onto his mother and would not let go. It was so sad to see a grown man beg like this, but I guess maybe he did something bad and they came to get him. At least, that is what my grandmother said, but she looked scared and worried when she told us. She then started suggesting to us that we should leave, but we didn't want to leave her alone. We were afraid of the soldiers and not sure if they would kill or harm us. And we were very young to go alone. Some time passed, maybe a year or so and the soldiers returned, the same ones who always came, and they were nice to us. I think they understood we were just kids with an old lady and what could we do? After that, they would come by sometimes and check on us and ask if we had enough food to eat. My grandmother was proud and she always said no but sometimes they left us food anyway. Then they would go on their way and no one bothered us like some people said the soldiers did to them.

This was the way of life for the people of the deep countryside who lived through the conflict then, although many people had it much worse. The only place Meche and her siblings and cousins knew to go was to Ayacucho City where they heard they had relatives. So they left, and their grandmother stayed with a few others who were in hiding.

We did not see her again, and much later they told us she died but because of being old and not because of violence. We heard many bad stories about the army and that they would beat you or molest the women or torture you, but they were nice to us. When we first arrived in the city, it was not what we thought it would be. We thought it would be like a paradise, but there was nothing for me and my family because the people in Ayacucho City were leading very hard lives and the soldiers were not nice at all. The violence was much more open than in the little town of Vinchos and we were afraid all of the time.

Meche had been taught to shear wool and alpaca and spin the wool by her grandparents so she had a trade she could use to make money. She met her husband Faustinus, an artist, on the way to the city and he was much older but they ended up married about three years later, had two children, and started a weaving business which ended up becoming quite profitable by the standards of the times.

Our home is not rich, but it has love and after we make enough to buy food and pay for our necessary things here, we have the small business weaving textiles and Faustinus dyes the wool from crushed insects that grow in the hillside and then he makes it into designs. He is a good weaver, but also a very good man and so we started a local cooperative group with the help of a company from the U.S. that is a NGO and that made us enough money to start up a place downstairs in our house for people hard on their luck to come learn a new craft so they could be successful and not just make small monies. We, I guess, are the good luck stories. When the women come to weave and talk, all I hear are such sad stories and so I tell them to put those sad feelings into their sewing. We help the women who are in jail and when they get out they have no place to go. Life for us is good now and if it were not for my grandparents teaching me these valuable things and the kindness of the soldiers, I do not know where we would have ended up. But I know that all of these women have suffered so much so I try to help them like the soldiers helped our family.

The Formation of ANFASEP and the Memory Museum

During the worst of the war years, some women began to see that without their husbands or a man representing them in some way, they had little power and now shouldered most of the responsibility. The remaining men in the town met frequently at council meetings to decide how to proceed in the war and women were rarely, if ever invited. The sheer inequity of this made some women start to question what they could do to help themselves. For a small, but vocal contingent of women in Ayacucho City, they were not content to just stay home and wait for their men to return home or the government to help them. These women decided to form their own base of operation which they called ANFASEP (Asociacion Nacional de Familiares de Secuestrados de Detentidos y Desaparecidos Del Peru), or the National Association of Relatives of Displaced, Detained, and Disappeared of Peru (Best Urdy, 2010). Honorario speaks of the beginnings of this group and why it was such an important factor in average women's lives:

Everyone suffered in the war but it was up to the women to stay and hold a strong face and raise the children and keep the houses while their men went to fight or were taken, or worse. And sometimes they suffered worse, I think, because of the rapes and the tortures with no money and then the long waiting. For some women, this was good to stay home because they did not know anything else to do, but for many, you know Ayacuchan women can be strong, and some thought they should be allowed to have their say in matters. So they began this association where women who were worried could come and talk and the children could have a place to come to after school was finished. They made a soup kitchen where my mother and her friends cooked for anyone to eat and this was a big house where people could come with news or reports of violence and which groups were okay and which ones were bad. They made the police reports there, too, for the rapes sometimes, but most women did not want to tell the police because they were too ashamed. But they told the women and it made them feel better that they were not alone. They started putting up photographs of their missing to spread their news to anyone who would listen. It was always such a sad day when someone would come to say they had heard that one of the pictures had been identified. But of course there were no bodies to prove it so there could be no funerals, really. Just waiting. The worst part was when they decided the ladies could be in the *Rondas campesinas* squads and the government gave out guns for women and men to protect themselves but there were so many groups that were to blame, who would you shoot? Many of the young boys had started to join the rebel forces and sometimes they would come back to commit a crime and you would recognize them as someone you had gone with to school or Mass. But some of the

women, they had the temper and they joined and they shot people, too if they came to their homes to hurt or steal from them. But really it was just the government's way to make us not talk about it and say they had tried to help us. The worst time was at Lucanamarca where the SP and other groups killed 69 people. They were babies, children, 11 women, some of them who were pregnant, and some men. At that time, the women here knew they were on their own because now they killed the peasants. The Rondas, they were supposed to help stop the big violence, but here, they killed one man and so the SP came back and they committed the big massacre that changed some people's minds. What they did at Lucanamarca was unbelievable and people cried just to hear the story. When enough years went by that they knew they were not coming home, or had heard from people that their husbands or sons were dead, the ladies decided to keep the ANFASEP building and make a memorial with photos of the disappeared and dead and also their clothes, letters, or anything they had left behind. They called it *La Memoria Museo* (The Memory Museum) and they sold arts and crafts to make money to make it look special, like a real museum. They also hoped it would make the government pay attention to what they had done and all of their broken promises.

Empowered Women: The Senderistas

This group includes women who may have had some political leanings beforehand, but for the most part, the interviews of friends and relatives suggest the most radical *Senderistas* envisioned a route to sustainable social change that was promised from the start, but had never come to fruition. Having risen to the highest ranks of power within a hierarchy of men who had originally brought them along to work in lesser roles, they proved ruthless in their own right, often carrying out greater atrocities than their male counterparts. Interviews here underscore the sense of notoriety and feeling of power that most would never have received as a typical woman of the highlands. Even when the time for the promised utopia had come and gone, and the revolution was purportedly winding down, they carried on, dogmatic in their approach to seizing any power that was still available.

The most violent SP members are in high-security prisons in Lima, or died in their quest for revolution, so it is almost impossible to find SP members to interview one-on-one, and even then it not permitted for them to speak to outsiders. There are still SP women on the run, often

found in the Amazonian Basin working for the drug cartels, but I had no access to this group.

Yanamilla Prison holds some SP members, some who were on the periphery of the violence, but most in the regular prison population views them as just another enemy and often they are in solitary confinement. I have relied on family, friends, and community leaders who knew them during the time of the IAC in order to have a better grasp of what caused them to join ranks with the SP.

Jorge, an expert on the drug trafficking trade and the history of the Shining Path, speaks to groups in Ayacucho and Lima on the drug cartels in the Amazon and he sought to explain the reasoning of some of those who turned from a typical Andean woman into a rebel for the SP:

We always had the coca plant here. It is part of our culture. But most of the regular community had no idea what went on in the jungle. My niece, Elena, who always had a fire within her, and was restless since she was a little girl even, found something in those groups that made sense to her. We watched her, and were afraid for her as she went from a fun little girl with beautiful long plaits always in mischief to a very angry teenaged girl who seemed mad at everything. The whole family thought something bad might happen to her. She always wanted to be in the middle of the trouble. When the SP came to take over the town of Ayacucho City, everyone else was afraid, and she was a little as well, but we could see in her eyes that she liked it or some of it. It was an excitement for her. The whole family talked to her then and I think she respected me a little because I was older, but I could tell she would do what she wanted. When the other families sent their children to Lima to go to school, she refused even though we had some money. She started changing her dress, and going to the places after curfew where no girl should go. The men she went with were bad men and too old for her and my family was so worried but I had been to many places and I could see she had made up her mind. I talked to her but she did not listen. This man, he was an SP and at least 10 years older than her and not a good match. And he had a look that scared me and I had lived in the shantytown. I will admit to you, I was not good then either and I had been to the jungle and I knew what they did, and yes, I did it also for money a few times. But I was lucky and never got caught. And I met some of the women Senderistas and they were very bad women. But to me, this was Elena's goal.

Jorge continued his own involvement with the SP, mainly as an observer, according to him, and he would hear stories about the women and found that one was Elena and that she had been beaten by her husband and his friends had raped her with his consent. She was living in a

small town near the river basin and she was a *mula*, too, but she never got caught for drugs. She was always very smart. He also heard that she had made a name for herself within the organization as she stoned some family members at their home in the name of Shining Path.

The next I heard she was getting to be big on the rebel list and the men were afraid of her. She would do anything to get people to pay her in words for what she was doing for the revolution. I heard she had a child, a boy, but I never saw him and the family, we did not even know his name. I told my family some things so they would know she was alive, but I did not tell all because of the shame, and they would be scared she would visit them. A big thing then to prove your honor for SP and Guzman was to go in and stab people in the name of the group. So she did this many times. She also slit the throat of the dogs to prove her honor and if you got your child to do this, too, it was a bigger honor. I heard, but I do not know for sure, that her son did this for her. I cannot even think what the boy thought. The family would have taken him in if we knew where he was but we did not even know of her place. I went onto Lima and went to a school and now I speak to groups and tell them of the horrors of the SP's worst times. But for Elena, I don't know. Some days I think I see her, but it has been so long I would not recognize her, maybe. If I did, I would grab her and embrace her and tell her to tell me what happened and I would try to understand. But I do not think she would talk to me. My thinking? I think she lives in the jungle now and is in hiding as too many people know her name. Or maybe she is dead.

Paulina

Some of the women who believed in the SP cause but did not have the courage to kill people outright participated nonetheless, and their silence proved to be almost as lethal as those who killed people in view of the town square. Paulina thought the way out of the poverty and invisibility of being an Andean peasant was the SP, but she did not wish to kill anyone for the cause. But she still joined forces with the group and her passivity helped in other areas of the revolution. Her family relates her feelings about why she joined up with the group:

"I believed in what they said." She told this to her father who visited her in prison, one of the few times she saw her family again after joining the ranks of the rebels. Her father had raised her to have a strong moral code to follow, but unfortunately this particular group had no ethics with which to guide her.

I went to some of the male meetings in town and I felt alive and I knew the Central Government was never going to help us in the mountains and I wanted to be a part of this. I knew that I could help, and since everyone was killing everyone then, I thought I could do it. But when it came time for a test they gave us, I could not pass. But they liked me and knew I wanted to be a part of them so they accepted me and I got the sort of dirty jobs but at least I did not have to kill. I was there in Lucanamarca when they killed all those people and my job was to help with those who did not die immediately, like the burned children and the women who were pregnant. One of them I tried to help deliver her baby but it was too late. I helped the men to dig the mass graves and I cooked for them and made sure they were ready to go when they went on a mission. The worst part for me was the graves because they just dumped all the bodies, even the animals that they cut their throats and the bones of other animals they ate. They were all mixed up. I remember thinking how sad it would be for one of us to never be able to bury our relatives, but this was not my problem.

Her brother was able to visit her twice while she was in prison and he cries as he relates what she said during the few minutes he was allowed to speak with her before her sentencing:

I followed this one rebel group to all kinds of places and after some time, they let me listen because I was no trouble. I wanted to be a real part, but by then they liked me for what I did and I was good at following their instructions. I do not want to go back home, anyway. Why would I stop now, even if they let me out? No one would respect me in the town anyway. I am a criminal now. Tell the family to forget me.

The family was unable to visit her again as she was caught up in a fight between herself and another woman who fought and killed civilians during the IAC. The woman apparently told her she was not a real member of the cause. After about five years, they moved her to another prison, farther away and they never saw her after that. But the brother says that Paulina might have been killed during a prison riot as there were many attempts by the SP at this time to open up the jails. The family was never notified either way which is not surprising in light of the judicial system in Peru. But they will probably never know for certain what happened to her. When Paulina was moved to the second prison her family only heard of it through fellow inmates so they have no idea how to contact her. She also made it clear to her brother early on that she would never return to her old home again.

Drug Traffickers

Some women with little formal education or visible means of support turned to the drug trafficking industry to help feed themselves and their families in the worst of the crisis. They became low-paid *mulas* who found themselves inadvertently enmeshed in the insidious coca operations located deep in the recesses of the jungles of the Amazonian Basin. Most apprehended were carrying small amounts of coca *pasta* and the minute amount of money they received for their endeavors pales in comparison to the time in prison they received when apprehended. In 2013, the local Yanamilla Prison housed 160 females and 10 children, the majority of whom had received sentences of between 15-25 years. Upon release, those I interviewed reported having a difficult time being accepted back into local society as there is much stigma attached to what they have done in the eyes of the traditional communities even if there is a general understanding of why they did it.

Maria

I grew up in a tiny village very near the City of Ayacucho. I had a small family compared to what most highland people had. There was only me and my two older sisters and an uncle living on a small farm that had stopped bringing us any money since I was very small. My mother and my father died when I was a baby, about two, I think, and they both became sick at the same time. We went to stay with my aunt and my uncle who lived very near, but my aunt, she died when she was very young, too, so it was just us and my uncle. There was much sickness then because we never had the proper shelter or good food and there were no doctors and even if there were we could not have afforded to pay the soles for him. So if you got sick, you just died. My uncle was very good at spinning the wool of the alpaca and the camel hair and we made some money because other families were not as good as he was. They would bring us some small money, but mostly we traded for food and supplies when he did the cutting of the animals. My two older sisters were very good at spinning the wool and when my uncle would sell it the people would leave us a little and we could make some warm clothes and hats and blankets. I never was very good at these things so I had to find something to make the money. There was a place near us where men from other places stopped and drank liquor and so I worked at this little *pena* and made a little cash for the family, but the men were very rough for me because for them, women should be at home with their families and cooking and sewing and not selling *chicha* (homemade beer). But I did it to

help but also to leave my uncle's house because he could be very harsh and he would beat us if we did not do as he wanted but he did not follow any rules either. The word was passed to everyone that I would have sex with the men, which was not true, but no one believed me anyway. So I had no real friends as the parents who still lived there told their children to stay away from me. I knew since I was about 12 that I had to go to the city to make my life. I left and no one seemed to care much and when I got to Ayacucho City I could find no work and I saw that these women thought I was an unholy woman. I met my husband in Ayacucho City and he worked at the local supermercado selling *pescado* (fish). He was not popular with anyone because he had been in some trouble for stealing and no one liked him as he had no real trade. We were not really in love the way others were like my family's people, but we were a good match and both us wanted money so we made for a good pair. We had three children and then my husband started going to the local meetings that the SP had for people who wanted a better life. We did not really have any belief in all of the causes and revolutions, but we did want money. My husband heard about many of the SP members who had escaped the jail or who had told police some names of those who had gone to the jungle to sell the *drogas* (drugs). To me, it was only the regular coca leaves we had since we were kids, but they did something to it which made it worth a lot, especially to foreigners, and everyone wanted to buy it for a lot of soles. He went two times without me and brought back money to live so I thought it was okay. At least it fed my children. Later on, I found out that besides the *drogas* people, there were many SP members who were hiding there and they were selling it, too. These people were not so nice to my husband and he came back bloodied the next time he went and they took the money, too. I got scared, but we needed more money so on the next trip, I left my kids with an older aunt I found outside Ayacucho City and we both went and they had us bring back packets. I never tried this thing, only coca leaves were what real Peruvians used, and they scared me to use them. But I was not so lucky, or my husband either, because on the way back we were arrested with the *pasta* and they took both of us to jail. We were separated in the Yanamilla Prison, but I got to see him through the bars on the way to the offices sometimes and we passed notes to each other. We waited to see what would happen to us but it was about one year before we saw the judge and we were sentenced at the same time.

The Yanamilla Prison is separated into a male and female part with children under age 4 allowed to stay with the mothers if there is no place else for them to go. After age 4, they are either sent to extended family or orphanages. But in Maria's case, her children were too old when she and her husband were caught so they stayed with relatives and distant friends the entire time of Maria's incarceration.

I remember the day we went to get the sentence. We both had a lawyer but it was a state lawyer and he and the judge had already decided what we would get. I received 10-15 years in prison and my husband received 25 years. We went right back to our cells the same day and I did not see him at all for a long time. I am a strong woman and I decided

right away that I would survive compared to many of the other young women I saw there who looked so scared. The more scared you looked, the more rapes you would get. The jail guards would call me to say they had a message or that my lawyer was here and then they would rape me, but I knew not to tell as I would get more time in prison. I just wiped away my tears and went on from day to day. Some people came to help but I mostly stayed in my cell as I was very sad and angry, too. I made some friends after a while and we would laugh a little while we learned the new crafts but you have to look tough and mean or they will get to you. After a while, when my kids never got to come see me, I started to make a few friends, but they were also the tough women. So when 8 years came, I decided I needed to learn to do something when I did get out so I learned to crochet with the other women, but not so much Spanish and no English. I was not as good as the other women, but the ladies that came to help us, there was one I liked and so I tried, mostly for her and I sold a little and made some soles to send to the kids. After I was released, I had nowhere to go because my family in Ayacucho had enough trouble for themselves, so I went to work at the local cooperative and got better at making small alpaca stuffed animals. I met some other women who were waiting for their husbands, too, and we did okay and at least we could breathe the fresh air. When my husband was released, he was stupid, he went back to the jungle, but I had enough of all that and I am doing good, I guess. I am alone without a man, but that is okay. Maybe I do not need one so much. I have two of my kids now and we are all without money, but we have each other. This was a very high price to pay, but I do not know what else I would have done. I did learn my lesson as I do not think I would ever go back to prison again. I never really understood what the SP was for and neither did most of the women in the prison. It was a very confusing time for all of us. Most of my friends in Yanamilla really just wanted soles so they agreed with the SP even if it meant nothing to them. Prison? It is a very harsh life and when people find out, they hate you before you even say your name which is not fair because they have family who did the same thing. My children are glad I am home, but the youngest girl was raped many times when I was in prison as she had no one to protect her, really. And she has had a very hard time with that and still does. My family in the village, some are still there, but they want nothing to do with me, either, as I have brought shame to them. But my question to them is what would they have done? I am still very angry at what happened to me because I was doing the best I could. Yes, I could have stayed at my little home and probably would have been killed, or worse, too, because I listened to no one. You have to make hard choices in a place like this country. When I think of Yanamilla, all I remember is the hot sun we sat in all day while we embroidered and crocheted the same thing over and over, sitting on the concrete on little stools, and listening to the moans and crying of the women who were not so strong as me. Yes, I am strong, but those sounds I cannot get out of my head and I do not think they will ever leave. I remember that some of the women had money from family for the one telephone to use for holidays and on Sundays, but I had no such money so I never got to talk to my family to even know if they were dead or alive. They will never do this to me again as I will not allow it to happen. I plan to stay in Ayacucho and work with the cooperative for as long as they want me and I am getting better at sewing, too. Maybe one day I could get my own *tienda* (shop) and be the *jefe* (boss) because I am good at understanding the people and I am good with money, too. But these are only dreams and you cannot live in dreams. Of these *suenos*, working in the cooperative and

learning to crochet and weave, this would not be my dream. I am older now and would just be happy with making a small farm in my yard with some of my daughter's family. Or meeting a man who understood what happened to me and had no judges about it. For a woman like me, I know the reality and this money they always talk about while sewing, that is money for the talented women and also the government, they will never give any money to us women who were in jail. The government never helped us before. Why would they help us now especially since we were in Yanamilla? But for most of them, they hold onto this dream, so I will say nothing to them. I would be happy for them if they got what they wanted, but I do not think this will happen.

Valentina

I was in prison for 13 years. I was not brought up this way . . . to do such a thing as this. We were a Catholic religion but there was no church where we were but we still knew what was wrong. My family was very poor and I was born in the small village near the town of Andahuaylas. I lived with my grandmother, parents, three sisters, and one brother. It was our job as the women, even when we were very small, to work on the farm, growing the food we could, cooking, and taking care of the animals. And my childhood friends and I were close in playing but when it came time to go to a local school set up for us by some Catholic group, I had to stay home and so did my sisters and brother because the land was failing and we had to do some chores while my mother and *abuela* went to town to the market to sell what food we grew. When the SP came, we had no idea who they were except for one day in the town my brother took me to see a dog with its throat slit and hanging from a rope with a sign I could not read. It scared us all and right after that, some soldiers came to our house and took away our father and my brother who was about 15 then. My grandmother and my mother, they could do nothing, we did not know why they took them but they dragged my father out of the house, kicking and hitting him with a tree stick. And my brother was so scared he just followed when they yelled at him. My brother was screaming for my mother but there was nothing we could do. We stayed up for many nights waiting for them to return but they never did. I heard later when I was in Yanamilla that my brother was alive but no one still knew where he was. These soldiers came back many times and since we were only women, they ordered us to do terrible things. My grandmother just stopped talking at all after a few days and when the soldiers would come back for food or to sleep, they would take one of my sisters, my mother, and then finally me. We were raped over and over. It got to be an everyday thing when they would come and we knew it would happen but none of us knew which one it would be. This went on for a long time and I know they went to my friends and neighbors' houses, too. Finally, it stopped for a time and I decided to leave. My mother begged me not to but I was 16, the oldest girl, so I went to the city to see what work or little money I could find. Some other rebels raped me, too, when I camped near the river then but I do not know even now if they were SP or some other group. I finally got closer to a bigger town and I was sort of pretty then and a man asked me if I needed money. I thought he wanted sex but he offered me a job carrying things for him. He told me to stay in this little place, and he gave me some bread and potatoes

and said when he returned, he would bring me what I was to do and some money. I was so happy I could eat that I took it and waited for him to return.

After four days, the man and some friends came back and advised Valentina of her instructions. She did not like what she heard, but she had come too far and was in too deep now to refuse any offer they had for her.

Finally, he came back with some other men that looked like rebels, too, but I don't know. They gave me a small package, the size to fit in a *mochilla* (backpack) and a cloth to carry it in under my clothes and said for me to bring it to a certain place that was very far from where we were. I knew what it was even though I had never seen coca *pasta* before, only coca leaves we had for tea or for chewing during the day at our house. He made me take a bath in a river so I would look nicer and then helped me to attach the package to my legs under my skirts. Then he told me where to meet him near the big town to get my money and I knew I had to do it now, too. He pulled out a knife and held it to my throat and told me I could not say anything and if I was caught they would kill me. I shook and cried all the way to the town which was a long way to walk and I saw along the way some of the other women at the river walking, too. I felt scared at every person I passed on that road but I kept thinking of the money I would get and I could give it to my family. I finally found the place outside the town but it was another man and he took the package and gave me 10 soles which was a fortune. I went into the town happy but I knew my parents would be ashamed, but what can you do if you are starving? After about one day in the town, the police came to a small place I was staying to take me away and said they had proof I was a drug trafficker. I did not know how they could have had such proof but what could a girl like me say to a police official? On the way to the prison, one of the policemen took me off the bus and he raped me, too. I was just in a daze after that.

The majority of these mulas are caught outright by police officials, but oftentimes the buyer has been paid a small amount to turn the women in for an exchange of money, goods, or time off their own or their relative's sentence. The Peruvian justice system is structured in such a way that very often prisoners can spend a few years in prison before ever seeing a judge. As soon as they are brought before one, the judge hands down the sentence, typically 10-15 years minimum and the prisoners are immediately taken back to their cell to begin their official prison sentence. There is no appeal process here and the trial very often lasts only 20 to 30 minutes.

The first days were so bad and all I did was cry. The cells have at least 10 women in them and sometimes a child is the last in and sleeps on a mat on the floor. The bathroom

is inside the cell so all night you hear women crying and going to the toilet and the smell is awful. There are so many rats, too. You sleep in a bed with two or three women and it is very crowded, I made some friends, I guess, after a year and it got better. But I still did not have my trial and so every day I waited to see what would happen. I was there for almost one and a half years before I saw the judges. But no one knew I was there, even my family, and until I got out I did not know what happened to any of them, or if they were even alive, except once I heard about Raul, my brother, but I did not know if it was only gossips. One group of people who came to help us, I think they were foreign people, maybe but I still spoke only Quechua, and they taught some of us who were interested to crochet and some taught English classes, too. But I needed money when I got out so I learned to crochet flowers on the mantas made from the material the men wove on the other side of the prison. I was good and so when I was released, a lady who runs an artist house and teaches women to weave and help them sell their things in the market came and she took me in their group. I learned some Spanish then and I am still with them now and some of us women have, we have a little, I guess you would call it a house, near the workshop where we stay and then we work all day for the cooperative and on Market Day, we take our things to town. It is like a new family but it is not the same. I found out my father never came home and no one ever heard from him again and my brother got into some trouble, too, but I have not seen any of them. I cannot afford to go back anyway now but that is my dream, and I would lose my job, too, if I left. I did hear through the different women who came in and out, the prison is a big gossip, that most of my little town was gone and that my grandmother had died. What happened to my sisters and my mother? I guess maybe I will never know.

The artist cooperative mentioned here by Valentina takes in women and some men who want to learn a trade and they help them as much as they can so they can get back on their feet. But the managers of the coop have their own sad stories to tell, too, and while they make some money selling their wares in bigger markets now, they still live in modest accommodations and have little else to give the women but support and encouragement. The women I interviewed here often feel terrible guilt about what they did to receive a prison sentence. And the local neighbors, while sympathetic to a point to their situation, say they can never accept them back fully into the community because they were caught with drugs.

Some of my new friends talk about how they want to go back and not make that mistake again and every day is the past for them. But for me, I really do not have a choice, I do not think so because we were so poor and the men would have kept coming anyway and at least I tried to make some money for my family. Now I have a skill but not then and so I did the only thing I could and that was to sell the drugs. My *abuela* (grandmother) and

especially my father would be so very ashamed of me now. Someday maybe I will meet a man who will understand why I did what I did and he will accept me for who I am now.

Reparation monies were recommended to be handed down to victims of those relatives who were killed or “disappeared” as per the 2003 TRC report. But a woman like Valentina, no matter how hard she works or how many family members she lost, will not be a recipient of any such settlement money as she was incarcerated for narco-trafficking and the TRC board does not include criminals in their recommendations for compensation.

Carla

There were many of my fellow inmates at Yanamilla who had hard childhoods or who had to really struggle to get by and so they are not so surprised at where they ended up, considering the times we lived and the choices people had to make. Some of the women incarcerated were sort of, how do you say, accidental *mulas*, as they were naive and did not realize that the coca plant they had used all their lives could get them into so much trouble and many thought they would get help from their community or government once imprisoned. There are some there who say they did it for their families, but they really did it for themselves. There are many married people incarcerated, too, and so both the man and the woman are in jail at the same time, which is sad for the families. But almost every woman will tell you that they did it because they had to or they were tricked into it, but for me, I think they knew what they were doing and they thought since they were women the punishment would not be so harsh. Plus, all the prisoners there are not because of the SP. They are inside for other crimes from stealing to embezzlement to murder. They would have been in jail anyway. But when visitors like you come, they all say the SP because they know they get more sympathy. I grew up in a little town near the big city and had a very nice life and my family made some good money for that place. My father, he was a farmer and he came back and forth to town and we had a very nice but small house where my mother baked bread for the people to buy and she was mostly a housewife. I had only one sister and we were very close and were very involved in the church and the community. Our family had many friends and I was a happy child with big ideas for my future. I will be honest with you. I was caught when I was 17 with a small amount of *pasta* because the boy I was seeing then asked me to do it and I thought I was in love. They asked my sister, too, but she said no. I only did it a few times, and I really don't have an explanation because even though we were poor like everyone, we had food to eat and a nice place to stay. I went to school and learned Spanish a little and when I was in the prison, I took the Spanish and the English classes, so I am very good at Quechua, Spanish, and some English. I always thought before I got into trouble that I would go away to the university and become a lawyer. And I would have too, except I made some bad mistakes. When the SP came to town and the bombings began and we lost electricity almost every day and I saw some horrible things happen to my neighbors,

my mother made me stop going to school for some months and so I was at home to see even more terrible things during the day. A lot of people never understood but I read a lot about the history of our country and even Communism so I sort of understood some of it. But it was never the right government for all the people and the SP did it a lot for the attention, too, not like in the beginning when they really believed what they said and they promised us they would help the small people. After a while, it just got to be a big war and there were so many people involved, like the other rebels, the local police, and the military they finally sent in to help from Lima. Then most people saw that the SP was just there to make trouble for everyone. Every day was just a big surprise and my mother made us stay in the house all the time to stay out of trouble and I had to stop going to school at all because there was a big school bombing. So my uncles and other men, and even some of my aunts joined the Rondas campesinos to try to help stop the violence, but it just got worse. I thought I loved my boyfriend and so I did what he told me to do and then I got caught. My family was so ashamed, but there was nothing we could do. I was arrested and sentenced to 25 years. Just like that. They took my boyfriend to another town to a different jail and I never heard from him again. Everything was always a goodbye then. After I was in prison, I learned I was pregnant with my little girl and she was born in prison and stayed there until she was 6. It was supposed to be only 4 but sometimes they let us keep them a little longer if they were not a lot of trouble. I hated seeing my child this way but there were other kids born there, too and a few older ones and she never knew the difference until she got into regular school. It was not so bad for her then, but I do not really know what she remembers. I am sure one day she will tell me. But the women there were very protective of her and it was like she had many mothers. When she was six and they said she was too old, it broke my heart, but I knew it was better for her. During the day, when she was very young, she would sit outside in the concrete yard where we worked and ate and she played like she was in a park or something. And then a group came and took a room in the back part of the building and built a *cuna* (kindergarten) and they had volunteers who came in and played with the kids and tried to teach them like they were in school. But finally my family came and got her and I did not see her for quite a while. At first, my mother and sister came every Sunday (never my father) but after a while it was too hard on my mother and they stopped coming so often. All of the women there kept waiting for the war to end and they would get out or the government would let them go. But I knew this day was not coming so while the other women were gossiping or crocheting, I was reading. I read almost every book they had in their library and one of the volunteers brought me some law books. They were sort of old, but they kept me busy and I knew they would help me in law school. After 10 years, suddenly they moved me to the prison up north and they said you could not have any books at all there. Plus, it was too far then for me to see my family anymore. So I spent the next seven years in a prison where I knew no one, the rules were much stricter, and there was nothing to study for me. I had plans to become a lawyer to help my fellow inmates and myself and people like me, but it is too late for that now. I spent my last time there and returned to the town of Ayacucho and I work at any odd job I can to keep food on the table for my daughter. My family sees me sometime in my house but I can tell they are embarrassed of me. Life has not been fair, maybe, but I am not so old and we will make it. But I do not depend on the justice system or the

government to help me now and so I will have to succeed on my own. The people who wait for the new government to help them will be disappointed.

CHAPTER 6

EFFECTS OF WAR AND GOVERNMENT ACTIONS ON THE AGING: ELDERS AT THE START OF THE IAC AND ELDERS TODAY

Introduction

In this chapter, I present the findings of my research on the older populace of the highlands before, during, and after the internal armed conflict's (IAC) government-designated end-date of 2000. My research indicated perhaps more than any other demographic, senior residents were affected in a myriad of ways by the atrocities of the IAC. This chapter adds significantly to previous research on the effects of war on aging by delving deeper into the experiences of those who were witness to the tragedies and ensuing consequences of the war with the implementation of long-term ethnographic techniques. Previous studies tended to offer only second-hand cursory knowledge of the actual subjects and their experiences (Arnson, 2012b; Beswick & Jackson, 2011; Eastmond, 2010; Freed, 2008; Rochlin, 2003; Starn, 2005). In this chapter, I also address some of the controversies surrounding the reparations and other promises made to the elderly in the Truth and Reconciliation (2003) report.

Analyzing Patterns in the Elderly's Experiences and Perceptions

Since the IAC lasted so long, an investigation of how the elderly experienced it must begin with the development of a framework for whom to include in the category of "elderly." In order to capture the experience of those who were aging across the entire arc of the conflict, I have grouped the interviews of those elderly or aging into two categories: a) the experiences of those who were elderly at the start of the conflict (1980), and b) the experiences of those who were elderly at the time of the 2012 interviews. The chapter concludes with an examination of perceptions of the elderly regarding current and future governance assistance.

To define who should be categorized as elderly, I draw on National Institutes of Health (2000) guidelines that divide those considered aging or elderly into loosely-based sub-groups. For the purposes of this research, the young-old include those between the ages of 55-64; the middle-old includes those aged 64-74; and the oldest-old categorizes those aged 75 and above. Classifying sub-groups in the aging in different parts of the globe, particularly in LDCs, is not only difficult, but somewhat arbitrary at best. In this dissertation, I adhere to the parameters of these sub-sets, acknowledging these categories are social constructs as actual biological, social, and psychological groups often overlap. In comparison to other LDCs or many developed countries, age is not considered a topic of relevance in parts of Peru. However, every effort has been made to place the interviewees in the appropriate age category.

Experiences of Elders at the Start of the Conflict

Those already considered elderly at the beginning of the IAC (1980) are now either in the very late stages of life, or were deceased at the interview time-frame of 2012. Younger sub-sets of the oldest-old at the time of the conflict's beginning years have shared case histories and anecdotes of how these elders coped with the issues that accompanied the first days of the war. These younger sub-sets often discuss their own family and community members in their interviews. There were a few oldest-old participants who had shared remembrances with their families about that time-frame and in those instances, their stories were passed along to me through translations by family or friends in their native Quechuan dialect.

The most common refrain regarding the oldest age group was the absence of knowledge of the rebels' intent and the lack of assistance local and federal government officials offered to them from the very first days of the IAC. In general this group felt disenfranchised, abandoned, and confused, faced with a new set of roles forced upon them by a repressive government whose

policies they did not fully comprehend. Some of these elderly found themselves alone, distrustful of almost everything and everyone as they were easy prey for those who might overpower them. These victims were now shouldered with new-found responsibilities as the sole breadwinners. Others were taken out of their homes and forced to live with extended family they barely knew. It was a period of time in their lives when they lived in a constant state of fear as to what tomorrow might bring them.

Many of these interviews by the elderly or their representatives who sought to keep these life histories intact said they felt lost and without any indication of the chaos that was about to engulf them. They were for the most part left out on their own and had no idea of why this was happening to them. For instance, Angelica recalled:

Elderly persons felt abandoned by their relatives and by the government. Once in Ayacucho, I met this old lady who lived on her own. She didn't remember her age, and she said that her children and her husband were killed by the SP and she escaped without shoes. She ran and ran and hid in the fields and then when she went back to see her house, she saw the dead bodies of her family. She didn't know what to do. She couldn't leave her town because she didn't have anyone, no money, and she was very old and lived from charity, what people gave her. She begged on the streets for food. Like her, there were many others with the same stories. When I saw this lady, I was very young so she is dead now. I had not seen her begging in the square for many years. She was very old, even then. They had a nursing home when I was young, too, but it has closed now and you would have to go to Lima and pay to stay in a real nursing center. They cost much money. No one in this town ever had the money to pay for such places even when the center here was open. So the old people then lived with family members and some of them did not even know who they were, but they were family so they took them into their houses. And many left, but most stayed here because this town was their home.

Javier also recalls how the oldest sub-set was treated by the federal government and local authorities:

No one in the local government offered anything for these people. Everyone tried to survive by themselves. If services were offered, the oldest were quick to take it because most of them were peasants, some who abandoned the countryside, leaving everything back (clothes, crops, tools, money), so any help would have been fine, like the Catholic Church who at one time through Caritas, a NGO [non-governmental organization], provided them with some food to the elderly. On the scale of 1-5 you have, with "5"

being excellent and “1” being extremely poor, I would rate services for the elderly, those really old people who had no one, a “1” for the local government and a “1” for the migrants who went to big cities.

Isidro relates his feelings about the treatment of the elderly and indigent persons with the same disdain as many others interviewed here:

When their husbands were killed, the women had to take on so many jobs and there was no help for them at all, no matter how old they were. Their roles were very different because their husbands had died, so that left no choices but to take on the extra burdens for them, their children, and the society. What else could the government do for these elderly women or for any of the people? The only help was if there were private entities that provided assistance to affected persons but especially for the elderly and there were some NGO groups that helped but they are mostly gone now. In the early years in the conflict, there was no government support for people or their family members, and if they had helped then maybe some of it would have been stopped. The people just sat and watched as their family members were constant victims of terrorism. There is so much corruption with deceits and lies from the government that no one believes them anymore anyway.

Gustavo becomes animated when speaking about the treatment of the very old persons at the beginning of the IAC:

For the elderly then, these social services they talk about were not offered. If they had been, no one trusted the government anyway so they would not have been accepted. For those who migrated and came back, there was no such talk of any assistance waiting for them. On a scale of 1-5 with “5” being excellent, I would say the elderly treatment for services was given a “2” because only the local residents helped the old people anyway. I know nothing of how the elders were treated in other parts of the country, the ones who left, but from what I heard it would be a “2” on the scale of assistance because they suffered through a lot of things and when they came back no one spoke of services or they would have stayed there. The government could have offered support for them immediately in economic or social ways, but that never happened. And for the migrants, they could have supported them by giving them job security and some money for their families in a new place. But I heard nothing of that either. I think maybe it is because back then, it was hard to know who to trust or to tell bad ideas to because then how did they know you really were not a rebel yourself and they would kill or kidnap you the next time they saw you in the countryside.

Gustavo talks about what might have been done to ease the suffering of many sectors of the society in the early days of the war:

I think the role of women is the same and maybe because I am old, too, now, I think women should take care of the family and the house. But the oldest women, they did a lot of things in the beginning . . . of the war and deserved a rest and even I will say that but there was no money for that. The only help elderly Ayacuchan people have ever really seen is from the serious NGOs. But now, they read the government advisory and it says not to come so Ayacucho does not have much visitors. People are not sure to trust whether to come here.

Gustavo also shares the stories his grandmother, Edith, told him when he was younger before she died:

In the early years of the conflict, there was no government help or money for people or their family members, especially the older women who lost their husbands first, because you know, most people did not know what all that meant from the university anyway. All they knew was if you went past dark from your house, or you were reading really any kind of book, then you must be SP. And it was worse when the military came because they knew where the elderly women lived and so they would go right to them and hurt them and what could anyone say to this circumstance. No one in charge would say they believed them even though we all knew it was true. And they raped and tortured even very old women, too, and nothing like this had ever happened in any town where I have ever been. It was a tragedy, especially for the oldest because so many of them did not have their right minds anyway. No one really tried to help the elderly as everyone was fearful of the whole thing. Our city's government did not know how to handle a problem like that and they became overcome with everything after a while. And it was the worst for the oldest people, I think.

Rudy's mother is almost 90, and is reticent to talk to anyone but her family about those times. But she remembers details and the advice her own mother left for her when they saw the tragedy beginning to unfold in Ayacucho. As Rudy says:

My grandmother Paloma's advice did guide the family through terrible times. This is why I get so angry when discussing options the federal and local governments had at their disposal and failed to use during the conflict.

Rudy adds:

My Mum, she said to tell everyone that the government did nothing to help the elderly, especially those who had been left alone by the death of their husbands or male relatives. For me, they could have provided some medical assistance to the elderly and the sick but they never did. The only thing they had then was that Catholic Nun's house which took in some elderly, but only for 120 people. They took 60 men and 60 women, but that was a charitable activity and the government closed down the regular Nursing Center in the town later, anyway. They were just left all alone, to make a way for themselves. The

older women, like my grandmother Paloma, especially, they took on a lot of extra responsibility because they were left only with their own mothers, sisters, some sons, and daughters in charge of feeding the family. They had to work hard to get some money to buy food, clothes, and to get shelter. Now these new women are more active in looking for jobs or demanding some services for their neighborhood, because before they were shy, protected by a man.

Rudy relates that he thinks of this often when he sees the new wave of young girls in Ayacucho and if they would be strong enough to withstand such abuse.

Experiences of Those Who were Elderly in 2012

Interview participants contained in this section include those adults that I interviewed in Ayacucho and Lima in 2012, who were elderly at the time of the interview. These participants were primarily between the ages of 24-35 in 1980, considered to be the beginning of the IAC, so they did not experience the official years of the conflict as elderly people, but their experiences as younger adults during the conflict shaped their lives as elderly people in 2012. The feelings of this group regarding the days of the IAC are mixed. This group was significantly less affected by the war than those who were the oldest-old at its start. In many cases, they achieved a higher quality of life in the years after the conflict than the previous generation. Many of this group were more resigned and had learned to be more resourceful as they had watched in confusion and disbelief as members of the previous generation were suddenly thrust without warning into new roles in a world filled with suffering and sadness.

Their life histories were forever altered by the conflict, and most of those I interviewed were determined to not suffer the same fate as their elders. These participants regarded living in the past as a waste of time and energy, and are now more conditioned to being prepared for the future while living in a constant state of awareness as to what might happen next. Many are still angry at the government for its lack of assistance, some still remain fearful as they believe the

Shining Path (SP) will return, but there are others who are just thankful they lived through the war and believe that things can only improve in the future for the highland residents.

Francisco

Francisco was in his mid-60s when the official war was over, and has accomplished and witnessed a great deal during the ensuing years. He is quick to point out that even though the government used the year 2000 as a sort of stopping point, the SP groups never really left, but simply chose a different route to create chaos within this country. Francisco has an air of resignation about him when he speaks of the worst days of the SP and is fearful that people will forget what he witnessed during his lifetime:

I was a tourist guide for the Ayacucho District and surrounding areas. I live in Ica near the coast now most of the time, but I come here for business and to see my remaining family. My eldest son has taken over the business. I was born here in Ayacucho and I lived here for many years with my wife and three children. I went to the University of Huamanga and knew of the teachings of Guzman, but I did not belong to his ideas. I went there to receive a degree and I received one and I made my money taking tourists wherever they wanted to go. I first heard of the SP when I was a student there of course, but most of my friends did not participate. But I had a few who did and one was a close friend of mine and he lived in the dome of the SP and he joined the group and went by the name they gave him, "The Fox." He went up to the highlands with the SP and the last news I had of him was he was still in jail near the Cusco area. Yes, I knew many friends and family in the countryside who were a little involved but they lost all of the relatives, you know the ones who were really involved in it. When the war first came here to the town, there were isolated acts of vandalism. But of course, then it got much worse. For most people my age, especially for the men, the SP always tried to get you to join them. And if you said no they would shoot you because for me, I have seen them do it. But they did not bother me so much because maybe I traveled around with my company, I have thought about this with my son, and they did not see me in one place all the time and when they saw me I had the tourists and they did not want to get caught in the acts.

For Francisco, he believes that his high profile job as a tourist guide for foreigners kept him out of harm's way:

But there was always something in my mind that one day, they would stop me and take me to be tortured or take everyone I had with me in my tour truck and kill us all. But there were a lot of foreigners with me most of the time so I think that is all that saved me.

And whenever they needed a place to hide in the back of the truck from the authorities or to put their guns, I always said yes. Not to be a friend to them or anything because I hated them how they destroyed my country, but because I did not want to be shot or stoned to death like some I heard. But I think if I had been alone all the time, they would have killed me and thrown my body in the mass graves like everyone else with all the bones and no one would ever know. I used to have a bad sleep thinking of waking up next to those bones.

While news reports say that the SP members have been apprehended and are behind bars, or deep in the jungles a man like Francisco knows their return is just a matter of time:

And as for the SP still being active? Well, yes, of course, everyone knows they are involved in the trafficking of drugs. They will not stop and if people are not careful, they will forget and the same thing will happen again. There will always be groups like the SP and other rebels because as long as there are poor people and the opportunities are there to make money, they will be there.

Cenobia

Cenobia is one of the women who managed to come through years of abuse and terror and find work in the city to support herself and her two children. Her husband, mother, and father, and four of her siblings are long since gone, but she makes a living for herself in Ayacucho as she cannot imagine a home anywhere else, even after she watched as so many of the oldest-old leave to go to Lima:

I remember when I was about 25 or 26, I watched as several of the old women that lived near my house when I was young on the same street, the ones who had been raped and had lost everything from the rebels and the military, they knew they had to leave to survive and the rebels had taken everything from them anyway, so they all packed up, about three of them who were like mothers to me, and they put on a brave faces to go find somewhere to survive in Villa El Salvador or wherever they could find. But they had never been anywhere without their family, especially their husbands, and they all left together as a little family, sort of, even though they were just neighbors, and they left town. Of course, we all knew we would never see them again and it was like a parade of people walking along their car they were in to get to the bus station, and people were crying and waving, and to me it was almost like a party in the streets but it was not a party at all.

Cenobia lives a quiet life now, working at the local *supermercado*, selling fruits, vegetables, and flowers to local families and restaurant owners. She rents a back room with another family she met after the war when she lost touch with most of her immediate relatives considered among those “disappeared,” and pays a large portion of the rent by bringing in day-old bread and goods from the market. Her two daughters left years ago to live in the city and they have not returned home to visit. Cenobia is an example of a survivor who chose to move on with her life, even though it is not the same one she once knew so well.

Isidro

Isidro was 62 when he was interviewed in 2012 and he was extremely reluctant to participate, as he, like many others living in Ayacucho City, are starting to hear and see signs of the return of the SP and other rebel groups and he is afraid to get involved. But he agreed as he wants people to know the truth of what happened:

I was born in Chuschi, in the Ayacucho District, the small village where the SP initially burned the ballot boxes and started the first signs of their cause for revolution. I left this town and my whole family to go live with my brother in Ayacucho City where I went to school. Even when I was little, I had plans to go to school there. I have lived in Ayacucho since that time. I did not have full knowledge of whether or not someone was involved in the conflict but we all had our suspicions, and I think one of my school friends was a member. After the war began, with respect to my family, my two uncles suffered physical and psychological damage due to what they witnessed in the countryside so they moved to Lima where they still live.

The local government here did nothing about anything having to do with the SP because there was too much fear in the city and any high resolution the local government would ignore because they did not dare to challenge the Senderistas. For older persons, the treatment of them was, I would say null, and for the older persons who migrated, well my uncles told me that they received no help from any government group or any high resolution because the people in the shantytowns of Lima were afraid, too. On a scale of “1-5” with “5” being very good, I would give the government in both places, the local ones and Lima, a “1” because there was nothing for my uncles there and one needed a lot of emotional help from what he saw in the country. The governments could have provided economic and psychological help, but they offered nothing. They were much older than me, too. The authorities, especially in Lima, could have supported some kind of help but nothing happened. Since my uncle had this condition he could not get any

kind of a job and that was an immediate problem because all he thought of was the pain he had and the slaughters that he saw:

You asked me about drugs and I will tell you that the majority of the drugs are found on the jungle trail where remnants of the SP are supporting the delivery of drugs to innocents or serious drug traffickers.

While Isidro is practical about what he sees around him, he still has some positive things to say about the relatively quiet days he is living in today and questions the interest so many people still have in the IAC:

I know these people will come back and I know that some of the SP are still in jail and are soon to get out, but you have to go on with your life. We Ayacuchans and my uncles in Lima, even though they are old now, want to live in peace, tranquility, and harmony because we have lived for so many years in conflict. Since the pacification brings progress for each country, we do not want to revive those terror moments so that something that was so painful and traumatic remains. Many people lost their loved ones and some of them all their family. I am thankful for what I have now. The cause of all this terror was the SP and abusive military groups. But we need to keep our lives happy now because we are lucky. I do not understand, really, why people want to keep talking of these things. Things will change or they will get worse. It is not for me to say.

Carlos Falconi

Carlos Falconi is a revered figure in Peru, particularly in his hometown of Ayacucho.

Growing up there, he formed a local guitar and singing group with two of his childhood friends called “Trio Ayacuchanos.”

My lyrics are a testimony to the desolation and abuse suffered by people everywhere, but especially those who fell into the hands of the SP propaganda. We called our forms of songs “*waynos*”, typical of the world’s folk music and protest movements. I have first-hand knowledge of the abuses suffered from the people of my country as after we disbanded for a time, I left the city and went to the highlands and lived among the campesinos for many years. There I saw hell and bombs in the streets, tortures and murders, and many mass graves dug, some by the people for themselves. These abuses went on every day in the country during the worst times of the SP.

Falconi was aware that by continuing to write songs about the war that he was putting himself and his family in danger but he could not stop:

I wrote songs about these things because it was a catharsis for everyone. But it became increasingly dangerous for me. But then I saw the despair and abuses so many people felt from the invasions of the rebel forces. No one was safe anywhere, in the mountains or the city. The people in the countryside responded to my music because I spoke the truth, even though it caused much trouble for me:

Going back and forth from Ayacucho City and the highlands, I saw so much that I could not bear it at times. The people, they had the torture written on their faces, and with my music I tried to give them some relief.

After Falconi's songs of repression came to the SP's attention, he was followed constantly by members of the group:

I took many chances in writing and performing songs of protest. There was a big massacre of a celebration I witnessed where the entire wedding party was attacked. This was in a small town called Socos, very near Ayacucho, and the civil-patrol killed 32 villagers, most of them members of the wedding group including the participants and some guests. Most of the wedding party was murdered, and in front of the children, too. After I wrote a song about this, the SP was very angry, so I had to go into hiding in the mountains for a period of almost two years because I was targeted by a military death squad.

After he came out of hiding, Falconi continued on in his quest to tell the people of Peru what was happening in the small mountain villages and towns. "For me, I continued writing my songs, but for others in my old music group in the city, they suffered because of this as well." His old friends in the city tried to go back and play traditional music without any political edge to it, but they were already known by the rebel forces for their ideas:

They were followed all the time, mostly in Lima where the war had not really reached yet. The army would just cancel their concerts or they would be taken to jail and questioned relentlessly and sometimes tortured about their politics. But for me, it was hard to remain quiet even though I knew I might be killed as my songs were a way of soothing for the people and me, too, as we all suffered so much at the hands of the SP. I am in my 80th year now and am sorry for nothing in my life as I did what I thought needed to be done.

Falconi lives a relatively peaceful and happy life at present, going back and forth from an apartment he owns in Ayacucho to his old home in the countryside. He performs his *waynos*

regularly now as they have become considered by authorities as acceptable to be played in public, and he still presents concerts with both his old group and some new-found musicians.

Rudy

I was born in Ayacucho City and have lived here for . . . most of the whole time with my family of my parents and six brothers and two sisters. I have been involved with the government and structure of the city for many years and I saw first-hand how the elderly were treated. My mother who is in her 90s now just had a stroke and she suffered a great deal emotionally through the hard times but she was a very tough woman. She had to be because when the SP came, I was already a student at the University of Huamanga and I could see what was happening. I first heard of the group from a friend in 1978 who worked for The Ministry of Transportation doing political work in villages outside Ayacucho. But I had already seen the beginnings at the university.

Rudy considers himself a fortunate man in that he and his family, while not considered rich in money, had enough resources at their disposal to manage to survive the worst of the SP atrocities:

My family is lucky, I guess, because we did not have a lot of money on hand, but we had some land and a nice house on the outlines of the city and my Mum she always had her way and said what she thought. Even if something had happened to one us, she would have been in the middle. They came to our house many times but she stayed strong for the family and herself. She was luckier than many of her friends because there was no real set-up for old people in the town as the infrastructure slowly collapsed and after so many years, no one knew where to turn for assistance as those who were in charge were found to be corrupt. She had all of us children to watch for her but I think she could have done it on her own. Many of her friends did not have such help from their families and it was very hard to see. It was worst for the elderly because everything was such a chaos and most people did not have families and they ended up as migrants or even beggars.

Rudy knows first-hand the power of the SP, particularly in regards to the males of the society since he was at the university at the same time the SP was really underway:

Yes, my neighbors, friends, and university mates were involved. SP members used to invite, in 1978-1979 every male to participate in meetings where they tried to convince young people to join them in their revolution. Some of my younger friends and schoolmates joined them, mostly the young or teenaged people. I think they accepted to join them because they were young and full of energy, and wanted to fight injustice and poverty. The attempts to make revolution by Che Guevara and other leftist groups in the 1960s and 1970s were fresh in people's minds. We were all harmed in some way by the

conflict because at the beginning, when SP started killing abusive people and thieves, we supported them and accepting them for what they were doing. Even more, with their first actions they got to draw attention from the Central Government, telling Peru that there were regions of the country living on backwardness and poverty. Then, when they started killing innocent people and peasants and even local authorities, when they put bombs in the city and in the countryside, causing killings and damages, like destroying bridges and electrical towers with blackouts all the time, we were affected emotionally, but especially the elderly people. We did have hope, and we tried to survive, even when there was no hope. The migrants, they tried to have hope and survive, too, but they had more of a hurry, so they took any land in Villa El Salvador in Lima for themselves, because they needed a place to live and survive.

After Rudy went on to become a member of the university, he began to see the rebels in action as they were often his professors, staff members, and idealistic young student friends and they actively recruited him even while on campus:

In the first few years at the university we saw with good eyes what SP was doing like punishing people they said were making trouble, robbers, cattle thieves, people with misbehavior, etc. We had seen this from a way before but now at the university it became clearer to us why they said they were doing these things. We thought at first they were cleaning the society of bad people and that they were making justice of those to the excluded and poor people. But when I saw them killing those ones who did not agree with their political position like local elected authorities, peasants who did not understand SP's philosophy (its revolution to change the whole structure of Peru), leaders of other political parties, public workers (engineers, civil servants, public bank workers, etc.), we asked ourselves what was going on?

Rudy's time during his university days were filled with kidnappings and murders in the streets of his home town and his role as a student found him caught in the middle between SP members trying to get him to join ranks and local authorities considering him a threat:

As students of the university, the police and military considered us as members of the SP because for the local authorities, all members of the university were involved. They made raids in order to capture SP followers, mostly the students of the school. They waited for us around the university building where I was captured many times. They took us to the police headquarters to check our names with the list they had with SP members. After many hours, those whose names were not in the list, we were freed, as I was many times.

Ironically, his role at the university as a student interested in politics and government caused him to often be in more danger than some of his other university mates who were intrigued by the SP:

Also, a sign of being an SP member was to have something like books related to Communism or Socialism. As a student of Economics, I had some of the books, like the Capital and others. The police made enclosures to the streets for hours to check house after house looking for these books and to capture their owners and take them to the prison or to be killed. They came to my house twice looking for them, but knowing this in advance we could see smoke covering the city coming from the books of Marx, Engels, Mao, and other authors, most of them not related to SP. The police wanted to show results without any justification.

Rudy tried to remain on the periphery of the SP, looking past the government's inaction of the effect this political group might one day have on the entire culture:

About this time, many of my friends did join the SP at the University and some of them started to go to speeches there, and coming to my classroom. We just listened to them. I had many risky moments during my student life because I sometimes went back late or during curfew when the police could shoot me.

Rudy's mother protected her sons as much as she could during this long stance against the rebel groups and then the military police. He often refers back to her as helping him and his siblings survive, but by all accounts, she was strong enough to fend off the rebels on her own:

Some of these people went to my house asking for support like for medicines and other stuff they needed. My Mum used to talk to them, avoiding us to have any contact with them because she knew they wanted to recruit new members like us, students of the university. We were seven brothers and two sisters and we were a potential to be recruited. In one visit, they told us to keep some things, some bundles, in my house. In there was dynamite. She refused them roughly because there was a risk of the police coming to my house and if that would be the case we would have been taken to the Lima prison or killed. She was the force that kept away the SP.

He remains optimistic in plans for the future of his city. He is now a part-time professor, a member of The Ministry of Culture, and is thinking of starting his own NGO:

Yes, everybody knows that the SP is a political party and my uncle is a narco-trafficker in the jungles. But we do not think about him anymore. The conflict as I saw it back then is over. The economic situation in Peru has improved a lot, especially in Ayacucho. People are interested now in becoming a businessman, and there is no room to go back to those

dramatic and violent times. Now they are more integrated to the market economy and to the society but this is because of them and not the government.

People are not interested in politics of that way. Now we are living like in the Heavens in comparison to the 1980s and I am sure it will be like this. But since the bad part is gone now, at least for a time, I feel lucky to be alive. Really, I am just lucky to be alive.

Para Que No Se Repita (So This Never Happens Again)

Although most of the case studies presented here offer a picture of people who survived the IAC to achieve some level of contentment in their old age, this picture may be somewhat misleading. After all, it was not possible to interview the people who did not survive the IAC. In this sense, the elders who were available in 2012 for interviews were not a fully representative group. Some members of this generation did not survive. One of the artifacts in The Memory Museum poignantly tells the story of a lost individual. The docent Irina points to an old, beaten iron pot encased in glass in a rather prominent area of the museum. Irina is the aunt of the victim who donated this artifact and is more than happy to share its significance and the letter that lies beside it. The letter says, in part:

I want to contribute something . . . Therefore, I deliver you this pot. When I arrived in the military, we neither had anything to eat . . . nor drink . . . not to mention that we did not have a plate with which we could receive the spare “food”. A military guard secretly gave me this small pot, for the last bit of humanity he still had. The pot was pretty stained by grime and sediments; he used it to feed his dog . . . and it was very useful to us . . . thus we had the possibility to receive the food scraps which our guards brought us . . . the little food that there was, we put aside in order to survive. This pot was witness to the cruel and inhumane moments we had to experience during this awful time . . . if this little pot had life in it, it could tell you about everything, what happened . . . a lot disappeared and few survived.

Irina never said exactly what happened to her nephew, but he left his family the only thing he had of value, *La Olla*, to remember him in some way. The majority of the artifacts here are the remnants of a life lost in the long conflict.

Perceptions of Elderly Regarding Current and Future Governance

The 2003 TRC report made many promises to the people of post-war Peru. The most significant promise was persons affected by the IAC would receive the equivalent of 1,000 USD per victim. Additionally, mental health experts and crisis team professionals would be sent to address any necessary issues. The report was dispensed in Spanish, so Quechua speakers, which included a large percentage of those affected, neither had the opportunity to read, much less see the report. In order to receive funds or any other types of assistance, specific paperwork and certificates had to be filed to prove the issues reported were a direct result of the conflict. It soon became apparent the intent of the report was not being implemented as promised by the TRC. The elderly interviewed for this research were highly critical of the government's actions and lack of actions with regard to resolving the legacies of the conflict and compensating the victims.

Rudy was one of those Spanish-speaking Ayacuchans who had the opportunity to read the report early on and he had strong feelings on the subject:

As a person who stayed in Ayacucho during this hard time, I do not agree with the Truth Commission who, for me, was biased favoring SP, calling them a political party, showing them as a group of people looking for justice, helping poor people. This way of giving a disguised signal of support to SP . . . they started reorganizing again as we can see in the Ayacucho's forest area. SP is not a big threat right now, but they are putting in risk many people's lives and working in trafficking with cocaine as either traders or partners of the cocaine barons of the Apurimac valley in Ayacucho.

The reparations that were promised might amount to approximately 1,000 USD per person affected but deciding who are the victims is another problem. As Rudy points out, the appropriate people are unlikely to ever receive the allotted monies as designated by the TRC because there is a great deal of bureaucracy involved in the dispensation of the funds:

Will the people who deserve it get the money? No, because first there is a lack of money to compensate everybody and the poorest and the more severely affected by the conflict still live in the countryside. They do not have money to come to the city and demand compensation. They just do not know how to demand for it.

Isidro echoes Rudy's doubts about who should get the money and whether they ever will:

The problem is many people in the countryside know nothing of this report. I know I have not read it, but I have heard of it. You have to have a proof of who died and since there were many who never came home and all of the mass graves where the bodies still are, mixed with dog bones and other animals, sorry but it is the truth, no one can prove who is to get this money anyway. The reparation money sounds fair but I know of no one who received it. I also think the numbers they have of about 70,000 people is too low. I think at least 10,000 more "disappeared" and they are dead now. Maybe 70% of the people may get it someday but this I do not know. There is so much corruption and deceit in all of the government that I do not understand how people think they would ever get any money. And if the person died and no one knows for sure, how could they be identified? It is all too confusing and so I think people should move on and forget it.

Francisco states that he feels much the same way as everyone else in Ayacucho District regarding the appropriate people receiving the funds:

I have not read the TRC but I have heard people speak of it. I still travel around the country and my son who took over the agency, he travels a lot and we have heard of no one who has received any money. But I do not see how they would know which person would get it as only some people have real proof of their family's death. I doubt there is much money left now as the government never tells us the truth. I love my country of Peru but it is very corrupt and a smart man knows this money is already gone if it was ever there anyway.

Not one person I interviewed for this research said they knew of anyone who had received any funds to date. The majority of people I spoke with for this dissertation had never actually seen a copy of the report which is nine volumes in total and most interviewed agreed with others who said that it would be impossible to prove who was eligible due to the documentation necessary. Javier, Rudy's brother, talks about the issues surrounding reparations:

You know the report is good that they even did it, but from what I hear it is filled with lies, and even if they were true how would my friends claim their dead relatives and friends when they do not even know where their bodies are? And the widows who went through so much and waited for their "disappeared" to come home, and the men, too, most of them are dead now and the relatives understand this and no one else can claim the money for their loved ones because you have to prove who they were. And the elderly are the people who really need it but it is confusing to them about how to do it and most of them are gone now. I am with the exception. I think they tried to do a good thing but it is an impossible task. When the men were fighting, most did not have their papers with them so there is no proof. People do not carry these things around with them

and a lot of residents who have lived in Ayacucho their whole lives have no papers anyway. I think maybe it is worse to offer this money that they think they might get someday than if they had just left it to rest. Now it makes it look like the Central Government was trying to make peace with us in the countryside, but they really accomplished nothing like a peace in the end. Some of the people's family I know who heard about this, they are waiting for this money now that will never come, and so their lives are being wasted again.

During my time in Peru and from interviews and observations I conducted with highland residents and local experts, TRC's (2003) recommended reparations and the ways in which the monies would be handled were not readily embraced. For the average campesino in the highlands that I spoke to, little was expected in the way of change from the top.

Even for those who do not know how to receive the allotted monies as promised, the affected people have little faith and often outright contempt for a government that ignored them for so long. Edith, who suffered several rapes and public humiliations during the IAC, says:

If we were in Lima and *misti* (mixed-white), maybe the money and other promised assistance came to some of them. But everyone knows that mestizos and Indians are not considered to be real Peruvians anymore so they would never give it to us. They probably do not think we would know what to do with such money. Besides, we all know how little attention they gave us during the war. It was like we did not matter, until the bombs and kidnappings came to the people in Lima, and then the SP got their attention. That is when they captured Guzman and shut down the operation for some time. They would have never done it for us. My grandson says that when he studies books on Peru in school, he sees our costumes and pretty Andes, but it does not tell about the prejudice they have here. That is for another book maybe. But we also know there is no money anyway.

The consensus of the Andean native Indians and mestizos interviewed in this research is that they are considered a lesser people by their government and urban counterparts, particularly wealthy Limuenos, and if there were still allotted monies available (and no one can be certain that any money was ever dispensed to any group), they most certainly would be the last people to receive such funds or any promised assistance, like mental health treatment for post-traumatic

stress syndrome (PTSD). Teofilo sums up the general feeling of the campesinos on the reparations:

We all know in our hearts why they never told us how to get this money or the help they promised us to repair our towns and help the old people. There are so many tasks one has to do, it is impossible that anyone in this part of the country will ever get anything. That report was just for publicity for the newspapers and TV, because it would be in Quechua if they really wanted us to know what it said. All we got was word by the mouth. And there are so many mass graves, they already know it will be impossible to separate these bodies or identify them after so long. And even if the people found everything they needed, they do not have any money to stay and wait in the big city to have their papers looked at. Most of them are still eating potatoes and how would they pay for such a trip like this? So I tell all of the old people who are still hoping for anything to forget it and go on with their lives because we are the third class, even though we are the ones who mostly were killed and suffered, raped and tortured and thrown in the ground with all our neighbors to rot in one big grave like dogs. The time is ready to move on.

Heidy offers the same sentiment as her brother Teofilo: “We all know the government has probably already spent this money as they lie all the time about the peasant people. People must just go ahead with life and if the money comes, it would be a big surprise.”

The reparation money and the TRC report might have been a good faith effort on the part of the federal government, or it could have been simply a way to placate the people because of the length and breadth of the conflict and the corruption that was allowed to flourish in the days of the IAC. But for whatever the reasons, the allotment of the money and the proposed assistance promised for the peasants, the elderly, and the indigent by the TRC has been, by all accounts, a dismal failure.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSIONS: EVOLUTION OF CULTURAL TRADITIONS

Introduction

There are so many factors that have brought modern-day Peru to its present political and cultural state, but one thing is certain. Throughout the country's long history, the traditional ways of the campesinos have resisted change for the most part. People have survived natural disasters, failed political systems, wars and their ensuing atrocities, the sometimes necessary migration that accompanies armed conflicts, and the call of the future to come from behind a self-imposed veil of anonymity.

Yet the internal armed conflict (IAC) and its aftermath caused a significant loss of traditional cultural practices. In this chapter, I examine the loss of both the communal identity and collective memory which has severely affected Peruvians of all walks of life during 30 years of turmoil. In this analysis of how conflict can affect a society, I trace what the so-called *dirty war* has done to the cultural fabric of the country. A large portion of this dissertation was devoted to residents who stayed behind in their rural highland towns and villages, hoping to hold onto old customs and a way of life they both knew and loved. The interviews conducted for this study reveal how a small-scale society of people that has been severely damaged physically, emotionally, and socially by adversity and the unimaginable tragedy that accompanies war attempts to reconstruct traditional practices while also recognizing the past cannot be fully recaptured.

In this dissertation, I demonstrated how the loss of traditional kinship ties resulted in the elderly being denied certain expectations for their later years. Kinship obligations and overall reverence of the elderly were seriously disrupted due to traumatic external factors, including the

eventual break-up of highland village life as centuries of Peruvians have known it. The Shining Path (SP) movement forever altered the course of these small-scale societies.

Global Patterns

There are numerous similarities between the Shining Path conflict and other long-standing internal crises across the globe, in particular the Taliban in Afghanistan, the Mujeres Vigilantes in Mexico, and the Chechen-Russia conflict. In the majority of war-torn societies, the issues often lie within the oppositions between basic tenets of rural versus urban philosophies. They seem to reflect a basic dichotomy between lower socioeconomic classes in rural regions and higher classes in urban societies. There is less government control in the rural regions and more government control in urban areas; and conflicts in the countryside are much less visible to government entities than those in urban regions.

Sociologist Emile Durkheim (1893) postulated an opposition between what he termed mechanical and organic solidarity (as cited in Luke, 1985). This opposition illuminates the widespread opposition between rural and urban sectors that seems to contribute to internal armed conflicts across the globe. In all of these cases, the corruption and weakness of the urban-based government makes rural people open to radical ideologies, at least initially. Once the local communities see first-hand the violence and chasms this type of change can cause, they are frequently much less enthusiastic, but as mentioned throughout this research, it is very often too late. One can argue that the weakness and corruption of the government creates fertile ground for these radical ideologies and the leaders who promote them.

Changes to the Cargo System

The most significant cultural traditions affected by the IAC were the *cofradia* (religious) and the cargo (mostly secular) systems. Interviews with elders highlighted the central importance of the status and symbolic capital participation in these systems conveyed to members of the community. In places like larger Latin American cities where these celebrations and religious systems are still most prevalent, it is generally expected for all men in the community to hold some form of a position at least once in their lives. As the participant ages, and has served in a variety of posts throughout the years, he generally “retires” and joins a board of officers who are responsible for the roles and customs to be followed, appoints new cargo leaders, and holds a position of respect and servitude throughout the remainder of his life.

The cargo system still exists in Ayacucho and other small mountain communities and every effort is made to uphold the traditions of the elderly, but for many, after the SP came to town, it has not been the same. For one thing, these cargo systems, particularly in Latin America, can prove to be quite costly. Therefore, it has always been the case that in small-scale kinship societies, most all families attempt to take their turn over the years in being a part of the festivities with other local leaders contributing whatever they could afford, with the spoils of the ceremonies shared among everyone. For example, in the Andes, this may include the donation of animals. As with other forms of community participation, these *Carguyug* families built up symbolic capital by having power in the town. The capital also functions as a sort of social security account to be used when needed (Chance & Taylor, 1985).

Following the IAC, many celebrations were altered somewhat to include women in more lead roles as well as younger male members important to the family or the community in some capacity; for example, an altar boy in the church or a representative of one of the local schools.

The festivals have not diminished in size or importance within the communities, but now include roles for women that are much larger in scope. Before the conflict, women participated on the periphery, and were in charge of much the same roles they had in their home lives (i.e., the assemblage of the appropriate costumes, the adornments of the public displays and decorations, and the songs and recitals to be used in each ceremony. In particular, they took on the role of making sure all of the appropriate foods were ready for the days before, during, and after the rituals. Before the IAC, men were responsible for building the altars, planning the parade routes, getting the church ready for the occasion, and hosting public ceremonies with other males from visiting communities.

Many former leaders have found themselves in the position of being unable to carry out certain traditions due to the prohibitive costs, so they not only delegate the responsibility to the women and the extended family, but to the entire community as well. The decorations in some parts of the country may be more of the hand-made variety, and there are now more groups of local schoolchildren to present portions of the ceremonies than important dignitaries as in past years, but the cargo system is still such an integral part of the culture a lack of funds will not stop the campesinos from continuing on with hundreds of years of tradition. These festivals and ceremonies are one of the few constants in their lives, so they have held onto as many of the traditions as is possible. My research with former and present cargo system participants reiterates the fact that in today's society, it is not at all uncommon for women to be head of some of the festivities and customs.

While gender roles in the cargo system have changed somewhat due to the IAC and the absence of powerful male cultural leaders who were either killed or "disappeared" during the early days, the festivities go on as they have for centuries. While many of the men are unhappy

with the increased role of women, most interviewed understand these changes could not be avoided due to the paucity of mature men and the lack of funds remaining in the village coffers. Being a cargo leader is a source of pride in the culture that is not easy to relinquish. Most males interviewed acknowledge a sense of prestige and respect accompanied the role, giving them not only clout in their own small villages, but a form of public prestige they might one day pass onto their sons. For these patriarchs, it has been difficult to give up this life-long level of service, but for the most pragmatic, they understand it was a necessity if the rituals were to be maintained in the upcoming years.

The Evolution of Cultural Traditions

A lengthy conflict, such as the SP, very often leads to an evolution of cultural traditions, a synthesis between the older ways and new developments. In the case of women, the evolution has been extensive. Even though the empowerment of women initially came from the loss of a large percentage of the men in the community due to the war, it also created a space for women to flourish in new roles. In a publication in the midst of the worst times of the SP, women were viewed in a Marxist light in regards to gender dynamics with “women, like men . . . seen as a combination of social relations, historically formed . . . and changing as a function of the variations in society as it develops” (“Marxism,” 1994, p. 24). Many Andean women realized very early on the significance of their changing roles in the absence of male community members, and applied this new-found legitimacy to improve their power in the public sphere.

As a result of the war, Peruvian women from all walks of life are now able to be both housewife and empowered community member. When the men were unable to hold onto their patriarchal role in the cargo system, women stepped in and took on the responsibilities themselves, giving them more clout in the community than they previously possessed. The

Memory Museum was originally founded by women as a sort of communal waiting place for lost loved ones. Eventually, however, these women took it from a place of kinship and community respect to a more political forum, whereby people's voices were heard regarding the actions of the government and the atrocities that were still being committed all around them, with little help from macro level institutions. As a result, women were at the forefront of establishing many social and organizational activities and achieved greater equity in policy making decisions.

The empowerment of women in Peru resonates with development efforts worldwide that have started to shift power and funding from men to women, in recognition of women's abilities to accomplish development goals. One example is the microfinance movement initiated by Grameen Bank. The argument can be made that out of necessity, women in the Peruvian highlands learned to be effective and get things done in a way that the Peruvian government has not been able to duplicate.

Social Issues and Policy Questions

The interviews conducted in 2012 indicate the Peruvian government has much to answer for since the first large-scale invasions took place in early 1980. As one can see by the statistics released by the TRC (2003), elderly, female, and indigent peasants were largely ignored in the first several years of the conflict as they were simply not on the radar for the political agendas of larger, more sophisticated urban areas of the country. When the war began to slowly wind its way into the embassies and middle-class neighborhoods of Lima, the *problem* became real for much of Peru. For those in the countryside, the damage had long since been done, and unfortunately this time lapse gave valuable ground and opportunity for the guerillas to become further empowered and increasingly dangerous.

The most frequent question posed by those interviewed for this research was how four democratic presidents could have ignored what was going on in the highlands, with the unspoken realization that the strife would eventually end up in their larger cities. Throughout the turbulent decades of the 1980s and 1990s, a series of administrations came and went, each with the stated policy of ridding the country of terroristic activity, but corruption in the highest tiers of the administration continually reared its ugly head. During this period, interviewees including seniors, women, and displaced poor Indians and mestizos continued to try to find their “disappeared” loved ones, while at the same time attempting to understand why the central government had turned its back on them.

TRC and Inaction by the Government

The dissertation findings indicate the chasm that existed between the bureaucracy of the urban and more affluent areas and the average lives of everyday Peruvians, particularly those in close-knit kinship societies. However, even with all that had happened to them over the years, interviewees attempted to regain some semblance of their old way of life once the war began to die down. At least some research participants initially thought their government might assist them after the publication of the TRC (2003) report. There were some who expressed contempt and disbelief in the authorities, but others believed that after the TRC was published and promised reparations were made, the country might return to an era of normalcy. Those who went through the university system and became professionals were aware more than 20 Truth and Reconciliation Commissions around the world were either in progress or had been completed during the time of this research in 2012, and the most educated had every hope their problems would come to a swift end, with at least some form of compensation and assistance

from medical and social services offered as recommended by the commission's report. However, most campesinos in the highlands expected little in the way of change from the top.

Coca: Economics and Cultural Significance

There is an inherent social problem in the country that has been much misunderstood in the massive *War on Drugs* campaign and it centers on the tiny coca plant, indigenous to this part of the world and whose leaves, which have been used for centuries, are part and parcel of the average law-abiding citizen's day. In recent years, this innocuous plant has become the center of much controversy. Centuries of use of the lone leaf or *hoja de coca* has played an integral role in traditions, customs, ceremonies, and festivals, and plots of coca plants are a major economic source for Peruvian farmers in parts of the countryside. The leaves are sold loose and by the pound in front of one of the main churches in Ayacucho and even in Lima, they can be purchased at the local *mercados* loose, or in tea bags as most everyone stops during a mid-day break and has a cup of coca tea. Day laborers and farmers generally always have a *wad* of coca leaves in their cheek, with the effects being mildly stimulating. The average campesinos would be hard-pressed to go through important ceremonies and special occasions without a modicum of *hoja de coca* on hand. In interviews with Peruvians of all walks of lives and age groups, most agreed the problem lies with the processing of the leaf into coca *pasta*, or cocaine, which is considered a narcotic and can be extremely addicting. The finished product is readily available for sale as a recreational drug for the masses, mainly for United States and European Union buyers. Peru now leads all South American countries in the process and sale of cocaine, eclipsing even Colombia in the past decade, and rebels and would-be revolutionaries make up a substantial percentage of the participating offenders (Allen, 2002).

The Future of Peru

As an outcome of this research, I hope my findings concerning the effects of the IAC on the remote highlands of Peru will focus more attention on these types of small-scale societies and their endangered existence. This is an important period in the history of the highland people. The government could use this slowing of terror activity in the region, which is purportedly at an all-time low, although still quite active in the Amazonas Regions, to become more visible in affected towns and to institute real change. Left to their own devices at this most crucial juncture, local groups may soon become faded memories of a *culture disappeared*.

The people of Peru, particularly highlanders, may need to stay vigilant so something like the SP never invades their lands again. While most current government representatives, along with the Peruvian people by and large, claim the most severe reign of terror culminated with the arrest of key revolutionary members back in the early to mid-1990s, there are still rumblings of small rogue groups within the country. Even after the capture of the major players in the original group, SP members are reportedly still quite active in isolated pockets throughout the country. Now with the release from jail of some of the original Senderistas, along with the merging of SP with other terror groups and drug cartels, the original revolutionary efforts of the Senderistas have grown to affect other countries as well.

Interviews conducted for this dissertation have consistently reiterated the SP is not gone, but in hiding, with much of the group simply switching illegal activities and areas of operation and merging with other rebel forces. The name of the Shining Path does not carry with it the weight it once did for some, but journalists, scholars, and residents of the country who have followed the group and its off-shoots since its inception are beginning to come to terms with how

deeply enmeshed this terror group and its new associates may very well be and how much danger to the Peruvian way of life they still possess.

A spate of new activity by rebel forces has begun to crop up in the news, with prominent journalists predicting another wave of terror may very well be on its way. Much of this drama has not played out on the world stage as of yet, compared to some of the more visible conflicts in various parts of South America, but the revolutionaries-turned drug traffickers have slowly inched their way back into the lives of Peruvian society. Reports of kidnappings, bombings, and murders have been chronicled as late as 2010, and as recently as 2012 a group of those identifying themselves as former SP members kidnapped a group of oil workers in the highlands. In light of this recent activity, it is still too soon to determine if Peru can be regarded as a developing nation on the verge of serious long-term stability. Residents of the culturally fragile highlands are still in danger of further loss of their cultural traditions if another round of violence should return to once again disrupt their way of life.

Review of Research Questions

The primary aim of the research questions examined in this dissertation was to illuminate the changes faced by a small-scale society in times of internal armed conflict. The questions posed about specific groups within the country were designed to shed light on the long-term effects such unrest may have on a culture. In order to obtain insights on these issues, fieldwork was conducted on the coping mechanisms that the groups (i.e., women and the elderly) armed themselves with either before, during, or after such systemic dilemmas. Interviews with representatives of these disenfranchised groups served to outline the major successes, shortcomings, or even outright failures existing government and non-governmental groups at the federal, state, and local levels have offered in the way of real assistance for affected persons that

can be measured in any meaningful way. In conclusion, key findings are presented on the current situations of women and the elderly in the highlands of Peru.

The Effects on Women

Women interviewed for this dissertation recognize this is a watershed moment of sorts for them as they have a period of time where they can either lay claim to their new-found clout within societies, or wield a new kind of power to control aspects of their lives for which they have never had the opportunity. Many of those interviewed for this research indicate they are more than willing to go back to the old ways of society where the men took care of the woman and the women took care of the home and the children. It will be interesting to see in the future what roles the women choose and how this shift of power from mothers, sisters, and wives changes to leaders in a new form of community. One resounding theme did come out in the interviews and that was for the first time in their lives, these women had a choice. It may not have been the one they might have ultimately chosen, but at least they had the opportunity to experience what it might be like to be in a matriarchal society for once and hold their own as so many of them managed to accomplish.

The Effects on the Elderly

Elderly residents for the most part face uncertainty and fear of what the future holds as they have seen little assistance on the ground from any government agencies. Their families are either non-existent or they have had to move in with virtual strangers just to have a roof over their heads. Many suffer from untreated PTSDs and those interviewed hang onto tenuous life chances in the hopes non-governmental organizations (NGOs) or other agencies will in some way assist them to move on with their lives. Migrants often report they found little substance in

policies or resources in the new towns they settled in, and their new way of life is very often worse than what they left behind in the war-torn Andes.

The interviewees I spoke with indicated within the scope of larger issues which are areas of concern for the post-conflict elderly, the role of integrative medicine and health care for the indigent would be a welcome addition to their lives as there is really no treatment available in the way of medical or psychological issues. A large percentage of the *indigenismo* populations was at one time dependent on alternative medicine, and due to availability and the prohibitive costs of Western-style medicines and treatments, these elderly need to find a way to gain some form of treatment they can afford.

While there is a lack of general knowledge about rural treatments in the more urban areas, Ayacucho is filled with those who either grew up in the mountain towns where traditional medicine was the only thing at their disposal, or had older relatives who spoke with them regarding these types of treatment. There remains, then, a prevailing notion rural mountain remedies may be at the root of their cultural identity. The question posed by some of the professionals here is how the new governments and medical communities of the larger cities will integrate these age-old ways of treatments with the more modern ways of the 21st century.

Because of the sheer influx of the new elderly into urban societies, those who care for seniors may be forced to hold onto at least some of the ideologies underlying indigenous care if for nothing else than economic necessity. This ethnic dimension may also serve as a useful addition to those elderly who did not wish to be uprooted from their long-held cultures in the first place. In the case of post-war Peru, it is important to examine whether the government is still going to protect them in this new age, allowing for the continuance of indigenous qualities held onto so tightly for generations.

At one time, to raise money for the local home for the elderly that was going out of business due to lack of government support, the nuns simply went from house to house to everyone in the town to ask for help. The response was generally good as the Peruvians use a Quechuan word, *ayri*, which translates to mutual help. Even while trying to put food on their own table, Ayacuchans generally still found a way to help the elderly and other abandoned members of society. Unfortunately, in today's post-conflict world, almost everyone needs a bit of *ayri*, and so the donations are often few and far between. The major source of funding for the elderly now comes from private donations, NGO assistance, and even food discards from the large *mercado* downtown.

Conclusions

Throughout the history of this region, local traditions have remained supreme and even if women and elders have had to adjust their lives in order to survive, there appears to be an inner pledge of solidarity between the people and the mountains and all of their countrymen who preceded them to keep their culture alive. The songs and literature of the people reflect a singular closeness to nature and rarely waver in this regard. The native campesinos seem to leave their small towns only if they must; and if forced, they do so with a dogged weariness and sadness that is as chiseled into their memories as deeply as a mountainous ravine.

As of March 2013, after decades of reviews, committees, and recommendations regarding the SP's killing fields, forensic anthropologists hired by the government of Peru to examine multiple mass graves scattered throughout the country have returned the remains of a total of 26 country men and women to their families.

APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE (ENGLISH AND SPANISH VERSIONS)

Interview Questions for Dissertation Proposal

Demographics:

Age: _____ Gender: _____

Ethnicity: _____ Occupation: _____

Education: _____

1. How did you first become aware of the Shining Path Communist Party?
2. What part of the country were you living in during the time of the initial conflict?
3. Did you stay in-place during this time period or did you move to another location?
4. Who lived with you during this time of conflict?
5. To the best of your knowledge, were you, your family, extended family or friends, involved in direct dealings with Shining Path members? If so, please elaborate.
6. To the best of your knowledge, were you, your family, extended family or friends, harmed, either physically or emotionally, during this time-frame? If so, please elaborate.
7. During the first phases of the internal armed conflict, how did the local government respond to the Shining Path invasions?
8. Did the local government help with any social or economic services for the elderly (those above ages 50) during this time-frame?
9. To the best of your knowledge, if these services were offered, did many of the elderly take advantage of them?
10. If you and/or your family relocated during this time-frame, were there any social services available for migrants upon arrival at your final destination?
11. On a scale of 1-5, 1 being extremely poor and 5 being excellent, how were elders who stayed in-place during the conflict assisted by the local and federal governments overall?
12. On a scale of 1-5, 1 being extremely poor and 5 being excellent, how were elderly migrants assisted by the local and federal governments overall?
13. In your opinion, what else could local and federal governments have done to better assist the elderly during this time of conflict? Please elaborate.
14. Since the official dismantlement of Shining Path was announced, have you witnessed any changes by local and/or federal governments in rehabilitation attempts for those who suffered physically, emotionally, and/or economically during the conflict?

15. Are cultural ceremonies, celebrations, and town customs different now than they were before the conflict? If so, please elaborate.
16. Did women take on added burdens and/or responsibilities during and/or after the conflict? If so, please elaborate.
17. In your opinion, are the roles of women any different now than they were before the conflict?
18. Are you aware of the final results of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission Report, first published in 2003?
19. On a scale of 1-5, 1 being extremely inaccurate and 5 being extremely accurate, how do you feel that the TRC findings are representative of what actually occurred during the conflict?
20. Regarding the repatriation monies to be allotted to those who suffered throughout the war, how fair on a scale of 1-5, 1 being extremely unfair and 5 being extremely fair, do you think the TRC offerings are?
21. Do you believe the appropriate people will receive the allotted monies as designated by the TRC report?
22. Is there anything more that the governments, both locally and/or on the federal level, could do at present to assist those affected by the war, particularly the elderly?
23. Do you believe that the remaining Shining Path members who were not caught are involved in the drug trade?
24. Do you believe that the Shining Path internal armed conflict is over, or do you think it will return upon release of many of those initially jailed?
25. Is there anything else you wish to add to the above remarks regarding your experience in dealing with the Shining Path? If so, please elaborate.

Preguntas de Entrevista para la Propuesta de Tesis

Demografía:

Edad: _____ Género: _____

Raza: _____ Ocupación: _____

Educación: _____

1. ¿Cómo se enteró del partido Comunista Sendero Luminoso?
2. ¿ En qué parte del país estuvo viviendo durante la época del conflicto inicial?
3. ¿ Permaneció en el lugar donde vivía durante este período de tiempo o se mudó a otro lugar?
4. ¿ Quién vivió con usted durante el tiempo de conflicto?
5. Es de su conocimiento si usted, su familia, parientes o amigos, participaron en trato directo con miembros de Sendero Luminoso? Si es así, indique los detalles.
6. Es de su conocimiento si usted, su familia, parientes o amigos, sufrieron daños físicos o emocionalesdaño, durante este marco de tiempo? Si es así, indique los detalles.
7. Durante la primera fase del conflicto interno armado ¿cómo respondió el gobierno local a las invasiones de Sendero Luminoso?
8. ¿El gobierno local contribuyó con servicios sociales o económicos para personas mayores (mayores de 50) durante este marco de tiempo?
9. Si estos servicios fueron ofrecidos, sabe Ud. si mucha de las personas mayores aprovecharon el servicio ?
10. Si usted y / o su familia se desplazaron durante este marco de tiempo, ¿hubieron servicios sociales disponibles para los migrantes a la llegada de su destino final?
11. En una escala de 1--5, siendo yo muy pobre y 5 es excelente, ¿ los ancianos que permanecieron en el lugar durante el conflicto social cómo fueron asistidos por los gobiernos locales y federales en general?
12. En una escala de 1--5, siendo 1 extremadamente pobre y 5 con solvencia económica, ¿Los ancianos migrantes cómo fueron asistidos por los gobiernos locales y federales en general?

13. En su opinión, ¿Qué otra cosa hubieran podido hacer los gobiernos locales y federales para ayudar mejor a las personas mayores durante esta época del conflicto? Describa con detalles.
14. Desde que el desmantelamiento oficial de Sendero Luminoso fue anunciado, ha presenciado Ud. cambios en los gobiernos locales y / o federales en intentos de rehabilitar a los que sufrieron física, emocional y / o económicamente durante el conflicto?
15. Las actividades culturales, fiestas y costumbres del pueblo son diferente ahora de lo que eran antes del conflicto? Si es así, indique los detalles.
16. ¿Las mujeres asumen cargas adicionales y / o responsabilidades durante y / o después del conflicto? Si es así, indique los detalles.
17. En su opinión, el papel de la mujer es diferente ahora de lo que era antes del conflicto?
18. ¿Sabe Ud. de los resultados finales del Informe de la Comisión de la Verdad y la Reconciliación publicado por primera vez en el 2003?
19. En una escala de 1--5, donde 1 es extremadamente inexacto y 5 es extremadamente preciso, ¿Piensa Ud. que los resultados del CVR representan lo que realmente ocurrió durante el conflicto?
20. En cuanto a los fondos de repatriación que se adjudicará a los que sufrieron durante la guerra. En una escala de 1--5, donde 1 es extremadamente injusto y 5 es muy justo, ¿cree que la oferta del CVR lo fueron?
21. ¿Cree usted que las personas adecuadas recibirán los fondos asignados según lo señalado el informe de la CVR?
22. ¿Hay otras entidades aparte de los gobiernos, tanto a nivel local y / o a nivel federal, que podrían ayudar a los afectados por la guerra, especialmente a los ancianos?
23. ¿Cree usted que los remanentes miembros de Sendero Luminoso que no fueron capturados están involucrados en el tráfico de drogas?
24. ¿Cree usted que el conflicto armado interno de Sendero Luminoso ha terminado, o cree que volverá tras la liberación de muchos de los que inicialmente fueron encarcelados?
25. ¿Hay algo más que desee añadir a los comentarios anteriores con respecto a su experiencia en el trato con Sendero Luminoso? Si es así, indique los detalles.

APPENDIX B

INFORMED CONSENT FORMS (ENGLISH AND SPANISH VERSIONS)

**University of North Texas Institutional Review Board:
Informed Consent Form/Adult Subjects**

Before agreeing to participate in this research study, it is important that you read and understand the following explanation of the purpose, benefits and risks of the study and how it will be conducted.

Title of Study: “Culture Interrupted: Assessing the Effects of the Shining Path Internal Armed Conflict in the Peruvian Highlands”

Investigator: Kalynn Hicks Van Wye, University of North Texas (UNT) Department of Applied Gerontology.

Supervising Investigator: Dr. Stan Ingman

Purpose of the Study: You are being asked to participate in a research study which involves examining the effects that the Shining Path Revolution had on citizens who were either present in the affected areas during the time of the war (1980-2000) or those who migrated to other areas in Peru to flee the Revolution. This study will look at the physical, psychological, and social problems that this internal armed conflict may have caused, primarily for those citizens aged 50 and above. The study will examine programs and resources that the government of Peru did (or did not) put into place to assist those residents living in the highland regions and those who migrated to other parts of Peru, including the capital city of Lima. An additional purpose of the study is an attempt to better understand the different ways that such long-term unrest may have on a country’s customs, traditions, and changing roles of men and women.

Study Procedures: You will be asked to answer a set of 25 open-ended questions (in your native dialect) that may offer the principal investigator insight into the ways that Peruvians, both in the highlands and the inner cities, coped with the effects of the Shining Path. Your

interview will last between 30-45 minutes and will be audio-taped for clarification, although all interviews and audio-tapes are confidential and completely anonymous.

Foreseeable Risks: No foreseeable risks are involved in this study.

Benefits to the Subjects or Others: This study is not expected to be of any direct benefit to you, but we hope to learn more about how government and non-governmental agencies might better service the needs of communities during and after times of internal armed conflict, especially in regards to the elderly population. The results of the study may also offer researchers the ability to more fully understand what may happen to a conflict-torn community over time in specific cultural areas including family ties; customs; traditions; and possible new roles for women within the society.

Compensation for Participants: None

Procedures for Maintaining Confidentiality of Research Records: These interviews are completely anonymous other than the demographic information at the top of the consent form. Since some of these questions may be of a sensitive or personal nature, the utmost care will be taken to guard your anonymity. No names (other than pseudonyms) will be used in any portion of the publication resulting from these interviews. You will be encouraged to thoroughly read all interview questions prior to the taping and you will have the opportunity to stop the interview at any time you feel uncomfortable or wish to terminate the process. You will be given a copy of the signed research consent form. The audio-tapes and consent forms will be stored at The University of North Texas, Denton (USA) in a safe place and will be destroyed after a period of three years. The confidentiality of your individual information will be maintained in any publications or presentations regarding this study.

Questions about the Study: If you have any questions about the study, you may contact Kalynn Hicks Van Wye, Student Investigator at (940) 565-2298, or Dr. Stan Ingman, Department Chair of Applied Gerontology, Supervising Investigator at (940) 565-2298.

Review for the Protection of Participants: This research study has been reviewed and approved by the UNT Institutional Review Board (IRB). The UNT IRB can be contacted at (940) 565-3940 with any questions regarding the rights of research subjects.

Research Participants' Rights:

Your signature below indicates that you have read or have had read to you all of the above and that you confirm all of the following:

- Kalynn Hicks Van Wye has explained the study to you and answered all of your questions. You have been told the possible benefits and the potential risks and/or discomforts of the study.
- You understand that you do not have to take part in this study, and your refusal to participate or your decision to withdraw will involve no penalty or loss of rights or benefits. The study personnel may choose to stop your participation at any time.
- You understand why the study is being conducted and how it will be performed.
- You understand your rights as a research participant and you voluntarily consent to participate in this study.
- You have been told you will receive a copy of this form.

Printed Name of Participant

Signature of Participant

Date

For the Investigator or Designee:

I certify that I have explained the contents of this form with the subject signing above. I have explained the possible benefits and the potential risks and/or discomforts of the study. It is my opinion that the participant understood the explanation.

Signature of Investigator or Trustee

Date

**Junta de Revisión Institucional de la Universidad de North Texas:
Formulario de Consentimiento/Sujeto Adulto**

Antes de aceptar en la participación de este estudio, es importante que lea y entienda la siguiente explicación de los usos, beneficios, y riesgos del estudio y como se llevará a cabo.

Título del estudio: “La Cultura Interrumpida: Evaluación de los Efectos de Sendero Luminoso conflicto armado interno en La Sierra Peruana”

Investigador: Kalynn Hicks Van Wye, Universidad de North Texas (UNT)
Departamento de Gerontología Aplicada. **Investigador Supervisando:** Dr. Stan Ingman

Propósito del Estudio: Se pide su participación en este estudio de investigación que implica el examinar de los efectos que la Revolución Sendero Luminoso tuvo en los ciudadanos que estuvieron presentes en las zonas afectadas durante la época de la guerra (1980 a 2000) o fueron parte de los que emigraron a otras áreas en Perú para huir de la Revolución. Este estudio analizarán los problemas físicos, psicológicos y sociales que este conflicto armado interno pueda haber causado, sobre todo en los ciudadanos de 50 años a más. El estudio examinará los programas y recursos que el gobierno de Perú hizo (o no) puesto en marcha para ayudar a los residentes que viven en las regiones del altiplano y los que emigraron a otras partes del Perú, incluyendo la ciudad de Lima. Un objetivo adicional del estudio es un intento de comprender mejor las diferentes formas en que tales disturbios a largo plazo pueden tener sobre las costumbres de un país, sus tradiciones, y los cambios en los roles de hombres y mujeres.

Procedimientos del Estudio: Se le pedirá que responda una serie de 25 preguntas abiertas (en su dialecto nativo) que pueden ofrecer una visión del director investigador en las formas en que los peruanos, tanto en las tierras altas y las ciudades del interior, hecho frente a los efectos del Sendero Luminoso. La entrevista tendrá entre 30 y 45 minutos y será grabada en

audio para la clarificación aunque todas las entrevistas y cintas de audio son confidenciales y completamente anónimo.

Los riesgos previsibles: No hay riesgos previsibles que estén involucrados en este estudio.

Beneficios para los participantes u otras personas: No se espera que este estudio sea de ningún beneficio directo para usted, pero esperamos aprender más sobre como el gobierno y agencias no gubernamentales podrían atender mejor las necesidades de las comunidades durante y después de situaciones de conflicto armado interno, especialmente en lo que respecta a las población de personas mayores. Los resultados del estudio también pueden ofrecer a los investigadores la capacidad de comprender más plenamente los que puede suceder a una comunidad desgarrada por el conflicto a través del tiempo en las áreas culturales específicos, incluyendo los lazos familiares; aduanas; tradiciones, y la probabilidad de nuevos roles para las mujeres dentro de la sociedad.

Compensación para los Participantes: Ninguno.

Procedimientos para Mantener la Confidencialidad de los expedientes de la Investigación: Estas entrevistas son completamente anónimas aparte de la información demográfica en la parte superior del formulario de consentimiento. Dado que algunas de estas preguntas pueden ser de carácter confidencial o personal, se tendrá el máximo cuidado para proteger su anonimato. No hay nombres (distintos de los seudónimos) se pueden utilizar en cualquier parte de la publicación resultante de estas entrevistas. Se le aconseja que lea atentamente todas las preguntas de la entrevista previa a la grabación y usted tendrá la oportunidad de detener la entrevista en cualquier momento se sienta incomodo o desea terminar el proceso. Se le dará una copia del formulario de consentimiento firmado. Las cintas de audio y

formularios de consentimiento se almacenarán en la Universidad de North Texas, Denton, (EE.UU.) en un lugar seguro y serán destruidos después de un periodo de tres años. La confidencialidad de su información personal se mantendrá en todas las publicaciones o presentaciones con respecto a este estudio.

Preguntas sobre el estudio: Si tiene alguna pregunta sobre este estudio, favor de comunicarse con Kalynn Hicks Van Wye, Estudiante Investigador al número (██████████) o el Dr. Stan Ingman, Supervising Investigador at (940)-565-2298.

Revise para la Protección de Participantes: Este estudio de investigación ha sido revisado y aprobado por la Junta de Revisión Institucional de la Universidad de UNT (IRB). UNT IRB puede ser contactado al número (940) 565-3940 con cualquier pregunta con respecto a los derechos de los sujetos de investigación.

Derechos de los Participante en la investigación:

Su firma indica que usted ha leído o han leído que todo lo anterior mencionado y que usted confirma lo siguiente:

- Kalynn Hicks Van Wye ha explicado el estudio y ha respondido a todas sus preguntas. Se les ha dicho de los posibles beneficios y los posibles riesgos y/o molestias potenciales del estudio.
- Usted entiende que usted no tiene que participar en este estudio, y si se niega a participar o si decide retirarse no supone ninguna sanción o pérdida de derechos o beneficios. El personal del estudio pueden optar por dejar de participar en cualquier momento.
- Usted entiende por qué se está llevando a cabo el estudio y la forma en que se realizará.
- Usted entiende sus derecho como participante en la investigación y su voluntariamente de participar es este estudio.
- Se la ha dicho que usted recibirá una copia de este formulario.

Nombre Impreso (letra de molde) Del Participante

Firma del Participante

Fecha

Para el Investigador Designado:

Confirmo que he explicado el contenido de este formulario con mi firma al asunto de referencia. He explicado los posibles beneficios y los posibles riesgos y/o molestias potenciales.

Es mi opinión que el participante entiende la explicación.

Firma del Investigador

Fecha

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